

NAVY (DISCIPLINE AND MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS) REGULATIONS

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Defence (Dr. D. S. Raju): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Navy (Discipline and Miscellaneous Provisions) Regulations, 1965, published in Notification No. S.R.O.2E dated the 4th February, 1965, as corrected by Notification No. S.R.O.4E dated the 2nd April, 1965, under section 185 of the Navy Act, 1957. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4275/65].

13.01 hrs.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

SEVENTY-SIXTH REPORT AND EIGHTY-FIRST REPORTS

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): I beg to present the following Reports of the Estimates Committee on the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Department of Agriculture):—

- (i) Seventy-sixth Report on Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi; and
- (ii) Eighty-first Report on National Dairy Research Institute, Karnal and Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar.

13.01½ hrs.

RE: HALF-HOUR DISCUSSION

(SUPPLY OF SHOES TO MINERS)

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (Shri R. K. Malviya): After we made the request to make this statement, we have received intimation that a notice for raising a half-hour discussion on this subject has been admitted and some time is going to be fixed for that. So, I request that I may be allowed to make the statement at that time.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): We could not follow what he said.

Mr. Speaker: After the government had expressed that desire to make this statement, a notice for a half-hour discussion on this has been received and this point is going to be discussed then. He says that at that time Government will also make this position clear then.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: This is very unjust. The minister was to make a statement and it has come on the order paper also. Simply because there is going to be a half-hour discussion, does it mean he should not make a statement now? If the statement is made now, it will be useful for the half-hour discussion also.

Mr. Speaker: I have made enquiries. The statement is not ready and he cannot make it today.

श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) : मैं स्टेटमेंट को इस लिए जरूरी समझता हूँ कि हाफ-एन-आवर में केवल आधा घंटा ही समय मिलता है, जो कि पर्याप्त नहीं है ।

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : मिनिस्टर साहब दो दिन के बाद स्टेटमेंट कर दें । हाफ-एन-आवर डिस्कशन बाद में होता रहेगा ।

श्री किशन पटनायक : तो क्या मंत्री महोदय स्टेटमेंट देंगे ?

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने तो कह दिया है कि वह देंगे ।

Shri R. K. Malviya: Yes, Sir.

एक माननीय सदस्य : आज ही ।

1304 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs. Out

of 8 hours allotted I hour and 20 minutes have been taken and 6 hours and 40 minutes remain. Shri Khadilkar.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): There was a privilege motion . . .

Mr. Speaker: No, no; I have not said it.

Shri Narendra Singh Mahida (Anand): When will the minister reply?

Mr. Speaker: 6 hours 40 minutes remain; so, not today.

Dr. Ranen Sen (Calcutta East): We could not get what you said about the privilege motion.

Mr. Speaker: I will bring it when I have made enquiries. What shall I say at this moment?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: How can there be a point of order? I have called one member. I have said it so many times that when one item is finished and the second is yet to be taken up, there can be no point of order. I have only called the member. Is it his point of order that he cannot be called? Shri Khadilkar.

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Sir, on this occasion, I do not want to overlook certain outstanding achievements of the Home Ministry. At the same time, I would like to point out certain problems about the administration and the services and other matters which remain to be dealt with for all these 17 long years, which ought to have been solved earlier, but which are merely in the process of discussion.

Regarding the achievements of the ministry, it is a record of credit, no doubt. For instance, the communal disturbances in 1964 were handled with firmness in Calcutta, Rourkela and Jamshedpur;

13:06 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

For the first time, when prices shot up, the Home Minister used his powers to bring to book the hoarders and anti-social elements; and about 5000 people were put behind the bars in order to protect the common consumer and bring down the prices.

There was the question of security risk if the left communists were kept out. I do not want to say that what has been published, in a booklet form—*The Pro-Peking Communists*—gives a correct picture, because in this country, as the Editor of a Chinese Weekly who spoke on the All India Radio pointed out once, there are no centres where the Chinese development and situation is being studied. In the western capitalist countries, there are institutions where all these aspects are studied. All these aspects as to how the rift in the international communist movement is likely to affect our communist movement, etc. have not been thrashed out in the pamphlet, so that it would have convincingly proved that the steps taken are absolutely necessary in the context of the present situation, not only internally but externally also.

There are other things like the anti-corruption drive. Many people here cut jokes at it. I am not talking about the Sadachar Samiti. Because of this definite attitude on the part of the present Home Minister to the social problems, a certain allergy is being built up in a section of the House, so that he would be frustrated in his efforts, instead of offering whole-hearted cooperation and support which he deserves. There is a certain section in the House which is showing in a devious manner certain opposition not openly, but in a sort of clandestine manner, to some measures taken by the Home Minister and therefore, they are not as effective as they would have been otherwise. This must be frankly admitted.

[Shri Khadilkar.]

On this occasion, I would like to remind the Home Minister why he left the Planning Commission and came to the Home Ministry. If I remember aright, the mid-term appraisal also pointed out that the plan failure is due to the administrative failure mainly. I asked him a question and he frankly admitted that now it is not the question of plan; plans will be on paper, but it is a question of implementation. So, unless the administrative machinery is geared up to implement the plan; all our efforts will lead us nowhere and we shall remain where we are. I ask whether the services have been imbued with a sort of crusading spirit, with a certain idealism, to bring about certain changes which, of course, imply a social transformation through democratic means. How far has the Home Minister succeeded on this front? Therefore, on this occasion I would like to have from the Home Minister a frank assessment of the situation, since he has taken charge, because he has come from the Planning Commission. The base of planning was laid down and with all the opposition, certain objectives were placed before the country; a certain enthusiasm was generated. But the resulting frustration is not due to certain shortcomings or defects in the plan. The failure is due to the laxity of administration, the non-cooperation spirit or the old bureaucratic spirit that is still continuing in the administration.

In the first plan itself this aspect was discussed and if I remember correctly, it was said that unless simultaneously we make efforts to reform the administration and reorientate it, we would not succeed as we want to in our planning effort. This was the assessment made in the beginning of the Plan.

What is the picture today? When I come to the question of administration, I find that the bureaucrats I

am not saying that they are quite capable; some of them are more capable—they are sitting tight in their positions. Have they, to be very frank, identified themselves with the objective of the leadership? That is the main question. On this point, my humble observation is that they have failed to identify. They are not imbued with the same spirit, the same crusading zeal in any sphere of administration. By and large, this is the situation today.

What is the position regarding this, because I want to bring out this point very clearly, particularly regarding the bureaucracy in this country. It was said by Sir Michael Sadler, not long ago but after his retirement, that "bureaucracy is humanism with the sap dried out of it." It is true of this country as well, because of its tradition. Another thing has been pointed out, which is very pertinent, by one Prof. Karl Mannheim, who is a great philosopher and a thinker, regarding administrative problems. He has made a very pertinent observation and I would appeal to the Home Minister to take note of this observation. He said that "the bureaucracy as a mediator between conflicting social groups or as the ally of certain classes will know how to establish its monopoly of control." We are very near this danger, let me warn the Home Minister. Unless in this conflict which is going on in a silent manner bureaucracy does not fall in lines with the approaches you are making, I do not think you will really achieve the purpose of going over to the Home Ministry, because Home Ministry in this country occupies a crucial position. It is entrusted with the border defence, it is entrusted with the integration of Kashmir, it is entrusted with the disturbances of a communal nature and it is also entrusted with the task of dealing with anti-social elements and implementing certain policies laid down by the Government. Therefore, the overall control over the

administration is exercised by the Home Ministry. It is said that we are taking progressive steps and certain steps are taken regarding integration of Kashmir. Sometimes I feel that this is integration on a political level. I sometimes feel that the time has come when we should give serious thought as to how social integration can be brought about. There is a ban now that no outsider can take a piece of land in Kashmir. How long can we preserve this entity as it is which has become a hot bed of intrigues for foreign powers, as it is, and remain satisfied only on the basis of political level integration? This is a question he should apply his mind very seriously to.

One more point on this question of administrative reform is pending for a long time. Certain steps are being taken in this direction. There was a suggestion that—I learn that preliminary ground work is being prepared—has been hanging fire ever since the time of Shri Gopalaswami Iyengar. He wanted to centralise the Central Secretariat service. Two pools—the Industrial Management Pool and the Administrative Pool—were created. What happened then? I do not know. One feels puzzled when certain decisions are announced, committees are appointed, suggestions are made and then nothing happens. I would, therefore, urge that with all his earnestness and as was said of one of the French rulers, he has the confiding purity of an angel, that the time has come when if you want to contain the anti-social elements and drive on the chariot of progress in this country you have to be a little ruthless in certain matters. Have full control over the whole administrative apparatus. There is a certain amount of laxity now. We voice their complaints, but I find that in every office and at all levels people do not want to work, people do not want to identify with the objectives of the Government. They do not want to move even in some measure with

the policies and give the garb that there are administrative difficulties.

It was decided upon a long time ago, about the emoluments of Secretaries, after the appointment of some committee and discussion, that no Secretary should be given Rs. 4000. What has happened to that decision? Even now it has not been implemented.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): The old ICS Secretaries get Rs. 4000 and the new IAS Secretaries get Rs. 3000 and Rs. 2250.

Shri Khadilkar: I shall pass on the reference to you.

While pleading for the reorientation and reforming the administration in this manner as early as possible in order to achieve the objective set before us, I want that corruption should be rooted out. Speaking about corruption, I feel that many of the hon. Members here have not read the first chapter in the report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption. The nature of corruption in its widest social ramifications is very pertinently discussed there. We talk of corruption, but we do not understand that in a changing society and the emerging pattern certain modes of life would come to the forefront and ultimately we have to deal with the situation from that angle. Therefore, I do not think that corruption has gone out of control—that is the impression given sometimes here. But one thing must be taken care of. The Santhanam Committee had pointed that out, and I repeat the same thing here because it is very pertinent to the present situation. The Santhanam Committee said, and quite correctly, that if you want to eradicate corruption you must take a firm step at the political level. The Government will have to take that decision sooner or later, because an able administrator, who was till recently Finance Minister and Minister of Industries in Bombay, and who has now joined the Planning Com-

[Shri Khadilkar]

mission, has made an observation about three months back in Delhi, which I will quote for the benefit of the Home Minister. Shri S. G. Barve said:

"It is the corruption at the political level to which a good part of the administrative corruption is directly or indirectly accountable. Apart from the wider circle of corruption and nepotism so generated, the want of moral standards in public life is degrading to public morality itself. The cynicism and coarsening of outlook in the younger generation induced by this depravity in high places is amongst the heaviest tolls that the country is having to pay for this degradation of public life."

I would appeal to the Home Minister that he must try to remove the suspicion about corruption at the highest political level. That will improve the character of the nation. People must vouchsafe about the leadership, just like in the case of Gandhiji, Tilak and others. Our old tradition is there, that our leadership is above corruption. The highest integrity is there. They might commit mistakes, but honest mistakes are always forgiven. So far as corruption, the question of laxity or regarding probity is concerned, they will stand trial anywhere in this country. That sort of atmosphere will create a climate of opinion in this country favourable to eliminate corruption.

Sir, there is the language question in which you are also equally concerned. This is a problem, I must say, which has been handled with the greatest patience and consideration. But I must say that even after 17 years of freedom we have not been able to evolve any policy. Language is an elemental force in society. In whatever we do there must be willing acceptance. If there is a sense of imposition, whether in the north or

south, there will be no progress and it will not lead us anywhere. Therefore, I will plead with the Home Minister that he should not act under pressure. I am afraid, today there are certain pressures on him, saying: you do this or do that. I would suggest that the position which prevailed before the 26th January 1965 should be continued for a long time. Let the country consider the question of language in all its ramifications. What happened in Madras is symptomatic. It is not a simple question of one of the languages in every State there is a certain amount of new ferment, a new renaissance, and some new social forces. When we framed the Constitution and our language policy we never imagined that these forces would be asserting themselves. Sometimes I feel that the present constitutional structure is not suited to contain all these forces. So, that must be considered very carefully. Therefore, so far as the question of language is concerned, I would plead that there should be no hurried decision, no hurried amendment of any law, because it is not a question of amending a law here or another law there. Until a national policy regarding language is evolved, the *statu quo ante* should be restored, removing all misgivings. In the matter of language, it is not a question of eradicating or driving out the English language. It is not so easy. Gandhiji realised it long ago. If you wage a battle, he said, you can drive out the Englishman, but it is difficult to drive out the English language. He observed it then and it is true even for today.

Then I come to the question of national integration. Today, with very few exceptions, no Chief Minister is in a position to think in terms of India or Indian problems. His view is narrowed down to the regional horizon. Local feelings and chauvinism dominate his thought. When that is the position, the prob-

lem of national integration becomes all the more important.

When I refer to Mysore-Manarashtra border, I do not want to speak as a Maharashtrian. That dispute is nanging me for the last ten years, even though an assurance was given by the then Home Minister, the late Sri G. B. Pant, that this problem would be solved soon. How long are you going to keep these 10 lakhs of people in this position of frustration? Ultimately, it will lead to violence. And it is the general feeling in the country that unless something serious happens, the Government is not awakened to act and decide. Therefore, I would appeal to the Home Minister that he should give immediate consideration to the question of removing the difficulties of the border people and that he should tell them that they need not wait for long because he is going to settle it soon. It is not a question of a dispute between Mysore and Maharashtra about their borders; it is a question of national integration. From that point of view, I would again appeal to the Home Minister to take action on this matter without further delay.

Shri B. C. Patnaik (Dhenkanal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I want to stress one point, whose national significance we can underestimate only at our common peril, all of us, who fought for the independence and glory of our mother land.

I want to draw the attention of the Government to the issue of privy purses, to the so-called Princes of India. The budget provides for Rs. 508.81 lakhs as privy purse to the former rulers. I know that the only argument that the Government, as well as the beneficiaries of the privy purses, make is, one of the promises made, and the agreement signed with them and nothing more. But it is also a fact that the Government and the Parliament are bound by the solemn pledge to the 45 crores of the Indian people, to work for

and usher in a socialist society in the country. The simple issue is, will the Government permit the pledge, given to the millions of people in India be broken in the name of keeping a promise of very doubtful validity to the former rulers. The privy purse is an outrage in a free democracy and totally inconsistent with the aim of socialism.

Let me first state how these privy purses look in the present political set up of our parliamentary democracy. The Prime Minister of India gets Rs. 2,250 per month, i.e., Rs. 27,000 per year. In comparison with this figure, let us have a look at the privy purses which we are called upon to sanction.

Let me start from Orissa, not only because I come from Orissa, but because it is full of former rulers, most of whom are openly against our national aim of socialism and so have organised themselves into a powerful political party. The Maharaja of Kalahandi, Shri P. K. Deo, a Swatantra leader and a member of this House, gets Rs. 1,14,000 per year, which is more than four times the yearly salary of the Prime Minister of India. The Maharaja of Patna, Shri R. N. Singh Deo, another Swatantra stalwart, who is also the leader of the Opposition in the Orissa State Assembly, gets Rs. 2,49,600 per year, which is more than 9 times the yearly salary of the Prime Minister of India. India's Prime Minister gets about Rs. 2,000 per month, but the Swatantra Maharani Gayatri Devi's Maharaja of Jaipur gets Rs. 5,000 per day, or Rs. 1,50,000 per month, or Rs. 18 lakhs per year, which is more than 70 times the yearly salary of the Prime Minister of India. The ex-ruler of Hyderabad gets Rs. 50 lakhs from the Central Government and Rs. 25 lakhs from the Andhra Government, which comes to about 280 or 300 times more than the yearly salary of the Prime Minister of India. There are about 20 ex-rulers each of whom gets Rs. 10 lakhs or more per

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year. There are hundreds and hundreds of ex-rulers to whom we are to give lakhs and lakhs of rupees as privy purse, and they are all tax-free.

When one thinks of the average daily income of the common citizen of our country and the tax-free daily privy purse income of the ex-rulers, as, for example, the Swatantrite Maharani Gayatri Devi's Maharaja's privy purse income of Rs. 5,000 per day, and the wide disparity in income, the question of privy purse becomes indefensible.

It is argued that the Rajas gave away their power voluntarily, and the privy purses are the recompense from a grateful nation. This is a travesty of Indian history, and of recent history which is within living memory. It is not just a true fact that the rulers surrendered their power voluntarily. There were powerful Prajamandal movements in most of the States, as integral parts of the Indian National movement, long before the British quit India. After the British left, the Prajamandal movements everywhere literally became popular mass upsurges and acquired tidal strength, which nothing could hold back neither police lathi charge nor the military bullets. If the rulers had not surrendered, then they would have been swept aside. They had no courage to face their own people. Almost all of them came rushing to New Delhi to seek shelter, plead for peace and bargain terms. This is where the privy purse comes in.

The Orissa State peoples' movement was all powerful then. It was the bitterest in India. In fact, the White Paper on Indian States gives our movement the credit for starting the merger of States from Orissa. We, the ex-State people of Orissa are proud of it. I can say from my personal experience that there is no greater myth current in Indian political life than that the rulers gave away power voluntarily.

If it was all that voluntary, why did it take two to three years to get the States merged? Why did it need the march of the Indian armed forces to Hyderabad to bring the Nizam to his senses? The historic and living truth is that it was the force of the State peoples' mass movement from below, together with the political and all other pressures skillfully exercised by the free Government of India from above that compelled the princes to surrender power.

In the Constituent Assembly, during the discussion of article 291, which deals with the privy purses, Sardar Patel stated (*vide* White Paper on Indian States page 124):

"The capacity for mischief and trouble on the part of the rulers, if the settlement with them had not been reached, on negotiated basis, was far greater than could be imagined at this stage."

So, here is the secret of the privy purse. It was given to silence the princes, as the price of their not "making mischief and trouble" against the independence and unity of the country.

We must know how the privy purses to the feudal parasites is wastefully used. I have heard that when the British Queen Elizabeth came to India and visited an Indian Maharaja, just before such a visit, Maharaja's Maharani spouse air-dashed to Washington for her hair-cut, to be able to welcome and outdo the British Maharani. What will India's tax-payers think of the Government if we go on sanctioning the privy purses year in and year out to be thus misused, while they go on paying taxes and more taxes?

There is no legal bar either to the abolition of privy purses. In fact, whatever little justification there may have been for the interim period, it ceased to exist on 28th January, 1950, when the people of India gave unto

themselves the Constitution under which today we function.

In a recent judgement the Supreme Court has come to the decision with regard to section 87B of CrPC, which gives certain privileges to the rulers, that after 26th January 1950:—

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

The fabulously rich and the privilege-laden princes cannot and must not go together with the unprivileged poor and virtually rightless paupers in the Republic of India with its ideal of socialism. The Government must give due weight to the judgement of the Supreme Court and should take appropriate action to see that the burden and bane of the privy purses is done away with.

If the princes claim the privy purses, they cannot rightly participate in politics, organise a political party, stand for election and fight for power. If they want to participate in elections and fight for power, they must honourably and voluntarily surrender their privy purses.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I said this last time and nobody supported me.

Shri B. C. Patnaik: When the privy purses were given to the rulers, the rulers gave away their power. They have lost their power when they took privy purses. They cannot have both privy purse and power.

It is better that the privy purse is stopped, because the promise or agreement for privy purse was not for an indefinite period nor it has any time limit, and we can do away with it at any moment.

As we all know, most of the feudal-minded politically ambitious princes, in alliance with the men of big business have floated the Swatantra Party. Their party openly advocates a change in India's independent foreign policy and for a pro-western imperialist orientation and military alliance. It also challenges the domestic national policy of planning and socialism. They are not in the national stream. They stand and struggle against the national ideas.

Shri H. C. Soy (Singhbhum): Sir, can he read his speech?

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) क्या माननीय सदस्य का यहां पर इस तरह से लिखा हुआ भाषण पढ़ते चला जाना उचित है ?

श्री श्रींकार लाल बेरवा (कोटा) : इसे सभा पटल पर रख दिया जाय ।

Shri B. C. Patnaik: There may have been some justification to give privy purses in 1947-48 when the princes reluctantly agreed to merger. But what justification is there for the present Government to continue the privy purses when we know that most of the ex-rulers make no secret to ally the country within the imperialist powers and cast aside national policies.

It is long overdue national political necessity to abolish the system of privy purse before the next General Election.

Let us clip the privileged wings of the Gayatri Devi's and P. K. Deos and then see how far they and their tribe can fly when the 1967 General Elections come. Elementary political morality demands such a principled decision and its acceptance by the princes, if they have any pretensions to parliamentary democratic principles. They cannot demand the privy purse be voted by Parliament and also the right to contest elections to the Parliament. We should not allow it to remain so and make a

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mockery of parliamentary democracy and socialist ideas.

The Orissa's Swatantrite princes are particularly impatient to get into power and their Swatantra Party is really stronger there than in any other State. They are announcing from the housetops that they are certain to become the ruling party in Orissa after the next elections. Their favourite war-cry is—The campaign against corruption; their Scripture—the CBI Report; and their enemy symbols—Biju Patnaik and Biren Mitra.

The most corrupt and decadent set in Indian society, Swatantrite princely parasites, talking against corruption and for high morals, is a sight for the Gods above to witness and smile.

If Biju Patnaik's and Biren Mitra's alleged corruption was all that they were angry about, they should have been the most satisfied now because, as loyal soldiers of the Congress, they accepted the advice of their national leadership.

Shri Brij Raj Singh (Bareilly): The rest of it may be laid on the Table. What is the use of reading it?

Shri B. C. Patnaik: It must be noted that both these Congress leaders of Orissa repudiated the charges against them and almost all the Congress members of the State Assembly and the Utkal PCC are behind them and hold them innocent.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बरवा : बिल्कुल गलत है । खुली जाँच होनी चाहिए ।

Shri B. C. Patnaik: The Swatantrite princes' real quarrel is not against corruption but against Congress and its ideals, against land reforms, democratic advance and socialism..... (Interruption).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is speaking for the first time in Parliament.

Shri B. C. Patnaik: The Swatantrite princes of Orissa and their Swatantra Party, whether in the Parliament here or in the State Assembly at Bhubaneswar, concentrate its main fire against Biju Patnaik and Biren Mitra, because, during the last mid-term elections they organised the Congress election campaign so successfully as to trounce the princes' party.... (Interruption). Biju Patnaik and Biren Mitra constitute the main hindrance to their fond dreams for the coming General Elections.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Speeches should not be read.

Shri B. C. Patnaik: Their spokesmen talked so loudly during the various debates about the CBI Report, but they can command no sizable audience in any public meetings in Orissa. After their fireworks here, they gave the call for a Demands Day to set up a commission of enquiry but nobody responded anywhere and their call miserably flopped.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Speeches should not be read. You can only refer to notes.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): From the other side so many Members read their speeches. On the Opposition side, Maharani Gayatri Devi reads her speeches.

Shri B. C. Patnaik: The reason is very simple. The common people of Orissa know the princes.

It will be rather a matter of correct and wise step on the part of Government to set up a commission of enquiry to enquire into the misuse of powers by some ex-rulers during the period of their rule and enquire into the properties they had earned through corrupt methods and such of the properties they are now enjoying

and using against our national aspirations, and the Government should confiscate all such properties.

For the Parliament to vote for privy purses to the princes, who outright challenge India's national policies and do not hide their aims to cast them aside, is like feeding the cobra with milk inside one's own home and treat it as a pet.

An Hon. Member: Well read.

Shri B. C. Patnaik: Politically it is unwise and harmful to grant privy purses. Privy purses only pamper the most vocal anti-national elements.

Privy purses are not consistent with the letter and spirit of the Indian Constitution. The privy purses are not looked upon with favour by the highest judicial tribunal of the land, the Supreme Court.

The Utkal PCC passed a resolution in 1963 for the abolition of the privy purses. The Rajasthan PCC has also passed a similar resolution. The Jaipur AICC session held in November 1963 and the famous Bhubaneswar Congress session also took a strong stand against the privy purses.

Privy purses must go if we take our independence, democracy and socialism seriously.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalaphuza): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my friend Shri Khajilkar, was trying to highlight the achievement of the Home Minister and the Ministry of Home Affairs—I was listening to what he said—but I was sorry to see that he did not have practically anything to show by way of outstanding achievements of this Ministry. I am afraid, the Home Minister and his Ministry should be prepared for brickbats and not for bouquets.

As regards this side of the House, we, some of us, consider that the last one year that has elapsed can be

considered to be a black year as far as the performance of the Home Ministry is concerned. I shall also try to examine at least three or four items and see whether I can see any outstanding achievement.

The Home Minister, as soon as he took up this portfolio, declared that he will eradicate corruption within two years and that if he did not succeed he would quit. So, we should consider him to be the crusader against corruption in this country. But, afterwards, perhaps somebody has advised him that he had made a foolish statement; so, he corrected it a little and said that within two years he would create an impact on the country.....

Shri Sidheshwar Prasad (Nalanda): That he had done.

Shri Vasudevan Nair:...and if he failed to create an impact on the country he would quit. The question of impact can be interpreted in any way. He can, of course, claim that he has created an impact.

Recently, I had the privilege of reading an article written by no less a person than Mr. Setalwad, the President of the Bar Council of India, in the latest issue of the *Advocate*. Let us see what kind of impact our Home Minister has succeeded in creating at least on the mind of a person like Mr. Setalwad. I would read a few lines from his article. He says:

"There is one Code of Conduct for the Government servant who gets heavily punished for any veniality in his conduct. There is a different Code, or perhaps no code at all, for the politician or the Minister who sticks to positions and offices undaunted even by findings of improper conduct by authorised bodies or officials against them".

Then, he says:

"Corruption in its widest sense still stalks unscared all over the

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country and the canker appears to have spread even to the higher judiciary."

Further he goes on to give instance about a particular Judge of a High Court giving his wrong date of birth and all that. I do not go into that. if you try to examine the kind of impact that is created in the country against corruption, then, I think, this quotation from Mr. Setalwad is enough to show really the bankruptsy that is there in the so-called fight against corruption by this Home Ministry.

I need not dilate on very many details. As far as we are concerned, the main problem is how you are going to fight corruption at the higher levels. And about this, the Santhanam Committee has something to say. All these points were made on the floor of the House on earlier occasions. So, I do not want to quote from the Report. They suggested that as far as Ministers are concerned, there should be a national panel appointed by the President from among whom a Committee should be chosen on each occasion when there is any allegation against a Minister. Now, in the developing situation of our country, I believe that this question of a suitable machinery to go into the allegations against Ministers assumes great importance because, as far as I can see, the monopoly of Congress power is going to crack up and there are going to be non-Congress governments in many States in India in the near future, in the next elections.....

An Hon. Member: Where?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Specially in such a situation, when you can have non-Congress Ministers, it will be very embarrassing for a Congress Prime Minister, if that is the up-set to take decisions on such questions. There will be allegations and counter allegations. So, it is all the more important and very necessary that the Government of India should accept that re-

commendation of the Santhanam Committee without any reservation.

We know how such cases were dealt with by this Government. They were dealt with by this Government in an extremely partisan manner, not to the satisfaction of the people in this country or to the satisfaction of those who made allegations. There was the case of our ex-Chief Minister of Kerala. Serious allegations were made not only by the Opposition but by responsible people in the Congress Party itself. What happened? The late Prime Minister gave a verdict and absolved the ex-Chief Minister completely. Of course, the people of Kerala took it up again in the elections and they gave the real verdict against the Chief Minister. That is another matter. But this was a very clear case.

Then, we know—I am sorry I have to refer to it—the case of the ex-Deputy Finance Minister. What happened? The Attorney General wanted that it should be pursued further. That was the first finding. There was a *prima facie* case. How did this Government pursue the matter? Mr. Nanda claims so much about fighting against corruption—there is the Sada-char Committee and all that. The issue was referred to a Cabinet Minister of the Congress Government itself. Is it not true? I should like to know it from the Government. And the Cabinet Minister gave a verdict that the Minister was not at fault. The Minister was absolved of that. Does this Government think that this kind of procedure will carry conviction with the people of this country? Do they think that they can just fool the people by resorting to such a machinery of their own people sitting in judgment over complaints against Congress Ministers? It is high time that we should have a proper machinery.

On the general question of fighting corruption, I think, perhaps Mr. Nanda

who is supposed to know about sociological aspect of it and the basic questions concerning it, is trying to make too much about fighting corruption at the official level of some petty officials. As a matter of fact, the Santhanam Committee, although at the fag end of its report, in two sentences drew their attention to a particular question. I shall read it:

“Ways and means have to be found to ensure that idealism and patriotism have their proper place in the ambitions of our youth. The lack of moral earnestness, which has been a conspicuous feature of recent years, is perhaps the greatest single factor which hampers the growth of strong traditions of integrity and efficiency.”

Now perhaps, the Home Minister knows that he should have a social movement against corruption. It may be because of that, may be in his unofficial capacity, he blessed certain people and formed the Sadachar Samiti. I do not want to blame an organisation or a movement in a blank way. But there are cases which the Home Minister should look into where even real culprits, people who are really interested in their own personal problems, try to make use of the Sadachar Samiti for them. They are placed in high positions in the Sadachar Samiti.

In Delhi, I came across a case, a very interesting case, where a particular person who has very much to do with the Sadachar Samiti, is interested in evicting nearly 200 shopkeepers from a place of his own and for the last 7 or 8 years he is trying, by all sorts of methods, to get them evicted from that place. And the charge against the Delhi Administration is that during the last 8 years, there are a lot of documents to prove that the Delhi authorities have acted in a way prejudicial to the interest of the occupants for the sake of this particular gentleman. He says, he is a simple

man and he is a Sadachari. That is his claim. Now, for this place he received a lot of *pugree*—that is one charge—and then he said that, when he formed a so-called trust—the trust is used for these things now—this place will be given over for a school. Afterwards, he said that this place will be given over for a night shelter and then he said that this place will be given over for a women's college. All these methods were tried. There were several petitions in the court. The people went to court. Even now he is pursuing it. Now, because this particular gentleman is a Sadachari, and because he has high connections, including the Home Minister, Shri Nanda, may be because of that, whatever report is given by this particular gentleman is taken for granted by the Delhi authorities and they go to the court. Of late, what is the position? The Education Department in Delhi wants to acquire that place on the request made by this gentleman in the name of the trust acquiring this place for a school while the Delhi Municipal Authorities have not given the sanction till now. The procedure is that they should first get the sanction from the Delhi Municipal Authority. The Delhi Municipal Authority says that this place is not suitable. But still proceedings have started. It is not very strange that such a person happens to be in charge of the Sadachar Samiti in Delhi? Is it not very strange that such a person happens to be the governor of the Bharat Sevak Samaj in Delhi? Is it not really shameful that the Home Minister of the country is so closely associated with such people, in the name of Gandhism and all that? The Home Minister was addressed a letter by the tenants association of that place, but I do not know whether he took the trouble to go through that letter, or go through the complaints, and whether he enquired into those complaints, I should like to join issue with Acharya Kripalani at least on this question. Of course, I can't agree with him on all questions but at least on this ques-

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tion, I agree with him, that the Home Minister should not have anything to do with such shady characters, if he really means business.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hathi): Did they go to the Home Minister or to me?

An hon. Member: Both are part and parcel. (*Interruption*).

Shri Hathi: They are part and parcel, that is all right, but the action taken.....

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I hope Mr. Hathi will pursue the matter and see to it that at least the Government machinery is not utilised by these people. We are only interested in that much. That is, if this social movement is really to be helpful to the people of the country, this organisation should be constituted of proper people.

The second issue on which I should like to judge the performance of this Ministry is as to how far they have succeeded in upholding the interests of democracy in this country in this field. I say perhaps this particular year can be considered to be a black year in the history of the Home Ministry of the Government of India. It is a miserable failure of the Home Ministry in relation to the Kerala episode. It is not only Kerala. I want to plead with the hon. Members of this House that they should not look at this question only just as the Kerala question. Here again I want to say that the congress leadership should see that there are going to be nor congress governments in this country, whether they like them or not. (*Interruptions*) The basic question is that the Congress administration, the congress government is failing, miserably failing, in discharging its duties to the people. While they talk about socialism, they are acting as a tool for building up capitalism in this country. While

they speak against corruption, by their omissions and commissions, by their activities, they themselves are promoting corruption. And, because of these various factors, the people in this country are going to throw out the Congress Government in many States. Already there is the writing in the wall. Not only Kerala, Ahmedabad also. I think my friend will speak about it, about the glorious chapter that is written by the people of Ahmedabad city and so many things are there. So, that is going to be the case. At least they should be prepared for that also.

In such a context, the behaviour of the Government of India in the Kerala episode was so shabby and they tried to suppress the opposition by making use of the Defence of India Rules and by making use of the emergency. Today, as far as we are concerned, we are absolutely not convinced about the necessity of continuing the Defence of India Rules in this situation. The Government itself is not serious about the emergency. Of course they are serious about the D.I.R. because they want to use it for their own party interest. My hon. friend, Shri Govinda Menon is not here. He wanted to justify the large-scale arrests and roundups of the leaders of the marxist communist party on December, 30, 1964. Now, Sir, this Government, till now has failed to produce one single evidence, one concrete activity, as far as the marxist communists are concerned, against the defence of the country and against the security of the country. He was very much concerned at the fact that one of them was reading a book on guerilla warfare by a Cuban leader. Now, I saw one day my hon. friend from the Swatantra party, Shri P. K. Deo reading a book on guerilla warfare. He was reading that book from our own library. I said, 'You should be very careful. Nandaji is here, D.I.R. is here.' The question concerns the whole country. So, if our government thinks that they can fight out ideas, ideals ideologies

and opinions by resorting to the Defence of India Rules and by putting people in prison, they are thoroughly mistaken. And, in this particular case, the entire people of this country can see the game of the Government. On the eve of the elections they resorted to these things with the sole and whole purpose of just helping the congress in Kerala. Of course that did not help them. Rather, it had a boomerang effect. They called the marxist communists as traitors. The Government chose to call them traitors; but our charge is that they have done so they are doing this without producing a single evidence, a single concrete evidence and without even trying to give a single concrete charge. That is the position. We have challenged this Government on many occasions and always they have tried to take shelter under the pretext of 'public interest', of Kerala. They say, in the public interest, they cannot prosecute even one single person. There is no use compiling booklets of quotations with speeches of some persons which happened five years ago at the time of the Tibetan rebellion and all that sort of thing. It is futile repeating all those things. This Government is in charge of the rights, of the civil liberties of the entire people of this country. They cannot play with this in the interest of the ruling party.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: What about Mao Tse-tung's photo in Tenali?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: You belong to Andhra Pradesh. You could go and take it away.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: We had taken it away; we did not leave it to you.

An hon. Member: Congratulations.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: I want to say now something about certain problems concerning the detenus in this country. Government seems not in a mood at present to release these people from prisons. They are keeping

them in prison. We have a concrete experience. Prof. Mukherjee received a letter from no less a person than Mr. Gopalan, leader of the Marxist communist party in this House and the letter was written on the 20th of February. It is signed by the Jail Superintendent, but Prof. Mukherjee received the letter on the 9th of April. This is the first time that I come to understand that a letter takes so much time to travel from Kerala to Delhi. This letter written on the 20th February reached him on the 9th April. Another letter written by the detenus to Shri N. C. Chatterjee, regarding their wish to consult him on certain legal questions, has not reached him at all till now.

I have got various cases in my State where they have applied for parole; somebody is sick; somebody is dying; but then they are not even let out on parole. What about the women detenus? I would like the Hon. Minister to enquire into the matter. The women prisoners and detenus are forced to solitary confinement. At least during the day-time they could be allowed to go and mix with other detenus. Other detenus are allowed to come together, they have got some facilities to play and all that and to read. Why should not this be applied to the woman detenus also? In one particular jail there is only one woman detenus. And she has to spend all the time almost in solitary confinement. Why is this kind of thing being pursued? I should like the Minister to look into this question.

14 hrs.

About family allowance I wish to say something. This is about family allowance to Kerala detenus. Kerala detenus are under your charge. They are under the charge of the Central Government. Just on the eve of the elections they were transferred to the care of the Central Government. Shamelessly they put all

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these prisoners in their charge. As far as I understand, 141 prisoners are there. Recently, the Kerala Government have given them some little allowance of Rs. 50 per month for about two months and that too, only to 54 out of 141 persons. I do not know why the other people have been left out. After all, why should this miserable sum of Rs. 50 only be given to persons, to very prominent persons, who have their families to be looked after but who have been shut in jail one fine night? I do not know why this is being done. I was told by the Home Minister one day that in a State like Gujarat he was giving to the detenus about Rs. 175 p.m. I am not pleading for this dirty money from Government, but once the persons are imprisoned, Government have to treat them at least as human beings; Why should they give them only this small sum of Rs. 50? I read in the papers that in Punjab jails, in Ambala and other places, the detenus had gone on a hunger strike because most of them had been kept there as class III prisoners, and the diet money given to a person was only Rs. 1.75. Later on, Government were pleased to increase it to Rs. 2 after the hunger strike. I do not know why this Government is behaving like this, even worse than the British rulers.

Coming to the problems of my State since we are under President's rule, we have to give vent to our grievances against this Ministry. We are afraid and we are very much concerned about the behaviour of the police after the administration has been taken over by the Central Government. Perhaps they begin to think that for some time to come Kerala will be under their charge. We have had the bitter experiences of the behaviour of the police in our State. Their third-degree methods are very notorious....

Shri D. C. Sharma: What about Mr. Namboodiripad's regime?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: My hon. friend Shri D. C. Sharma should listen to me. He will be shocked to hear the story which I am presently going to narrate. Recently, a person was arrested by the police in Cochin. There was some squabble in a place at some tea-shop; and a person 35 years old, by name Shri Kunju Mohammed was arrested by the police at two o'clock in the night and the next day, he died in the hospital; a very healthy person, 35-year old young man was taken by the policemen to the police station, and the next day he died in the hospital under police custody. The doctor said that he died out of torture. This is the thing which has happened in 1965 under the Congress Government. If it had happened under Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar's regime in the old Travancore State, we could have understood it. But this happens under the Sadachari and the Sarvodaya leader Shri Nanda. I am not personally blaming him for this. But is he not ashamed that in this country today a person is taken to the lock-up and he is just killed in the lock-up. There are many other instances. They may be small in the whole perspective of all-India problems. We have so many reports about policemen arresting people and beating them up like that. What have Government done in these cases? They have only transferred those policemen and those police officers to other stations. In that case, what will happen is that in the other stations also some other fellows will be killed, because the same fellow is transferred and that is the biggest punishment given to the police officials. Are Government going to look at those things in this way in regard to the police and the bureaucracy in general?

Since my hon. friend Dr. U. Misra is sitting here, I think I should make use of this opportunity to let the hon. Minister know what had happened to Dr. U. Misra, to even a Member of Parliament like Dr. U. Misra in Jamshedpur. The hon. Minister may

please enquire and find out how he was treated by the S. D.O.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya (Serampur): He has already written to the Home Minister on the subject,

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Here is an instance of a Member of Parliament having been so shabbily treated by an official of the level of an S.D.O. This is a general question but due to lack of time, I would not go into that.

Government with their powerful machinery, and with the help of the DIR and the emergency are now really going in the same old way of the old bureaucratic administration. The democracy that is expected of them is really denied to the people of this country. And that is a casualty in our country. There is a very serious encroachment on the civil liberties, on the democratic rights and even on the constitutional provisions. If the emergency and the DIR had been at least used against the real culprits in this country, namely the black money gods, the hoarders and the profiteers, then there would have been some justification, but there we see the picture of a Home Minister being rushed to Calcutta to flirt with the Birlas, to patch up the big gulf. I think you must have seen this photograph which has appeared in a paper; it is a good photograph; I think even the Home Minister is soothed into sleep by Shri G. D. Birla by his talks. That is what we see on one side. On the other side, the Finance Minister himself says that as far as black money is concerned; the response that he has got is so disappointing. If Government really mean business, then they have to put an end to this kind of practice and up-hold the interests of the people of this country.

There are many other questions left which I shall briefly allude to. For instance, there is the practice of police verification. We have brought this to the notice of Government on several occasions and pointed out how people were being victimised for no

fault of their own. This practice has to be put a stop to; it cannot continue in this country like this.

Then, there is the question of the democratic set-up in Delhi. Then, there is the question of merger of Goa in Maharashtra. It is very surprising that leading Members of the Congress Party are going and attending conventions organised by supporters of the ex-Portuguese rule for the maintenance of Goa as such; I have heard that even would be Ministers had been gracing such conventions, such as Shrimati Vijay Lakshmi Pandit. What is the meaning in keeping Goa even now as a pocket? Why should Government not take immediate steps to merge it in Maharashtra?

In conclusion, I want to say that the performance of this Home Ministry is such that it has given serious concern at least to people on the Opposition. If Government are going to continue in this very same path, then I would like to tell them on behalf of my Group that we shall oppose it tooth and nail and we shall condemn these actions, and we shall try to do our best at least to preserve whatever liberties and democratic rights we have in this country.

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, अभी गृह मंत्रालय की मांगों पर विचार हो रहा है और इस वर्ष की जो मांगें हैं, मैं उनका समर्थन करता हूँ।

पिछले वर्षों में गृह मंत्री की हैसियत में श्री नन्दा जी ने विभिन्न मौकों पर जो कदम उठाए हैं वे सराहनीय रहे हैं और इस देश की गंभीर समस्याओं का सामना करने के लिए उन्होंने जो वातावरण बनाया है उस से ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न हो रही है कि चाहे हमारी कोई समस्या हो, चाहे सीमा प्रदेश की समस्या हो, अथवा हमारी कोई घरेलू समस्या के निदान की बात हो, लोगों में आत्म विश्वास पैदा होता जा रहा है कि हम हर परिस्थिति का सामना कर सकेंगे, । चाहे

[श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद]

काश्मीर के हजरतबल के बाल की चोरी का प्रश्न हो, चाहे कलकत्ता, रुरकेला, जमशेदपुर आदि में साम्प्रदायिक दंगों का प्रश्न हो, सभी मौकों पर भारत सरकार ने ऐसी दृढ़ता का परिचय दिया है कि जिस से लगता है कि हम गम्भीर परिस्थितियों का बड़ी अच्छी तरह से मुकाबला कर सकते हैं।

इतना ही नहीं हमारे सामने एक बड़ा गम्भीर प्रश्न है कि काश्मीर का भारत के साथ पूर्ण विलय होना चाहिए। पिछले वर्ष में इस दिशा में गृह मंत्रालय ने ऐसे कदम उठाये हैं कि जिन ने आशा बंधती है कि धीरे धीरे काश्मीर का भारत के साथ पूर्ण विलय हो जाएगा। यद्यपि अभी संविधान की धारा 370 समाप्त नहीं की जा सकी है, लेकिन ऐसी कई चीजें हुई हैं जैसे काश्मीर के प्रधान मंत्री को आगे मुख्य मंत्री कहा जाएगा . .

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : गृह-मंत्रालय का इतना महत्वपूर्ण विषय चल रहा है और कैबिनेट का कोई मंत्री उपस्थित नहीं है। यह मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

उपस्थित महोदय : इस में कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है।

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद : मेरा निवेदन था कि काश्मीर के विलय की दिशा में गृह मंत्री ने जो कदम उठाए हैं उनका स्वागत किया जाना चाहिए और हमें आशा करनी चाहिए कि इन से ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न होगी कि संविधान की धारा 370 भी समाप्त हो जाएगी और काश्मीर पूरे तौर पर अन्य राज्यों की तरह स्थान प्राप्त करेगा और उसकी स्थिति पूर्णतया सामान्य हो जाएगी।

जहां तक पाकिस्तान की घुस पंठ का सवाल है, उस के सम्बन्ध में गृह मंत्रालय ने पिछले वर्ष में काफी कड़ी नीति बरती है। लेकिन अब एक विशेष स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गयी है

जिस के सम्बन्ध में हमें विचार करने की जरूरत है, जिस के बारे में आज आरम्भ में सदन में सदस्यों ने गहरी चिन्ता व्यक्त की थी। उसे देखते हुए माननीय गृह मंत्री जी को उचित कदम उठाने चाहिए।

पिछले कुछ वर्षों से इस बात पर विचार किया जाता रहता है कि भारत और पाकिस्तान के जो सीमावर्ती प्रदेश हैं उन में तीन मील भूमि हमें खाली करा लेनी चाहिए ऐसा आश्वासन गृह मंत्री जी ने दिया था और उस में हर प्रकार की सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की जा सके उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं आशा रखता हूँ कि माननीय गृह मंत्री उस को क्रियान्वित कराने के लिये शीघ्र से शीघ्र कड़ा कदम उठावेंगे।

इस के बाद मैं एक और विशेष प्रश्न की ओर इस सदन का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ और वह प्रश्न है नौकरशाही का तथा भ्रष्टाचार का। अगर हमारा ध्यान 4 अप्रैल के सैंडे स्टट्समैन की तरफ जाय तो उस से इस समस्या के सम्बन्ध में एक दृष्टिकोण प्राप्त हो सकता है। जैस काउन्सेल ने लंदन नोटबुक के कालम में बाउंड इन रेड टैप के अन्तर्गत इस प्रकार लिखा है :

“As old acquaintance of Delhi days dropped in from the blue a few days ago to enlist my help in a pilgrimage he has undertaken to discover what makes democracy tick in these parts. I shall be interested in his findings, for democracy is apt to work in no less mysterious ways in this country than in India. Red tape is rampant at all levels, as the photographer of a London newspaper found last week when he sought permission to take a picture of the historic tennis court at Hampton Court Palace. First he approached the tennis professional.” “You will have to ask the club secretary,” the are told him. He called the

Secretary. "I am afraid you will need a pass," the Secretary said. He called the superintendent of Hampton Court for a pass. "You will have to ask the Ministry of Public Buildings," the superintendent said. He called the Ministry. "I am afraid you will have to ask the Lord Great Chamberlain," the Ministry said. He called the Lord Great Chamberlain's Office. "Put it in writing" they said. The photographer gave up at this stage. One cannot blame him for wondering if the security curtain is as good at the Ministry of Defence as it is around the tennis court at Cardinal Wolsey's old palace.

"The pilgrim from Delhi may discover that another reason why democracy sometimes creaks in Britain is the dreadful gobbledygook language to which officialdom is prone. A prime example of this is cited by a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn in a letter published in The Times on Friday. Believe it or not the last sentence of the National Insurance Act, 1964, Schedule I, Part II, reads as follows: "For the purpose of this part of this schedule a person over pensionable age, not being an insured person, shall be treated as an employed person if he would be an insured person were he under pensionable age and would be an employed person were he an insured person." No wonder the writer begged the editor to print his letter on any day other than April Fools' Day."

जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है अभी तक गृह मंत्रालय ने 60 से भी ऊपर समितियाँ प्रशासनिक सुधार के लिये गठित की हैं और पिछले कुछ वर्षों में माननीय गृह मंत्री ने और भी कई उपसमितियाँ बनाई हैं जो कि इस बात की जांच कर रही हैं कि इस प्रकार से विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में जो देर होती है और उसके कारण जो भ्रष्टाचार उत्पन्न होता है

उस को दूर किया जा सके ; अक्सर लोग जहाँ गलती करते हैं उनकी गलतियों को पकड़ा जा सके और उन में सुधार किया जा सके । लेकिन मूल बात, जिसकी तरफ मैं इस उद्धरण के द्वारा सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जब हम आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे उस समय हम बराबर ब्रिटिश नौकरशाही की आलोचना किया करते थे तो हमारे सामने एक दृष्टिकोण था और एक आदर्श होता था । उसके बाद हम ऐसा अनुभव करते थे कि जो नौकरशाही का अंग्रेजी ढांचा है उस हम में परिवर्तन कर सकेंगे । लेकिन अंग्रेज नौकरशाही चाहे इंग्लैंड में हो या भारतवर्ष में हो, दोनों की स्थिति एक सी है । जब तक हम उस आदर्श को छोड़ कर एक बिल्कुल नये दृष्टिकोण से इस बुनियादी प्रश्न को हल करने की बुनियादी तौर पर कोशिश नहीं करते हैं तब तक नौकरशाही के कारण हमारे देश में जो दोष उत्पन्न होते हैं वह दूर नहीं हो सकते हैं । वह दोष इंग्लैंड में भी हैं । अगर हम महज इंग्लैंड की नकल करके उन्हें दूर करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो हम किसी नतीजे पर नहीं पहुंचेंगे । इसलिए मैं गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस प्रश्न पर बुनियादी तौर पर विचार करें और जल्द से जल्द जिस प्रकार से अमेरिका ने इस दोष को दूर करने के हेतु हूवर आयोग का बहुत व्यापक टर्म्स आफ रेफ्रेंस के साथ गठन किया था उसी वर आयोग की तरह के एक आयोग का यहां पर गठन किया जाये ।

एक अन्य चीज जिसकी कि और में माननीय गृह मंत्री का ध्यान आकृष्ट करूंगा वह यह है कि अक्सर इस सदन में इस बात की चर्चा उठाई गई है कि स्कैंडेवियन कंट्रीज की तरह जहाँ कि प्रोम्बुड्समैन की प्रथा है उस प्रकार की कोई एक प्रथा यहां पर भी लागू करें । इस देश में जनसाधारण का, कांग्रेस दल का और विभिन्न दलों का विश्वास प्राप्त करने के लिये यह सर्वथा उचित होगा

[श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद]

कि इस मीके पर हम गम्भीरता से इस बात पर विचार करें और कोई एक ऐसा निर्णय लें कि संसद का कोई व्यक्ति, उसे हम चाहे जिस संज्ञा से पुकारें, अपनी परम्परा के मुताबिक उस को हम न्यायमूर्ति कह सकते हैं, वह ऐसे भ्रष्टाचार के मामलों की और शिकायतों की जांच करे। ऐसे व्यक्ति के द्वारा जो निर्णय दिया जायगा वह निश्चय ही दलीय राजनीति अथवा दूसरे प्रकार की खींचतान की जो राजनीति होती है उससे ऊपर स्थित हो सकेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि संधानम समिति ने जो सिफारिशें दी हैं और गृह मंत्रालय ने जो कदम उठाये हैं, चाहे वह केन्द्रीय सतर्कता आयोग जैसी चीज हो या और भी जो कदम सरकार के विचाराधीन हैं उनकी रोगनी में ऐसा निर्णय लेना सम्भव हो सकेगा और संसद के द्वारा एक ऐसा अधिकारी नियुक्त हो सकेगा जोकि इस प्रश्न के सम्बन्ध में बड़ी ऊंचाई से निर्णय ले सकेगा और उस के बाद एक ऐसा वातावरण तैयार हो सकेगा जिससे इस समस्या का हम समाधान ढूँढ सकेंगे लेकिन इस परिस्थिति में जब चर्चा की जाती है तो ऐसा अक्सर समझा जाता है कि भ्रष्टाचार का दोष केवल हमारे देश में है या नौकरशाही से केवल हम पीड़ित हैं लेकिन जैसा कि अभी पेश उस उद्धरण से प्रतीत होता है, नौकरशाही इंग्लैंड में भी है और दूसरे देशों में भी है और भ्रष्टाचार दूसरे देशों में भी फैला हुआ है और उन से वह भी लड़ने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और हम भी, जाहिर है, कि उनसे लड़ कर और उन्हें दूर करके प्रगति पथ पर देश को बढ़ा सकते हैं। उसमें किसी प्रकार की हमारे मन में एक निराशा की भावना व्याप्त हो यह ठीक नहीं है। इसलिए हमारा दृष्टिकोण ऐसा होना चाहिए कि हमारा प्रशासनिक ढाँचा लोकोन्मुख हो सके, जनता की भावनाएं अगर प्रशासनिक ढाँचे में प्रतिबिम्बित नहीं होती हैं तो हमने योजना का जो लक्ष्य अपने

सामने रखा है उसकी हम पूर्ति नहीं कर सकेंगे।

जैसा कि अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट करते हुए बतलाया है कि हमने अपना जो लक्ष्य रखा था तृतीय योजना में उसकी पूर्ति इसलिए नहीं हो सकी कि हमारा प्रशासनिक ढाँचा योजना के लक्ष्य के अनुरूप और समाजवादी आदर्श के अनुरूप नहीं है, इसलिए भारत सरकार को इस बात का प्रयत्न शीघ्र से शीघ्र करना चाहिए कि पंचायत के स्तर से लेकर केन्द्रीय सचिवालय के स्तर तक के प्रशासनिक ढाँचे को ऐसा रूप दिया जाय कि वह हमारे सामाजिक और आर्थिक लक्ष्यों की पूर्ति की प्राप्ति में सहायक हो सके।

एक और प्रश्न की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूँगा और वह है भाषा का प्रश्न। अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने ऐसा बतलाया कि हम को इस सम्बन्ध में यथास्थिति कायम रखनी चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस प्रकार से इस प्रश्न को टालते रहेंगे तो न केवल हम इस देश की जनता को प्रशासन से दूर करने का प्रयत्न करते रहेंगे बल्कि इस के साथ ही साथ हम ने जो निश्चय किया है उस निश्चय से भी हम दूर भागने की कोशिश करते रहेंगे।

यहां पर मैं आप के सामने महात्मा गांधी का एक उद्धरण प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ। स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के बाद 21 सितम्बर, 1947 को महात्मा गांधी ने हरिजन में लिखा था :—

“निश्चय ही, प्रांतीय सरकारों को इस में बिलकुल आसानी होगी कि वे ऐसा कर्मचारी वर्ग रखें जो सारा कामकाज प्रांतीय भाषाओं और अंतः प्रांतीय भाषा में चला सके।

“यह आवश्यक परिवर्तन लाने में जितना विलम्ब होगा उतनी ही और उसी मात्रा में राष्ट्र की सांस्कृतिक क्षति होगी। सब से पहला काम है भारत की समृद्ध प्रांतीय भाषाओं को उज्जीवित करना। यह दलील पेश करना वस्तुतः हमारा मानसिक आलस्य है कि हमारी कचहरियों में, स्कूलों में और सचिवालयों तक में, उक्त परिवर्तन लाने के थोड़ा समय, संभवतः कुछ वर्ष, लग जाना जरूरी है।

“प्रांतों को इस के लिए भी प्रतीक्षा करने की जरूरत नहीं है कि संघ इस सवाल को हल करेगा। . . . सभी सार्वजनिक सरकारी विभागों में प्रांतीय भाषा को पुनः चलाना पहला कदम है और अगर यह कदम तुरंत उठा लिया जाता है तो अंतःप्रांतीय भाषा का दूसरा पग उठते फिर क्या देर लगती है? प्रांतों को केन्द्र से सम्बन्ध रखना होगा। इस काम के लिए अंगरेजी को माध्यम बनाने का साहस नहीं किया जायगा, अगर केन्द्र फौरन ही इस बात को महसूस कर ले कि हिन्दी बिना किसी दल या वर्ग का दिल दुखाये, आसानी से सारे भारत की भाषा हो सकती है और इसे जो लोग केवल अपनी सुस्ती के कारण नहीं सीख पाते। उन मुट्ठी भर हिन्दुस्तानियों के लिए सारे राष्ट्र पर ऐसा सांस्कृतिक बोझ कभी नहीं लादा जा सकता। मैं कहता हूँ कि एक सांस्कृतिक अपहारक के रूप में अंग्रेजी को भी हमें उसी तरह निकाल फेंकना चाहिए, जिस तरह हम ने अंग्रेजों के राजनैतिक शासन को सफलतापूर्वक उखाड़ फेंका।”

मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार इस मसले पर जो भी निर्णय लेगी तो वह अपना निर्णय लेते समय महात्मा गांधी के आदर्शों को ध्यान में रखेगी। आज हमारे सामने सीधा प्रश्न यह है कि हम लार्ड मैकाले को अपना आदर्श मानते हैं या महात्मा गांधी को ?

एक स्वतंत्र देश के रूप में हम यह निर्णय लेने के लिए स्वतंत्र हैं कि हम मैकाले को अपना आदर्श मानें। हम यह भी निर्णय लेने के लिए स्वतंत्र हैं कि हम महात्मा गांधी को अपना आदर्श मानें। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह निर्णय देश को, संसद को, देश के नेताओं को और माननीय गृह मंत्री जी को करना है।

श्री ११० गि० दुबे (बीजापुर उत्तर): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं गृह मंत्रालय की मांगों के बारे में दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरे खयाल में इस समय हम जो भी चर्चा करें, उस में हमारे दिमाग में यह बात अवश्य रहनी चाहिए कि एक तरफ से पाकिस्तान का हम पर आक्रमण हो रहा है और दूसरी तरफ हमारी सरहद पर उस की तरफ से हमारे विरुद्ध कार्यवाही की जा रही है। ऐसी अवस्था में हम को अपने राष्ट्र में सालिडैरिटी, यनिटी और इमोशनल इन्ट्रेशन लाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

माननीय नन्दा जी ने जब से गृह मंत्रालय की जिम्मेदारी अस्वीकार की है, तब से उन्होंने ने इस में एक नई जान डालने की कोशिश की है। उदाहरण के लिए उन्होंने एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफार्मों की तरफ कदम उठाया है। हमारी इन्टरनेशनल बाउंडरी तो डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के अंतर्गत आती है, लेकिन ग्रान्तरिक रक्षा या इन्टर्नल सिक्योरिटी के बारे में उन्होंने बहुत ध्यान दिया है। जब कंजर-कोट पर हमला किया गया, तो वह खुद वहां पहुंचे। उन्होंने वहां की हालत को देखा और उस एरिया को आर्मी के हवाले कर दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि उस का श्रेय बहुत कुछ हद तक उन को है। इस समय इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए हमें हर बात को सोचना चाहिए।

आज देश में सब लोगों का ध्यान भाषा की तरफ आकर्षित हो रहा है। जैसा कि श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद ने कहा है, भाषा

[श्री रा० गि० दुबे]

के बारे में जो इतिहास है, जो बैकप्राउन्ड है, उस को समझ लेना जरूरी है। जब 1924 में नागपुर में कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ, जिस में महात्मा गांधी, फ़ादर आफ़ दि नेशन, जवाहरलाल जी, सरदार पटेल और शायद श्री राजगोपालाचारी भी थे, उस समय कांग्रेस ने भाषा के बारे में अपनी नीति साफ़ की और हिन्दी को राष्ट्र-भाषा का स्थान दिया। इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस ने अंग्रेज़ के खिलाफ़ जो लड़ाई की, उस में जिस तरह उस ने फ़ार्मेशन आफ़ स्टेट्स ग्रान लिग्विस्टिक बेसिस का प्लैंक रखा, उसी तरह उसने हिन्दी को राष्ट्र-भाषा बनाने का भी प्लैंक रखा। उस समय हम ने जनता से प्रामिस किया था कि आज़ाद होने पर हम हिन्दी को राष्ट्र-भाषा का स्थान दे कर आगे बढ़ेंगे। मैं यह बात इसलिए कह रहा हूँ, ताकि माननीय सदस्य और देश इस बात पर विचार करे कि राष्ट्र-भाषा के रूप में हिन्दी का क्या स्थान है।

उस के बाद 1964 में चीफ़ मिनिस्ट्रज़ की कांग्रेस दोबारा हुई, जिस में इन बातों का काफी ज़िक्र किया गया। लेकिन इस के बावजूद भी देश में और विशेषतः सदरन एरियाज़ में तथा मद्रास में इस बारे में कुछ मिसअंडरस्टैंडिंग पैदा हुई। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा हूँ कि राष्ट्र-भाषा के रूप में हिन्दी की जितनी प्रगति और प्रचार होना चाहिए था, पिछले पंद्रह बरसों में केन्द्रीय सरकार और स्टेट सरकारों की ओर से देश में—और खासकर दक्षिण भारत में—गम्भीरता से जो प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिए था, वह नहीं हुआ। इस की वजह से दक्षिण में हिन्दी भाषा को स्वीकार करने में कुछ दिक्कतें पैदा हुई हैं। उस दृष्टि से प्राइम मिनिस्टर और कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष ने जो नीति अख़्तियार की है, जो थ्री लैंग्वेज फ़ार्मूला हमारे सामने रखा है, उस के अनुसार आगे बढ़ने की आवश्यकता नज़र आती है।

उज़बेकस्तान के एक रूसी फ़ैड से मेरी बातचीत हुई। उसने मुझे बताया कि उन को चार पांच भाषाओं का अध्ययन करना पड़ता है। उज़बेकस्तान की रिजनल लैंग्वेज तो वे पढ़ते ही हैं और रशियन भाषा उनके लिए कम्पलसरी है। इस के अलावा वे एक फ़ारेन लैंग्वेज पढ़ते हैं। जब वे मास्को में जाते हैं, तो उन को एक फ़ारेन लैंग्वेज का अध्ययन करना पड़ता है। चूंकि उन को एक टेक्नीशन के रूप में इंडिया आना था, इसलिए उन्होंने हिन्दी का भी अभ्यास किया। इस प्रकार उन्होंने ने पांच भाषाओं को स्टडी किया है।

इसलिए आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि गृह मंत्री, प्राइम मिनिस्टर और कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष ने थ्री-लैंग्वेज फ़ार्मूला पेश कर के जो दृष्टिकोण रखा है, उस को ले कर आगे बढ़ना चाहिए।

इस सम्बन्ध में कांस्टीट्यूशन का एमेंड-मेंट नहीं होना चाहिए और न ही ऐसा करना जरूरी है। आफ़िशल लैंग्वेज एक्ट-को एमेंड करने या न करने का सवाल सरकार पर छोड़ दिया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन हिन्दी के रास्ते में कोई रुकावट नहीं आनी चाहिए और इस के साथ साथ दक्षिण में इस बारे में जो साइकालोजिकल क्राइसिस पैदा हुआ है, उस को मीट करने के लिए कुछ अवकाश देना चाहिये।

मैं आई० ए० एस० के सिलेक्शन के बारे में कुछ बातों का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ। मेरे ख़याल में आई० ए० एस० के सिलेक्शन में कुछ गम्भीर दोष नज़र आता है। आई० सी० एस० लोगों के जो कुछ गुण थे, वे गुण तो आई० ए० एस० लोगों में नहीं हैं, लेकिन आई० सी० एस० के जो गलत पायंट्स थे, वह आई० ए० एस० में मौजूद हैं। आई० ए० एस० के कई भाइयों से मेरा सम्बन्ध रहता है। मैं कोई अति-

शयोक्ति की बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ, लेकिन मेरे जिले के एक ब्लाक में एक आई० ए० एस० के आफिसर आए थे, जिन्होंने शायद मैथेमैटिक्स में बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे का अध्ययन किया था, और हम ने देखा कि उन को फ़सल और पेड़ का—क्रॉप्स और ट्रीज़ का डिफ़रेंस मालूम नहीं था। हम देखते हैं कि आई० ए० एस० में जो लोग सिलेक्ट हो कर आते हैं, उन में मेट्युरिटी आफ़ जजमेंट और साउंडनेस आफ़ माइंड नज़र नहीं आती है।

श्री बी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह सिफ़ारिश की थी कि इन लोगों को डिस्ट्रिक्ट का चार्ज देने के लिए साढ़े पांच साल की लिमिट रखी जानी चाहिए। ब्रिटिश ज़माने में आई० सी० एस० लोगों को, जोकि बहुत काबिल कहे जाते थे, आठ साल के बाद ज़िले का चार्ज दिया जाता था। लेकिन मैं ने देखा है कि कई अवसरों पर आई० ए० एस० लोगों को तीन चार साल के बाद ही ज़िले का चार्ज दे दिया जाता है। हम यह भी देखते थे कि जब कोई आई० सी० एस० आफिसर अपने डिप्लोमा या जजमेंट में फ़ाल्ट करता था, तो उस को जुडिशरी में डाल दिया जाता था। आज हमारे देश में बहुत प्लानिंग हो रहा है और बहुत सी स्कीम्स चलाई जा रही हैं, जिन के लिए हम को अफसरों की ज़रूरत है। यह देखा जाता है कि एसिस्टेंट कमिश्नर के स्तर का रेवन्यू कैंडिड का जो आफिसर होता है, आई० ए० एस० के नये आफिसर से दस गुना काबिल होते हुए भी उस को ज़िले का चार्ज नहीं दिया जाता है। इसलिए, जैसाकि मैं ने कहा है, आई० ए० एस० के सिलेक्शन की पद्धति में कोई गम्भीर दोष है और उस की तरफ़ ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

काश्मीर के सवाल के बारे में इस सदन में और देश में बहुत उत्सुकता रहती

है और रहनी भी चाहिये, लेकिन काश्मीर के बारे में बहुत उत्सुकता दिखाने में हम ईस्ट्रन फ्रंटियर और वेस्ट बंगाल तथा आसाम की प्राबलम्ब के बारे में ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। अगर हम उन प्राबलम्ब की तरफ़ ध्यान नहीं देते हैं, तो आसाम भी हमारे हाथ से निकल जायेगा। कायदे-प्राजम जिन्ना ने कहा था कि हम को ट्रंकेटिड पाकिस्तान मिला है। शायद आज अयूबखां ट्रंकेटिड पाकिस्तान के बजाये पूरा पाकिस्तान बनाने के लिये धीरे-धीरे भागे बढ़ कर अपनी दुराशा को पूरा करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

जहाँ तक नागा प्राबलम का सम्बन्ध है, मैं खुद नागालैंड गया था और वहाँ की स्थिति को देखते हुए मुझे इस बात की आशा नहीं है कि वह प्राबलम पीसफुली हल होगी, क्योंकि नागा लोग इस को नहीं मानेंगे। अगर हम नागा प्राबलम को इसी तरह बनाए रखेंगे, तो आसाम में मिलिटरी का टास्क बहुत डिफ़िकल्ट हो जायेगा। इस के अलावा वहाँ पर मिज़ो हिल्स का भी प्राबलम है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन को इस तरफ़ भी ध्यान देना चाहिए कि आसाम के लोगों की प्राबलम्ब कितनी विकट हो गई है।

ईस्ट्रन पाकिस्तान में जो दो करोड़ माइनारिटीज़ थीं, उन में से नब्बे लाख लोग यहाँ आ गए हैं और पाकिस्तान ने जो नई नीति अख़्तियार की है, उस को देखने हुए अगले पांच दस साल में वहाँ पर माइनारिटीज़ का एक भी आदमी नहीं रहेगा। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि जब हम काश्मीर के मामले पर विचार करें, तो वेस्ट्रन बंगाल और आसाम की इन्फ़्लूडेंशन प्राबलम को उस के साथ टैग कर के उन दोनों विषयों को सामने रख कर विचार करें। मसलन कुछ हद तक वेस्ट बंगाल के अन्दर रहने वाली माइनारिटीज़ और ईस्ट पाकिस्तान की माइनारिटीज़ के लिये दो साल की

[श्री रा० गि० दुबे]

लिमिट देनी चाहिये और म्युचअली जो लोग इधर से उधर और उधर से इधर आना जाना चाहते हैं उन को अबसर दिया जाये जो कुछ भी उन की प्रापर्टी और असेट्स हों उन को ट्रांसफर कर के कम्पेन्सेशन देने की बात होनी चाहिये । 90 लाख लोग वहां से आये हैं उन को जो दुःख मिलता है, उन की जो प्रब्लेम, है, उस को सरकार नहीं हल कर सकती । इसलिये उन की कम्पेन्सेशन दिलाने की बात होनी चाहिये । इसी तरह से मैं काश्मीर के सवाल पर भी कहना चाहता हूं कि ईस्ट्रन फ्रंटियर्स को सामने रख कर इस काश्मीर के मामले को देखना चाहिये ।

आजकल एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफार्म्स की बात भी चलती है । जब से श्री नन्दा ने यह विषय लिया है, इस मिनिस्ट्री में उन्होंने एक नई जान डाली है । लेकिन मेरे खयाल से जिला और तहसील लेवल पर अभी बहुत उन्नति नहीं हुई है । अगर कोई मिनिस्टर किसी एरिया में पहुंचता है और जनता की तरफ से उस के पास शिकायतें आती हैं तो जब वही मिनिस्टर दो साल फिर वहां जाता है तो वही शिकायतें जनता दोहराती हैं क्योंकि उन की बातों पर कोई विशेष ऐक्शन नहीं लिया जाता । बुनियादी तौर से जिला और तहसील लेवल का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन खराब है । सेक्रेटेरिएट लेवल पर बहुत ज्यादा दोष नहीं है, लेकिन जिला और तहसील लेवल पर जो कार्रवाई चलती है उस को सामने रख कर सुधार करने की कोशिश की जरूरत है । अगर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को सुधारना है तो तहसील और डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल की दृष्टि से आई० ए० एस० ग्रेड में जो दोष हों, जो गम्भीर दोष हों, उन को सुधारना चाहिये । जब आप ऐसा करेंगे तभी तहसील और जिला लेवल पर शासन में सुधार हो सकता है ।

श्री अंकार सिंह (बदायूं) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश में गृह मंत्रालय जो है उस का खास स्थान है क्योंकि अगर हमारे देश में सुरक्षा नहीं है तो कुछ भी उन्नति नहीं हो सकती, न शिक्षा में, न स्वास्थ्य में और न उद्योग में । इस लिए देश में सुरक्षा के कार्य का सब से ज्यादा लिहाज होना चाहिये । हमारी आजादी को सत्तरह वर्ष हों गये हैं । अगर इस बीच के सरकार के गृह मंत्रालय के सुरक्षा कार्यक्रम को हम देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि आये दिन वह बराबर गिरता ही चला जा रहा है । इसके सिलसिले में मैं आप के सामने दो एक प्रमाण रखना चाहता हूं जिन से आप को पूरा अन्दाजा हो जायेगा ।

हिन्दुस्तान में साधारणतया जो जनता ग्रामों में रहती है उस के बारे ज्यादा कहना इसलिये नहीं होगा कि शायद सरकार यह कह दे कि यह तो स्टेट का मामला है । परन्तु इस दिल्ली शहर के अन्दर आदरणीय श्री सान्याल की, जोकि हमारे सालिसिटर जनरल थे, हत्या हुई । इस हत्या के लिये किसी को नाराजगी या रोष का मौका नहीं था । फिर भी क्या कारण थे जिन से यह हत्या हुई । फिर यह हत्या किस जगह पर होती है यह भी देखिये । हत्या हुई उस स्थान पर जहां पर बिल्कुल बराबर में इस सदन के माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय का बंगला है, उस थोड़े ही फासले पर हमारे गृह मंत्री का बंगला है और पास में ही हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का बंगला है । ऐसी जगह पर हमारे खास कानूनी सलाहकार की हत्या हो जाये यह बड़े शर्म की बात है और बड़े दुःख की बात है ।

अभी अभी 22 तारीख को आप के सप्न हाउस में एक सभा हो रही थी । उस सभा में गैस का ट्यूब रक्खा गया । इस किस्म की घटनायें दिल्ली में होती हैं जोकि अपने देश की राजधानी है और जहां न मालूम कितने अफसरों का हर वक्त तांता

लगा रहता है। जब यहां इस तरह की हरकतें होती हैं तो आप अन्दाजा लगाइये कि सारे देश के अन्दर क्या हाल हो सकता है। हमें इस को समझना चाहिये कि हमारी सुरक्षा का कार्यक्रम कितना गिरता जा रहा है।

एक घटना और भी हुई जो कि एक बड़ी ख़ास घटना है जो आज के पिछले मुख्य मंत्री थे, श्री कैरों उन की सेवार्थें जो देश के प्रति रहीं उन से सभी लोग अच्छी तरह से परिचित हैं। जब वह मुख्य मंत्री पद से हटे तो उन के ऊपर तरह तरह के आरोप लगते रहे लेकिन फिर भी सरकार उन के ऊपर अच्छी तरह से नजर नहीं रख रही थी। जब वह दिल्ली में प्रधान मंत्री और गृह मंत्री से मिलने आये तब बतलाया जाता है कि दिल्ली में ही बैठ कर इस बात का मशवरा हुआ कि उन को कत्ल करना है। जब श्री कैरों दिल्ली से वापस जा रहे थे तब दिल्ली से चन्द मील के फासले पर रास्ते में कातिलों ने उन की मोटर रोक ली और वहीं उन की हत्या कर दी गई। उन के साथ और तीन लोग थे उन की भी हत्या हो गई। इतने बड़े आदमी की हत्या दिन में मोटर पर जाते हुए सफर में हो सकती है तो आम जनता की सुरक्षा का प्रश्न कहाँ पदा होता है। बड़े जोरों से इस बात की जांच शुरू की गई और इस बात पर बहुत जोर दिया गया कि जल्दी से इस मामले में हम अपराधियों को साबित कर सकें। परन्तु बहुत समय लग गया। एक सज्जन, जिन को इस मामले में मुजरिम बताया जा रहा है, गिरफ्तार हुए नेपाल में जा कर। इस से एक और समस्या खड़ी हो गई। ऐसी दशा में आप अन्दाजा लगाइये कि हमारे देश में सुरक्षा का कार्यक्रम किस ढंग से चल रहा है, किस पैमाने पर चल रहा है।

मैं एक निवेदन और करना चाहता हूँ। मुझे इस हाउस में आये हुए तीन साल हो गये। उस समय से बराबर यह शिकायत चली

आ रही है कि असम में गैरकानूनी ढंग से पाकिस्तानी लोग लाखों की तादाद में घुस आये हैं। सरकार बराबर यह वचन देती रही है कि वह उन को अब निकाल रही है, अब निकाल रही है। परन्तु सरकार अभी तक इस में सफल नहीं हो पाई, हालांकि सरकार के सामने काफी दिन से इस बात का अन्दाजा है कि पाकिस्तान तरह तरह से भारत को हानि पहुंचाना चाहता है। पाकिस्तान के नागरिक लाखों की तादाद में असम के अन्दर घुस बैठे हैं, उन्हें भी वह नहीं निकाल पाई है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह सेकुलर स्टेट है, यह नहीं निकालती किसी को।

श्री श्रींकार सिंह : इस से आप अन्दाजा लगाइये कि सरकार का कार्यक्रम इस मामले में कितना ढीला है।

इस तरह की बातें हुई हैं कि उड़ीसा सरकार के मंत्रियों के बारे में एन्क्वायरी हो रही थी। उस सिलसिले की आप की सी० बी० आई० रिपोर्ट नहीं मालूम किस तरह से लोगों में बंट गई। बड़े ताज्जुब की बात है कि सरकार कांफिडेंशल रेकार्डों को भी रोक नहीं पाती और वह घर घर में लोगों को बांटे जाते हैं।

नागालैंड में काफी उपद्रव चल रहे हैं। सरकार आज तक उन उपद्रवों को शान्त नहीं कर पाई है। वहां व्यवस्था नहीं कर पायी। और यह भी इसी सदन में मालूम हुआ कि नागालैंड के बहुत से व्यक्ति पाकिस्तान में सैनिक शिक्षा ले रहे हैं और पाकिस्तानी हथियार ले कर हिन्दुस्तान में वापस आ रहे हैं। मैं समझ नहीं पाया हूँ कि उन को भी सरकार रोक पाएगी या नहीं। लेकिन इतना जरूर है कि नागालैंड में जो हमारी सरकार के समर्थक लोग हैं उन के अन्दर उपद्रवियों का भय छाया हुआ है और वे चैन से नहीं सो सकते और सरकार उन को ठीक तरह से सुरक्षा नहीं दे पाती।

[श्री आंकार सिंह]

अब जरा सा काश्मीर की तरफ देखिए, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय। काश्मीर में किस तरीके से शोर गुल चल रहा है और यह सब कुछ जानते हुए सरकार ने शेख अब्दुल्ला को जेल से छोड़ दिया, और उन को छोड़ने के बाद उन की जो गतिविधि रही उस को देश के सभी लोग जानते हैं। लेकिन ऐसी दशा में भी उन को विदेश जाने की आज्ञा दे दी गयी। क्या हम को नहीं मालूम था कि वे दुनिया के सामने जा कर अपने विचार रखेंगे? जो देश की अखंडता में विश्वास न करता हो उस की तरफ सरकार की कड़ी नजर होनी चाहिये। इसी सिलसिले में उन को जेल में बन्द किया गया था। मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि शेख की तरफ से ऐसी क्या ढिलाई दिखायी गयी जिस की वजह से उन को जेल से छोड़ा और उन को विदेशों में जा कर प्रचार करने की इजाजत दे दी, और आज वह हम को धमकियां देते हैं कि हम काश्मीर को आजाद करने के लिए सख्त कदम उठायेंगे। तो ये सरकार की कमजोरियां हैं। सरकार ऐसी ककजोरी रखेगी तो इस का जवाब कौन दे सकेगा।

काश्मीर के सिलसिले में अरबों रुपया खर्च हुआ है और बड़ी आप की शक्ति लगी है और वहां इन सब बातों के बाद इस तरह की ढिलाई बरती जाय जिससे काश्मीर पर बुरा प्रभाव पड़ सकता है और हमारे देश पर भी बुरा प्रभाव पड़ सकता है। इस का मुझे बड़ा खेद है।

साथ ही साथ एक मसला भाषा का और चल रहा है। आजादी के बाद तीन साल तक इसी दिल्ली में बैठ कर एक संविधान बनाया गया, और उस संविधान सभा में देश के कोने कोने के लोग शामिल थे। उन विद्वानों ने बैठ कर संविधान में यह चीज रखी कि सन् 1965 की जनवरी तक अंग्रेजी देश की राजभाषा रहेगी और

उस के बाद राजभाषा हिन्दी हो जाएगी। परन्तु सरकार ने उस अवधि के दो साल पहले उस में एक अमेंडमेंट कर दिया कि अंग्रेजी और आगे भी चलायी जायगी। इस के बाद सरकार ने हिन्दी के लिए अपनी राय जाहिर की, और जब हिन्दी हुई तो उसका जो दुष्परिणाम निकला वह भी सदन के सभी सदस्यों को मालूम है। इससे भी सरकार को सन्तोष नहीं हुआ। उसने फिर करवटें बदलनी शुरू कर दीं। और अब अखबार में देखा कि डाक तार विभाग को यह हिदायत दी गयी है कि अभी अंग्रेजी ही चलेगी। सरकार अपनी नीति को जिम्मेदारी के साथ सोच नहीं पाती और गैर जिम्मेदारी के साथ थाली के बैंगन की तरह कभी उधर और कभी उधर होती रहती है और इस कारण देश के सामने गम्भीर समस्याएं आती हैं, जिन के लिए जिम्मेदार सरकार ही हो सकती है।

एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूं। पाकिस्तान ने जोर शोर के साथ हमारे ऊपर हमला कर दिया है और आज भी बहुत से पाकिस्तानी गैर कानूनी तौर पर असम में बैठे हैं। उन के अलावा बहुत से पाकिस्तानी कानूनी तौर पर विसा लिए हुए हिन्दुस्तान में बैठे हैं। सरकार को इस तरफ भी निगाह रखनी चाहिए। जब तक पाकिस्तान से सफाई न हो इस किस्म के पाकिस्तान के आने वालों को रोका जाय और इस देश से जो पाकिस्तान जाते हैं उन को भी रोका जाए।

इतना कह कर मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूं।

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla (Mahasamund): As it often happens when a great and towering figure passes off,

our country is today passing through a crisis of confidence.

The complicated home problems of our country have chequered historical background of many centuries, and we are dealing with them with great fortitude and great courage.

We made a big and drastic departure from the past when we achieved independence in 1947, and since then, to mention only a few instances of progress, we have done much more than most of the countries which achieved independence after the Second World War. For instance, we have made our Constitution. We have embarked upon an era of planned development. We have created the most respected agency for free elections in this country. We have also succeeded in creating a very strong base of heavy industrial development in our country. I can go on recounting several other things that we have done in the last 17 years.

It is very well realised that whenever any country tries to compress the advance of centuries into a few years by adopting an artificial pace, which is very necessary nevertheless in the interests of national survival, a tremendous amount of complicated questions and problems arise. It was comparatively easier to deal with these problems when Pandit Nehru was alive. Today it is infinitely more difficult.

The task of the Home Ministry which was never easy, is much more difficult today because of the reasons I have already mentioned. If we see the work done by the Home Ministry in the last few years in this background, we will see that a tremendous amount of excellent work has been done.

Public memory is short. We forget lots of good things that we have done like the excellent and very efficient work that was done when the insidious incident of Hazaratba] took place. It had all kinds of terrible potentialities in it, but the quick and good

action that the Home Ministry initiated saved the country from what could have followed. If the plan of the saboteurs had succeeded, all kinds of things could have happened.

The present Home Minister's crusade against corruption has created a good many enemies for him. We see these. This kind of trade against the Home Minister was never seen in this House. Just because he has initiated strong action against blackmarketeers, profiteers, and national enemies, there is a great uproar here by a few interested people, and they seem to organise it with a good deal of efficiency. One Member here who is often described as an hon. Member and an old Member, I do not agree with that description, is Acharya Kripalani.

I do not know why he should always lend himself to such retrograde steps and such reactionary ideas and whenever anybody is in difficulty he can approach that Member and get anything said by him. I do not wish to criticise any Member of this House but I am pained to say that this is the feeling that we get here whenever we hear Acharya Kripalani speaking.

Shri Kapur Singh (Luhiana): He is an old congressman. (*Interruption*)

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: As long as he was in the Congress he was good now he has joined your ranks.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: The real progress can be measured only later on, but what are the results? We have seen here during the last two years that three heads of administrations have been toppled by this drive against corruption. Several other things have been done. The Vigilance Commission has been formed at the Centre, and such bodies have been formed in the States too. The work has started and the present Home Minister's efforts are now taking shape and we are on the war-path against corruption. We cannot see immediate results today, but I am

[Shri Vidya Charan Sukla]

quite sure that in the years to come the result of the efforts that are being made today will be visible.

Several other things have been done for which the Opposition has been trying to say that unless these things are achieved nobody can give any credit to the Government. But it is for us to come up and tell the House and the nation through the House that some good work has been done by the Home Ministry and we must remind them about it. For instance, the slow and very efficient work that is being done for the integration of Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union is one thing. Several steps have been taken which were not taken earlier. They have taken those steps now, and the State of Jammu and Kashmir is much more a part of India today than it ever was. Then there was the serious move of Pakistan of sending its citizens infiltrating into the Indian Union and into Assam. It has been effectively checked now. About two years back, there was a hue and cry about that infiltration: now that there is no such hue and cry, it means that the infiltration has been effectively checked. I am not saying that it has been completely stopped, but the Home Ministry must be congratulated for its very effective working in the border areas and in Assam where this infiltration has been checked, and thousands and thousands of those infiltrators have been screened and sent back to Pakistan.

The only sphere where I have a complaint against the Home Ministry is the sphere of administrative reforms. We have been talking of administrative reforms for a long time. The need for administrative reforms is obvious to everybody. The Prime Minister, the Planning Commission, the Parliament and many eminent people of this country have been crying hoarse for administrative reforms, but no tangible action in my opinion has been yet taken. I do not regard the question of administrative reforms as

a minor question. It is as major as any other question that is being dealt with by the Home Ministry today. The administrative reforms division or department has been created in the Ministry, but I have seen the report of the administrative reforms division that has been placed before us. It reads like a clerk's report, having done small bits here and there and I would not call any of those items as administrative reforms. At best they can be termed as administrative adjustments, which have no overall impact on the administrative machinery as such. These adjustments which are made from time to time do a little good in their immediate vicinity but not more than that.

What we need today is a most complete departure and a revolutionary break from the old and well-established theories on which our administrative procedure and structure are based. We still deal with each other on the assumption that nobody can be trusted, and that there should be checks and counter-checks whenever any action is to be taken. This is a very hateful theory which actually is eating up into our vitals, and this is the main thing which not only causes a tremendous amount of delay in the disposal of official work but also creates all kinds of complicated reactions and counteractions which give direct encouragement to corrupt practices.

If you analyse the present day system, you will see that anybody who wants to do a wrong thing can do that with impunity and it is very few who can be caught and got punished. We have seen many grave mistakes that have been committed by the bureaucracy, but normally, it is the very small fry that gets caught and punished. In very few instances have the really big and top officials who may have been responsible for these mistakes and defects been caught and punished. And this is built in our administrative structure today but

that is a kind of thing which has to be removed.

The commonly advanced theory is that our people are dishonest or that they cannot be trusted with greater responsibilities. There can be nothing more wrong than this. I have had many chances of visiting many countries of the world, including the most advanced countries of the World which I have seen, and with my experience, I can say with great confidence that our people are no less responsible or no less honest than any other people in any advanced country in the world. If we give our people the chance, if the people are given the proper atmosphere to work, you will see that they are as honest as any other people in any part of the world. Unfortunately, the people have to adjust themselves to the way of working of the administrative machinery and that is why there is such a large number of people who are indulging in unethical practices. I believe that you should make healthy assumptions in our administrative procedure and then you will see that healthy tendencies will develop on all sides in the administration.

Now, our procedures are so time-consuming that even small things take a lot of time. Even for small matters, we take two or three years to complete. There is an instance of a bridge in Delhi. Some of the bridges take a long time to be completed. Take, for instance, the Jamuna bridge; it should have been completed in 15 days. But it took two years and a half. When I went through the entire thing, as I did, I found that a lot of complicated things were involved. You can never put your finger on any one for the delay. You cannot blame one man for it. Whatever it is, it is a fact that it was a combined bungling on the part of many people, and that was resulted in such a long delay.

A good many reports have been made on administrative reforms. There is no dearth of any thinking on this matter. There is only the dearth of

resoluteness, in my opinion, I would like to recount here the reports that I have consulted, and this only shows how long this problem of administrative reforms has been before us without our tackling it properly. During 1906-09, there was the Royal Commission on Decentralisation. Then there was the Llewlyn Smith Report in 1920. Then the Wheeler Committee report came in. Then there was the Maxwell Report of 1937. It was followed by Bajpai Committee Report in 1947. Then there was the Gopaldaswami Ayyangar Report in 1949. Then there was the Gorwala Report in 1957; Appleby Report in 1953 and 1956; V. T. Krishnamachari Report in 1961; then the Sixth Report of the O & M Division in 1961, August; then a statement was made by the late Prime Minister in August, 1961 about efficiency in administration. Then there have been other reports also like the K. K. Das report on Collectorate, and the report of the Institute of Public Administration which took out a special Number on Administrative Reforms which is very useful in my opinion, but no use of it has been made. And then the Santhanam Committee has given a report, and the Estimates Committee's second and ninth reports are also there; they have made very good commendations.

All this shows that there has been a lot of thinking on the subject and a great deal of effort has been made to see what should be done. But nothing has been done in my opinion except some marginal adjustments being made from time to time. It seems that the bureaucracy has a vested interest in not allowing any major administrative reform to take place, because today's position is that they enjoy a most complete monopoly of doing anything and everything without a major check except for the check that could be exercised by the elected representatives at the Centre and in the States. Below the level of the State Governments, there is no check whatsoever.

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In all progressive countries like the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, administrative reforms commissions have been appointed like the Hoover Commission in the USA and the Royal Commission in Canada. The reports that the Commissions submitted have been utilised to great profit by those countries and I think the time has come when we should also go in for a very high-powered and competent Commission to suggest a comprehensive, overall scheme on administrative reforms so that we also could plan our ideas and plan our schemes in a proper manner in this country. I know the Home Minister is seized of this matter and he realises the importance of this work. I plead with him again to make some announcement about this matter, so that the country may be satisfied.

15 hrs.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: Sir, I will begin my speech by referring to a passage under the caption "Democracy is failing" which appeared in *Rashtra Vani* on 17th April this year:

"We have found that democracy is on trial here and it is failing. The party in power is adopting every conceivable means for keeping itself in power. It is like one-man rule or none-body rule..

There are no signs that the bullying and undemocratic methods, the internal rivalries and rancours that have crept in, have made the party to feel that whatever it may be, the Congress rule is not a democratic rule. It is by all tests and trials an autocratic rule."

The author of this article is no less a person than Satish Chandra Das Gupta. I think nobody will doubt his *bonafides* and that he is a believer in Gandhian philosophy. He further states in this article:

"The Congress party in a year has taken donation of a crore from

industrialists and their corporate bodies to bestow favour on them and win elections with the help of money that accrues to party because it is in power."

Recent happenings in Calcutta which some newspapers in West Bengal have reported as 'Calcutta incident' which relates to our Home Minister's visit to Calcutta sharply exposed to what extent our Government and its ministers can go to pacify or satisfy their real masters—the big business. On 10th April, Mr. Nanda made an air dash to Calcutta in order to pacify the frayed tempers of Birla, the 'rolling of heads threat' by whom given a few days back had unnerved the ruling party and so Nandaji was sent there to Calcutta, to assure the tycoons that the Congress brand of socialism in no way hampers or hinders the growth of private capital and monopoly in this country.

If the matter had stopped here, our people would not have been surprised. I will read the caption in papers like the *Hindusthan Standard*, which is run by such people who are always in the good books of big bosses of the Congress. It came out with the caption "Minister left in the lurch". (*Interruption*). The same news appeared in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* also. The Labour Minister of West Bengal was sent to Dum Dum airport to receive the Home Minister, Mr. Nanda. When Mr. Nanda reached there, the Labour Minister of West Bengal wanted him to accompany him in a car. I do not know—the other day we rightly took exception when President Johnson of USA suddenly postponed the invitation sent to our Prime Minister.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): I have already contradicted what had appeared in those newspapers.

Shri Kapur Singh: He does not accept your contradiction.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: Mr. Nanda told the Labour Minister that as he

had some private talks with Mr. Birla, he could not accompany the West Bengal Labour Minister. This is the newspaper report. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You must rely on the words of the Minister and not on the newspaper reports.

Shri Kapur Singh: He does not believe it. How can you force him, Sir?

श्री च० ला० चौधरी (महुआ) :
डिप्युटी स्पीकर साहब, मेरा पायंट आफ़ आर्डर है ।

श्री बागड़ी (हिंसार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप माननीय सदस्य पर दबाव नहीं डाल सकते ।

श्री मुरवाल राव (महबूबनगर)
उन्होंने गलत कहा है ।

श्री बागड़ी : क्या सही का ठेका आप ने ही ले रखा है ? अगर गलत कहा है, तो उस को दुरुस्त करो ।

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: Newspapers are the source from which we get information. In a public meeting, in the 24 Parganas Congress Workers' meeting, Shri Atulya Ghosh took exception to this sort of behaviour. I know that thereafter Nandaji wrote a letter to the West Bengal Chief Minister and other leaders. This is the attitude of Nandaji towards their own party leaders. That is why a man like Satish Chandra Das Gupta had to come with an article stating that democracy is being killed.

Overnight on 30th December, about 1000 communist leaders and workers were arrested. It was promised that a white paper would be given. But ultimately only a statement was made and that was also tabled in the Parliament. It was not made outside, so that it can be a basis for bringing defamation case against government by the aggrieved persons. During the discussion in this House the consensus

here and outside was that that statement contained no judicial value and it was a clear affront to the intelligence of the common man. The statement stated that these arrests were necessitated by the needs of defence and security of the country. Subsequent events have proved this contention to be a blatant lie. The government is conscious of its perverse stand. It knows that the entire case is built on untruths and as such it, is afraid of bringing a single case before a court of law. The people of Kerala, Calcutta and Ahmedabad have given their verdict against this onslaught on democracy. Even now I will request the Home Minister humbly to rethink about the issue and release all the political leaders and trade union workers.

If he has any hesitation in doing so I would humbly request him to bring a single case at least about the anti-national or subversive activities of any of the detenus.

Now, I want to say something about a matter with which the Home Minister has much to do. Shri Mussafir Ahamed is 76 years old. It is not possible for him to carry on even with his normal day-to-day work. He was released in 1963 on medical grounds. He has been put in a solitary cell in Dum Dum again on false and fictitious charges. There is another Shri B. T. Ranadive in Bombay. He is suffering from diabetes and other diseases. His relatives sent a wire to Shri Hiren Mukerjee and Shri Bhupesh Gupta asking them to save his life. I do not know how in this condition a man can be kept in prison for such a long time. He was arrested in 1962. I know persons who are not connected with any political activity are also put under detention. One Shri Sushobhan Roy openly declared that he had left politics. He openly declared that he was practising as an advocate in tribunals. Suddenly he was put in prison under all these bogus charges.

Here I want to refer to another aspect which may kindly be looked into

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by the Home Minister. The conditions in jails in West Bengal are deplorable. It is a very serious matter. The prisoners there are thinking of launching a hunger-strike at least to get human treatment inside the jail. Even in the British days or even in the case of persons arrested under the Preventive Detention Act after the Congress came into power, the arrested persons were given certain facilities. Those facilities are denied to these prisoners. Only Rs. 7.50 is sanctioned for their monthly miscellaneous expenses. It is absurd, Sir, to sanction only Rs. 7.50 towards the monthly expenses of a person. Even some newspapers are not allowed inside the jail. One hon. Member of this House, Dr. Saradish Roy, has written to me and also to Dr. Ranen Sen, another Member of this House; that he wanted to take a radio set at his own expense inside the jail but he was not allowed to do so. Radio is allowed inside other jails but not inside Purulia Jail where Dr. Saradish Roy is detained. I was a detenu for four years from 1948 to 1952 when there was Congress rule. At that time radio was allowed inside the jail. Even now in many jails radio is allowed. I do not know for what reason Dr. Saradish Roy has been denied the privilege of having a radio.

Then, letters which are written—my hon. friend, Shri Vasudevan Nair also referred to it—do not reach here in time and sometime letters are withheld. Dr. Ranen Sen received a letter only day before yesterday from Dr. Saradish Roy that Shri N. C. Chatterjee sent a copy of his speech (Shri Chatterjee's) delivered here on the 11th of last month, but Dr. Saradish Roy did not receive it. He will get a copy of the debates sometime afterwards, but as Shri Chatterjee separately sent a letter along with the copy of his speech that has not been delivered.

This is the condition prevailing in the jails. I would request the Home Minister at least to bring out some sort

of a legislation or something like that to give equal treatment to all the political prisoners in all the States in the same manner. In some places Rs. 50 is given as family allowance. Rs. 30 in some places and Rs. 75 in certain others. This sort of thing should be stopped.

One gentleman, about whom I have already referred, Shri Susnobhan Roy, has been sanctioned Rs. 55 as family allowance when his wife has to pay Rs. 45 as house rent. How can she manage the expenses. These are simple but serious things which may kindly be looked into and something may be done about them.

I have many things to say about corruption, but before I do that I would like to mention that Shri Dasaratha Deb and Shri Biren Dutt, two representatives from Tripura, are both in Jail. It is very funny. On the 27th of last month Shri Nanda acknowledged a letter along with a Memorandum of the Tribal Conference from Shri Dasaratha Deb. On the 30th he was arrested under the DIR. He was here up to the 25th and he left Delhi with a return air passage to come back here on the 30th or 1st of this month. I do not know what offence he could have committed during these four days. He was here right from the middle of February up to end of March. Before that, in December, he was in Moscow for the treatment of his wife. Still he has been arrested. I do not know how our Home Minister will justify his arrest.

I know Shri Dasaratha Deb, Shri Biren Dutta and others were fighting against the illegal eviction of the poor peasants by vested interests in Tripura. That is why, I think, these arrests have been done. It can be for no other thing. This is the third time that Shri Dasaratha Deb has been elected here by the people of Tripura. How can he be anti-national? How can he be charged with subversive activities? These things must be considered.

The question of corruption has been mentioned. Shri Vasudevan Nair also mentioned about it. He mentioned the reaction of the topmost person in the legal profession, Shri Setalwad, which appeared in the *Indian Advocate*, how corruption has crept into all avenues of our life. He also pointed out the discrepancies caused by the authorities in dealing with corruption, how towards Ministers and the top bosses of the Congress there is one attitude and for the ordinary poor clerks in the government departments and other places there is another attitude. This thing must be stopped. The leader of the Sadachar Samiti must have the courage to come forward and the whole country will be behind him and take equal stand in all cases of corruption. He promised, when he came to the Home Ministry, that if within two years he cannot eradicate corruption he will resign. Now the time has come. Corruption is there in all departments and in all the spheres of social and political life. I do not know how the Minister will keep up his own promise. I know there are so many aspirants within his own party who are anxiously looking forward to ascending to his position. I think he should with courage put down corruption, both from the Central and State spheres. The matter is not so easy. It has percolated to the village level. The Congress Ministers have touts in the village and they always try to help them.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): He says that the Congress Party has touts. It is objectionable.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: I would again humbly request the Home Minister to ensure that those who are detained on absurd and unfounded ground should be given humane treatment inside the jails.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the hon. Member opposite who just preceded me, opened his speech by a reference to the

press reports regarding the hon. Home Minister's visit to Calcutta and what he said there. If he goes more by press reports than by the statement of the Home Minister himself, one cannot help it. I wish he had at least been alert enough when I asked the same question of the Finance Minister to get the position clarified, because I knew that there are friends who, in spite of the contradiction by the Home Minister, will persist in the misunderstanding which was or was not there. And the Finance Minister made it abundantly clear, on the floor of the House, as to what was actually meant and how the Government is going to proceed in this matter and that there is no change of policy, so far as the collection of revenues, so far as the collection of dues from these people, is concerned. I think this should have set at rest the unfortunate impression which was created by something that had appeared in the papers. But if one persists that one will live in delusion and misunderstanding created by oneself, no one can help it.

An hon. Member: It is a reality.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I had hoped that when Acharya Kripalani speaks, as he does so seldom he would certainly tackle the major issues which are facing the country. He did not touch upon any of the major problems with which we are faced today. He did not discuss the functioning of the Home Ministry. He did not discuss the functioning of the various organs and organisations controlled by the Home Ministry. More than the Home Ministry, he discussed the Home Minister himself, and there too he discussed the past and present Home Ministers in his own manner.

Well, while I do not agree with most of what Acharya Kripalani said, and more particularly the manner in which he had said it, I have myself no hesitation in telling the hon. the Home Minister that he will do well to dissociate himself from all those voluntary organisations, whether

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it is Bharat Sevak Samaj, or Sadhu Samaj or Sadachar Samiti. I am not against these voluntary organisations. These voluntary associations have a very valuable part to play; but they should not be the protegee of any Minister. They may even receive certain assistance from the Government; I do not object to that. But they must sustain themselves on their own internal strength and they should not be associated with any Minister, whether Home Minister or any other Minister. They should not be the protegee of anybody. As a matter of fact, I would like to tell my hon. friend that these institutions are not his strength, they are his weakness. I hope he knows the reaction which has been expressed in this House and will give serious thought to them. As I said, I am not against these institutions and there is no reason why we should associate the Home Minister with all the irregularities which are committed by any of these associations.

I would rather like to deal with those major problems which face this country. To my mind, the most important problem today, in today's context, is the internal security of the country, the border arrangement and strengthening of our administration. I wish that the hon. Home Minister has a clear vision of the situation which is likely to develop because of the evil designs of a country like China sitting on our borders, with the active collusion of Pakistan. There is a great danger. And when we talk about these border troubles, let us understand that a great brunt falls on the civil administration. It is not as if the army in confrontation will deal with the entire situation. As a matter of fact, more than the armies, the greater responsibility falls on the civil administration, of having a perfect system of intelligence spread all over the corners of this country which could break-up the spy rings and saboteurs and visualize what Pakistan could be up to when it is in its ugly mood and what sort of situation can be created in this country and so

on. He should have an absolute blueprint ready and he should gear up his administrative machinery so that he could face any difficulty when such a situation arose. I think that is one of his gravest responsibilities.

I am not at all talking about the Rajasthan border, except repeating what I said the other day, that we are not at all prepared on that border and we have no roads or anything of that type in that area. But that is not a place which I consider to be a trouble spot. The trouble spots are Kashmir and Manipur.

Shri Kapur Singh: Nagaland.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Of course, Nagaland also. Manipur and Tripura are the direct responsibility of the hon. Home Minister. May I know whether he is satisfied with the civil administration, whether it is really effective in dealing with the situation even as it is today, and whether he is in a position to meet the situation which might develop with guerilla warfare and that sort of thing?

If we take note of Nagaland and the peace talks that are going on, I can understand that certain military arrangements must be there which we must respect, and we should try to solve the problem as peacefully as we possibly can. But there is no reason why our civil administration should be paralysed in these places but from the reports which we receive from Manipur and Tripura we are not feeling very happy about the position there.

So also in the Assam border. There are people who tell us that even in Government, even in the administrative machinery, we have certain people who could not be trusted. Is it not for the Home Minister to allay such fears? Even if there is no emergency, is it not the responsibility of the Home Minister to take certain positive steps to see that the security of the

country is in no way impaired? But now that we are living in an emergency, it is certainly the responsibility of the Home Minister and he will not be able to take shelter by saying that he has given such and such directions to the State Government and he has not been able to carry them out.

The Home Minister will not be spared by his party, by this Parliament and by this country if he does not assure the country of its safety, if he does not make satisfactory arrangements for its safety, which is his direct responsibility, I am not giving any sort of threat to him, but I am administering the most friendly warning in time so that when the time comes he proves it to the House and to the country that he can rise to the occasion. We have given him ample powers. I do not know if any dictator anywhere else in the world is given half as much power as the Home Minister of ours has been given in this democratic country. Even after all these powers are in his hand, if we find that things are not in such a streamlined manner, then he will not be excused by this country.

I am also not happy about the manner in which the DIR is being operated. I find that more than 12,000 people were arrested on the food front, without any impact being made on the food situation. 12,000 people arrested on the food front! They must be small fry. They have made absolutely no impact on the food situation in the country. This is not the way how administration has got to be carried on. Let us not be very trigger-happy and arrest anybody, all and sundry, just because we have got these powers in our hands. The Ministry and the Government should not get addicted to this sort of power. They will lose efficiency and will create less respect for law and order by using these powers indiscriminately. They must know where they stand. Having said this

about security, I will say: Let our watchword be "Be prepared and act".

Then I will pass on to administration. I am afraid, I do not agree with my hon. friend, Shri Shukla, when he said that the Home Minister has done willy nilly nothing so far as administrative reforms are concerned. I think, he has definitely taken certain positive steps and those positive steps which he has taken are of a foundational nature. This must be appreciated. They have built up an administrative reforms division in the Ministry. With whatever little contact that I have I can say that they have got first class personnel there.

But, as I have myself been saying all the time, this is not going to satisfy anybody in this country. You are essentially doing patchwork and are not going the whole hog as you ought to go. Even in regard to these study teams—with two of the study teams I am myself associated—I would like the Home Minister to understand that in the introductory remarks of the first report which we have submitted we have made it abundantly clear that we are not tackling the major policy matters which are likely to have a big impact. We do not know where we stand. It is within a limited framework that we have functioned. It is true that he has given some relief to thousands of people. It will be appreciated by quite a number of people because of these procedures. It is not because of the recommendations that we have made have been accepted that I am appreciative of the hon. Home Minister. What I appreciate much more is the record time in which all these recommendations were accepted by the Government. In less than a month they accepted the recommendations and laid them on the Table of the House.

There were recommendations which meant parting with power, giving away power from the Centre to the States. There were certain recommendations which also have an impact on the economic affairs where certain

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difficulties were there. But all this has happened. Therefore I have no hesitation in saying that a little good is done. But I have always mentioned it that we should not stop at that. What is needed by the country, as Shri Shukla very correctly put it, is a radical and a revolutionary change in the entire concept of our working. We do not know what our relationship should be between the States and the Centre. There is a lot of unnecessary work which is coming from the States to the Centre. There is a tendency in the Secretariat to concentrate. I can tell you that left to myself I would cut down the strength of most of the Secretariats to one-third of what they are today. I am not talking in thin air. I had checked up my impressions and idea with the best of people who are well informed and who have a progressive outlook, and they were prepared to share this view with me that in most of the States the Secretariat has unnecessarily concentrated work which was responsible for all the delays and that the Secretariat could be cut down to one-third its size. But for all this you will have to go into the entire matter and will have to do something. Therefore it was that we were wanting a very comprehensive sort of commission which will go into this matter. This comprehensive commission will not, as a matter of fact, deter you in your immediate steps which are to be taken. These should be taken simultaneously with that. But until and unless we have an overall picture, nothing very much will happen.

So far as these study teams are concerned, I think, the first study team which should have been appointed should have been for the Home Ministry itself, as a matter of fact, as to how it should function. If we can streamline the Home Ministry, I think, many things will take care of themselves. The first study team possibly should have been for the police. Do you not see that the relationship, role and responsibility of the police have completely changed during these 17

years? We are having the same colonial type of rule. It is not the fault of the police. They do not know how they are supposed to discharge their due responsibility. They are in an entirely different set of circumstances. It is my complaint that the Prime Minister and the Home Minister have failed to make an appreciation of the situation, of the changing social needs and the demands of the country.

The Prime Minister, the President and the Home Minister all talk of administrative reforms, but they have not told us what their concept of administrative reforms is. In other countries where there was a much lesser need, whether it is Canada or the USA, because there had not been a change from the colonial rule to a democratic set-up, even they have considered it necessary that they had certain reforms. The present Prime Minister, when he was the Home Minister, had been good enough to acknowledge it in the Consultative Committee that he will definitely appoint a Hoover type of commission. When we talk of a Hoover type commission, it is just to convey an idea that it will be an all-embracing overall sort of commission which will cover everything. We have not had even a Police Commission. Just think of it. It is more than 50 years and so many different things have come across. Even the UK found it necessary to have a Police Commission and we do not know where we stand.

15.37 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

But our administrative reform should not end here. I think, the Prime Minister would do well if he, the Home Minister and the Chief Minister sat together and talked as to what changes have got to be brought about in our judicial administration also. I am very sorry to have to say that things are not as they ought to have been. We will have to bring about a change also in the appoint-

ment of High Court Judges. The Home Minister will tell me how fool-proof the procedure is. Whatever the procedure, the unfortunate fact remains that standards have fallen and the right type of people have not been selected. How it happens, it is his responsibility to see; but that fact stands out boldly. Therefore there is urgent need that something is done. Then, there are arrears. We do not know how we stand about it. Our lower courts, I think, unfortunately are the greatest slums. It is time that we do something about this.

While talking about administrative reforms, I would again like to refer to our all India services. You have made your all India services almost a closed shop. So far as that service is concerned, even the limited examination which was proposed has been given up. They are losing their all India character. It is really unfortunate, I do not know why it takes all this time to constitute the new services. If this is the way we are going to implement the Forest Service, the Health Service and the Engineering Service, about which the Resolution had been passed years back, and if things proceed at such a snail's pace, what could one expect from the Home Ministry? They were necessary in the context of integration of the country; they were necessary for bringing about better efficiency, better implementation of the Plan. Yet, it takes all this time. This means a lack of leadership, to say the least.

I would again like to invite the attention of the hon. Home Minister to the fact that before he does anything, I wish him at least to take definite positive steps. It is not only here at the Centre that we are concerned about administration. The people come very much in closer touch with the administration in the States. It is the State Governments which should receive his first attention. It is not possible for the Home Minister to have Chief Ministers of his own choice, but I would suggest that at least he could

prepare a panel of 25 seniormost IAS and ICS officers whom he considers to be the best suited persons to be Chief Secretaries in each State so that there is not any personal sort of relationship with the Chief Minister in particular States. If you have a panel of 25 persons who are the topmost in the country, who have a background, who are going to be helpful to the Chief Minister, who have a broad outlook and who will bring about a healthy outlook and give real leadership to the services—the Chief Secretary being the leader of the service class—I think, the Chief Ministers should be asked to select their Chief Secretaries out of this panel of 25.

I would suggest the same thing about the Police. The I.G.Ps. should be selected out of a panel of 25 which he should prepare in consultation with the Chief Ministers. Of course, the District Administration is the most important which is now in the greatest confusion. The District Magistrate who is supposed to control the district administration has not got that authority, that maturity and the wherewithal to go through the whole matter. My friend has got a study made of that and I do not know what he is going to do about it.

I will then pass on to the last point, the most important point, of this discussion and that is about a clean administration which the hon. Home Minister had promised to us. He put himself on a probation of two years sometime in November, 1963. The outstanding fact remains that though he has taken certain steps he has failed to eradicate or minimise or make any impact or dent on this problem. The question arises: Should we ask the Home Minister to quit or to ask for an extension of his probation? To be honest to the hon. Home Minister, I never took him as a matter of fact, very seriously when he said "two years", not because at any moment I doubted his intentions—I knew that he had the best of intentions; I knew that he was wanting to make the best of efforts—but I knew that the problem was such

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that it was not the Home Minister alone who could do it and go his way. I realise it and I knew that he would not be able to do it and, therefore, I am not one who will ask him to quit. He made a wrong judgment. I am glad that he himself is not prepared to go . . .

Shri Nanda: I said differently. I stand by what I said.

श्री बागड़ी : अकेले वह क्यों, शास्त्री जी भी साथ हैं।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: He himself has certain difficulties, his own failures. He will not take the bull by the horns and he will tinker with the problems. He employed certain methods in which at least I have no faith, to be honest to him. But, I think, that is not so important. The first thing which I should do is to put this problem in a correct perspective. When I say that this problem should be put in a correct perspective, Mr. Speaker, may I remind you that, before the Home Minister said this in 1963, I had been raising this point with the late Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru? Nehruji's point was that corruption was at a lower level. I always disputed this and I told him very strongly on the floor of this House and in our Party meetings that until and unless he tackled the problem at the highest level, he would not be able to succeed in that. This has been conceded after some time, "Yes, corruption should be tackled at the highest level." When I say this, I do not think that we should be possessed by any obsessions. Let us put the whole thing in a correct perspective and see what happens in other countries where there is capital punishment for corruption, say, in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member may conclude now.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: May I have four or five minutes more? (*Interruption*). What I submit is that there are countries where you have capital punishment for corruption, say,

in a country like U.S.S.R. I have stronger remedies to submit. I will not quote anybody else but Mr. Khrushchev himself.

"In his report to the party's Central Committee, Mr. Khrushchev made it clear that widespread corruption in high places had become a major social and economic problem.

The Soviet leader disclosed that in the first half of 1962, Soviet courts had handled cases involving the theft of over 56 million roubles (\$ 62 million at the official rate of exchange).

"It appeared evident from his remarks that many times this amount is being stolen.

Mr. Khrushchev said inefficient control and inspection organs were to blame . . ."

It is not only the U.S.S.R. Again, we have here the reports from China:

"The Chinese Communist Press is full of complaints about officials who cheat in the administration of the rural economy or assume arbitrary privileges for themselves and their cronies.

A 'cleansing movement' to correct these evils is being given top priority in what Peking calls its programme of Socialist education for the population . . ."

These are the reports from the authentic sources. Here is something about Japan. I will not go into all that. We all know what it is. But that is absolutely no excuse and that gives me no sense of complacency in our drive against corruption. But if you want to have a drive against corruption, here I say why Shri Nanda is not to be blamed. The Prime Minister, though he is very anxious to eradicate corruption, wants to go a

little bit slow and cautious. That also hampers the hon. Home Minister's progress in the matter. There are many other forces of corruption which are always powerful and they wage a war against the hon. Home Minister. The hon. the Home Minister has got to take note of these things and these are the causes: His own deficiency to inspire confidence, the Prime Minister's slow and cautious approach, the failure to secure Cabinet support to the extent necessary, and the ridiculous campaign by some high-ups in the political set-up and Party. An all-out call on realistic lines with robust support from the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues and from this Parliament is necessary if a real dent has got to be made. Those in political authority have got to be dealt with first and they must be above suspicion.

Our record in this Parliament has been extremely commendable. As a matter of fact, starting from Shri Shanmukham Chetty in 1948, this Parliament has given an exceedingly good account of itself. But apart from its being a self-regulated body, we definitely need an independent organisation, whether it is Ombudsman or whether it is panel of eminent persons, and that is a real "must" Let us not take it that if such a body is set up, it will be flooded with applications and complaints. It will not be flooded with complaints and applications. It may happen in the first year but there will be no difficulty thereafter because it will have a great restraining influence on all the persons concerned and the complaints will be sorted out and until and unless there is some substance in those complaints, they will hardly make any impact. These steps, with these failings and fumbings, will not do. Therefore, I have suggested that they must constitute this and that the Vigilance Commissioner will hardly help in the matter. I thought earlier that it was the fifth wheel in the coach but I feel today that it is the sixth wheel in the coach. It has no purpose whatsoever to serve. It will always come in conflict with the Union Public Service Commission.

Things will have to be done that way. In the Home Ministry's Report itself, we have a one-line reference to the office of the Vigilance Commissioner.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I sit down by saying a last word and that is about prohibition. I do not see why the hon. Minister has not called a meeting of the Central Prohibition Board which is there for more than two years. The other day, our ex-Finance Minister said something of which, I think, the Home Minister must have taken a note, and he said that there are Cabinet Ministers who are addicted to this. Has he made any enquiry into this and will he take any action? Either these reports should be quashed or action must be taken if a profound impact has got to be made on the country.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, 30 months after the perfidious invasion of our country by China, we are again under the shadow of another war, a war not of our choosing nor of our making but thrust upon us by our unscrupulous anti-democratic, chauvnistic land-grabbing neighbour Pakistan. I do hope that in the very near future the people's strength and the power of the armed forces will bring undiluted victory, complete victory to us over the unscrupulous enemy on the Kutch border and elsewhere on the India-Pakistan border. We cannot afford to forget that Pakistan is being egged on by China, and China, because it is involved in Viet Nam is perhaps holding itself in the background but may come to the rescue of her unholy ally when her help is needed. After the military debacle and the national humiliation of thirty months ago, we cannot afford another defeat, because another defeat will mean that we as a nation will be completely demoralised, if not finished.

Having said that, I would invite the Home Minister to consider how in a total war like this which we are confronted with, even after we win this victory, we shall be safe from further invasions, further attacks and further

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aggression. No, we shall not be unfortunately, and therefore, we have to consider as every statesmanlike Government has got to consider how in a total war, not merely the front, not merely the Armed Forces, but also the rear, the nation as a whole, the people as a whole, the country as a whole, the domestic front also has got to be strengthened and fortified. To that task I hope that the Government will address themselves, and we on our part, are prepared to offer them our full co-operation if they mean business, if they are serious, if they firmly to stand by the people and by democracy and by the democratic socialism which they profess to implement in our country.

Unfortunately, never since Independence, never since August, 1947, barring those bleak anxious months, namely October and November, 1962, has the country been in such difficulties as it is today. The malady is very deep-rooted. Partly, it is the legacy of seventeen years of the semi-personal rule of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But more and more it is the divided, the weak, the vacillating policies of the present Government which has to rely upon a divided party, a party riven by dissensions and conflict, the provincial satraps straining at the leash . . .

An hon. Member: Any more adjectives?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Unfortunately my party is not in power. It is my hon. friend's party which is in power . . . and the Government's blunders and the Government's sins and crimes of every type that have been visited upon the people. That is why Government have to sit up and take notice. Provincial satraps are straining at the leash and the people unfortunately, due to the blunders of the last few months, are torn by linguistic divisions and regional rivalries. Linguamaniacs and linguaphobes have appeared on the Indian scene. I do not wish to apportion blame. I am a linguaphile. I love our languages. But unfortunately today because of

the blundering policies of the Government during the last few months, linguamaniacs have had a free rein in many parts of the country, and if not linguamaniacs, linguaphobes. I hope that the Government will arrest the growth and progress of these divisive forces in the country lest worse befall us.

At a time when China and Pakistan are massing their troops on the border, the agents and spies of Pakistan are having free play in the country, and the country is riddled with Pakistani spies and Chinese agents—yesterday I was in Calcutta, and I have got first-hand information, and I wish to pass it on to the hon. Minister and to the House—let us see what has happened to the scheme propounded or proposed by Government and perhaps partly implemented, of a non-man's belt on the India-Pakistan border; because of the corruption which is eating into the vitals of our nation, no sector of our activity is immune from this malady or from this malice of corruption. I learn that on the border of some districts in West Bengal, on the border between West Bengal and East Pakistan, the no-man's belt which has been sought to be created is really and virtually becoming or turning into a gift of Indian land to Pakistan, because our Government and our people implement it seriously, honestly and earnestly and withdraw from that belt into the interior, but the Pakistanis cross over the border, bribe the corrupt police on the border and purchase them and in many places, it has turned out that the no-man's land on our side has become Pakistani territory or our country's gift to Pakistan. I hope that Government will enquire into this matter before it is too late.

Having drawn the attention of the Home Minister to this malady of corruption, and after having pointed out the espionage, growing espionage, in the country by the enemies, by Pakistan and China, I would now turn to the internal enemies of the country, the internal enemies of the nation

with whom they have got to deal mercilessly, harshly and ruthlessly, but which they are not doing. Corruption is a hydra-headed monster; corruption is not merely bribe-giving and bribe-taking, but corruption has got many hues and many forms. In regard to dealing with corruption, as has been well said, Government have got many standards or multiple standards; they have got double standards or multiple standards for dealing with graft and for dealing with corruption. The Congress Party to which the hon. Minister has the honour to belong passed or adopted in the Ooty seminar in 1959, a resolution suggesting to Government that a permanent tribunal should be appointed to deal with this evil. But nothing was done. Subsequently, the All India Congress Planning Sub-committee also in 1959 passed a similar resolution, but up till now, there has been not merely no appointment of a standing independent judicial body to deal with this growing evil and proliferating evil in our socio-political life or in our body-politic, but Government have so far not accepted *in toto* the recommendations of the Santhanam Committee on Prevention of Corruption. The former Attorney-General, Mr. Setalvad, had something very harsh to say about the Government's way of dealing with corruption. He is not a Member of the Opposition. Otherwise, the Home Minister might have said that it was an irresponsible Opposition which was saying like that. But here is the former Attorney-General who has said this, and I hope the hon. Minister's attention has been drawn to what he has said, and it is a very pathetic statement that he has made, and it is tragic in its content.

Shri Nanda: It has been read out already by some other hon. Member.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In that case, it is all right. I need not read it out again.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Why not read it again?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Has my hon. friend not read it?

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: I have read it.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In that case, I would not waste the time of the House by reading it out again. I do not know whether the full text had been read out.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Not the full text but only one or two paragraphs had been read out.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: This is what Mr. Setalvad has said:

"There is one code of conduct for the Government servant who gets heavily punished for any veniality in his conduct. There is a different code or perhaps no code at all for the politician or the Minister . . .".

I would not read out the entire text, because I am running a race against time. Then, he proceeds further and says:

"Corruption in its widest sense still stalks unscared all over the country and the canker appears to have spread even to the higher judiciary."

I shall come to that a little later. The judiciary is supposed to be the last bastion of democracy. They are supposed to put on the mat the executive when the executive goes wrong. But the judiciary itself, the fountain-head itself is getting sullied. What then shall we do? If the fence itself were to eat up the crops, what then shall we do? That is the magnitude of the evil that we are face to face with today. Then, he proceeds further to say:

"It is surprising that persons in high places, who have repeatedly and eloquently condemned corruption of all kinds on public platform should be parties to drawing a veil of silence and sec-

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recy on the alleged corruption of a judge.”,

to which I shall presently draw your attention. Then, he says:

“Like the proverbial ostrich burying its head in the sand, they imagine that by avoiding an inquiry into the allegations against this particular judge, they are saving the judiciary from exposure.”.

I think I have read enough of that now. May I ask the Home Minister why it was that when a petition was made to the President in May, 1964, and reinforced by documents, no inquiry was made into a serious charge against the former Chief Justice of Madras, Shri S. Ramachandra Iyer? Why was it that when the document, not merely of an ordinary citizen, an advocate of the Madras Bar, but of a prominent advocate of the Madras Bar, was submitted to the President—and then when ultimately it came to us, when we got the information, 20 MPs sent a memorial to the President as well—why was it that nothing was done, no action was taken in the matter, because the Chief Justice—ex-Chief Justice now—was permitted to resign on the 1st November when everything came to a head? When he was in a tight corner, Government permitted him to resign, on the 1st November. From May to November, no action was taken.

16 hrs.

This is the way the Government are moving in this matter of attacking corruption, this evil, at the highest level. It was seriously charged that he had given a false age with regard to himself. If the Government think that resignation is a bar to inquiry, then it is open to everyone in this country to make money, by hook or by crook, येन केन प्रकारेण to acquire position, power, pelf, everything, and then when he is in a tight

corner, quit and get out, and be safe . . .

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: And contest election!

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I will come to that. Perhaps he has got experience of certain people doing it.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: It is not about you or me.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I said he has got experience of certain people doing it.

Does the Home Minister really want us to believe, that the *pratigya*, the vow he took, at Sabarkanta or Banas-kanta, in his own constituency, on that wintry evening of November 1963, was taken seriously? Did he really mean what he said on that day?

The CBI Inquiry is another instance in point. Even uptodate, the Home Minister has turned a blind eye on the document laid on the Table of the House. Even today I have a secret document. The Education Minister will say it is a stolen document.

I ask the Government: if they really mean what they said, that it is a stolen document, why could they not, with an army of machinery at their disposal, make an inquiry into the theft of this stolen document? Who stole it? From whom? How was it passed on to me? Who did it? Let them hold an inquiry. I hope they will not make a scapegoat—I understand they held a secret inquiry into that also—I hope they will not make a scapegoat of some typist or accountant, as happened in the jeep scandal when some poor accountant was sacked or demoted. So as to save any clerk or accountant being made a scapegoat of in this affair, I wish to tell the Minister, the House and you, Sir, if you will permit me to do so; I wish to tell you—of course, there is no question of saying it on oath here—with all earnestness, at my command, with all the emphasis at my command that it was no stenotypist, it was no clerk, it was

no PS, it was no PA, it was no officer who gave me the document.

Shri Rajaram (Krishnagiri): Was it a Minister?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Thus for and no further.

None of these people gave the document. If it is any other category, they will have to inquire and find out. Otherwise, after saying it is a stolen document, after having made the charge against me that it was a stolen document, it is a shame, crying shame, that the Government cannot inquire into the theft of this document.

Shri Biju Patnaik has written a letter on the 15th November to the Home Minister, Shri Nanda, by name. He says: "My dear Nandaji,

"In our meeting on the 11th, when you gave me a questionnaire"—

they gave an elaborate questionnaire to be answered; I also learn that poor Mr. Patnaik was not given a copy of the CBI Report; I do not know whether it is true but that is what I learn . . .

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Why does he call him 'poor'?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Poor in the sense that he is now out of office, out of power. He may come back, as Shri Azad says, very soon, he may come back.

An hon. Member: He is already there.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:

"In our meeting on the 11th, when you gave me a questionnaire, I was reluctant to deal with it, because the questions displayed a somewhat"—

this is the word he has used—

"eerie approach to the problem"—
That is what Shri Patnaik said, that

is the English he used. I do not know what he means. Perhaps he means what he has said. I do not want to read the whole letter, but the last few sentences are worth quoting.

"Since 1947 . . ."

—says Shri Patnaik, rather he said on the 15th November—

" . . . I have worked closely with Panditji . . ."

—i.e., Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—

" . . . and had carried out many imponderable . . ."

—I do not know the meaning of that—

" tasks under his advice and guidance."

This was also one of the tasks that he carried out.

"You know . . ."

—he tells Nandaji—

" . . . that Panditji had often referred to me as . . ."

—that may be surprise to many here—

" the co-author of the Kamaraj Plan."

Some hon. Members: No no.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Your own party man, a very eminent party man, he says so. I do not know whether Shri Nanda will deny this letter. I have a true copy of this letter.

And then, finally comes a confession, a very moving confession of Shri Patnaik. He says:

"I never had much interest in wealth or political power and yet these have come to me in generous measure."

श्री भागवत ना आजाद : थाप यह चिट्ठी कहाँ से ल आण ।

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I can lay it on the Table of the House if you want it. If you permit me: Mr. Speaker, I shall lay it on the Table.

We in the House, my hon. colleague Shri Dwivedy when he moved the no-confidence motion and other hon. Members, demanded a judicial enquiry

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or commission of enquiry into this matter. I understand that the new Chief Minister of Orissa, Shri Tripathy, is also demanding, is of the view, that a judicial enquiry should be held in the matter.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): He says he will be happy.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I do not know whether Nandaji will be unhappy if that is held. Shri Biren Mitra, I am told, is of the same view, that he will not mind a judicial enquiry. Only Shri Patnaik is holding out, riding the high horse, and is saying, "Nothing but the Public Accounts Committee of Orissa, that is my God, my Bible, my Veda, my Gita; nothing else, no Auditor-General, no audit report, I will be bound by nothing of the sort."

I do not know whether I am treading on safe ground, but I understand that in the Cabinet Sub-Committee which finally gave its verdict on this sordid affair, the Home Minister was strongly of the view that a commission of inquiry should be appointed in the matter. He gave in later on the pressure by other forces inside and outside the Cabinet. I am sure that if he had stuck to his guns, if he had shown the fortitude of mind and spirit which he shows as President of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, President of the Sadhu Samaj, President of the Sadachar Samiti and what not, and had firmly stood . . .

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He is resigning from those Samitis.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: He is not the President.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: . . . his ground, I am sure the Cabinet Sub-committee would have come round to his view, and a commission of inquiry would have been appointed in this

matter. But whatever may ultimately emerge, because the question is coming up again and again in this House—it may come up again in this session and in the next session—it is high time that to fight the proliferating evil of corruption, a standing, independent, judicial body, tribunal or commission be constituted in this country.

The next point I want to deal with is the Report of the Home Ministry itself. It is a measure of the efficiency of the Home Ministry, of the Ministry of which Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda is the presiding deity, that with regard to the Kerala elections, it is not up to date at all about the situation. The figures of the various parties are given, but the fact that the President has taken over the administration of Kerala is not mentioned at all in this Report. I do not know why it was not done, and why an addendum was not supplied to the House with regard to this matter.

Then here also, on page 6 of this report, they have mentioned the measures that they have taken to deal with corruption and other misconduct of public servants; they have now prohibited officials from accepting lavish or frequent hospitality. That is one of the rules framed. I have no time to go into the rules. But this is a strangely-worded rule—"lavish or frequent hospitality". What is the yardstick, what is the criterion for lavish and frequent hospitality? May I ask whether the Ministers also should not be precluded from accepting lavish and frequent hospitality from the industrialists and other persons with whom they come into contact and from which the officials have been precluded in this manner? We do not know what they mean by "lavish and frequent hospitality."

An hon. Member: Accepting calendars.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I do not know. There is a whole chapter called "political". But there is no mention of any action taken in the Punjab against corruption, and there is no mention about Orissa, about their own Cabinet sub-committee's report in regard to Orissa. There is no mention at all in the Home Ministry's report of last year, up to March, 1965. I do not know why that has been omitted. There is no reference to these matters with regard to Orissa and Punjab nor about the charges that have been levelled against the Mysore Cabinet as well as the Rajasthan Cabinet. The other day, in Rajasthan, the Minister—

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

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I shall conclude, Sir. We have surrendered our time for the other Ministries. We have written to you and the Secretary that we have surrendered our time; we do not take part at all in the discussion of those Ministries. I want only five minutes more.

The other day, it was astounding that the Minister of the Government in Rajasthan had the hardihood, the audacity to suggest that to him it was doubtful whether China had committed aggression in 1962. (*Interruption*). Then, what happens? Nothing. No action is taken against that minister. In any other country, with certain high standards or norms of public conduct and values in public life—a minister holding that office said so in the Assembly and he continues there, and if he feels like that in his heart, in his mind, even if he makes a statement of regret it would not do—if a minister said like that, he would have been promptly sacked and asked to resign from the Cabinet.

Here is the report of the Public Accounts Committee of which we have heard much—I mean the report that it made on the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

But there is another institution. I have no time to read it. There is a strange institution called the Griha Kalyan Kendra. If you give me a little more time, I would read some extract from the report, about this institution. The Committee have passed harsh strictures on the Griha Kalyan Kendra in Chapter IV of its 35th report, at pages 76 to 84. These eight pages are very revealing disclosures made by the Public Accounts Committee on an institution over which the Home Minister presides, over the working of which the Home Ministry presides; it works under the direction and supervision of the Home Ministry.

There is another institution called the Central Co-operative Stores. But before I pass on, I would just mention another glaring case of corruption. A foreigner, the captain of a ship who come to Cochin with food for the starving people of Kerala, made some complaints. There was a long article about it in the *Indian Review* of February, 1966—two months ago—published in Madras. The Home Minister could get a copy of it and study the article for himself. The captain writes:

"My own ship, along with 24 other vessels, was held up for 20 days, from October 7 to October 26, due to corruption in the port a strike against the national interest", and so on.

Late on, he was held up due to discrepancies in papers. He goes on to say that the customs officials boarded the vessel. I have written to the Finance Minister, and I hope he will take action. This is one of the instances of corruption that is rampant in the country.

Mr. Speaker: He must conclude now.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Just two minutes, Sir, and I have done. You were pleased the other day to read to the House the apology tender-

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ed by one of the luminaries of the Bharat Sevak Samaj in Delhi, Shri Brij Krishan Chandiwalla. Has it come to the notice of the Home Minister that this very person whom he patronised and still patronises has been the object of strictures passed by the Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court. Mr. Falshaw, with regard to certain shady transactions entered into with regard to certain land and properties in Delhi.

Mr. Speaker: We are not concerned with that here.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Delhi authorities are involved in this. Otherwise, I would, not have pointed it out. It want to the Punjab High Court. A petition has been made to the Home Minister. I want to know what action has been taken on it. They have demanded that he should be removed from the Bharat Sewak Samaj. Merely because as has expressed his regret, do you think, Sir, that such a person, who compared in your presence the PAC Report to Miso Mayos' book, should be allowed to continue in public life?

Mr. Speaker: When once an apology has been given, we cannot pursue that.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Apologies are easy to give, Sir. But this is another case. This is adding insult to injury.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: (Burdwan): So far as I know Chief Justice Falshaw never held that Mr. Chandiwalla was guilty of any shady deal like that.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: With regard to some shady transactions, some strictures were passed against him.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: A memorandum has been sent to the Home Minister about this.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I want to know what action has been taken on it.

There is an institution called the Central Government Cooperative Stores run by the Chief Welfare Offi-

cer of the Home Ministry as managing director. I want to lay the following charges against this institution. No general body meeting of this stores has taken place so far. Have the accounts and balance-sheets been presented to the members? I doubt very much. There has been considerable loss of property to the stores, including a big truck in front of the headquarters of the stores in front of the P Block, not far from Parliament House. I do not know whether it was stolen, how it was lost. The stores organisation has taken a large number of premises from the Works and Housing Ministry for starting co-operative stores in government servants' colonies. How many stores have actually been started so far? Then, what are the qualifications which this Chief Welfare Officer of the Home Ministry, who is the managing director of this institution, has got for running this organisation?

In conclusion, I only hope that in the days to come, when we are face to face with these two unscrupulous enemies—Pakistan and China—our domestic front will be safe, sure and strong. It will not be safe, sure and strong unless the Home Minister takes himself seriously. takes the vow he made in November 1963 seriously and ensures that the country has a clean, efficient and honest administration, so that every man, woman and child in this country, may have a life and have it more abundantly.

Shri Basumatari (Goalpara): Sir, we are discussing the demands of the Home Ministry in a grave situation, when the borders of our country are being threatened. Not only have the aggressive attacks of China and the intermittent frings and attacks by Pakistan shaken the country, but this has stood in the way of the progress of our country and the security of our nation. Pakistan is adopting the policy of nimbiling at our territory everywhere possible first in

Kashmir, then in Assam and then in Kutch. The collusion of the two neighbouring countries is dangerous. Therefore, we have to decide very carefully how to deal with these two countries.

In this discussion, Sir, on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs, I did not want to confine my remarks only to my State, but considering the gravity of the situation obtaining in my State I have no way out but to speak straightaway about my own State.

You know, Sir, and I am sure the House will also remember, how when Chinese attacked Assam had to face a grave situation. Such a situation outside the country, in any part of the world is one thing, but such a situation inside the country is dangerous. When China attacked we had to evacuate all families to safety from the Chinese. At that time one section of the people did not evacuate. We complimented them for their courage and firmness. Later on it was reported that they had been given to understand that there was a conspiracy between China and Pakistan, that in the event of Kashmir and Assam being subjugated, the district of Assam having oil fields and tea industry will be tacked on to China and the lower part of Assam will be tacked on to Pakistan. Many anti-national elements told the common people there that the Muslim population should not be afraid because of this understanding. It was reported to the Government of India and our Home Minister knows it very well.

On a second occasion, when in Kashmir the trouble over the Holy Relic took place, then also the same thing happened in Assam. It is well known to everybody in the House how our Home Minister went to Assam and what remarkable work he did there. I congratulate him and our Chief Minister for taking this step in time. Everybody knows how they solved the problem. By that time when this Holy Relic trouble took place, some people in Assam cried

Allah-oh-Akbar and communal frenzy was started. In some places it was also found that the Pakistan flag was hoisted. This information was also given to the Government of India and the Home Minister knows it very well.

When he visited Assam I had the privilege of accompanying him. I know full well how he is seized of the problem. He went round the places of incident. A memorandum was submitted to him by the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee and other one by the Congress Parliamentary Party in the Assam Assembly. In both the memoranda it was stated that the 31st March, 1965 should be the target date for pushing out the infiltrants by increasing the number of Tribunals in Assam for speedy work of deportation.

While on this subject, I should make it clear that all this mischief was created by the anti-national elements. Who are those anti-national elements? You know, Sir, that we in Assam have quite a different problem from the problem in other States. There is border trouble in Kutch, in Tripura and other places to which my hon. friend referred. But the problem in Assam is quite different. We have got enemies inside Assam itself. Who are those enemies? They are the infiltrants who are Pakistani nationals who came to Assam after partition and till at least October, 1952. About the Pakistani nationals in Assam, there is a dispute about the actual figure. Some say it is 10 lakhs and some others says that it is 8 lakhs. Whatever the case may be, according to the Government admitted figures, it is 2½ lakhs. The Home Minister has been requested by the people wherever he visited to push out these 2½ lakhs of people by the 31st March 1965. He has also been requested in the memorandum to strengthen the border by increasing the Central Reserve Police and by increasing the population all along the Assam-Pakistan border and constructing a road so that there can be

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easier mobility of the military and the police. At that time, our Home Minister firmly stood to the occasion to solve the problem. I must congratulate him for the steps that he has taken. But the other day it came in the papers that when the President of the AICC visited that area, a memorandum was submitted by the Congress MLA of this community stating that while it is necessary to deport the illegal infiltrants, at the same time if the Pakistani nationals were deported or pushed out without rhyme or reason, it will create complications. I quite agree with them and I feel that there should be proper investigation so that Indian Muslims may not be pushed out but at the same time I appeal to them to keep the Government in this great task of deportation.

Sometimes it is alleged that our Chief Minister is weak. I strongly opposed that. It is not the Chief Minister who is weak. This point was raised by many hon. members. Why should the Government of India not take up the responsibility of border areas and taken upon themselves the work of deporting the infiltrants? It is the responsibility of the Centre and it can be done in a much better way. I cannot blame our Chief Minister. I would rather say that his hands should be strengthened. How can we do that? It is known to the Home Minister because we have been telling him so many times and we have also told our present Prime Minister and also the late Prime Minister—that the Centre should take up the problem and deal with it carefully.

It is mentioned in the Report that the cases of 32,654 persons were referred to the Tribunal out of which 32,022 were held to be Pakistani infiltrants and 30 were declared to be not Pakistani infiltrants. The remaining 602 cases were pending with the Tribunals. The progress is very slow. If this slow progress is main-

tained, according to experts, the deportation of 2,50,000 infiltrants will take about 42 years. When we know the atrocities and anti-national activities indulged by these people, why should we not take action to push out these infiltrants expeditiously? Therefore I request the Home Minister just to consider about this. It is very difficult. I have said just now that inside the Congress itself it seems to be strong opposition in regard to deportation. So, while a powerful element is standing against deportation, I do not know how our Government can deport these anti-nationals. Sooner it is done better for the country in general and for Assam and Muslims in Assam in particular.

Only in today's papers we read that China has constructed a big, a huge road on the border of NEFA. At the same time, Pakistan is concentrating her forces in great number in the Latitila and Dumabari area just to attack. Not only that the other day I had been told by the P.C.C. President of Assam that on the Dhubri and Golaganj side in some areas, 450 cattle had been lifted in broad daylight. I am told that women and children had to be shifted from that area for the safety of those women and children. They are all non-Muslim women and children. So the other day I told the right person, who is holding the responsibility, that if it is not checked in time, it may create some communal frenzy also. If communal tension takes place, you know, Sir, how difficult it is to control it. Therefore I request our Home Minister just to see things for himself. He should go once again and see things; otherwise if any eventuality happens to our State, it will be more dangerous from inside than from outside.

Reference has been made by several Members to non-governmental institutions. In that connection, Bharat Sevak Samaj has been pointed out with all humility and in all

fairness to our Home Minister, I feel that he should not be connected with them. He should dissociate himself from all organisations. Why do I say this? It is because his association itself may encourage those people who are in the organisation to create some mischief as has been shown in the Report itself. My purpose in saying this is that so many non-governmental institutions have made mischief. Sometime the question arises whether these non-governmental organisations are benefited by the persons or the persons are benefited by the organisations. Therefore, I am of strong opinion that when the country is facing such a grave situation, is in such a state, I do not think that these non-governmental institutions should be dealt with by the Home Minister. He should concentrate on the safety and the security of the country; otherwise our country may go out of control.

Some hon. Members said that compared to other countries our country is developed. I also agree with that. By your kindness, Sir, I have visited many countries. I have visited the newly born countries in Africa and Middle East also. Compared to those countries our country has been developed, no doubt; but if you compare with other advanced countries, I do not think we are dealing with the subject in right direction carefully. Lastly, I request the Home Minister just to take the situation of Assam not as a State problem but as a national problem. He should examine carefully what I have stated.

Mr. Speaker: Now he should conclude.

Shri Basumatari: Just one minute only.

Sir, a complex has grown in the minds of ministers, I should say, that when a Member of Parliament or any man outside speaks to them, they do not believe them. They believe only the minister of the State or official reports. That is a practice

which may lead to wrong way. Therefore I request them just to listen to and believe Members of the House too.

Shri Hathi: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members. . .

Shri Manoharan (Madras South): Is the discussion over?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He is intervening in the debate.

Shri Hathi: I am intervening in the debate.

Mr. Speaker: There is a large number of Members who are desirous of speaking and they ought to be prepared to sit late today.

श्री मौर्य (अलीगढ़) : देर तक बैठने में बड़ी परेशानी होती है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं इस के लिये क्या कर सकता हूँ, आप ही बतलाइये ।

श्री मौर्य : परेशानी यह है कि मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी से मिलने जाता है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : तो दम्यान में उन से मिल लीजिये । वहाँ ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लगेगा ।

Shri Hathi: I am thankful to the hon. Members who have a word to say in appreciation of the work done by the Home Ministry and for very helpful and constructive suggestions which many of the hon. Members have made during the course of the debate:

The Home Ministry deals with a number of subjects, law and order, administration, services which carry with them subjects like training, recruitment, administrative reforms and many other subjects. The Members who have participated in the debate during these two days have devoted their time on the security of the country, on corruption and on administrative reforms. Some Mem-

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bers have touched the question of Maharashtra-Mysore border, the language issue and, of course, the question of Kerala and the detenus also came in. I shall try, during the limited time at my disposal, to deal with as many points that have been raised by the Members during the debate, as possible.

The hon. Member from Kerala, Shri P. G. Menon, naturally wanted that now that Kerala is the direct responsibility of the Government of India, the Government should take greater interest in the development of Kerala and he wanted a consultative committee for Kerala. Such a committee will be constituted after the Delegation of Powers Bill is passed by the House and there will be a committee for the purpose of legislation. But in order that Kerala may not suffer and that their problems are also looked to by the Home Ministry, we would also utilise this Committee for the purpose of considering the problems of Kerala and it can also work as an advisory committee or Members from Kerala can meet us as often as possible.

In addition to that, in order that their projects, administrative sanctions, etc. may not be delayed, a sub-committee of the Cabinet has been appointed consisting of the Home Minister, the Finance Minister, the Minister for Food and Agriculture and the Minister for Industries, besides the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission who would be a permanent invitee and the Governor of Kerala who, whenever it is possible for him to come, will also attend it. This will look to the problems of the development of Kerala. For, Government fully appreciate that having taken over the responsibility of that State, they are not merely to govern from a particular angle but they have really to administer it with a view to develop it. Therefore, it will be the concern of the Home Ministry to see that the development of that State does not suffer.

My hon. friend Shri Vasudevan Nair referred to a number of points, but he started by describing this year as a black year for the Home Ministry. I do not know what made him think that this year was a black one. The points that he advanced were of such a nature that if one dispassionately examined them, then none of them would go to make this year a black year. It was only perhaps the colour of the brush which made the year a black year.

He first referred to a subject which Shri Kamath had also just referred to. He made a reference to certain properties from where the tenants were sought to be ejected. The matter had gone to the High Court, and Shri Vasudevan Nair and also Shri Kamath had said that there were strictures passed in the High Court that the gentleman—I would mention his name also—Shri Brij Kishan Chandiwala had managed to get this property acquisitioned because of his influence with the Home Minister. Generally, I would not discuss any individual case. But when an individual is not present here, and when certain points are made out to show that he, because of his relation with the Home Minister or with an institution with which the Home Minister is connected, misused his acquaintance and could manage to get some benefit, I think I am duty-bound to place the facts before the House. It was, therefore, that when Shri Vasudevan Nair had said that the occupants of those shops had met him and they had said that they had met the Home Minister, I asked him a direct question whether they said that they had met the Home Minister or they had met me. The first time that they came to me and met me was only a week back, and I gave them a patient hearing. I immediately wanted to look into the matter whether there was anything whereby it could be said that he had in any way abused his power or his position in the Bharat Sewak Samaj with which the Home Minister was connected. The matter had gone up

to the High Court, and the High Court had said that the purpose for which those buildings were required was not that purpose which would justify under the provision of law the eviction of a tenant.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: His *bona fides* were questioned.

Shri Hathi: It was said that that purpose was not a public purpose for which the tenant could be evicted from the property. It is a matter where a man may say 'I want it for my residence', but the court may hold that that is not true. Therefore, the question was whether it was required for the purpose, and whether for that particular purpose, the tenants could be evicted.

But the more important thing is this. The allegation is that he used his influence with the Delhi Administration and got something done. The next day when they saw me, I asked the Ministry to look into this case as to what had happened. Before we got the papers, that is earlier than that, the Chief Commissioner had already issued orders cancelling the notification because he also had come to the conclusion that in view of the representations made by the tenants, this was not a purpose for which the shops should be requisitioned.

Therefore, what I mean to say is that even before we could call for the papers, orders had already been issued. The Chief Commissioner had issued orders of his own. Hence the question of the man having any influence and getting something done, does not at all arise. He has given over the property to a trust. **Shri Vasudevan Nair** criticised: Why did he create a trust of Rs. 8 lakhs? If he builds a college, if he gives what he has to that institution or for some charitable purposes, I do not think that he commits any wrong. When he called it a black year for the Home Minister, it was because of his black brush with which he wanted to paint all these things. I am sorry to say

that he had not the full facts. Had he got them, had he enquired whether there is already any order issued by the Delhi Administration in his favour, he would have been aware of the fact that no order in his favour had been passed. On the contrary, on the representation of these people.....

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Because they went to court after court. The judiciary saved them.

Shri Hathi: It was not in his individual capacity. It is, I think, the Banarasidas Chandiwala Sevak Trust. So it was a trust. If the trust wanted....

Shri Yallamanda Reddy (Markapur): Before the judgment of the High Court or after?

Shri Hathi: Certainly after. After all, if the man had come to the conclusion, if he believed he had a right in law, he could go to a court of law. When the court passes an order, it is a different matter. If they wanted to attach, even then the Delhi Administration had passed an order of their own. So had he only ascertained the facts, perhaps this would not have arisen.

An hon. Member: A case of mistrust.

Shri Hathi: **Shri Nair** also said that there was death of a certain person in jail and all that was done was that the officer concerned has been transferred. That is what he said or what I understood him as saying. My information is not that he is transferred, but he is suspended.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Very good.

Shri Hathi: 'Very good' is all right now. But to say that he was only transferred is not very good.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: That may be the latest information.

Shri Hathi: That is what I say. Simply saying that it is a black year for the Home Ministry, trying to paint everything with a black brush without ascertaining the facts is not correct—that is my complaint. The point is that they have been suspended. The IGP is holding an inquiry. Therefore, there is no question of nothing being done.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: May I know whether the inspector is suspended?

Shri Hathi: He has been suspended.

Shri Koya (Kozhikode): A Constable is suspended not the Inspector?

Shri Hathi: He said this was a black year because of the detention of Left Communists. To us it is a bright year in the sense that we have tried to prevent certain mischief being done by some people. He may think that they were good men, and it was not necessary to detain them. It is a question of opinion. These were the three main complaints that he made, on the basis of which he wanted to justify his statement that this year was a black year for the Home Ministry.

Shri Khadilkar and Shri Mathur referred to the question of the administration, the services, Shri Mathur is a keen student of administration, and I should say that in the study teams which we have appointed for different subjects, he has contributed a good deal. When he says that this is not all that should be done. I am fully in agreement with him. We have not done everything with the appointment of these study teams. There are a number of things, and merely appointing one or two study teams does not mean that we are overhauling the whole administration. But, even if we want to appoint a commission, what will the commission first do? The commission will have to make certain research, carry on certain studies. In the light of the studies, in the light of the researches, it will make certain recommendations.

When we say that we want to improve the administration, what is it that we actually want? The idea may be that we should overhaul the whole thing, that there should be rethinking on the present system of administration. That is welcome. That can be done. But before you try to overhaul the existing machinery and have something new, would it not be proper to improve the present administrative machinery to the extent possible. It is for that purpose that we have appointed four study teams in respect of those departments which have to deal with the public.

As the House knows, one is the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports. A number of people have to go there, and people complain that their work is not being done. In order that there may not be bottlenecks and procedural delays, we had set up a study team, and I should say that that team has done a very good job. A number of people have to go there for getting licences and all that. All that will now be avoided. I also think that the Commerce Ministry has, within one month of the submission of the report, accepted almost all the recommendations.

The other important department was the Directorate-General of Technical Development; where licences for industries are given, it is being recommended by this Directorate, and it takes a lot of time. There also, good work has been done, though the preliminary report has not come.

The other is the Central Public Works Department. This is another department where you find complaints about corruption and delays. Another team is looking into that.

Railways and three more we are going to set up—Customs, Iron and Steel Controller and Textiles. These are again departments with which the majority of the people have dealings.

Therefore, it is not that we have done everything. I do not claim that. What I claim is that we have started and started in the right direction so

that at least the delays may be eliminated and the bottlenecks in procedure may be eliminated and the people may feel that their work is being done swiftly and without delay. This is the main object for the present. I fully agree that this is not a complete overhaul. It cannot be said it is a complete overhaul. After all, when you want to improve a thing, you have to start from the foundation itself. Otherwise, you demolish the whole thing and start afresh. We cannot demolish the administrative machinery at all. We have first to renovate and make suitable changes and in the process of thinking, which will be a continuous one, we can evolve a better thing which may be useful then at that stage.

The other important development during these years has been with regard to the all-India services. As the House knows, the States Reorganisation Commission had recommended the establishment of certain all-India services. In the interests of greater mobility of the services, sharing of a variety of experience throughout the country, liberalisation of the outlook of personnel, maintenance of uniformity of standards providing a wide field of selection for tapping the talents from the whole of the country, and for better cohesion and in the interests of integration and unity of the country, the establishment of all-India services in other fields was considered desirable. In 1948, we had two all-India services: the IPS and the IAS. Recently, in March, 1965, the Rajya Sabha have adopted another resolution to bring within the orbit of the all-India services the fields of agriculture and education. Earlier, we had constituted three other services in the field of engineering, forest and medicine. These all-India services will be a process whereby people from different regions come and are transferred from one State to another and get the experience and have an all-India outlook. This is one of the important fields of the ad-

ministration—constitution of two other departments into the all-India services.

So far as the point raised by Shri Khadiolkar is concerned—it was a question of Maharashtra and Mysore boundary dispute—

An hon. Member: Is it very important?

Shri Hathi: I wanted to deal with it.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): What happened? Please get along; tell us about it.

Shri Hathi: It is true that the four-man committee could not come to a conclusion, but the Home Minister has personally held the discussions and he hopes that we shall be able to bring the parties together. After all, this is a question where we have to deal with it rather calmly and not in a manner of agitational approach. It is better that in a mood of co-operation, both the States should come to an understanding and come together, and it is, therefore, that the Home Minister himself is personally looking into the matter.

Shri Nath Pai: Is it not a fact. . . .

Shri Hathi: I am not yielding.

Shri Nath Pai: He cannot throw a bombshell like that on such an important subject. I do not want any favour; I just want to know whether it is a fact. . . .

Shri Hathi: He can speak yet in his turn.

Shri Nath Pai: There is no question of turn. Why should they touch an explosive question if they do not make up their mind about it? (*Interruption*).

Shri Hathi: Then, Shri Kamath referred to the question of the age of the Chief Justice of Madras. He complained. . . .

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I did not complain. There have been charges made, and they represented to the President himself.

Shri Hathi: He asked if an application or representation was made in May, why nothing was done till November. That was one thing. The point is this. Of course, it is true that the representation was made to the President in April, 1964. But it is also true and Shri Kamath will remember that a writ competition had also been filed.

17 hrs.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is another writ petition, not about age.

Shri Hathi: The subject-matter is the same.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It was filed later on, because you took no action.

Shri Hathi: When we received the letters, they were examined and it was decided that it would not be desirable to hold an enquiry under article 217(3) of the Constitution so long as the point in dispute happened to be the subject-matter of a writ petition.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That means, you were awaiting the disposal of the writ petition.

Shri Hathi: Yes. Then we learnt in July that the first writ petition was disposed of. Then we asked for certain documents. In the meantime, the Chief Justice resigned. Under the Constitution it is not necessary that the resignation has to be accepted. It says:

“A judge may, by writing under his hand, addressed to the President, resign his office.”

When he resigns, he ceases to be a judge. Article 217 also says that if any question arises as to the age of a High Court judge, the question shall

be decided by the President after consultation with the Chief Justice of India and the decision of the President shall be final.

For four months from April to July, the writ petition was there and so we were advised not to hold an enquiry.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: After July what did you do?

Shri Hathi: We asked the Madras Government to send the documents which we had not received. When the judge mentions a certain age, *prima facie* we attach importance to the statement of the judge. Then we have to verify. So, we called for the documents. As I said, from April to July, the writ petition was there. On 1st November, he resigned. To say there was a delay of three months—I do not think that argument holds good.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Is three months not a delay in an important matter like this? Shri Setalvad has said that months passed without the complaint being investigated.

Shri Hathi: If it takes three months to hold an enquiry and come to a decision on a question like this, whether it is an abnormal delay or not is a question of opinion. The hon. member may say it is delay, but I say it is not.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: How many judgments did the Chief Justice deliver during this period?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Why did you permit him to resign?

Shri Hathi: We were advised that once he gives in writing that he resigns, there is no question of our giving permission to him to resign.

Mr. Speaker: When the Judge offers his resignation, that is all; there is nothing further.

Shri Nath Pal: What happens to the cases decided by him during the period he was not competent to sit on the Bench? That could have been prevented by government acting promptly.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: What about the salary he drew during this period? What about his pension?

Shri Hathi: Some hon. Members also referred to the infiltration of Pakistani nationals into Assam.

Now, so far as this question is concerned, we have from time to time informed the House as to what are the steps that are being taken. It is a matter to which the Government of India is alive. From 1961 the total number of infiltrants in Assam is estimated at about 2.5 lakhs during these years and about 50,000 in Tripura.

An hon. Member: What about West Bengal?

Shri Hathi: In West Bengal, as far as my information goes, it is about 2,16,000. During the current year we have taken measures to prevent further entry of illegal entrants and for detection and eviction of persons who are clearly proved to be illegal immigrants. We have up to now, during the years 1961 to 1964, evicted from Assam 1,09,145 Pakistani infiltrants, 19,277 from Tripura and 14,000 from West Bengal. The latest information received from the State Government shows that the measures taken are yielding good results, and the indications are that the infiltration is now not on a large scale.

A complaint was made that we are deporting Indian national Muslims. That is not correct. That allegation made by Pakistan is wrong. We make sure that anybody who is served with a quit notice is a national who is not an Indian national. In order to further give them safeguards we have even appointed tribunals, and in the quit notice that is being given to them they are told that in

case they feel that the order of eviction is not correct or they have to say anything about it they can go to the tribunal. These tribunals decide the cases in a judicial manner where the parties are heard. Up to November 1964, 33150 persons were referred to the tribunals out of which 32887 were held to be Pakistani infiltrants. Therefore, any complaint that Indian national Muslims are being driven out of India is not true at all. There are now only 233 cases pending, but these tribunals are doing the work in full swing and we hope that we shall be able to deal with the problem.

Shri Patnaik referred to the question of privy purse of the rulers. Of course, coming from Orissa, as he does, he also gave the figures of privy purse which some of the Members of this House, who are also rulers, are getting. The policy of the Government of India so far as privy purse is concerned is that it is a solemn agreement. So far as the integration of States at that time is concerned, we recollect those days when the late lamented Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was able to bring round all the 562 States of India. Now, at the time of the agreements or covenants that were entered into by the Government of India with the princes, the Government had agreed or pledged that certain fixed amounts known as the privy purse will be given to them. Since then, the number of rulers who were getting more than Rs. 10 lakhs has been reduced from 11 to 6. That means, we have been reducing the total amount of privy purse that is given to the old rulers. Secondly, the total amount of privy purse is Rs. 5 crores, about 28 per cent of the total expenditure.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Under what rule are you reducing it?

Shri Hathi: It is by a voluntary agreement. We were requesting them and some of the rulers had agreed to it. Therefore, it is not a unilateral

[Shri Hathi]

imposition. If we are spending Rs. 5 crores out of crores and crores of rupees that we are spending, and that too to keep our promise or pledge, I do not think we should worry much about it. Still, as and when occasion arises, we are trying to persuade our rulers to agree to a reduction of the amount, and many of them are voluntarily agreeing to it. So, I do not think this is a matter on which we should be agitated. After all, the integration of States is a great thing that we have achieved. But there is one thing that I would say. These rulers themselves should realise that now, in these times of difficulties, they should also come forward and voluntarily let go a part of the privy purse so that they can be on par with other people.

Then, a question was raised by Shri Kamath about the report of the Home Ministry not mentioning about President's rule in Kerala. I admit that it is not mentioned. But the proclamation was issued on the 24th March 1965.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: You should have issued an addendum. We are supposed to receive the report as on 31st March.

Shri Hathi: It is a question of a delay of 4 or 5 days. Whether he agrees to it or not, that is the explanation. Anyhow, that was not so important, either for Shri Kamath to mention or for me to answer.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The President's Rule in Kerala is not important?

Shri Hathi: I was referring to its not being mentioned in the Report, having regard to the fact that it was issued on the 24th of March.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Report is supposed to be as on 31st March. If it does not contain what has happened up to 31st March, where

is your efficiency? You may call it anything but efficiency.

Shri Nath Pai: Sheer unparadonable incompetence.

Shri Hathi: Then, several members have referred to the border security and the need to strengthen our police force and our security measures from both points of view. It is certainly important that at this stage we should strengthen our security forces and give them better training and equipments. We should improve the communications and if the states cannot bear the extra expenditure it should be borne by the Centre. So far as these border States are concerned, the Government have already taken a decision that henceforward, from the Fourth Plan period, all the expenditure on the border security police will be borne by the Government of India.

Then, there are a number of questions but I think the major question which engages our attention today is that of national integration. Even otherwise of vital national interest, this problem assumes greater importance in the emergency through which we are passing today. The threat of aggression and the warlike posture of a powerful and unscrupulous neighbour, such as China, with unbridled territorial ambitions and committed to a national philosophy of war and violence, demand that we should harness all our resources to meet this challenge. China's overtures to draw Pakistan, a neighbour with whom we have desired to have friendly relations but could not, into her orbit and the measure of success that this effort seems to have achieved in the unprincipled alliance which is now developing between the two countries adds to our anxieties. Inside the country, we face disruptive forces such as linguistic intolerance, communal disharmony and regionalism which pose a threat to our politi-

cal and social stability and to the basic values of our national existence.

The challenge which we face should have fully awakened us to the imperative need of placing national integrity above all interests and of mobilising fully our resources to step up our defence effort and build up the political and economic strength of our country. When the Chinese aggression took place, the way the whole nation rose like one man inspired by a real awareness of national purpose and unshakeable resolve to resist aggression was a heartening phenomenon.

Our history reminds us that in the past we have suffered greatly from a fundamental lack of national cohesion. Today again is the time when we should stand together and in this hour of need, when we are passing through the serious national emergency, we should unite together irrespective of any party affiliations.

Shri Nath Pai: Tell it to Tripathi and C. B. Gupta.

Shri Hathi: Pakistan has committed offensive acts of aggression on our soil on the Kutch-Sind border and this should provide the urge and the need to forget all differences. The security and the honour of our nation is indivisible and should be a matter of the deepest concern for everyone of us. Whether we stand in the front-line, or live in the remotest corners of the country, at the time when firmness and singleness of purpose are of imperative importance, we should not allow ourselves to be swayed by any narrow linguistic or regional considerations. We must, therefore, work for strengthening the basic fundamentals of democracy, equality of India's people and the rule of law.

Our armed forces are defending our borders bravely. The House will recall that on the 9th April when Pakistan committed the first act of aggression . . .

Shri Nath Pai: It did that long before.

Shri Hathi: . . . on the Sind-Kutch border. . .

Shri Nath Pai: In March. We have given the details.

Shri Hathi: . . . the men of the CRP—I am referring to the brave and heroic act of the Central Reserve Police—repulsed this attack and I should like to pay our tribute to those brave men who repulsed the attack so bravely and to those who laid down their lives to defend our country.

Sir, I have done.

श्री बागड़ी : राजस्थान के मंत्री ने जो यह कहा है कि चीन ने हमला नहीं किया हम पर, उस के बारे में आप क्या कह रहे हैं ।

श्री याज्ञिक (ग्रहमदाबाद) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक छोटे से सदस्य की हैसियत से कच्छ पर जो हमला हुआ है उस के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस के कारण कच्छ के ही नहीं सारे भारत के लोगों का दिल जल रहा है । मुझे विश्वास है कि जिस प्रकार की संरक्षण समितियाँ कच्छ में और गुजरात में बनायी गयी हैं, उसी प्रकार की संरक्षण समितियाँ केन्द्रीय सरकार की सहायता से अन्य राज्यों में भी बनायी जायेंगी . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप मुझे एक मिनट की इजाजत दें । मैं हाउस से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह आज ज्यादा देर तक बैठना चाहता है । अपोजीशन के कई सदस्य श्री शास्त्री, मनोहरन, मिस्टर मौर्य, श्री कोया वगैरह बोलना चाहते हैं और कुछ कांग्रेस के सदस्य भी बोलना चाहेंगे । अगर आप लोग ज्यादा देर तक बैठना चाहें तो

[अध्यक्ष महोदय]

मैं और डिप्टी स्पीकर यहां रहेंगे और आपको बोलने का मौका मिल जायगा ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : कल भी कुछ समय बढ़ा दिया जाय । कुछ समय आज ले लें और कुछ समय कल ले लें ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कल तो समय कम होगा, आज ही समय ले लें तो अच्छा होगा ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : कुछ आज ले लें और कुछ समय कल ले लें ।

श्री दी० चं० शर्मा : समय मिल जाए चाहे हम को बोलने का मौका न मिले ।

Shri Manoharan: Why not extend the time tomorrow?

Mr. Speaker: We have to complete the Demands by a fixed time.

सारी डिमांड्स खत्म करनी है । तारीख से पहले । आज एक नया डिस्कशन आ गया है । इसलिए अगर वक्त कल देंगे तो हम सारी डिमांड्स खत्म नहीं कर सकेंगे । अगर हाउस कुछ डिमांड्स को छोड़ने को तैयार हो जाय तो वक्त निकल सकता है ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : गृह मंत्रालय बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मंत्रालय है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मुझे ऐतराज नहीं है । मैं आप के सामने रख रहा हूँ, हाउस को फैसला करना है । आप को सब काम खत्म करना है । या तो आप कुछ डिमांड्स को छोड़ने को तैयार हों या आज ज्यादा वक्त तक बैठ लें तो हो सकता है ।

We have to put them to vote at a particular hour. Either the House

should be prepared to have those Demands that are left behind undiscussed and guillotined at a particular moment or sit late. Mr. Kamath would then stand up and say that I had made a certain promise that some time is found for them. That will not be possible. That would be the difficulty. If the House is not prepared to sit longer and wants to sit only till 6 O' Clock, I can't help it.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: The House is prepared to sit longer.

Some hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: All right.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The House may sit till 7 O' Clock every evening from today.

17.25 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्री याज्ञिक : आज पाकिस्तान का कई मोरचा पर हमला हो रहा है । हम जानते हैं कि कई क्षेत्रों में हमले का मुकाबला करने से एक क्षेत्र में उस का मुकाबला करना आसान होता है । एक ही क्षेत्र में लड़ाई हो तो आसान हो सकती है । मगर इस बाहरी आक्रमण के साथ-साथ हम को यह भी सोचना है कि हमारा एक अन्तर्देशीय मोर्चा भी है । अगर देश में शान्ति और सुव्यवस्था न हो और शासन में जनता की श्रद्धा न हो तो इस मोरचे पर भी बड़ा खतरा हो सकता है । तो एक विदेशी मोरचा है और एक अन्तर्देशीय मोरचा है । मैं इस समय अन्तर्देशीय मोरचे के बारे में ही कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ ।

आज हम यह समझते हैं कि लड़ाई केवल सिपाही ही लड़ते हैं, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है । लड़ाई सिर्फ सिपाही नहीं लड़ते । जो लोग शस्त्रागार में कामगार हैं वे भी लड़ाई के काम में सहायता देते हैं । आज हवाई जहाज का जमाना है, बाम्बर का और न्यूक्लियर वैपन्स का भी जमाना है तो हो सकता है कि किसी मौके पर सारे मुल्क की

जनता पर लड़ाई का असर हो, और उस के लिए यह बड़ा जरूरी है कि सारे भारत में ऐसी शान्ति और सुव्यवस्था हो और जनता की हकूमत में श्रद्धा हो जिससे वह पूरी ताकत से संरक्षण के काम में लग जाए।

अंग्रेज लोग लड़ने हैं तो अपने साम्राज्य के लिए लड़ते हैं, अमरीकी लोग जो लड़ते हैं तो वे अपने पूंजीपतियों की समृद्धि के लिए लड़ते हैं, पाकिस्तान वाले लड़ते हैं तो मजहब आवेश में लड़ते हैं। समाजवादी और साम्यवादी लड़ते हैं तो समाजवाद और साम्यवाद में अपनी श्रद्धा के जरिये से लड़ते हैं पर हम को सोचना है। आज कुछ लड़ाई ज्यादा नहीं भड़क उठी है। मगर मुमकिन है कि अगले वर्षों में ज्यादा भड़क उठे। चीन से खतरा है, नागालैंड के सवाल पर अभी फंसला नहीं हुआ है। इसलिये हम को कई वर्षों के लिए पूरे तौर से सोचना चाहिए कि किस ढंग से सारे हिन्दुस्तान में पूरा संतोष हो और सारी जनता देश के रक्षण के कार्य में पूरी ताकत से और श्रद्धा से काम कर सके।

आज अन्तर्देशीय क्षेत्र में हमारा खयाल है कि हमारे सामने बड़ी मुसीबतें आ रही हैं। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। हमारे यहां मंहगाई बढ़ रही है। यह मंहगाई सिर्फ ईश्वर सजित मंहगाई नहीं है, यह मानव सजित मंहगाई है। कालाबाजारियों ने, नफ़ाखोरों ने मंहगाई बनायी है। मैं आप को गुजरात की एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूं। सारे यहां गेहूं ज्यादा नहीं होता मगर हम जानते हैं कि हजारों मन गेहूं हमारी सीमा को पार कर के बम्बई की तरफ कायदा को भंग कर के चला जाता है और इस बात की खबर आते ही फौरन गेहूं का भाव बढ़ जाता है। यह एक मिसाल है।

हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने भ्रष्टाचार और रिश्वतखोरी का सवाल अपने हाथ में लिया है। मगर भ्रष्टाचार और मंहगाई ये तो फल फूल हैं। उस का दरख्त कौन सा है? कहाँ

से ये उत्पन्न होते हैं। ये आकाश से तो नहीं पड़ते हैं। उस का मूल है सरमाएदारी। हमारे भारतवर्ष में कांग्रेस ने भी लोकशाही का मंत्र तो स्वीकार कर लिया है मगर हम जानते हैं कि साइनबोर्ड पर लोकशाही समाजवाद लिखा है और उस के अन्दर आप खुदी चलती है और सरमाएदारी की ताकत थोड़ी थोड़ी रोज रोज आगे बढ़ रही है। अब यह बबूल के दरख्त से कोई गुलाब का फूल तो नहीं मिल सकता है। यह मंहगाई है इस में भी भ्रष्टाचार की बुनियाद है। यह सरमायेदारी है उस में भी यह भ्रष्टाचार की बुनियाद है और उस के साथ साथ यह बात भी हम को सोचनी है कि पुराने जमाने की जो हमारी सिविल सर्विस है वह ऐसी रही है जैसी कि अंग्रेज लोगों ने हमारे यहां छोड़ी है।

कई माननीय सदस्यों ने ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफार्म्स के बारे में कुछ न कुछ कहा है। मैं नम्रता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आखिर में अंग्रेज लोगों ने यह लोहे का तंत्र बनाया तो वह किस वजह से बनाया? उस के पास बहुत थोड़े पड़े लिखे आदमी थे और हिन्दुस्तान के कोटि कोटि लोगों पर उस को राज्य बिठाना था। यह सारे का सारा सिविल सर्विस का तंत्र इस ढंग से बनाया कि कम लोग इतने बड़े बहुजन समाज पर बराबर अपना अंकुश रख सकें। उस के माने यह हैं कि उस में आपखुदी थी, उस में बड़ी निष्पूरता थी। कड़ी शक्ति से यह जनता को दबाता था, कुचलता था पीसता था। इस ढंग से काम करने का सिविल सर्विस का रवैया था। वर्षों बीत गये हम आजाद हो गये। मैं ने सोचा कि सिविल सर्विस पुराने जमाने के सर्वेंट कहे जाते थे दरअसल में जो शहनशाह बने रहे हैं, आज के जमाने में यह पूरे जनता के सेवक होने चाहियें। जो नंगी भूखी जनता है, जो किसान, कामदार, मजदूर और श्रमजीवी लोग हैं उन के सेवक हो कर इन सिविल सर्विस वालों को अपना काम करना है। मगर सारे का ही सारा ढांचा इस ढंग से बनाया

[श्री याज्ञिक]

है कि वह एक बड़े लाट साहब हो कर बड़ी कुर्सी पर शान से बैठते । बड़ी तनख्वाह पाते हैं, बड़े मिजाज से और और बड़ी तेजी से वे काम करते हैं । बेचारी सीधी सादी और भोली भाली गरीब जनता के साथ कोई मानवीय, इंसानियत के ढंग से बर्ताव करना उस ने समझा ही नहीं और समझेगा ही नहीं शायद । सारे प्रशासनिक ढांचे में व्यापक सुधार होना चाहिए । जब तक इस सिविल सर्विस के सारे के सारे ढांचे में आमूल चूल परिवर्तन नहीं किया जायगा, सिविल सर्विस का जो स्ट्रक्चर है उस में बुनियादी परिवर्तन नहीं किया जायगा तब तक छोटे छोटे सुधार करने से कोई फायदा मिलने वाला नहीं है वह बराबर हम को समझना चाहिए ।

गांधीजी के जमाने में हम अहिंसक क्रान्ति किया करते थे । हमने अहिंसक क्रान्ति की, अंग्रेज यहां से गये और हमने सत्ता की बागडोर सम्हाल ली । हम सत्ता की कुर्सी पर बैठ गये । मगर यह जो लोहे का तन्त्र बनाया है अंग्रेज लोगों ने और अपने पीछे यहां छोड़ दिया यह हमारा गला घूंट रहा है । आज यह लोहे का तन्त्र कोटि कोटि जनता का गला घूंट रहा है । उसमें आमूल चूल परिवर्तन किये बगैर देश में सुख शान्ति स्थापित नहीं हो सकती ।

सिविल सर्विस के साथ साथ सरमायेदारी भी है । सरमायेदारी प्रथा के लिए कोई फीगर्स देने की जरूरत नहीं है । आज यह सरमायेदारी हमारे मन्त्री जी, हमारे उपमन्त्री जी और हमारे सिविलियन्स यह सब के साथ बैठी है । जमात सारी की सारी उस को घेर कर बैठी है । जहां कहीं भी जायें, किसी भी मन्त्रालय में चले जाइये, वह आगे आगे बढ़ती ही रहती है । उसका ही जमाव चलता रहता है । उसका साम्राज्य सब जगह पर बैठ गया है । एक बाजू पर सरमायेदारी और दूसरे बाजू पर सिविल सर्विस, यह दोनों का संजोग हो गया तो जनता

मर गई और जनता के लिए कोई आशा नहीं है । यह बात बराबर पूरे ढंग से समझनी चाहिए कि बंगाल में 30 लाख आदमी मर गये दुर्भिक्ष में । उसके माने यह थे सारा सिविल सर्विस और व्यापारी लोगों ने सत्यानाश कर दिया । जनता दाने दाने को तड़प गई और परिणामस्वरूप हजारों, लाखों लोग मर गये ।

उसके साथ साथ जरा देहातों में जाकर देखिये । आप समझते हैं कि देहात में पैसे वाले लोग रहते हैं तो ऐसी बात तो है नहीं । अल-बत्ता कोई एक आध बड़ा किसान हो सकता है, कालाबाजार करने वाला भी हो सकता है, अनाज का छिपा कर संग्रह करने वाला भी हो सकता है । इस तरह के कुछ लोग गांवों में हो सकते हैं मैं इसको कबूल करता हूं मगर देहात में ज्यादातर लोग जो रहते हैं वे श्रमजीवी हैं, छोटे किसान हैं, मजदूर हैं और आज आप देहात में जाइये और पूछ कर देखिये कि वहां पर क्या पंचायती राज्य चलता है ? दरअसल पंचायती राज्य में जो बड़े बड़े मुखिया होते हैं उनका पूरा पूरा साम्राज्य चलता है, पूरी पूरी सत्ता चलती है । लोग परेशान होते हैं और देहात में कोई आशा की किरण आम तौर से लोगों को दिखाई नहीं पड़ती है । कामदारों की बात देखिये . . .

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है ।

श्री याज्ञिक : मुझे 15-20 मिनट चाहिए ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : समय नहीं है और अभी बहुत से लोग इस पर बोलना चाहते हैं ।

श्री याज्ञिक : मैं अपने ग्रुप से अकेला बोलने वाला व्यक्त हूं, मुझे थोड़ा समय और दिया जाय ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अच्छा दो मिनट में समाप्त कीजिये ।

श्री याज्ञिक : कामदारों की तरफ देखिये । मुझे अभी कुछ कामदारों का तजुर्बा हुआ है । महंगाई भत्ते की लड़ाई चलती है । उसके साथ बोनस की भी लड़ाई बड़ी चलती है । बोनस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट हो गई मगर अभी आज तक हमारे सामने उस के बारे में कोई सरकारी विधेयक आया नहीं है । क्या हुकूमत यह समझती है कि लाखों कामदार हिन्दुस्तान के सिर्फ इन्तजार करते हुए बैठे रहेंगे ? बिल्कुल गलतफ्रहमी होगी यह समझना । मैं बराबर दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान का कामदार, जो झगड़े हुए, लड़ाई कर चुका है, दिस में असन्तोष होने की बजह से वह शान्ति से बैठा रहने वाला नहीं है । हमारी राष्ट्रीय संप्राम सभिति ने ऐलान दिया है कि बोनस के सवाल का अगर ठीक फैसला नहीं होगा तो गुजरात बन्द, बम्बई बन्द ही नहीं होगा अपितु सारा भारत बन्द होगा ।

अभी बन्द की मैं बात करता हूं तो गुजरात बन्द का तजुर्बा मुझे याद आता है और यह भी मेरी शिकायत है कि हड़ताल के बारे में कोई कानून नहीं बनाये गवर्नमेंट ने, पुलिस के लिए कोई सूचना नहीं दी गई कि राज्य सरकारें कोई हड़ताल हो तो किस तरीके से काम लें ? हमारे यहां जो हड़ताल चली उसमें लाठी चलती रही, फिर घोड़े दौड़ाये और गोली चलाई । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हड़ताल करना यह स्वयंसिद्ध हक है हमारे संविधान में । पिकेटिंग करने का हमारा स्वयंसिद्ध हक है । हम संविधान के मुताबिक उसमें कोई रुकावट नहीं डाल सकते हैं । मैं सोचता हूं कि आज के जमाने में जब कोई मण्डल, कोई जिम्मेदार संस्था और कोई यूनियन हड़ताल का ऐलान करती है तो क्या राज्य सरकार या केन्द्रीय सरकार उस के अग्रणी के साथ सलाह मशविरा नहीं कर सकती ? हमने अहमदाबाद में 5 अगस्त को गुजरात बन्द का ऐलान दिया तो अगले दिन से लेकर दो दिन की सुबह तक हम से किसी ने कुछ नहीं पूछा, हुकूमत ने हमारे साथ कोई सलाह मशविरा नहीं किया बस सुबह से लेकर

रात तक लाठी चलाना शुरू कर दिया । वहां पर शहर के मध्य भाग में एक लाख के करीब आदमी जमा हुए थे उन पर घोड़े भी दौड़ाये गये और गोलियां भी चलाई गईं ।

जहां तक गोली चलाने का सम्बन्ध है आज से कई बरस पहले, पिछले जमाने में, श्री गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त ने इसी लोक सभा में मुझे आशवासन दिया था कि सारे के सारे पुलिस मैन्युअल की तबदीली होगी, हमारे सर्वोच्च स्तर के पुलिस अधिकारियों का एक परिषद् होगा और उसके द्वारा पुलिस मैन्युअल नये ढंग से बनाया जायेगा, जो कि आप सब लोगों को मिलेगा और उससे आप को मालूम होगा कि किस ढंग से गोली चलाई जायेगी और किस ढंग से नहीं चलाई जायेगी । मैं आज तक पुलिस मैन्युअल की इन्तजार कर रहा हूं, लेकिन आज तक नया पुलिस मैन्युअल हमारे सामने नहीं आया है ।

इसी तरह गोली चलाने के बारे में जो नये नियम बनाए गए थे, वे पन्त जी ने इसी लोक सभा में हमारे सामने रखे थे । उन नियमों के अनुसार यह निश्चित किया गया था कि अगर जरूरत हो, तो पुलिस पैर के नीचे के भाग, अंग, में गोली चलायेगी और छाती पर, कमर पर, सिर पर गोली नहीं चलाई जायेगी । मगर हमने गुजरात में देखा कि गोली सीधे सीने पर चलाई गई और छः नौजवान शहीद हो गए ।

मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर यही स्थिति रही, तो हिन्दुस्तान में असन्तोष बढ़ेगा और लड़ाई का हमारा काम मुश्किल होगा ।

केरल के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है । इसलिए मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूं लेकिन अगर इसी ढंग से किसी पार्टी को, कुछ लोगों को गैर कानूनी करार दिया गया, उनको जेल में डाल दिया गया, इसी तरह स्टेट्स में राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू किया गया, महंगाई बढ़ती गई, कामदारों के साथ अन्याय होता गया, गोषण बढ़ता गया, तो मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारा लड़ाई का

[श्री याज्ञिक]

काम बड़ा मुश्किल होगा। मैं हुकूमत को चेता-बनी देना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इसी ढंग से उसका काम चलेगा, अगर इसी तरह सिविल सर्विस और सरमायादारों की भागीदारी आगे बढ़ती रहेगी और नंगी-भूखी जनता का ज्यादा शोषण होता रहेगा, तो मैं आप को यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि 1967 के साल में एक अहिंसक क्रान्ति होगी। उसका मतलब यह है कि जो लोग हुकूमत में बैठे हैं, लोग उन को झाड़ू मार कर हुकूमत से हटा देंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री बागड़ी।

श्री मौर्य : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारा नम्बर भी आयेगा या नहीं ?

श्री बागड़ी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं गृह-कार्य मन्त्रालय के बारे में आप से अर्ज करूँगा कि अगर गृह-नीति देश के अन्दर की नीति—सफल हो, तो उसके आधार पर देश तरक्की करता है, शक्तिशाली बनता है और फिर उसी के आधार पर विदेश नीति बनती है। गृह-नीति का मतलब है देश में अमन-चैन और देश में अमन-चैन का मतलब है जान, माल और मन की शान्ति की रक्षा।

जहाँ तक जान का सवाल है, मैं यह कहूँगा कि इस मन्त्रालय के दौर में न जाने कितने कत्ल यके-बाद-दीगरे हुए हैं और होते हैं। आज इन्सान की जिन्दगी की कीमत मक्खी की जिन्दगी से ज्यादा नहीं है।

सरदार प्रतापसिंह कैरों की हत्या की गई। दत्तु पावार शिवाजी, फाइन आर्ट लिथो प्रैस के एक्सिस्टेंट सुपरवाइजर, का शव जमुना के टैंक में पाया गया। उसकी रपट दर्ज हुई और पुलिस ने लिखा कि उनकी मृत्यु के सम्बन्ध में आत्म-हत्या का सन्देह है, लेकिन बगैर पोस्ट-मार्टम के उनके शव को जला दिया गया क्योंकि इसके पीछे जाली नोट बनाने का कुछ इतिहास है और इस कत्ल के पीछे बहुत बड़े आदमियों का हाथ बताया जाता है, जिन में से कुछ लोग सामने बैठे हैं।

स्वर्गीय दामोदर प्रसाद आत्मा राम शर्मा 22 जनवरी को यहाँ आए, ताकि वे राष्ट्रपति जी के आगे इस बारे में व्रत रखें या धरना दें कि नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस जिन्दा हैं या क्या हैं। पुलिस साथ थी, लेकिन आज तक पता नहीं कि कब, क्यों और कैसे उनकी मृत्यु हुई।

सिधरोली की महारानी की जो हत्या हुई, उसमें कितने बड़े लोगों का हाथ है और वे कौन लोग हैं, वह अब किसी से छिपा नहीं है, लेकिन कानून हरकत में नहीं आता है।

इसी तरह आन्ध्र प्रदेश के महादेव प्रसाद जी, अलीगढ़ के रिसालदार बादामसिंह, श्री प्रतापसिंह की पत्नी, श्रीमती हरजीतकौर, 18-3-65 को और शिलाग के व्यापारी का पुत्र 2-1-64 को कत्ल कर दिया गया—इस व्यक्ति की लाश तीस तारीख तक पड़ी रही जबकि पुलिस ने उस पर कब्जा किया। भगवती बाई जबलपुर में 16-4-63 को जला दी गई और उत्तर प्रदेश पेपर कार्पोरेशन के तुलसी बनारस आए और बनारस होटल में उनकी हत्या कर दी गई।

ये दस हत्यायें मैंने बताई हैं और ग्यारहवीं शिशु हत्या केरल के चुनावों में जनतन्त्र की इस गृह मन्त्रालय ने की। अब तक भारत की जनता के दिमाग में यह असर था कि वह जनतन्त्र के द्वारा क्रान्ति कर सकती है और अपने दुखों का हल निकाल सकती है। लेकिन केरल में जनतन्त्र की शिशु-हत्या कर के गृह-मन्त्रालय ने हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को जनतन्त्र के पथ से बम और पिस्तौल के रास्ते पर धकेलने की कोशिश की है।

इस देश की अमन-चैन की व्यवस्था देश के केवल 45 लाख इन्सानों के अमन-चैन के लिए है, न कि हिन्दुस्तान की 45 करोड़ जनता के लिए। आज इस देश के खानाबदोश, आदिवासी और गरीब लोग कीड़े-मकोड़े की तरह से पुलिस तशददुद का शिकार बने हुए हैं, हबस-बेजा में रखे जा रहे हैं। आज लोगों पर झूठ

मुकदमे चलाए जा रहे हैं, दफा 109, 110 में चालाग किये जा रहे हैं और कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान के सिर्फ 45 लाख लोगों की जान की हिफाजत करने के लिए पुलिस पैसे और गुंडों के साथ चलती है।

जान के बाद मैं माल की बात करता हूँ। आज हिन्दुस्तान में न जाने कितनी डकैतियाँ खुले-आम होती हैं, जो गैर-कानूनी हैं। लेकिन अगर एक तरफ हिन्दुस्तान में डाकू पिस्तौल दिखा कर और जान लेकर चन्द लाख के डाके मारते हैं, तो मैं दावे के साथ कहता हूँ कि दूसरी तरफ हिन्दुस्तान की कानूनी सरकार ने कानूनी पिस्तौल दिखा कर हिन्दुस्तान के लुटेरों को हिन्दुस्तान के भ्रवाम के करोड़ों रुपये लूटने की खुनी छूट दे रखी है—चाहे गुड़ में और चाहे गन्दुम, चावल या कपड़े में। इस तरह हिन्दुस्तान में संगठित कानून का सहारा लेकर, बरीर पिस्तौल दिखाएँ, सरकार की शक्ति दिखा कर, हिन्दुस्तान के भ्रवाम के लूटे जाने की खुली छूट दे दी गई है और कोई कानून उनको इस लूट से बचाने के लिए सामने नहीं आया है।

इसके बाद मैं मानसिक बात आप की खिदमत में भ्रज करना चाहता हूँ। आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के मन का कोई आदर नहीं है। चाहे इस देश में, चाहे बाहर, जब भी जनता के मन की बात आती है, उसकी इच्छा की बात आती है, तो उस मन और इच्छा को ढंडे की शक्ति से रोक दिया जाता है और इसमें ज्यादा प्रभाव भ्रष्टाचार का पड़ता है। भ्रष्टाचार की बात मैं क्या कहूँ? अभी 22 तारीख को राजस्थान के एम० एल० एज० महारानी गायत्री देवी, एक और माननीय सदस्य और मैं हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मन्त्री को मिले और उनको राजस्थान की सरकार और मुख्य मन्त्री के खिलाफ 42 इल्जामात पेश किये कि किस तरह उन्होंने वहाँ पर खुल्लम-खुल्ला डाका डाला है। मैं एक बात भूल गया था कि किस तरीके से कत्ल के अन्दर सरकार का

हाथ होता है। यह सपासी दुनिया है। इसके अन्दर खुल्लम खुल्ला लिखा हुआ है कि कैरो के कत्ल के अन्दर किस तरीके से पंजाब सरकार के कुछ अधिकारियों का हाथ है।

Shri Hathi: I think, Sir, as the matter is yet under investigation it would not be proper to discuss it.

श्री बागड़ी : जब अखबार में आ जाय तो क्या हो। अरे भाई, अखबार में छपा है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You need not flaunt it; you may mention it.

श्री बागड़ी : इसके बाद भ्रष्टाचार की बात आती है। भ्रष्टाचार के बारे में मैं इतनी बात कहूँगा कि ऊपर से नीचे तक यह देश एक किस्म के भ्रष्ट बन गया है क्योंकि भ्रष्टाचार आज लोगों का धर्म बन गया है। वोट मांगने के लिये या तो उनको पैसा दो या कोई दूसरी चीज दो। उसके बदले में वोट लो। अगर काम करवाओ तो नोट दो। जनता को भी सरकार की नीति ने भ्रष्ट बना दिया है। अभी मैं राजस्थान के इलाके से होकर आ रहा हूँ। वहाँ भ्रष्टाचार का नतीजा यह निकला है कि महंगाई बढ़ गई है। आज महंगाई कहां तक पहुँच गई है इस के लिये मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जंगलों के अन्दर छोटे छोटे बच्चे एक गीत गाते हैं कि :

“बोल नन्दा बोल, मन्दा होगा कि नहीं।”

ऐसा मन्तक आज चलता है। राजस्थान क्षेत्र में चुनाव हो रहे हैं, मैं वहीं से आ रहा हूँ। वहाँ बारह छंटाक का गन्दम है, दस छंटाक का गुड़ है और चौदह छंटाक का चावल है। जहाँ इतनी महंगाई बढ़ गई है, वहाँ उसका कारण क्या है। उसका कारण भ्रष्टाचार है। उस तरह से सरकार कोटा परमिट के सहारे किसानों की कमाई को लूटती है और भ्रष्टाचार कराती है।

[श्री बागड़ी]

इस सदन में रूबी कम्पनी और एन० सी० कारपोरेशन की बात आ चुकी है जिस में कुमारी भोजवानी हैं। इसी तरह से भारत सेवक समाज में श्री बृजकृष्ण चांदीवाला हैं। भारत सेवक समाज के प्रधान जी० एल० नन्दा, मंत्री बी० डी० नन्दा, और एक और नन्दा हैं बी० पी० नन्दा। नन्दा नन्दा ही भरे पड़े हैं। यह जो भ्रष्टाचार है वह नीचे से नहीं, गंगोत्री से शुरू होता है। जब तक गंगोत्री को साफ नहीं किया जायेगा तब तक भ्रष्टाचार खत्म नहीं होगा।

रहा सवाल इस का कि इस की क्या वजह है। इस बात को तो सोचो कि हिन्दुस्तान कई हजार सालों से दबा हुआ है। क्या वजह है कि दस मोगल आये और हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर काबिज हो गये। क्या वजह है कि पांच अंग्रेज आये और हिन्दुस्तान को गुलाम बना लिया। क्या वजह है कि तीन चीन की छोरियाँ हैं जिन्होंने हमारे नाक में दम कर दिया। दस हजार हमारे सैनिकों को पकड़ ले गये वह लोग। क्या वजह है कि कंजरकोट में पाकिस्तान आँखें दिखा रहा है और हमारी जगह पर कब्जा कर रहा है। इस की वजह यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर सिर्फ चन्द प्रादमी राज सुख को लूटा करते हैं, और जब इस देश पर आपत्ति आती है तो वह लुटेरे उस का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते। जो हिन्दुस्तान की आम जनता है उसके और देश के सुखों से उन लोगों का स्नेह नहीं होता इस लिये उन्हें कभी देश का मोह उत्पन्न नहीं हो सकता।

मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के खानाबदोशों का क्या हाल है। आप दिल्ली की ही मिसाल ले लीजिये। दिल्ली के अन्दर झुग्गी झोंपड़ियों वालों को साठिंठा मार कर उन के घरों से निकाल दिया, उन की जन्माश्रमों को घर से निकाल

दिया और कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान आजाद देश है। हमारे देश पर आपत्ति आती है तो उन को देश के साथ किस तरीके से स्नेह या मोह पैदा हो सकता है। यह सब से बड़ी सोचने की बात है।

इसके बाद मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मणिपुर राज्य के अन्दर एक तहफ कह रहे हैं सीज फायर की बात। मैं नन्दा साहब पर आरोप लगाता हूँ कि 8,700 वर्ग मील का एरिया जो मणिपुर राज्य का था उस में से सीज फायर होने कि बिना पर सिर्फ 700 मुल्दा मील पर हमारा कब्जा रह गया। 8,000 वर्ग मील आप ने जो मुतबाजी नागा गवर्नमेंट है उस को दे दिया। नागा गवर्नमेंट वहाँ पर हर नारी से एक साल में एक शाल टैक्स की तरह लेती है और 20 रु० फी घर टैक्स लेती है। 25 रु० फी लाइसेंस लेती है। वहाँ पर कचहरी और जेलखाना मुतबाजी तीर पर बन गये हैं। जो नागा लोग आप के वफादार थे वह आप से टूटते जा रहे हैं क्योंकि वहाँ उन से जवरी टैक्स वसूल किया जाता है और आप का गृह मंत्रालय उनको बचा नहीं सकता है। इस सदन के माननीय सदस्य और वहाँ की असेम्बली के जो सदस्य हैं वह उस क्षेत्र में जा नहीं सकते।

अब भी वक्त है, सम्भलो। मणिपुर को जो आप ने गोद में डाला है उस को ठीक करो नहीं तो चन्द दिनों बाद रोओगे। अभी तुम इन हालात पर काबू कर सकते हो। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया तो यह हिस्सा हिन्दुस्तान से जाने वाला है। अपनी नीति को मजबूत करने के लिये कुछ मजबूत काम करो। सिर्फ हवाई बातों से काम नहीं चलेगा।

मैं एक ही बात और कह कर खत्म करूँगा। जिस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेज कम्पनी आई थी उस ने उस वक्त कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान

के मुगल शहशाह का जो ताज था वह जमीन पर पड़ा था, उसको कोई उठ ने वाला नहीं था। इसलिये हमने आकर उसे उठाया। मैं आज कहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के कांग्रेसी मुगल शहशाह का जो हिन्दुस्तान की आज दो का ताज था, जो कि इस देश के शहीदों के खून से रंगा हुआ है, वह आज जमीन पर पड़ा हुआ है और उसे उठने वाला कोई नहीं है।

श्री भगवत झा आज्ञा (भागलपुर) :
तुम उठा लो।

श्री बागड़ी : उसे उठाने की जगह पर जो आप बैठे हुए हैं।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान की 45 करोड़ जनता के अन्दर जागृति नहीं है तो और जिस तरह से आज जनता के लोग इस ताज की छिना झपटी में लगे हुए हैं उसी तरीके से चलता रहा तो हिन्दुस्तान की आज्ञादी के साथ फिर एक किस्म की बेवफाई होगी और उस तमाम बेवफाई की जिम्मेदारी कांग्रेसी सरकार पर होगी। श्री याज्ञिक ने अभी एक बात कही थी कि जनता उठेगी। अगर जनता नहीं उठी तो यह बदकिस्मती है हिन्दुस्तान की। हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता उठे। अगर वह नहीं उठी तो यह शासन टूटेगा, देश टूटेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जनता उठे और इस शासन को उखाड़ कर फेंक दे।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shrimati Subhadra Joshi.

श्री मो : मुझे बोलने का समय मिलेगा, या नहीं। कहा गया था कि मुझे तीन बजे के बाद समय मिल जायेगा लेकिन अब छः बजे रहे हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not taking any time of the House. It is only the Members who are speaking that are taking the time. Anyhow, we are going to sit till 7 O' Clock. We shall see.

Shri Manoharan: Are you going to call me after this hon. Member?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You have to wait for your chance. I am going party-wise.

Shri Manoharan: Since you have given time to one SSP member, I want to know whether I will get a chance. Then I will wait. Otherwise, let me go.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You have to wait for your chance. I cannot give any assurance.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (बलरामपुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जब होम मिनिसट्री की डिमान्ड पर हम लोगों को यहां पर विचार करने के लिये मौका मिला है तो होम मिनिसट्री पर मुझे जो कुछ कहना है उसके पहले पाकिस्तान ने पिछले दिनों जो हमला कर दिया हमारे ऊपर, और जिसकी आज सदन में कुछ चर्चा हुई, उस के सिलसिले में मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि देश के अन्दर और देश की रक्षा करने के लिये होम मिनिसटर साहब ने जो कदम उठाया उसकी भी कुछ चर्चा हुई। मैं होम मिनिसटर साहब को इस मामले में मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ। हमारे कुछ सदस्यों ने यह कहा कि लोग तीन बार चुनाव जीत गये तो क्या जनता के वोट देने से यह साबित नहीं होता कि वह वहां पर हुकूमत बनाने के काबिल हैं। मैं जानना चाहती हूँ कि क्या जेल किसी को इसलिये डाल दिया जाता है कि उसे वोट नहीं मिलते हैं। अगर कोई हार जाय तो क्या उसे जेल में डाल दिया जाय और जीत जाये तो उसे बाहर निकाल दिया जाये। क्या जेल में डालने के लिये कोई इस तरह का पैमाना होता है। अगर कोई हमारे देश के खिलाफ काम करता है तो क्या उसके लिये यह कहा जा सकता है कि चूँकि दो-दो दफे, तीन-तीन दफे वह जीत गया इसलिये उसे जेल से बाहर निकाल दिया जाये। यह कोई लाजिक नहीं है

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

मैं इसके साथ ही होम मिनिस्टर साहब से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्टों को जेल में डाला गया यह कह कर कि विश्वास का कारण था कि वह चीन का समर्थन करते हैं। लेकिन मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता है कि जब दूसरी पार्टियों के लोग इस तरह की बातें करते हैं तो उनके साथ ऐसा व्यवहार क्यों नहीं किया जाता। आज सुबह अखबारों में डा० लोहिया का भाषण निकला। जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि पाकिस्तान के साथ कन्फेडरेशन बनाया जाये और अगर इस के लिये हम काश्मीर दे दें तो यह बहुत छोटी कीमत होगी। जिस काम के लिये लेफ्ट कम्प्यूनिस्टों को जेल में डाला जाता है जब वही बातें डा० लोहिया कहते हैं तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता उनको जेल में क्यों नहीं डाला जाता। वही बातें कहने के लिये जयप्रकाश नारायण को क्यों जेल में नहीं डाला जाता। यह कहने से शेख अब्दुल्ला गद्दार कहलाते हैं तब इसी देश में वही बात जब राजा जी कहते हैं तो उनके खिलाफ कानूनी कार्रवाई क्यों नहीं होती है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब ईमानदारी से, बिना डिस्ट्रिक्मिनेशन के, चाहे वह चीनी लाबी हो चाहे वह अमरीकी लाबी हो, दोनों के खिलाफ सख्ती से कार्रवाई करें।

18 hrs.

मैं मिनिस्टर साहब को मुबारकवाद देना चाहती हूँ कि उन्होंने इस मिनिस्ट्री का काम एक नए एरोच से शुरू किया है। उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के ला एंड आर्डर को ही अपना काम नहीं समझा है। पर उन्होंने करप्शन के खिलाफ आवाज उठायी, और उसी के खिलाफ एक ड्राइन शुरू किया, इस के लिए मैं उनको मुबारकवाद देना चाहती हूँ। मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि दो साल में करप्शन हटता है या नहीं इस अड़ंगे-

बाजी में उनको नहीं पड़ना चाहिए। उन्होंने जो काम शुरू किया है वह एक बहुत अच्छा काम है और उसी के कारण उन पर आज हिन्दुस्तान में चारों तरफ से आक्रमण हो रहे हैं कि किस तरह से उनकी बदनामी की जाए।

भारत सेवक समाज के लिए मेरे दिल में कोई मुहब्बत और प्रेम नहीं है। यह मैं सफाई से कहना चाहती हूँ। पर इस तरह की कितनी ही संस्थाएँ हैं। मैं लोक सभा के माननीय सदस्यों से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि कितनी देश में संस्थाएँ हैं, कितनी कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियाँ हैं और दूसरी जमाअतें हैं और उनमें से कई के माननीय सदस्य मम्बर हैं और कइयों की सिफारिश करते हैं। क्या उनमें उनको कोई खराबी नज़र नहीं आ रही? क्या उनके हिसाब देखने वालों को उनमें कोई खराबी नज़र नहीं आयी। भारत सेवक समाज के बारे में जो हमारी कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट दी है, मैं चाहती हूँ कि उसके बारे में मंत्री महोदय और सरकार अच्छी तरह से समझ बूझ कर काम करें। लेकिन मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि इतना बड़ा भारगोनाइजेशन है, जिसको सरकार ने करोड़ों रुपया दिया, कुछ रुपया उसने अपने आप जमा किया। मैंने भी रिपोर्ट में देखा कि यह जो करोड़ों रुपया इस संस्था को दिया गया, उसमें केवल चार हजार के एमबैजिलमेंट के केस हैं, चार केस हैं और हजार हजार से ज्यादा का कोई नहीं है। मैं खुद ऐसी संस्थाओं से ताल्लुक रखती हूँ जो थोड़े रुपए में डील करती हैं और उनमें भी लोग रुपया ले कर भाग जाते हैं, कोई रसीद नहीं देते हैं और भाग जाते हैं, तो हम कहाँ तक उनके पीछे भाग। मैं यह नहीं कइती कि उनके खिलाफ कार्रवाई नहीं करनी चाहिए। कार्रवाई तो करनी चाहिए पर बात का बतंगड़ नहीं बनाना चाहिए। जो अच्छा काम हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने शुरू किया है करप्शन को खत्म करने

का, उसे बिलिटिल नहीं करना चाहिए। सदाचार समिति का ताना दे कर, भारत के समाज का ताना देकर या साधु समाज का ताना देकर उस बड़े काम को हिन्दुस्तान की नजरों में छोटा करना बहुत नामुनासिब बात है।

कल प्राचार्य कृपालानी जी ने कहा। मैं उनसे प्रदब से अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि वह गांधी आश्रम के हिसाब को जनता के सामने रखें। पिछले साल अंसार हरवानी साहब ने इसका जिक्र कर दिया था। आज वह नहीं है यह अच्छा हुआ, उनकी हालत कमजोर है, पिछले बरस उनको हार्ट का दौरा हो गया था। मैं प्रदब से कहना चाहती हूँ कि वह भी उस संस्था के मेम्बर थे या शायद प्रेसीडेंट थे। श्री मोरारका भाई उसके ट्रेजरर थे। उसका हिसाब किताब भी जनता के सामने रखा जाए। एक बार मैंने सदन के सामने कहा था कि गांधी आश्रम को सरकार मदद देती है, कई शबलों में मदद देती है। हमने उस बार भी कहा था कि गांधी आश्रम के लोग चुनाव में काम करने गए तो क्या कैजुअल लीव ले कर गए थे या प्रिविलेज लीव ले कर गए थे? उनकी तनखाहें किस ने दी? मेरे पास एक खत है। एक मंत्री जी ने उसे लिखा है और उन्होंने गांधी आश्रम के व्यवस्थापक से पूछा है कि आपके यहां से कुछ कार्यकर्ता पूज्य दादा जी के चुनाव में काम करने गए हैं। वे कितने कार्यकर्ता हैं, उनको क्या वेतन मिलना चाहिए, उनके क्या नाम हैं, कितना उनका वेतन भत्ता है, फौरन लिखो ताकि उनको उन दिनों का वेतन दे दिया जाए। मैं पूछती हूँ कि यह कौन से हिसाब से दे दिया जाता है।

एक साननीय सदस्य : यह यू०पी० के मिनिस्टर साहब होंगे।

श्रीमती सभद्रा जोशी : गांधी आश्रम के एक मंत्री हैं। मैं कहती हूँ कि इस संस्था

का काम खादी बनाना और बेचना है। उसके लोग चुनाव में काम करने जाते हैं। मैं इस पर ऐतराज नहीं कर सकती क्योंकि ये सरकारी कर्मचारी नहीं हैं। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहती हूँ कि उन दिनों की तनखाह गांधी आश्रम ने कौनसे हिसाब में से दी। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि खादी बेचने का इस से कितना नुकसान हुआ। मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन संस्थाओं में जो गड़बड़ी होती है उसको सख्ती से डील करना चाहिए, लेकिन इस बात को पोलिटिकल ह्यू बना कर एक काम को जिसको होम मिनिस्टर ने उठाया है बिलिटिल नहीं करना चाहिए।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ कि उन्होंने करप्शन को दूर करने के उपायों पर विचार करने के लिए एक कमेटी बिठायी। उस कमेटी ने जो सिफारिशों की उनमें से ज्यादातर को मान लिया गया। जो केसेज हुए उनके फिगर्स में तो मैं नहीं जाना चाहती लेकिन ज्यादातर केसेज में कामयाबी हुई, और सबसे बड़ी बात तो इस से यह हुई कि देश में एक वातावरण बन गया कि आज कोई इन चीजों को देखने वाला है। माथुर साहब ने कहा कि इसका इम्पैक्ट नहीं हुआ। लेकिन आज इस बात को कौन डिनाई कर सकता है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान का बच्चा-बच्चा यह सोचने लगा है कि अगर किसी के खिलाफ शिकायत होगी तो वह सुनी जाएगी।

इसके साथ साथ मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को इसके लिए भी मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ कि उन्होंने सियासी लोगों को भी बढशा नहीं। बड़े बड़े चीफ मिनिस्टर्स को अपनी जगह से हटना पड़ा। लेकिन मैं अपने होम मिनिस्टर साहब से यह भी निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि उनको इस चीज को ग्रीव में नहीं छोड़ देना चाहिए। मैं एक चीज कहना चाहती हूँ कि कुछ लोग सियासत में आते हैं और खाय़ा प या और इस्तीफा दे कर चले जाते हैं। अपने आप इस्तीफा दे कर चले

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

जाते हैं या उनको इस्तीफा देने पर मजबूर किया जाता है। और इसके बाद मामला खत्म हो जाता है। आज यह हो रहा है कि एडवेंचरर सियासत में आते हैं, दो चार बरस रहते हैं, खाया पीया और घर चले गए, और आप ने समझ लिया कि आपकी जिम्मेदारी खत्म हो गयी। इससे देश का नुकसान हुआ है और सरकार की बदनामी हुई है, गृह-मंत्री की बदनामी हुई है। जाने वाला चला गया, उसका कुछ बिगड़ा नहीं।

मैंने एक बार पन्त जी से कहा कि हम लोग तो सुनी सुनायी बात कहते हैं, पर आप तो होम मिनिस्टर हैं, आपके पास तो सही खबरें आती हैं, आप क्यों नहीं इन चीजों को देखते, तो उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर इन चीजों को देखें तो इनको लाजिकल एंड तक ले जाना पड़ता है। मैं मंत्री जी से मांग करती हूँ कि उनको लाजिकल एंड तक जाना चाहिए और अपराधी के खिलाफ कार्रवाई होनी चाहिए।

साथ ही साथ मंत्री जी ने जो तजवीज की है, और जिस पर वह गौर कर रहे हैं कि शिकायतों को सुनने का कोई रास्ता निकाला जाए, उसके लिए वह एक कमिश्नर मुकर्रर कर रहे हैं, उसके लिए भी मैं उनका अध्याई चाहती हूँ।

हमारे मंत्री साहब ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कम्यूनल सिचुएशन का जिक्र किया। इस रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि जो कुछ पाकिस्तान में हुआ उसके रिपरकशन के रूप में यहाँ यह चीज हुई। अगर आप सिर्फ इतना कह देते हैं तो आप बहुत चीजों को ओवर सिम्प्लीफाई करते हैं। जो पाकिस्तान में हुआ उसके रिपरकशन का बहाना जरूर था। लेकिन मैं अपने होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहती हूँ कि पाकिस्तान से समय समय पर जो शरणार्थी आए उनकी कहानियाँ ही इस का कारण नहीं

थीं। हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी जमाअतें और पार्टियाँ मौजूद हैं जो, अगर पाकिस्तान में गड़बड़ न भी हुई होती, तो देश के अन्दर ही कोई बहाना निकाल कर गड़बड़ करती हैं। अगर सारे शरणार्थियों को छोड़ दिया जाता और उनको कह दिया जाता कि जाओ हिन्दुस्तान में राइट करो और लोगों को मारो तो वह ऐसा नहीं कर सकते थे। घरों पर निशान कौन लगा आता, यह काम प्लांड तरीके से किया गया और

एक माननीय सदस्य : कम्युनिस्ट।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे कहना चाहती हूँ कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो कार्रवाई की उससे जो अल्प-संख्यक हिन्दुस्तान में थे बहुत वरसों के बाद उनके दिल में एक विश्वास पैदा हो गया।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप खत्म करें।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप मेरी पार्टी वालों से पूछ लीजिये वे मुझे अपना समय देने के लिए तैयार हैं। मुझे थोड़ा समय और दिया जाय।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अच्छा दो मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त करिये।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह सरकुलर निकाला था और यह इंस्ट्रक्शन्स निकाले थे कि जो अफसर ठीक वक्त पर कार्यवाही नहीं करेंगे उनके लिए समझा जायगा कि उन्होंने अपनी ड्यूटी ठीक तरीके से अन्जाम नहीं दी है। इसको गिन्नर अप करना चाहिए। झगड़ा और फ़साद होने से पहले होम मिनिस्टर को इत्तिला देनी चाहिए।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके साथ साथ एक बहुत जरूरी बात मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहती हूँ कि वह अपनी मशीनरी को

तब तक गिअर अप नहीं कर सकते जब तक वह अपने यहां सरकारी मुलाजिमों पर राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ का मैम्बर होने पर पाबन्दी नहीं लगाते । सरकार को यह चीज साफ़ कर देनी चाहिए कि सरकारी मुलाजिम राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ का सदस्य नहीं होना चाहिए ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : होना चाहिए ।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : ऐसा सरकारी मुलाजिम जो कि राष्ट्रीय सेवक संघ में काम करता हो उसके खिलाफ कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए । अगर यह इत्तिला होम मिनिस्टर के पास नहीं है तो हमारी इंटेलिजेंस का यह बहुत पुअर रिफ्लैक्शन है । आज इसे कौन नहीं जानता कि स.री सरकारी कर्मचारियों की कौलिनियों में राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ की शाखाएं लगती हैं । वहां उन्हें यह बतलाया जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में बसने वाले मुसलमान, ईसाई, पारसी हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिक नहीं हैं । उनको वहां पर छुरा मारना सिखलाया जाता है । छुरेबाजी करनी होगी और छुरे से आक्रमण करना सिखलाया जाता है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्या अब तो समाप्त ही कर दें ।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उन हौरेबुल बातों का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहती हूं जो कि मुझे इनके बारे में मालूम हुई हैं । कहा जाता है कि उन्हें 8 दिन में बकरा मारना सिखलाया जाता है ताकि इन्सान मजबूत और बेरहम हो जाय । आप महाराष्ट्र के पार्लियामेंट के मैम्बरों से पूछिये तो वह आपको बतलायेंगे कि उन्हें वहां पर क्या क्या चीजें सिखलाई जाती हैं । अगर ऐसे लोग सरकारी कर्मचारी रहेंगे तो क्या वे राष्ट्रीय हित व एकता के लिए खतरनाक साबित नहीं होंगे (इंटरपुंजस)

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : इतने बकरे देश में नहीं हैं ।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिए राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ का मैम्बर होना तथा ऐसी आपत्तिजनक कार्यवाहियों में हिस्सा लेना कदापि वांछनीय नहीं है और सरकार को इस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने की दिशा में सोचना चाहिए ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्या अब समाप्त कर दें ।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : बस एक मिनट मुझे और दिया जाय ।

इसके अलावा मेरा यह भी कहना है कि ऐसे अखबार जो कि जाति विद्वेष फैलायें, एक फिरके और दूसरे फिरके वालों में आपस में नफरत का भाव फैलायें, और इस तरह से साम्प्रदायिक तनातनी पैदा करें उनके खिलाफ सरकार को कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : कम्प्युनिस्ट्स कांग्रेस में घुसे हुए हैं उनको निकालना चाहिए ।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : वे इस तरह की गैर जिम्मेदाराना और गलत सलत खबरें अखबारों में छापते हैं कि अमुक जाति वालों ने फलां सम्प्रदाय के लोगों को मारा या उनकी औरतों को बेइज्जत किया और इस तरह बेकार में दोनों में नफरत की भावना फैलाते हैं । ऐसे गैर जिम्मेदार अखबारों के खिलाफ सरकार को कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए जो कि इस तरह की साम्प्रदायिक भाग को भड़काते रहते हैं और जनता को झूठी खबरें देकर उनके पेशस को उभारते हैं । उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने वह खत रखना चाहती हूं जो कि दिल्ली प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी के प्रेसीडेंट ने उनको लिखा है . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must conclude now. I am very sorry that I cannot give her more time.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: She is concluding. Let her be allowed to complete her last sentence.

Shrimati Subhadra Joshi: Let me complete the topic that I was dealing with.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry. The hon. Member must conclude now. Shri Manoharan.

Shrimati Subhadra Joshi: Please give me one minute more.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: She should conclude now. I have already called the next speaker.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : 11 जनवरी के आरगनाइजर अखबार में लिखा है कि जब अय्यूब की जीत हुई तो जामा मस्जिद एरिया में उसकी खशी में जलूस निकाले गये। दिल्ली कांग्रेस के प्रेसीडेंट ने इस बारे में तहकीकात कर होम मिनिस्टर साहब को लिखा कि इस खबर में लेशमात्र भी सच्चाई नहीं है और वह खुद इसकी तहकीकात करके तसल्ली कर सकते हैं।

श्री अंकार लाल बोरवा : वह खबर सच है। मिठाई बांटी गई थी।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : तहकीकात से साबित हो गया है कि वह खबर एकदम बेबुनियाद थी मैं तो यह भी कहूंगी कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब स्वयं इस बारे में तहकीकात करायें और अगर वह खबर सच साबित हो तो ऐसा करने वालों के खिलाफ कड़ी कार्यवाही करें वरना इस तरह की गलत और बेबुनियाद खबर छापने वालों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही करें। (इंटरपं) मेरी होम मिनिस्टर साहब से प्रार्थना है कि वह इस और ध्यान दें और ऐसे साम्प्रदायिक तस्कों के खिलाफ जो कि इस तरह का जाति विद्वेष फैलाते हैं उनके खिलाफ सरकार कार्यवाही करे।

Shri Manoharan: At the outset, I want to make it clear that I have no

animosity either against the Home Minister or against his Ministry. But I cannot congratulate the Home Minister's performance for the past one year or so owing to certain obvious reasons. I think the Home Minister is under the fire of criticism not only from the Opposition but from his own party. I think that it is my duty to take him free of cost to the Andaman Islands to get him cooled and make him study the problems there and thereby know the position there for himself.

Regarding Andamans and Nicobar Islands, which is a centrally administered Union territory, very recently our Minister of State had visited it. We must understand the location, the geographical position of the Andaman Islands. You are aware that the Union territory of Andamans Islands is lying on a vital trade routes of India, Burma and Far East situated only 90 miles from Sumatra from its southern most extremity, it is only 40 miles from the last Burmese outpost; from its northernmost extremity, the islands are in an important, strategic region. I had been there. I had toured all over. I have met people and talked with them and understood their problems. Wherever I went, there was a unanimous demand, not only from the intellectual section or the section which is employed in the administration, but from the lowest strata of society, which was that the Chief Commissioner of the island should be immediately removed. I think Shri Hathi should definitely agree with me because he has known personally about that gentleman. He is a partisan type, discriminatory; not only that, he is highly inefficient and is, if I may be permitted to say so, the most corrupt individual possible.

I have given some cut motions regarding this. Shri Hathi while he was there must have known about this man. I have received so many letters from my people from Andamans. There was a demonstration outside shouting 'Call back Mahesh-

wari, the Chief Commissioner of that small island. The reason is simple. Besides his other deficiencies he has his own association with a notorious pirate of the place who is almost, virtually a monarch in Nicobar island. His name is Akoji. He has got many ships. He is lending ships to the administrations of the Andaman and Nicobar islands. His ships used to go straightway from Nicobar to Ceylon from where he used to get a lot of things, smuggled things, and come to Nicobar island where the customs authorities fail to check. He has his own freelance. He is a skylark. From Nicobar island he goes straightway to Chittagong. From Chittagong, he comes again to Nicobar and dumps goods. Then he goes to Calcutta port. This is what he is doing.

I think Shri Hathi knows. He is a spy. That is the impression all over prevailing there. Therefore, I request Shri Hathi and Shri Nanda to study the personality of Mr. Akoji. He is today purchasing lots of lands not only in Nicobar but also in Andamans. I am afraid if he is allowed to purchase lands in this way, a day will soon come when he will purchase the whole of Nicobar and Andaman Islands and ask the administration to quit.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): Then we will nationalise it.

Shri Manoharan: I wish Shri Hathi would take note of this. I have given a cut motion to that effect. It is about putting a ceiling on acquisition of lands by suitable legislation.

Shri Hathi knows the second aspect. He was given a wonderful reception by the DMK members in the Andaman Island. I tell you the majority of the DMK leaders in that particular island had been arrested and put behind bars recently. The reason was not given. I want to know specifically from the Home Minister why the DMK leaders have been arrested and put behind bars without any reason.

An hon. Member: What about communists?

Shri Manoharan: I will come to that later.

There is another most important aspect. There are schools there, but unfortunately not for the South Indian community. There are 10,000 Tamilians, 7,000 Malayalees and 5,000—7,000 Telugu people—I can say safely that the total number is 20,000 South Indians living there. Not even a single Tamil school is provided by the administration; not even a single Telugu or Malayalee school. That discrimination should go, and he should understand the problem thoroughly.

The Defence of India Rules are profusely used everywhere, even in my State. Shri Hathi cannot turn round and say that it is a State matter. It is the duty of the Home Ministry to prevail upon the State Governments to do the proper thing. Even now in my State, 15 people are behind the bars arrested under D.I.R. Among the 15, for your information, three people are doctors, following the noblest profession possible. The remaining are most responsible people. They are Taluk Secretaries and Town Secretaries and important members of the DMK. Why they are arrested I do not know. The arrested personalities are quite ignorant about it. Shri Bhaktavatsalam says that these people are anti-social elements. DIR means Defence of India rules, but after having understood the minds of so many individuals, especially the Chief Ministers of so many States, I think we should introduce an element of change in it, amend it, and call it Defence of Congress Rule. It should be called DCR and not DIR, because it helps the ruling party to safeguard themselves and curb the Opposition completely.

For example, in Kerala, the Left Communist leaders are arrested under DIR. I am neither an advo-

[Shri Manoharan.]

cate of those people, nor do I like to be an advocate for them. But one thing I can say. Shri Nanda has submitted a report, what is called a White Paper. I have studied the paper with enough patience. He has given some reasons, that the Communist people are having extra-territorial loyalty and that they are traitors to the country. These are all submissions made by Shri Nanda. I fully agree with Shri Nanda in saying that if any institution or any individual is going against the interests of the country in connivance with foreign powers, trying to disrupt the established orderly democratic Government, that institution or individual should be declared a traitor, and the individual should be put behind the bars. I have no objection at all. But here, in this case, I want to know—unfortunately, the White Paper has not enlightened me—whether there are any specific reasons, concrete evidence to prove that these people have got connection with Red China. Produce these people before the court with all your evidence and proof, and let the court condemn these people as guilty. If they are found guilty, I would request Shri Nanda to take all the Left Communist leaders to Ramlila Grounds, ask those people to stand one by one. Let Shri Nanda take the initiative and shoot them down, and give me a pistol, and I will follow suit. But without submitting any positive, concrete evidence or proof...

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri Tyagi): He cannot be trusted with a pistol.

An hon. Member: He will be standing behind Shri Nanda.

Shri Manoharan: I think there is no justification for the action taken by Shri Nanda.

I have got a very good opinion of him. He is a good man. He tries to be sincere, he is honest, though not fully. The only defect that I have

found in him is that he is highly emotional rather than rational. If that part is reformed, I think he will be perfectly all right, and he will be a good Minister for our country.

There are already people who are digging his grave from his own party. I stand by the side of Shri Nanda saying that his honesty should pay for him, provided he conducts himself properly in the larger interests of the nation.

Then I want to draw the attention of the House to the language issue. You know that some three months back there was such a huge mass upsurge that entire India witnessed in Madras State. It was an emotional mass upsurge. There is no getting away from that fact. When I spoke in the House on that, I said 150 people were killed. Subsequently, the Chief Minister of Madras repudiated it and said that it is not 150 but only 50, as if it is a small number or a small amount. After having visited certain spots where the firing had taken place, where light machine-guns were employed, it was identified that more than 600 people were killed. We demanded a judicial enquiry. If the Minister of Home Affairs or the Chief Minister of Madras have got an iota of decency or political honesty, they could have instituted an enquiry, but they did not do that. These are all old stories, but forget not, it has become a legend. After three months we expected something to come out from this House, especially from the Home Minister because on February 17 this year, we had the President's Address to Parliament, and the President was very clear in having said in the following language:

"We are greatly distressed by the events in South India. We deplore the acts of violence which have occurred and extend our deep sympathy to those who have suffered. Doubts about the language issue seem to have agitated the minds of the people

there. We wish to state categorically that the assurances given by the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and reaffirmed by our Prime Minister will be carried out without qualification and reservation."

Again, he said:

"We earnestly hope that this will allay the apprehensions of the people and lead them to return to their normal work. Members of Parliament will no doubt consider this whole policy which has been affirmed and re-affirmed often, in all its aspects, legal, administrative and executive. The Chief Ministers will be meeting at an early date to consider the situation."

This is what the President told us and that considerably assuaged the feelings of the South. We waited, waited and waited, but subsequently like a bolt from the blue, came an announcement from Shri Satya Narayan Sinha, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs that in this current session we are not going to introduce a Bill.

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

Shri Manoharan: I shall finish in five minutes. I think this is against the clear-cut mandate given by the President of the Republic of India. We expected something to happen, but why are they hesitant to bring forward a Bill, when assurances have been given to that effect? The people of the South are much agitated about it, because, very recently, the All-India Congress President, Shri Kamaraj, visited the south, especially Madras, and had talks with the press people wherein he was pleased to state that the Cabinet Sub-Committee is considering this issue, and the Committee has decided to amend the Official Languages Act. Two days after that, Shri Chagla, the Union Education Minister, said that the Cabinet did not decide anything at

all! I want to ask what sort of feeling the people of our State could have at this rate, because, one top-ranking politician of the country outside is saying that "we have done everything for your satisfaction." But the Education Minister was saying that "we did not do anything in that regard." Thirdly came the statement of Shri Satya Narayan Sinha wherein he said that "we are not going to introduce a Bill in this current session." Therefore, our people were driven to the extent of doubting the *bona fides*, the sincerity and the honesty of the people sitting over there. I request, through you, the Prime Minister of the country to realise the gravity of the situation.

I want to draw the attention of the House to one more aspect in this regard, to show the amount of feeling the people of our part of the country have. I should like to quote from the *Hindu*, which has written a sub-editorial on 20th April, 1965, which is as follows:

"Mr. Satya Narayan Sinha's statement in the Lok Sabha that 'we do not want to take any hasty action' in amending the Official Languages Act is the first official indication that the promised statutory implementation of the late Prime Minister Nehru's assurance on the subject is not to be attempted during the present session of Parliament. This will no doubt be received with disappointment by the non-Hindi speaking people in the country..."

Then, it went on to say:

"It was this agreed approach at the least that should be done forthwith is to implement statutorily and without any reservation the late Mr. Nehru's oft-repeated pledge to the non-Hindi-speaking people that enabled public opinion to calm down after the recent disturbances in the South."

[Shri Manoharan.]

My main request to the Prime Minister is amply made out in the sub-editorial of the Hindu as follows:

"If the Official Languages Act is not to be amended during the present session of Parliament but only a little later, then the Prime Minister will do well to tell the nation what has been accomplished so far in that direction and how soon the people may expect legislative action, knowing by now as he should how deep are the feelings of the non-Hindi speaking people on this question."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Manoharan: Sir, let me complete this. The Prime Minister should pay some more serious attention to this problem and have a humanitarian approach to this issue. I want to reiterate that the people of Tamilnad shall never accept Hindi as the only official language of the nation. I am told the people of Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Assam and West Bengal also did not accept Hindi as the only official language. I have no objection in accepting Hindi, not as the sole official language, but as one of the official languages of the nation. We have 14 languages enumerated in the eighth schedule of the Constitution. All of them should be declared as official languages. That is the only permanent solution; the rest are mere palliatives, temporary solutions, which will not work. After 5 or 10 years again trouble will be started. So, with clear vision and statesmanship, the Prime Minister and his colleagues should understand this problem and do justice to the people of the country, specially to the people of the south and generally to the people of the non-Hindi areas.

I must warn the House. When Mr. Satya Narayan Sinha announced here that there would not be any amendment in the current session, I found certain people from the north greet-

ed it with applause and wonderful ovation and what not. What does it show? Do you want to prolong this matter continuously?

Finally, I say, we have given up our secessionist demand. We are for the unity of the country. I request my Hindi brethren: Don't disrupt the unity of the nation and tarnish the image of India. If the Hindi fanatics do all these things, I doubt very much whether the unity of the country can be maintained. If the unity of the nation is in danger, you cannot accuse the people of non-Hindi speaking area. On the contrary, these people should be booked under DIR.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

Shrimati Tarakeshwari Sinha (Barh): I got an assurance from you and the Speaker that I will be called. I requested you that I have not spoken on any demand and so I may be given this chance. I have known, in this House so many members have spoken on more than one demand. I never question your authority, but there is a growing tendency here that members who question the authority of the Chair are called and we are not given a chance.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Each party has got its own time. I will have to give them that time. There are some who have not spoken at all.

श्री हुकम चन्द कल्लुवाय : मैं एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ कि हर पार्टी के व्यक्ति ने दस दस मिनट और उससे ज्यादा लिये हैं . . .

Shri Maurya: You assured me that I will be given an opportunity just after 3 P.M. What has happened to that assurance?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Your party consists of 2 members only. But his party consists of 5 members. As long as there is time, I will allow hon. members to speak.

श्री हुकूम चन्द्र पञ्चशाय : मैं एक जानकारी चाहता हूँ कि हर्न समय मिलेगा या नहीं ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मद्रास के हिन्दी विरोधी आन्दोलन के सम्बन्ध में श्री जो एक चर्चाती हम सुन रहे थे, कुछ भी कहने से पहले में उसकी पृष्ठभूमि में जाना चाहता हूँ । मैं इस प्रकरण की नहीं छेड़ना चाहता कि भारतवर्ष के स्वतन्त्र होने से पहले मद्रास कांग्रेस पर बहुत समय तक किस एक वर्ग का प्रभाव रहा और किस तरह से दूसरा वर्ग सन् 1945 म मद्रास कांग्रेस के अन्दर आया और किस तरह से उसी वर्ग विशेष के प्रतिनिधियों को सन् 1952 के सामान्य चुनावों में विशेष रूप से टिकट दिये गये और दूसरे वर्ग ने स्वतन्त्र रूप से खड़े होकर चुनाव जीता । कम्युनिस्ट गवर्नेट किस तरीके से वहाँ बनने वाली थी और किन परिस्थितियों में श्री चक्रवर्ती राजगोपालाचार्य मद्रास में मुख्य मन्त्री बनाये गये और दो साल बाद सन् 1954 में किस कारण से श्री चक्रवर्ती राजगोपालाचार्य को हटना पड़ा और फिर श्री कामराज किस तरह से वहाँ के मुख्य मन्त्री बने । यह एक लम्बा इतिहास है जिसमें मैं नहीं जाना चाहता । मैं अपनी बात को यहाँ से आरम्भ करना चाहता हूँ कि श्री कामराज के मुख्य मन्त्री बनने के बाद एक बहुत बड़े समर्थक श्री ई० बी० रामास्वामी नायकर का, जो कि अभी भी द्रविड़ आन्दोलन के नेता हैं, उनका सहयोग प्राप्त था । श्री ई० बी० रामास्वामी नायकर ने श्री कामराज को अपना सहयोग देने के बाद किस प्रकार से मद्रास में हिन्दू विरोधी आन्दोलन आरम्भ किया, किस तरह से रामास्वामी नायकर ने मन्दिरों में मूर्तियां तुड़वाई, किस तरह से आर्य और द्रविड़ों के नाम पर जहर फैलाया गया, किस तरह से उत्तर और दक्षिण का जगहर फैलाया गया, यह एक लम्बी घटना है । लेकिन उस सारे प्रसंग के अन्दर एक घटना यह भी थी . . .

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation (Shri B. S. Murthy): Sir, I rise to a point of order. Is the hon. Member entitled to bring all these things in his speech?

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): You have not heard him, you have only seen him.

Shri B. S. Murthy: I have heard him. Two mistakes would not make one right.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मैं निवेदन यह कर रहा था कि श्री कामराज के मुख्य मन्त्री बनने के बाद मद्रास में जो घटनाएँ घटीं उन में हिन्दी विरोधी घटना भी एक थी । मैसूर, केरल और आंध्र, यह तीनों राज्य भी इस बात के पक्षपाती हैं कि हिन्दी किसी पर थोपी न जाये । लेकिन इन तीनों राज्यों ने हिन्दी को अपने यहाँ अनिवार्य विषय बनाया हुआ है, जबकि एक मद्रास राज्य ही इस प्रकार का है जिसने अपने यहाँ हिन्दी का अनिवार्य विषय नहीं बनाया । इस नीति का परिणाम यह हुआ कि आगे चल कर यह हिंसात्मक घटनाएँ भी घटीं । श्री ई० बी० रामास्वामी नायकर और श्री कामराज ने जो मद्रास के मुख्य मन्त्री थे, वातावरण को किस तरह से दूषित किया, यह घटना भी लम्बी चली जायेगी अगर में उसको बतलाऊँ । मैं तो विशेष रूप से कहना यह चाहता हूँ कि अब मद्रास राज्य के अन्दर जो हिंसात्मक घटनाएँ घटी हैं उनके पीछे कौन सी शक्तियाँ काम कर रही हैं ।

जहाँ तक श्री राजगोपालाचार्य का सम्बन्ध है, मुझे इस बात को कहने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती कि श्री चक्रवर्ती राजगोपालाचार्य वह व्यक्ति थे जो कभी कट्टर हिन्दी समर्थक माने जाते थे । आज भले ही उन्होंने नीतिवश कांटे से कांटा निकालने के लिये डी० के० का ही जो दूसरा ग्रुप डी० एम० के० है उसे अपने साथ लेकर के उसी शस्त्र से उन पर आक्रमण करना चाहा हो, लेकिन यह बात भी

[श्री प्रकाशचौर शास्त्री]

सत्य है कि मद्रास राज्य में जो हिंसात्मक घटनायें हुई हैं उनकी बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी मद्रास के बड़े कांग्रेसी नेताओं पर है।

सबसे पहली हिंसात्मक घटना जो हुई वह 25 जनवरी, 1965 को मदुराई में हुई जिस समय जलूस निकल रहा था हिन्दी विरोधी उस समय मद्रास कांग्रेस के आफिस से कुछ लोग अपने हाथों में लाठियां से कर आये और जलूस पर आक्रमण किया और इस तरह से उनकी भावनाओं की उभारा। दूसरी घटना घटी 26 तारीख को मद्रास शहर में जब पर्चा प्या हास्पेट के अन्दर तामिलनाडु कांग्रेस के सेक्रेटरी श्री अर्जाज कुछ पुलिस वालों को अपने साथ लेकर गये और विद्यार्थियों को पिटवाया। लेकिन इससे भी भयंकर चीज जो उनकी मनोवृत्ति का परिचय देती है वह थी कि ई० वी० रामास्वामी नायकर का जो अखबार विडयलाई है उसका एक वक्तव्य जिसके विरुद्ध मद्रास सरकार ने और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने किसी प्रकार की भी कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की। उसमें स्पष्ट लिखा हुआ था कि

“मैं अपने अनुयायियों को निर्देश देना चाहता हूँ कि वह हर समय अपने हाथ में एक पेट्रोल की शीशी, एक दियासलाई और एक चाकू रखें, और किसी समय भी मेरे आदेश की प्रतीक्षा करें।”

यह समाचार अगले दिन जो कांग्रेस समर्थक दूसरा अखबार है “थिरुनलथिराई” उसके अन्दर प्रकाशित हुआ। जिस दिन यह समाचार उन्होंने अपने अखबार के अन्दर उद्धृत किया, उसके साथ श्री चक्रवर्ती राजगोपालाचार्य के परिवार को लेकर एक इस प्रकार की बीभत्स घटना “थिरुनलथिराई” के अन्दर लिखी गई जिसको मैं इस सदन के अन्दर कह नहीं सकता। उसका शीर्षक था “मिरर ग्रान्ट्स” इस तरह से कह कर राजा जी के परिवार पर हाथ डाला गया। लेकिन मुझे जिस चीज का

इससे भी अधिक कष्ट है, मद्रास की चर्चा छोड़ कर मैं उसकी चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ। मद्रास में हुए हिन्दी विरोधी उपद्रवों को ले कर केन्द्रीय मन्त्रिमण्डल में जिस प्रकार की चर्चायें चलीं उस के सम्बन्ध में कानों में यह सूचना भी आई कि हिन्दी के सब से भयंकर विरोधी, मद्रासियों से भी ज्यादा, वह व्यक्ति थे जिन के मन्त्रिमण्डल में रहने पर कई बार यहां पहले भी रोष प्रकट किया जा चुका है। और उससे भी अधिक दुःखद प्रसंग यह है कि कांग्रेस के एक व्यक्ति जो अस्पताल में पड़े हैं और जो डिप्टी मिनिस्टर भी हैं उन्होंने हमारे कांग्रेस के मित्रों को एक चिट्ठी लिखी कि कांग्रेस के लोग क्यों हिन्दी का समर्थन करते हैं, यह तो जनसंघ और हिन्दू महासभा वालों की भाषा है। इस तरह हमारे घर में तो आग लग रही है और दूसरे लोग उसमें अपने हाथ सेंक रहे हैं।

मैं अपनी चर्चा को आगे बढ़ाते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि नौकरियों को ले कर कहा जाता है कि हम को नौकरियों में कम लिया जाएगा। पहले तो केन्द्रीय सरकार की नौकरियां ही कितनी हैं। कुल 24 या 25 लाख के लगभग केन्द्रीय सरकार की नौकरियां हैं। और इन 24-25 लाख नौकरियों में 13 या 14 लाख आदमी ऐसे होंगे जिनका सीधा भाषा से सम्बन्ध पड़ता है। लेकिन इन नौकरियों में मद्रास राज्य का अनुपात कितना है वह मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। मद्रास राज्य की कुल जनसंख्या 3 करोड़ 36 लाख से ऊपर है और केन्द्रीय सरकार की जो चार बड़ी बड़ी सेवाएं हैं, आई० ए० एस०, आई० पी० एस०, आई० एफ० एस० और सेंट्रल सेक्रेटेरिएट सरविस क्लास 1, इन में अकेले मद्रास राज्य का अनुपात है 663 जब कि कोटा के हिसाब से उनको 271 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए, 392 नौकरियां अकेले मद्रास राज्य को ज्यादा मिल रही हैं। इसके मुकाबले आप देखें

आंध्र प्रदेश को । आंध्र प्रदेश की जनसंख्या 3 करोड़ 59 लाख के ऊपर है और उसको कुछ नौकरियां मिली हुई हैं 120, जब कि कोटा के हिसाब से उसको 289 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए, उसको 169 नौकरियां कम मिली हुई हैं, और मद्रास राज्य को अनुपात से आंध्र प्रदेश को 720 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए । बिहार को इन चारों सेवाओं में कुल 190 नौकरियां मिली हुई हैं, जब कि कोटे के हिसाब से 374 मिलनी चाहिए थीं 184 नौकरियां बिहार को कम मिली हैं, और अगर मद्रास के अनुपात से बिहार को नौकरियां दी जाएं तो उनकी संख्या 930 होगी । मध्य प्रदेश की जन संख्या 3 करोड़ 23 लाख से ऊपर है, और उसको नौकरियां मिली हुई हैं केवल 84, जब कि कोटे के हिसाब से 260 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए, 176 नौकरियां मध्य प्रदेश को कम मिली हैं, और मद्रास राज्य के अनुपात से मध्य प्रदेश को 648 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए । मैसूर राज्य को केवल 111 नौकरियां मिली हुई हैं, जब कि कोटे के हिसाब से उसको 190 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए, और मद्रास के अनुपात से मैसूर को 472 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए । यही हालत उत्तर प्रदेश की है । उत्तर प्रदेश के पास केवल 631 नौकरियां हैं, जब कि मद्रास के अनुपात से 1460 नौकरियां मिलनी चाहिए । नौकरियों में इतना ज्यादा अनुपात होने के बाद भी तमिलनाडु यह शिकायत करता है कि हमको नौकरियों से हटाया जा रहा है । मैं जानना चाहता हूँ केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री से कि कब तक इस अनुपात को जानते हुए भी इस चाल को अपनी आंखों से ओझल किए रहेंगे ।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि लड़ाई भाषा के सवाल पर नहीं है । जैसा कि मैंने आपको उसकी पृष्ठ भूमि का परिचय दिया, इसके पीछे राजनीति है, और यह राजनीति की लड़ाई भी धर्म और दूसरे विषयों को

ले कर लड़ी जा रही है । लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य तो यह है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार इससे क्यों प्रभावित हो गयी ?

जहां तक केन्द्रीय सरकार का सम्बन्ध है, मैं नहीं समझ पाया कि नन्दा जी ने जो 26 जनवरी सन 1965 को आल इंडिया रेडियो से भाषण दिया था उस में क्या बात आपत्ति-जनक थी जिससे कि मद्रास राज्य में आंदोलन शुरू हुआ । खाद्य मंत्रालय और सूचना मंत्रालय की विज्ञप्तियों को ले कर जो उपद्रव किया गया उनमें क्या नई बात थी । रही बात नेहरू जी के आशवासन की, जिसकी चर्चा हमारे एक मित्र कर रहे थे । नेहरू जी के आशवासन का ही परिणाम तो राज भाषा अधिनियम है । और अगर नेहरू जी आशवासन की पूर्ति में कुछ कमी रह गयी थी तो नेहरू जी तो उस समय जीवित थे और उन्होंने अपनी आंखों के सामने उस अधिनियम को पास कराया था । क्या वह उसमें आवश्यक संशोधन नहीं करवा सकते थे । सरकार इस समय नेहरू जी का नाम ले कर अपनी दुर्बलता का परिचय क्यों दे रही है ।

एक मित्र ने कहा कि कहीं इस भाषा के सवाल पर देश की एकता न टूट जाए इससे केन्द्र के नेता बरे नहीं हैं । और इसी लिए मद्रास वालों को कुछ और सुविधाएं देना चाहते हैं । लेकिन मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर उसने देश की एकता के नाम पर किन्हीं राष्ट्रीय निर्णयों की उपेक्षा की, तो जो चीज आज मद्रास में हो रही है, वही चीज कल नागालैंड में होने वाली है, काश्मीर में हो सकती है और देश के अन्य राज्यों में भी वही स्थिति पैदा हो सकती है, जिसकी जिम्मेवारी सरकार की ही होगी ।

मैं नन्दा जी की बहुत सी नीतियों से सहमत नहीं हूँ लेकिन भाषा के सम्बन्ध में जो उनकी नीति है और जो उनका काम करने का ढंग है उसके प्रति मैं आदर प्रदर्शित करता हूँ । पर मुझे दुःख इस बात का है कि नन्दा

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

जी भी मद्रास के आन्दोलन से प्रभावित हो गए और किसी प्रकार का निर्णय नहीं ले रहे हैं ? उन्होंने खाद्य मंत्रालय और सूचना मंत्रालय की विज्ञप्तियों पर कहा था कि कोई मंत्रालय अलग अलग विज्ञप्तियां न निकाले, गृह मंत्रालय विज्ञप्ति निकालेगा । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्रालय ने अब तक क्यों विज्ञप्ति नहीं निकाली । गृह मंत्रालय ने अपने मुँह पर पट्टी क्यों बांध ली ? मैं हाथी साहब से और श्री एल० एन० मिश्र साहब से निवेदन करूँगा कि वे मेरी यह बात श्री नन्दा के कानों तक पहुँचा दें । गंगा तो आनी है, देखना यह है कि हिन्दी को गंगा को लाने वाला भागीरथ कौन बनता है । हम यह चाहते हैं कि यह भागीरथ श्री नन्दा जी ही बनें । उसके आगमन को कोई रोक तो अब नहीं सकता ।

अन्त में मैं अपने वक्तव्य को समाप्ति की ओर ले जाते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी तक हिन्दुस्तान के हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों में मद्रास के इस आन्दोलन के बाद, सरकार की डूलमुल घोषणाओं के बाद भी, कोई विशेष प्रतिक्रिया नहीं हुई है । इसका बहुत बड़ा कारण यह है कि कुछ जिम्मेवार लोगों ने हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों की स्थिति को संभाला हुआ है, हालाँकि उनको इसके कारण, आप की डुलमुल नीति को देखते हुए, अपना अविष्य अन्धकारमय मालूम दे रहा है । लेकिन अगर कहीं आपकी इस दुर्बल नीति के कारण इसमें कोई परिवर्तन आया तो उसका परिणाम गम्भीर हो सकता है । 26 जनवरी के बाद से रेलवे विभाग में, प्रतिक्रिया विभाग में और पी० एंड टी० विभाग में तथा अन्य विभागों में बड़ी संख्या में हिन्दी विरोधी सरकूलर निकले हैं, जिनको मैं यहां पढ़ कर नहीं सुना सकता । अगर यही नीति रही तो मैं आपको कहता हूँ कि हिन्दी प्रेमी जनता को जोश जो अब तक बका हुआ है, वह कहीं गम्भीर हाथों से निकल

कर नवयुवकों के हाथों में न चला जाए । और अगर कहीं यह नवयुवकों के हाथ में चला गया और दूसरे प्रकार की घटनाएं प्रारम्भ हो गयीं तो केन्द्रीय सरकार और केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री उनको रोक नहीं पाएंगे । इसलिए जो राष्ट्रीय निर्णय हैं उनको राष्ट्रीय ढंग से स्वस्थ मन से हल किया जाए । हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में आपने अगर कोई भी कदम पीछे हटाया तो उसके गम्भीर परिणाम होंगे और जो भयंकर परिस्थिति उस समय होगी उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार पर होगी ।

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय (गुना) : गृह मंत्रालय के अनुदानों की चर्चा सदन में हुई है और उस के संदर्भ में गृह मंत्री जी की बड़ी आलोचना की गयी । मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि अगर आप एशिया के तमाम देशों पर दृष्टि डालें तो आप को अनुभव होगा कि हमारे देश में जहां तक आन्तरिक सुरक्षा और ला एंड आर्डर का सवाल है, सरकार के प्रयत्न से, सरकार के नेतृत्व से और गृह मंत्रालय और गृह मंत्री के प्रयत्न से, हम अधिकार पूर्वक कह सकते हैं कि ला एंड आर्डर शांति और सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था करने में हम सफल हुए हैं ।

गृह मंत्री जी का जो अनेकों संस्थाओं से सम्बन्ध है, उसके बारे में उनकी आलोचना की गयी और उनसे कहा गया कि वे उन से अपना सम्बन्ध तोड़ लें । श्रीमन्, जहां तक गृह मंत्री श्री नन्दा जी का सम्बन्ध है, एक बात स्पष्ट है कि वह केवल एक राष्ट्र के राजनीतिज्ञ ही नहीं है, वह थोड़े दार्शनिक भी हैं, थोड़े विचारक भी हैं और थोड़े आस्तिक भी हैं, और जब उनके व्यक्तित्व में इस प्रकार के लक्षणात्मक गुण हैं, तो यह स्वाभाविक है कि वह राष्ट्र के नैतिक सम्बर्धन और राष्ट्र को ऊंचा उठाना चाहते हैं और उसी के लिए उन्होंने साधु समाज का समन्वय किया और भारत सेवक समाज तथा सदाचार समितियों का

निर्माण किया। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि इस काम के लिए उन्होंने देश में जो एपेरेंट्स प्रचलित किया है, उसके बारे में मतभेद हो सकता है, लेकिन जो उनका उद्देश्य है राष्ट्र के नैतिक सम्बर्धन का और राष्ट्र को ऊंचा उठाने का उससे किसीका मतभेद नहीं हो सकता। इन संस्थाओं का निर्माण करने में उनका यही उद्देश्य है। इन संस्थाओं के बारे में मतभेद हो सकता है। उनके उद्देश्य के बारे में किसी को सन्देह नहीं हो सकता है कि वह देश से भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करना चाहते हैं। जहाँ तक उनके इस उद्देश्य का सम्बन्ध है कि देश का नैतिक स्तर ऊंचा हो और प्रजातंत्र के प्रकाश के नीचे बहुत जन हिताय बहु जन सुखाय का उद्देश्य पनपे, पल्लवित हो और मुखरित हो, इसमें किसी का मतभेद नहीं हो सकता।

जहाँ तक ला एंड आर्डर का सम्बन्ध है, मैंने स्वयं देखा है कि हजरतबल के मामले में नन्दा जी खुद काश्मीर गए वहाँ की स्थिति को संभालने के लिए और उस समस्या का अध्ययन करने के लिए और उन्होंने यह जानने का प्रयत्न किया कि वहाँ जो तूफान आया उसके पीछे बाहर के या भीतर के कौन से तत्व हैं जो हमारे संरक्षण में बाधक बन रहे हैं। इसी प्रकार जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगे कलकत्ते में और उड़ीसा में हुए और उड़ीसा में जो विद्यार्थियों का संघर्ष हुआ वहाँ भी नन्दा जी स्वयं गए। तो जहाँ तक ला एंड आर्डर का सवाल है, हम देखते हैं कि नन्दा जी जागरूक हैं।

लेकिन हमें एक दो बातों के बारे में शिकायत है। शिकायत यह है कि शेख अब्दुल्ला के विचार जानते हुए, काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में उन के विचार जानते हुए और उनकी कार्यवाहियों को और गतिविधियों को जानते हुए उन को जेल से क्यों रिहा किया गया। वह जेल नहीं थी। उनको एक स्थान पर रखा गया था जहाँ वह आराम

से रहते थे। उनको वहाँ से रिहा किया गया। इतना ही नहीं एक दूसरी गलती यह भी हुई कि हमारी सरकार ने उनको मुल्क के बाहर जाने दिया। विदेशों में जाने पर जिस तरीके से उन्होंने भारत के विरुद्ध विष बमन किया है और प्रलापपूर्ण बातें की हैं और जिस तरीके से उन्होंने काश्मीर को लेकर हमारे प्रजातंत्र के विरुद्ध दुर्भावनाएं उत्पन्न करने का प्रयत्न किया है मैं समझता हूँ कि उसको अब बदोशत नहीं किया जा सकता। यदि आप ने उनको विदेशों में जाने का पासपोर्ट न दिया होता तो शायद यह अबसर नहीं आता। आपको पता होना चाहिये था कि शेख अब्दुल्ला क्या है? मैं आप से विनम्र निवेदन करूँगा कि आपने उसे पहचानने में भूल की जो उसे बाहर जाने दिया लेकिन अब सरकार को सतर्क हो जाना चाहिये और जैसे ही वह वहाँ से वापिस भारत आये सबसे पहला काम आपका यह होना चाहिये कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को गिरफ्तार करके जेल में बन्द कर देना चाहिये। उन के साथ एक नरमी का व्यवहार हुआ है और उन को पासपोर्ट और साथ में 35,000 रुपया दे कर भेजा गया जिसका कि दुष्परिणाम हम ने अपनी आँखों से स्वयं देख लिया। जो हो गया वह तो हो गया लेकिन भूल का सुधार सरकार को इस प्रकार से करना चाहिये कि उनको जैसे ही वह भारत लौटें पकड़ कर गिरफ्तार करके जेल में बन्द कर दे।

श्रीमन्, आज देश के सामने अपनी सीमाओं की सुरक्षा का महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न पेश है। चारों ओर से उसकी सीमाओं के लिए खतरा पैदा हो रहा है। आज जैसी स्थिति पहले कभी नहीं हुई थी। हमारे असम प्रदेश में 7-साढ़े 7 लाख इन्फ्लेटर्स आ कर जमा हो गये हैं और तीन, चार या पांच मील का जो सीमान्त क्षेत्र है उसके लिए यह धोषित किया गया था कि हम

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

उसको खाली करायेंगे लेकिन आज वह इनफ्लेटर्स से भरा हुआ है। श्री हाथी ने कहा है कि उनकी तादाद, दो या ढाई लाख के करीब है लेकिन मेरी जाती जानकारी के अनुसार उनकी तादाद कोई सात या सवा सात लाख की है। सरकार को इस बारे में विशेष रूप से सावधानी व सतर्कता बर्तनी है और ऐसे इनफ्लेटर्स से अपने सीमाक्षेत्र को खाली कराना है। आज जब पाकिस्तान हमारी पूर्वी सीमा की ओर गिद्ध दृष्टि लगाये बैठा है और उसकी हमारे प्रति बुरी भावनायें हैं और वह हम पर आक्रमण भी करना चाहता है जैसा कि उसने कच्छ में हमारे ऊपर किया और दूसरी जगह राजस्थान में वह करने की सोच रहा है, बीरडर्स ऑपरेशन के जरिये वह हमारी सीमाओं के अन्दर आना चाहता है तो कहीं ऐसा न हो कि हमें ऐसे तत्वों के कारण इनफ्लेटर्स के कारण पूर्वी सीमाओं पर चक्कर में आ जाना पड़े। इसलिये हमें सीमाओं पर आन्तरिक सुरक्षा के लिये भी विशेष रूप से, क्या पूर्वी सीमा पर और क्या पश्चिमी सीमा पर, सावधानी और सतर्क रहना चाहिये। उधर काश्मीर में जहां पर सीज़ फायर लाइन है उसके अन्दर भी पाकिस्तान प्रवेश कर गया है तथा और आग वह बढ़ना चाहता है। ऐसे अवसर पर हमें चाणक्य की याद बरबस आ जाती है। उसने यह कहा था कि देश की सीमाओं में जब बहुत बड़ी मैत्री की भी बात हो तो हमें उस की फंस बैल्यु स्वीकार नहीं करनी चाहिये। यह उसने मैत्री के लिए कहा है, शत्रु तो शत्रु होता ही है और उसके प्रति चौकन्ना तो रहा जाता ही है। लेकिन चाणक्य ने कहा था कि अपनी सीमाओं की रक्षा के लिए दूसरे देशों के जो दौलत सम्बन्ध हैं, ध्यापारिक सम्बन्ध हैं, और सैनिक संधियां हैं उन में बड़ी मैत्री का राग अलापने की प्रक्रिया में इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाय कि हम

उस मैत्री के वातावरण में ऐसे आश्वस्त न हो जायें कि मित्रता का दम भरने वालों द्वारा ही हमें पीछे से छुरा मार दिया जाय। चीन ने जब हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण किया था तब क्या स्थिति थी? हमें इस बात का बड़ा दुःख है कि चीन द्वारा हिन्दी चीनी भाई भाई का नारा लगा कर धोखे से उसके द्वारा हमारी पीठ में छुरा भोंपा गया। इसलिये जब कोई देश इस तरह से मित्रता का दम भरे तो सरकार को जरा सावधानी से काम लेना चाहिये और दिल में यह भी समझ लेना चाहिये कि यह जो हमारा मित्र होने का दावा कर रहा है यह मित्र हमारा शत्रु भी हो सकता है और तदनुसार सावधानी से काम लेना चाहिये।

जहां तक पाकिस्तान का सम्बन्ध है उसने कभी भी हमारे साथ मैत्रीवत व्यवहार नहीं किया। उसने कभी भारत से मैत्री कायम करने की ओर कदम नहीं बढ़ाया हालांकि हमने सदा यह चाहा है कि पड़ोसी पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध मित्रता के रहें। लिकायत अली खां में ने भारत को मुक्के दिखाये हैं। हम उन के साथ कई बार एक्रोस दी टेबल बैठे ताकि आपस में समझौता हो जाय, दोस्ती कायम हो जाय लेकिन कभी कोई वास्तविक समझौता नहीं हो सका क्योंकि पाकिस्तान की कभी भी हमसे मैत्री रखने की इच्छा नहीं रही। सारी दुनिया को यह चीज मालूम है कि भारत देश सदा से और परम्परा से शान्ति का इच्छुक देश रहा है और उसकी कभी भी आक्रमणवादी या विस्तारवादी नीति नहीं रही है। लेकिन इसके यह तो मानी नहीं होते कि अगर कोई देश हम पर हमला करता है, हमारी आजादी को खतरा पैदा करता है तब भी हम हाथ पर हाथ धरे बैठे रह जायेंगे? पिछले 17 वर्षों का अनुभव हमें यह बतलाता है कि पाकिस्तान ने हमेशा हमारे साथ द्वेषपूर्ण व्यवहार किया है और आज उसके

द्वारा हमारी सीमाओं पर आक्रमण किया जा रहा है। हम पाकिस्तान को साफ़ तौर पर बतला देना चाहते हैं कि हम अपनी सीमाओं का उल्लंघन किसी रूप में भी बर्दाश्त नहीं करने वाले हैं और अगर उसने ज़रा भी उंगली उठाई और धर रख किया तो हम उस का डट कर मुकाबला करेंगे। आज केवल कंजरकोट की ही बात नहीं है। उस के द्वारा कंजरकोट क्षेत्र में प्रवेश करने की बात नहीं है। पाकिस्तान जो कि हमारा एक पड़ोसी राष्ट्र है और जो कभी हमारा ही एक अंग होता था और हमसे ही एक बार अलग हुआ था वह भारत के प्रति दुर्भावना रखता है और अपनी युद्ध-पिपासा और विस्तारवादी नीति के कारण चीन से उसकी साठगांठ हो गई है, भारत के विरुद्ध दोनों में दोस्ती हो गई है और हमारी सीमाओं पर उसके द्वारा निरन्तर हमले हो रहे हैं तो मैं बतलाना चाहूँ कि उनका जवाब हम डट कर देंगे। हम उन का पीछा धकेल कर ही दम लेंगे। आज सारे राष्ट्र की यह भावना है कि हम इस बारे में ज़रा भी ढिलाई से काम न लें और पाकिस्तान के इस शत्रुतापूर्ण व्यवहार के प्रति ज़रा भी कोई दुर्बल या समझौते वाली नीति का अनुसरण न करें। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने देश की जनता की इस भावना को समझ कर ही साफ़ ऐलान किया है कि हम शत्रु का डट कर मुकाबला करेंगे और उसे आगे बढ़ने नहीं देंगे। अगर उस की तोड़ इस तरफ़ होगी तो हमारी तोपों का मुँह उधर की तरफ़ होगा। अगर वह आक्रमण करके हमारी सीमा में कहीं पर घुसेगा तो हम भी बदला लेंगे और हम भी कहीं पर उसकी सीमा में घुसेंगे। हमें अपनी जननी जन्मभूमि के प्रति ममता और स्नेह है और हम यह कभी भी बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते कि उसकी तरफ़ कोई बुरी नज़र से देखे। राष्ट्र की रक्षा के लिए सारा देश एक स्वर से सरकार के साथ है। जब एक अन्य शत्रु अर्थात् चीन द्वारा हमारे ऊपर

आक्रमण किया गया था तो जनता ने क्या तन, मन और धन से राष्ट्र के रक्षार्थ सहायता नहीं दी थी? आज भी देश की जनता में वही त्याग और सर्वस्व न्योछावर करने भावना विद्यमान है। आज पाकिस्तान हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण करने में अमरीकी हथियारों का उपयोग करता है तो हमें इसके लिए अमेरिका के पास जाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है बल्कि हमें अपने बाहुबल से और अपने हथियारों का इस्तेमाल करके यह बता देना है कि हम उनका डट कर मुकाबला करेंगे और उन्हें पीछे धकेल कर ही दम लेंगे। पूरा राष्ट्र अपनी मातृभूमि की रक्षा के लिए तैयार खड़ा है और वह उसकी रक्षा की खातिर मर मिटेगा ऐसी भावना आज हमारे अन्दर होनी चाहिये।

Shri Koya: Even though we are at the end of the day when many Members including myself are tired and hungry, I would be failing in my duty if I did not say a few words on behalf of my party about the Demands of the Home Ministry.

I would first of all like to assure the House that as far as the dignity of this great country is concerned, all sections of this country, all communities, and all members of all political parties are at one with the Government of India, and there is no doubt about that. If Pakistan or any other country is under the impression that it can make capital out of the small differences of opinion that we have got with the ruling party, it is sadly mistaken. When the security of the country and when the honour of India are involved, we shall be in the forefront together when such a situation arises. I would even suggest that Parliament may pass a resolution like the one that we had passed when the great Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was alive. At that time standing up in this House had declared with one voice emphatically that all sections of this House were at one with the Government of India as far as the defence of this country was concerned.

[Shri Koya]

As was pointed out by my hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee in the morning, the situation that we are faced with has to be considered in the context of many things, such as the question of our relations with Pakistan, the tension on the borders and the incidents on the borders, Sheikh Abdullah and his activities and many other things. Unfortunately if we do anything without considering the full implications, it may create something like a communal tension in the country, of which Government must be very careful, because Pakistan itself would make capital out of this, and that will add to the advantage of our enemies while at the same time it would not be of any advantage to us.

I would like to point out that we have got so many religious minorities in our country. The Muslim minority in our country is not a negligible minority. About six crores of Muslims are there in India, and this number is more than the total population of many Muslim countries of the Arab world and elsewhere. Therefore, the protection of the minorities and the safeguarding of their interests is something which Government should always keep in mind. I do not have the slightest doubt about the fact that Government would themselves be aware of this. But I find that opinions are expressed from various parts of the country questioning the loyalty of the minority community.

18.59 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Even in this House I was really pained to see that some Members had suggested that the Muslims of this country must be sent out to Pakistan as if they were cattle which could be sent out from one area to another. I would like to submit that we are part and parcel of this country; we belong to this country; we are also the flesh and blood of this country, and, therefore, nobody should think

of sending us away. If these kinds of suggestions are made, then Pakistan would make capital out of such statements. If these kinds of sentiments are published and this kind of propaganda finds a place in the press and from the platforms of India, then that would be taken advantage of by the able Embassies of Pakistan elsewhere, especially in the Arab countries and in the South-East Asian countries with whom we are very friendly and where we have got an abundant measure of good-will. Pakistan will go to those countries and carry on propaganda that there is ill-feeling against the minorities in this country and make capital out of it.

19 hrs.

Therefore, Government must take special care and see to it that as far as the minorities of this country are concerned, it is their primary duty to ensure that nothing would happen to them and nobody would be allowed to create or do any mischief. It should be seen that mischief-makers are dealt with with an iron hand. I am not referring to traitors, people who work against this country or people like Sheikh Abdullah who are doing anti-Indian propaganda; I am referring to the protection to be given to loyal citizens of this country who have as much claim and as much right as the majority community.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: How has this suspicion developed?

Shri Koya: Shri Saraf is not living in this world. Let him look at the resolutions passed by some organisations, the speech made by some members in this House.

Therefore, I am saying that when there are some skirmishes here and there, when anti-social elements create trouble, they must also be dealt with as strongly as we would deal with the border troubles. In this connection, I would like to appeal to the hon. Home Minister to take into con-

sideration the fact that the members of the minority community who were uprooted from places like Calcutta, Rourkela and Jamshedpur, are still refugees. The problem of rehabilitation of these unfortunate residents has not been taken up. I am told that Shri Tyagi, the Rehabilitation Minister, has taken over the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees coming from Burma and Ceylon. I would have very much liked if he had taken over the problem of the rehabilitation of these refugees also under his charge, that is those members of the minority community uprooted from cities like Calcutta and other places. I suggest that this problem should also be handed over to Shri Tyagi. This is as important as the problem of our brethren from East Pakistan. These people are our citizens while the others coming from across the border are our brethren. So they must be given at least equal treatment as the others.

As regards the language question, I was very sorry to find that the matter is viewed from an emotional angle. The language problem is not a problem which can be tackled that way. After the unfortunate incidents which took place in Madras and other places, of course, the climate changed, the conditions took a different turn. At the time we debated this matter in the Constituent Assembly and incorporated these language clauses in our Constitution, we might not have thought of the problem in this light and might not have envisaged all that has happened now.

I am very much surprised that my hon. friend, Shri P. V. Shastri and others are looking at it from the point of view of employment. The cat is out. He was saying that there are so many Madrasis in government service in various departments and on that basis they have already more than their share in the services. We should not view this matter from this point of view only. We must also take into account other difficulties of the non-Hindi speaking people.

Take, for example, what is happening in this House. Members like Swami Rameshwaranand and Shri Kachhavaiya stand up and speak in their mother tongue and are able to express themselves fluently and effectively. This is because they have got the command of language; they speak in their mother tongue, whereas I cannot express myself as effectively for the simple reason that I have to speak in a language that is not my mother tongue. If I were allowed to speak in my mother tongue, Malayalam, I could make wonderful speeches here and present my case as effectively as any of the other Members speaking in their mother tongue. But unfortunately that is not to be. I must speak here in a language which is foreign to me. We from the non-Hindi speaking areas speak in English and have, therefore, to struggle with English grammar, phrase and idiom. That is the difficulty. This is the anomaly. This is evident in all other spheres.

Therefore, we must appreciate the difficulties of the non-Hindi speaking people in this respect. We cannot view this problem simply from the sentimental standpoint.

Reference was made to the sanctity of the Constitution. It was contended that we cannot alter the Constitution. After all, the Constitution is for the people. It has already been amended 17 times. If for the sake of the preservation of the unity of the country, for the sake of promoting national integration, it is necessary to amend the Constitution again, it should be done. The unity and integrity of the country is more important than the sanctity and sacredness of the Constitution as it stands. From the practical point of view, the most important thing at present is the integration and unity of the country. Whatever we do should be guided by that over-all consideration.

As regards Kerala, I will have another opportunity to speak. So I shall not deal with that just now. Thank you.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: How long are we sitting?

Mr. Speaker: As long as there are Members to speak.

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha: I am grateful to you for this opportunity. I did not expect it at this moment, but it came. So, it is a welcome surprise.

This is the first time that I am speaking on the Demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and therefore, think it desirable to concentrate on some of the administrative aspects on which many Members have thrown considerable light, and very valuable light.

Unfortunately, the speeches that we have heard, some of them, have completely digressed from the important spheres covered by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Sometimes the debate has gone to the personal level. When speaking for or against a person becomes the pattern, the standard of the debate does not remain what it should be. Therefore, I do not propose to indulge in any praise or criticism only on a personal basis.

The issues are too important to be dealt with on a personal basis. Unfortunately, even the problem of corruption, I do not know why, has become only the property of the Home Minister according to the hon. Members of the Opposition who have spoken. I do not know how they have thought that this is a personal effort of the Home Minister, or that only he is personally responsible for it. If anybody has been able to create that kind of impression, even from the Government side, it is rather unfortunate.

The problem is so wide, so deep, so significant, that it should not be debated on the basis of personal issues. Some person may not like the Home Minister, therefore he should be attacked; some person may like him personally, and therefore he should be praised—that is not the issue which is involved here. Therefore, these

problems should not be dealt with so much on the personal basis as on the basis of issues raising their heads in this country, issues involving basic problems.

Some of the responsibility for this kind of thing can be put straightaway on the Government. I am sorry to say that in the pamphlet which came out from the Sanyukta Sadachar Samiti entitled *Handbook for Workers*, the first paragraph dealing with the genesis of the organisation starts with these words:

“Soon after Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda took over charge of the portfolio as Home Minister, he realised the immensity of the disease of corruption. Deep-rooted disease calls for radical treatment. He made a commitment to the nation that if he failed to produce a striking impression and to make a substantial difference in regard to the prevalence of corruption, in the Central Government within two years he would give up his present position.”

This kind of paragraph should not have come from the Samiti of which the hon. Home Minister is the President, because it creates an impression that nobody before him was aware of this problem of corruption, that only he has become aware of this problem and only he is tackling this problem, and not the Government as such. We believe in the joint responsibility of the Government. We have always been wedded to it. As a member of the party also I think that the basic problem of corruption, which is so serious and so deeprooted, requires, if it is to be tackled properly, that an impression should be created of a joint effort of all the members of the Government, the whole country, the whole party and everybody taken together.

It is not an issue of the Congress Party or the Opposition, the Home Minister or other people. It is a national issue, and it should be dealt

with on that basis. Unfortunately, some impression has been created either way, as if there has been an attack on the Home Minister personally,—some newspapers have also given room to this kind of impression—as if there has been a concerted attack on the Home Minister at the political level, while some people say that because he is the Home Minister many people do not attack him. Either way it is creating a fallacious impression in the country. The bigger parliaments in the country are talking with two voices today, that there is something not quite proper about this problem. Therefore, my appeal to the Home Minister more than to anybody else is that he should create this impression, and his colleagues should create this impression, that this is a national problem and it should be dealt with on a national basis.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Therefore it is that the Home Ministry is dealing with this question. (*Interruption*).

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha: If corruption is there, the Prime Minister is as much responsible as the Home Minister; every other Minister is as much responsible for the name of the good government of the country. Therefore, my appeal is that there should be no impression created towards the wrong side. We want to settle the problem of corruption. We want to settle it for the good of the country and if this kind of impression is created, that would weaken, or that weakens the very problem of fighting the corruption battle. Therefore, I am making these remarks.

There is another aspect which I want to submit for the consideration of the House. Whatever may be the reason,—any impression being created in the country that politics plays a part in the administration is not right. If we go here and there,—even probably the Home Minister may be getting some intelligence reports—we hear that a very light-hearted talk is being indulged in these days, which

was never happening before; and that is this; you go to clubs, you go to any other place; you find the people talking all kinds of things and they attach motives to so many decisions which are national decisions and which are all joint decisions of the Government taken for the implementation of certain conclusions and those decisions are being questioned as if they belong to one person or the other. This kind of impression, I think, would be a wrong impression. This impression should not be allowed to be generated. Otherwise, it weakens the government; it suits the Opposition. Therefore, I am saying this loudly; I am indulging in a sort of loud thinking on this subject. It suits the Opposition to propagate this feeling in the country, that there is some inherent weakness in us, in the ruling party. I want to point out that there should be no impression like this created, namely, that there is any political basis for any administrative decision.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: As if there are no weaknesses!

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha: There are weaknesses, and there is the human frailty; that is an axiomatic truth, which cannot be denied, but we realise the weaknesses, and we always do better to improve the affairs only by realising them. I do not know why the hon. Member is getting jittery. It does not suit him when I am defending my party and my government, because they perhaps exploit their party for their own good, which we understand. Therefore, I cannot expect this kind of response from them, but I certainly expect this kind of responsibility and response from my own party and I may appeal to them that this kind of impression should not be allowed to be generated, namely, that politics is finding its way into the administration.

Thirdly, there is one way by which we can demolish this idea. A long time ago, in 1957, when Shri T. T. Krishnamachari was the Finance Minister, he suggested the setting up

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

of administrative tribunals in the country in various departments. Administrative tribunals were then formed in the Ministry of Finance and the income-tax cases and other cases go to the tribunals, and good, bad or indifferent, whatever the judgment of the tribunals, it has got the respect of judicial decisions or judgments, and therefore, they are acceptable to the other parties and they are acceptable to the department as well as to the department which launches the appeal on behalf of the party concerned. Therefore, it should not be the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance only, to have such administrative tribunals, but in every department of the Government today which attaches significance to this, there should be administrative tribunals which will sit over the judgment or the administrative decisions of the executive. These important Ministries like the Home Ministry, the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Finance and certain other ministries which have also as much responsibility should set up immediately the administrative tribunals and that will have quite an effective response and reaction in the public mind because that kind of thing will bring a kind of confidence in the public in our administrative functions.

There is no doubt that a few hundreds or a few thousands of tribunals will then be working, but when we talk of the administrative reform, we have not been able to propound any specific issue by which we want to proceed on the question of administrative reforms. Some times you talk about the Hoover Commission, and sometimes it is said that such a Commission with a gigantic scope of work is not necessary. Different opinions are being expressed and the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri Hathi, also announced on the floor of the House that they are thinking of appointing a Commission on the pattern of the Hoover Commission. If we go to the basis of the functioning of the Hoover Commission, we have to realise that

the Hoover Commission's recommendations were of a very general nature. The American administrative system is much better organised than ours. As Mr. Mathur said, our system of administration has to be geared to a developing economy, bearing in mind the concept of Welfare State. So, the formation of such a commission will not give the results. Administrative reform committees should be appointed to take up specific issues.

I was happy that Mr. Hathi said that some of these vigilance bodies are being appointed for customs, the works and housing ministry, etc. That is the only answer to our problems. May be these vigilance bodies may catch some wrong-doers, but that is not enough. The basic conditioning of our government machinery, how we can avoid delay, where the file gets delayed, how to smoothen the process and avoid delay, nepotism, etc.—all these have to be processed through these administrative reform committees devoted to specific issues.

Shri Hathi: These are not vigilance bodies trying to find out corruption cases. These are study group committees with a member of parliament heading the team.

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha: I am happy that an MP will be attached to them and they will cover all aspects of administrative reform. I am sure useful results will come out of these studies. I congratulate the ministry on that.

The biggest obstacle today is whenever a wrong decision is taken, we are not able to fix the responsibility on a particular individual zone, division or unit. A system should be evolved by which we can fix specific responsibility for a certain fault or laxity in government administration.

At present appointment of UPSC members is being done by the Home Ministry, but it is made mostly on the recommendations of the State Governments; I submit that not only the

UPSC, but the appointment of other commissions should be the responsibility of the Government of India. But care should be taken to see that members who are appointed to the UPSC have no blemish on their record. Some cases have come to our notice where some of the present members of the UPSC had not had a very good record. Their record has been a little unfortunate. Care should be taken and such members should not be appointed to the UPSC or State Public Service Commissions.

There should also be a permanent commission for looking after the cases of promotion and extension of service. Nowadays almost all the high officials get extension. If they retire in one sphere, they get a job in another sphere or their service is extended. This is causing a lot of heart-burning and creating an impression that we are working with a biased-mind favouring certain people who are suited to us and not the other unfortunate people. This kind of thing should not be allowed to grow. So, promotion and extension should also come under the purview of such a commission.

Then, there is a very easy tendency of High Court judges being given all kinds of jobs after retirement. This should be avoided. I am all for extending the age of retirement even by five years. If they are fit to work they should be allowed to continue and there should be no inhibitions about it. They should only be retired on grounds of health. On the one hand you say that they cannot serve in a judicial capacity and then you give them some other jobs. This does not create a very good impression. We do not have to think of today, we have to think of tomorrow and the day after and the traditions that we are to build up for this country of ours. I, therefore, submit that judicial personnel once they retire should not be provided with easy jobs as it is being done these days.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, बड़े इन्तजार के बाद मुझे समय मिला है, जिस के लिए मैं आभारवादा आभारी हूँ ।

गृह मंत्रालय की मांगों के ऊपर काफी सदस्यों ने अपने विचार रखे । गृह मंत्रालय ने पिछले दो सालों में जो काम किया है, मेरा ऐसा अनुभव है कि पिछले 15 सालों में ऐसा काम नहीं हुआ । नन्दा जी ने देश में जो गलत कार्रवाईयाँ चल रही थीं उनको रोकने के लिए गति से पग उठाया । काश्मीर का सवाल पिछले 15 सालों में उलझा हुआ था । उसको उन्होंने बड़ी चतुराई के साथ, साहस के साथ, हिम्मत के साथ सुलझाया । हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि वह सवाल अभी संतोषजनक ढंग से नहीं सुलझ पाया है, लेकिन जो काम 15 सालों में नहीं हो पाया नन्दा जी ने उसको करने का प्रयत्न किया ।

जहाँ तक असम की बात है, असम की समस्या जटिल होती जा रही है । वहाँ अवैध मुसलमान काफी संख्या में जमा होते जा रहे हैं । शासन का कहना है कि उनकी संख्या साढ़े तीन लाख है जो पाकिस्तान से अवैध रूप से आ गये हैं, लेकिन जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है, उसके अनुसार आठ नौ लाख के करीब मुसलमान अवैध रूप से पाकिस्तान से आ कर वहाँ बसे हैं । मुझे डर है कि कुछ समय बाद असम की वही स्थिति हो जाएगी जो आज काश्मीर की स्थिति है । असम में यह स्थिति इसलिये बनती जा रही है कि वहाँ पर कुछ मंत्री लौगी विचार के हैं, कुछ पाकिस्तानी विचार के हैं, उन्हीं के प्रोत्साहन से काफी लोग वहाँ बढ़ते जा रहे हैं ।

जहाँ तक देश के चरित्र की बात है, यह गृह मंत्री जी की जवाबदारी है कि देश के अन्दर लोगों का चरित्र अच्छा बने और चरित्र निर्माण के लिए फिर-फिर बातों का ध्यान रखा जाए, इसकी जिम्मे-

[श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छवाय]

दारी भी होम मिनिस्टर की है। देश में आज अश्लील साहित्य बहुत बढ़ रहा है। हमारे माननीय भट्टाचार्य जी जब इस बारे में बोल लाए थे उस पर भी मैं बोला था। लेकिन आज मैं माननीय श्री हाथी को कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश के अन्दर कैसा गन्दा साहित्य और अश्लील साहित्य बिकता है, इसका प्रमाण दे सकता हूँ। विदेशों से मेगजीन आते हैं, उनमें गन्दे चित्र रहते हैं। और इन चित्रों को लोग ला कर घरों में लगाते हैं। दूसरी ओर मेगजीनों में जो नग्न चित्र आते हैं उनके बारे में भी मैं सरकार को बताना चाहता हूँ। इनको लोग देखते हैं, इनको विद्यार्थी पढ़ते हैं और उनके मन पर और चरित्र पर इसका बुरा प्रभाव पड़ता है। सरकार को यह देखना चाहिये कि यह साहित्य किस ढंग से आता है, कैसे आता है, कहां से आता है, इसका पता लगाकर इसको रोकना चाहिए। सरकार इस प्रकार की पुस्तकों पर और अश्लील चित्रों पर पाबन्दी नहीं लगा पायी है। मैं इस सदन में ऐसे अनेक समाचार पत्र पेश कर सकता हूँ। हिन्दी का आबजरवर है। मैं नन्दा जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह अपने बच्चों को इस प्रकार का साहित्य पढ़ने के लिए देना पसन्द करेंगे? इन से बच्चों के मन पर बड़ा बुरा असर पड़ता है।

कम्युनिस्टों के बारे में सरकार ने जो कदम उठाया वह बहुत अच्छा उठाया, मैं उसकी सराहना करता हूँ। लेकिन उसने यह कदम विलम्ब से उठाया। बहुत से लोग कहते हैं कि यह गलत कदम उठाया, लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि यह कदम बिल्कुल गलत नहीं है। बहुत कुछ किया लेकिन जिस ढंग से करना चाहिये था वैसा नहीं किया गया। आज भी बहुत से कम्युनिस्ट अंडर ग्राउंड हैं और अपना काम करते हैं। सरकार यहां योजनाएं बनाती है और वे योजनाएं हमारी

बाहर पहुंच जाती हैं। जो चीज हम को यहां संसद में नहीं मालूम होती वह पोकिंग रेडियो बोलता है। इसका कारण कांग्रेस के कुछ सदस्य हैं जो अपने आप को कम्युनिस्ट मानते हैं लेकिन कांग्रेस के साथ बने हुए हैं। अभी सुभद्रा जोशी बोलें। उनका ऐसा कहना है कि मैं दिन में कांग्रेसी हूँ और रात को कम्युनिस्ट हो जाती हूँ। ऐसे लोग कांग्रेस में धुसे हुए हैं, वे जाकर तमाम बातें कम्युनिस्टों को बता देते हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या उन्होंने कहा है कि वह दिन में कांग्रेसी रहती हैं और रात को कम्युनिस्ट हो जाती हैं?

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छवाय : मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि भारतवर्ष में स्त्री पतिव्रता होती है। और वह अपने पति का कहना नहीं टाल सकती। वह एक कम्युनिस्ट की पत्नी हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह कहना ठीक नहीं है। एक दूसरे के खिलाफ इस तरह कहना मुनासिब नहीं है। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। किसी को मोटिव इम्प्यूट नहीं करने चाहिए। सब आनरेबिल मेम्बरों को चाहिए कि वे एक दूसरे का धावर करें। यह तो कह सकते हैं कि उनका खयाल है कि

श्री हुकम चन्द कच्छवाय : मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर मुझ से कुछ टुटि हुई हो तो मैं क्षमा चाहता हूँ। गृह मंत्री जी और देश के सब लोग जानते हैं कि आर० एस० एस० वाले लोग कैसे हैं, लेकिन सुभद्रा जी ने उन पर आरोप लगाए हैं कि इन लोगों को सिखाया जाता है कि किस प्रकार उपद्रव करने चाहिए, कैसे लोगों को जान से मारना चाहिए। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आर० एस० एस० के बारे में कौन नहीं जानता कि ये ही लोग थे जो अपनी जान को खतरे में डाल कर हजारों लोगों को

पाकिस्तान से बचाकर यहां लाए थे, इस दिल्ली में ही कितने लोगों को अपनी जान पर खेल कर लाए थे, उन्होंने किस प्रकार लोगों को बचाया यह सब जानते हैं। यह आर० एस० एस० वाले ही थे जिन्होंने उस समय अपनी जान पर खेल कर देश की रक्षा की। वे देश भक्त लोग हैं। ऐसे लोगों के बारे में उन्होंने कहा है कि ये लोग सरकार के दफ्तरों में काम करते हैं, उनको निकालना चाहिए। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बड़ी नग्नता से कहना चाहता हूँ कि बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जो अपने को कम्युनिस्ट कहते हैं या नहीं कहते, लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट बिचार रखते हैं, क्या वे सरकारी दफ्तरों में नहीं हैं। क्या मिनिस्ट्रों के घरों के नौकरों में कम्युनिस्ट नहीं हैं। ये लोग सब जगह भरे हुए हैं और देश द्रोह करते रहते हैं।

हमारी सरकार ने वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों पर पाबन्दी लगायी है। क्या सरकार इस बात की गारन्टी देगी जो दूसरे कम्युनिस्ट हैं उन से खतरा नहीं है। हम ने देखा है कि इसी सदन के कुछ वामपन्थी सदस्य आज दक्षिण पन्थे में चले गए हैं। उन्होंने देखा कि इधर खतरा है तो उधर चलो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कम्युनिस्टों के प्रति सरकार निर्भयता से और निडर हो कर कदम उठावे और अपनी नीति को कार्यान्वित करे तो देशकी सुरक्षा हो सकती है।

पिछले दिनों चीन का हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ। चीन की साजिश थी कि हम सारे देश पर हमला करेंगे, लेकिन उन्होंने देखा कि हमारे समर्थक जेलों में बन्द हैं, अब कौन सा रास्ता अपनाया जाए। उनकी पहले योजना थी कि वह देश पर बाहर से हमला करें और जो उन के समर्थक यहां बैठे हैं वे कारखानों को तोड़ें, हड़तालें करावें। लेकिन उनकी योजना पूरी नहीं हुई क्योंकि सरकार ने उन लोगों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया। यह काम सरकार ने बहुत अच्छा किया। जब चीन ने देखा कि उसकी योजना सफल

नहीं हुई तो उसने पाकिस्तान से हाथ मिलाया और पाकिस्तान से हमारे देश पर हमला करवाया। सरकार को कम्युनिस्टों के खिलाफ कड़े कदम उठाने चाहिए। इन को विदेशों से करोड़ों रुपए की मदद मिलती है और चीन से हथियार मिलते हैं जिस से यह लोग देश द्रोह करते हैं। सरकार को इनके खिलाफ कठोर कदम उठाने चाहिए।

मैं सरकार से एक और बात कह देना चाहता हूँ। अभी कुछ समय पहले देश में हिन्दी विरोधी आन्दोलन चला। सरकार ने पिछले 15-16 सालों में हिन्दी के लिए कुछ नहीं किया। और जब उपद्रव हुए तो सरकार ने कठोर कदम नहीं उठाये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस और कदम उठावें। हमारे देश के अन्दर लाखों और करोड़ों की तादाद में मुसलमान बसते हैं और सरकार को इस संकट की घड़ी में उधर विशेष ध्यान रखना है और जिनकी वृत्ति पाकिस्तानी है उन से विशेष तौर पर सरकार को सावधान रहना है और यदि उनकी गतिविधियां जरा भी राष्ट्रद्रोही हों तो उन पर अंकुश लगाना चाहिए। सीमाओं पर जहां कि मुसलमान बसते हैं वहां पर सरकार को बहुत होशियार और चौकना रहना है कि कहीं यह इनकी गतिविधियां भारत विरोधी तो नहीं हो रही हैं। पाकिस्तानी वृत्ति के मुसलमानों पर सरकार पाबन्दी लगाये।

हमारे एक संसद सदस्य हैं। उन्होंने हाल में हैदराबाद के अन्दर एक भाषण दिया था जिस में उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर इस्लाम को जिन्दा रखना है तो इन जालिमों और काफिरों के सिर कुचल दो। भारत में रहते हुए ऐसी भाषा का व्यवहार करना एकदम अवांछनीय है। उनका भाषण टेप रिकार्ड किया हुआ मेरे पास मौजूद है और अध्यक्ष महोदय, यदि आप आज्ञा दें तो मैं उन के भाषण का टेप रिकार्ड सदन में प्रस्तुत कर सकता हूँ।

[श्री हुकाम चन्द कच्छवाय]

देश में से भ्रष्टाचार दूर करने की बात गृह मंत्री जी द्वारा बहुत की जाती है लेकिन क्या वे जानते हैं कि उन के अधीन पुलिस विभाग किस ढंग से आज काम कर रहा है? हकीकत तो यह है कि एक भी थानेदार, एक भी हैडकान्स्टेबुल या एक भी साधारण पुलिस मैन मुझे ढूँढ़े नहीं मिलता जिसने कि पैसा देकर सिनेमा देखा हो, पैसा देकर किसी भी बस, स्कूटर, या तांगे में वह चला हो? एक भी पुलिस वाला मुझे ऐसा नहीं मिला जिस ने किसी होटल में चाय पी हो और वह पैसा देकर पी हो। उसका प्रमुख कारण यह है कि ऊपर के स्तर पर भ्रष्टाचार फैला हुआ है। सरकार को समय रहते इसके उन्मूलन के लिए कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाने चाहिए।

जहां तक सदाचार की भावना लोगों में फैलाने की बात है मैं केवल एक अंतिम बात कह कर बैठ जाता हूँ। सदाचार की बात काफी चली है। सदाचार से काम होना चाहिए इस के बारे में दफ्तरों में और कुछ अन्य जगहों पर बड़े दिलचस्प ढंग से फैली है। लोग हमें खुलमखुला बतलाते हैं कि पहले हम दो रुपया देकर काम करते थे लेकिन चूकि नन्दा जी का कहना है कि आप सदाचार रुपये लो और फिर दिलखोल कर काम करो तो हम अब बजाय दो के चार रुपये लेकर काम करते हैं। यह भावना सदाचार की आज कर्मचारियों में फैली है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस और विशेष ध्यान दे और यह रिश्तत और भ्रष्टाचार जो कि हमारे अंदर घुस गया है इसको प्रभावशाली तरीके से समाप्त करे और अपराधियों को विशेष कर बड़े अपराधियों को कड़ा दंड दे।

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Home Ministry's ~~records~~.

On Friday when I heard Shri Kripalani, I found neither sense nor scientific approach in his speech. Shri Kripalani said that Nandaji had a weakness for organisation; that he had organised the INTUC, then the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the Sadhu Samaj and the Sadachar Samiti. I do not know what wrong is there in forming these. In fact, it goes to the credit of a person that he has great organising ability. All the organisations—the Indian National Congress, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party; whichever party it is—have, after all, been organised by somebody or the other. In fact, he was the head of the Congress organisation for some time.

The INTUC today is the biggest organisation. It is his child that has grown into an adult and is today able to discharge so much duty towards the country, take care of the problems of labour and look to the interest of labour without disturbing the peace in industry. With such heart and affection for labour he has always been working. He was the Minister of Labour for some time. We know, our friends in the Opposition could not criticize him because he himself took up the cause of labour before anybody could take it up.

Coming to the Bharat Sevak Samaj, I myself have seen a number of these Lok Karya Kshetras. Some of the Lok Karya Kshetras were also taken over by the Bharatiya Gramin Mahila Sangh. They have been doing very good work. Unfortunately, here and there, there may be some difficulties or defects and they have to be looked into. But that does not mean that the whole organisation is to be condemned downright. Specially when dealing with individuals, with large social institutions and vast masses of people, something may go wrong somewhere. They may not be able to maintain the accounts properly or there may be anything else

for which they may be asked to be answerable.

Then, he said about the Sadhu Samaj; that sadhus are to live in *kutiya*s. I do not know with what knowledge Shri Kripalani has said that. We have seen a Vivekananda going about to other countries. In fact, the aim of sadhus is this. I have heard even Swami Sivananda saying that through service only one gets purification of thought and makes oneself fit for self-realisation. Shri Nandaji had brought order out of disorder and brought all these people together. If they are willing to serve the country, we should all welcome it and give them all facilities. An objection was raised by the learned Acharya about their going by Deluxe trains. We all go by these trains and it is not as if they do not deserve to go by Deluxe trains. They have been doing very good work. The Sadhu Samaj has been doing good work. It is not as if they come for your comfort or for your bungalows that you provide. They come out of compassion to serve the humanity. This has always been the case with great Mahatmas. How did Mahatma Gandhi come out to serve the humanity? It is out of compassion to serve the humanity. They try to transform the society and conquer the evil. How did Buddha transform the society? It is out of his presence that he could transform Angulimala. That is how the sadhus go round and transform the society and I do not think that there is anything objectionable and that they should be confined only to the *kutiya*s according to Acharya Kripalani.

About the Sadachar Samiti, of late, we have been seeing how they could find out the adulterated foodstuffs and other exhibits. Mr. Nanda may not know about it. Sometimes some persons who do not deserve to be there may creep into it as is the case in so many places. These things do

happen. But that does not mean that the very idea of Sadachar is bad. It is *Sat* plus *Acharya*: *Sat* is truth and *Acharya* is practice of truth. Sadachar is supposed to go round the people and educate them how they should do their duty and practice truth. This really goes to the credit of the hon. Home Minister.

Sometime back there was so much flare-up of communal disturbances in this country and specially situated as we were that there were Pakistani attacks every time, any slightest thing would have turned into flames of communal passions. But even then, it is his ability, it is his sincerity, it is his love for every citizen of the country, irrespective of religion, Hindu or Muslim or Christian, that drew him to those places of trouble and he created confidence among them and dispelled the ignorance from the minds of the majority community that resorting to any kind of violence will only endanger the country more and more by disturbing our developmental activities. Today we find our minority friends breeding faith in the Home Minister. It is really credit to him and it proves that in this country, when a neighbouring country like Pakistan betrays us and attacks us, it is not a question of Hindu or Muslim, or Christian, irrespective of any religious faith, we are all children of the Mother Bharat—there is no step child in this country—and we will all fight and that has been voiced by our friends on the other side.

Then, there are the Left Communists I come from a district wherein there was harassment of people by the Communists during the Telangana troubles. Even today, out of 8 Members, only 3 Members of the Legislature are Congress whereas 5 Members are Communists out of which 4 are Left Communists. They have been resorting to all these things and they had their own plots. Of course, the Government has taken effective steps against them and it goes to the

[Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma]

credit of our Intelligence Department and the Home Ministry about the way in which they have dealt with the Left Communists. After all the country's defence and the maintenance of its independence is of paramount importance than anything else. We know the tactics adopted by Communists such as Vijayawada fires and acid bulb tactics. Everyday, suddenly some huts will be burnt, some houses will be burnt, the people will be thrown out and nobody knew how the fire occurred. Then, there were these acid bulb tactics or whatever it is. These tactics were carried on. Rest of the things we have all discussed in the House. I would not go into details.

Many hon. Members have talked about corruption. Here is another thing where due credit should be given to the present Home Minister. Within such a short time after he declared his firm determination, to eradicate corruption, the committee on prevention of corruption recommendations had been implemented. We have seen also how many people have been booked and punished. I would not like to go into those figures now, for lack of time.

We also know how when the price rise was there, he had tackled this problem of blackmarketeers, hoarders and others.

Even in the borders, we have seen how efficient our police forces have been. Though they were small in number, still they were defending the borders with such confidence, faith and patriotism that some of them had even laid down their lives in defence of the borders. In fact, some police officers had died in these border conflicts. All our love and affection and our sympathies go to their families.

Regarding the Kashmir problem, the Home Minister has brought about certain changes which for so many years had been pending. I am sure

that within a short time even the small obstacles that are there would be overcome, and there would be a complete integration of Kashmir with India, and we are eagerly awaiting that day during the tenure of the present Home Minister, when the necessary constitutional amendment would be made in this regard. At the time of the Hazratbal relic theft the hon. Minister had dealt with the issue so efficiently that he deserves our praise and congratulations.

My hon. friend Shri Khadilkar had said why from Planning the present Home Minister Shri Nanda had come to the Home portfolio. He did so because he felt that unless the administration was oriented to bear the burden of a socialistic society, it would not be possible to implement the policy of socialism. In the President's Address also it has been said that the orientation of the administration would be given the topmost priority.

In regard to the language issue, I am sure the hon. Minister will very soon be in a position to infuse confidence in the minds of the non-Hindi speaking people.

As regards the IAS, there are a number of girls who have come out successful in the competitive examination for entry into the IAS. But I understand that there are certain restrictions in regard to their entry into the IAS, namely that married women are ineligible for joining the IAS. I do not know why this discrimination should be made between men and women. I learn, however that prior permission has to be taken by a woman who enters the IAS if she has to marry. Recently I saw from the list of successful candidates that several girls had come out successful in the examination. Therefore, I would submit that no discrimination should be there, and the women also should be treated on a par with men.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now.

If married women are taken into the IAS, they would lord over their husbands.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: Now, the husbands are lording over them. Why should it not be the other way also?

Mr. Speaker: It is now about 7.40 P.M. Would the hon. Members like to sit for some more time?

Shri Vasudevan Nair: We can sit for half an hour tomorrow.

Shri Subbaraman (Madurai): I had written to you three days back on the 24th itself requesting permission to speak on these Demands. So, I request I may be given a chance.

An Hon. Member: A chance may be given to those who are now present in the House to speak.

Mr. Speaker: I find that there are so many who want to speak. It may not be possible to accommodate all of them.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : सब को पांच पांच मिनट दे दिये जायें ।

Dr. M. S. Aney: I would suggest that you may fix some time-limit for each Member and say that he should speak only for ten minutes or five minutes or something like that. We have already sat for an hour more, and we thought that many Members would be accommodated, but we find that those who have been called have made speeches without any time-limit.

Mr. Speaker: Even then, it would require half an hour more to accommodate the other Members who want to speak. Is the House prepared to sit for that much time?

Shri Chandak (Chhindwara): We should not sit beyond 8 P.M.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members should try to confine themselves to about

five to seven minutes. Now, Shri Bakar Ali Mirza.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal): Five minutes would not be sufficient.

Mr. Speaker: I think five to seven minutes would be sufficient. It would be a good history if we could do that.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: It is late in the evening now, and it is also the evening of my life...

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): Why should my hon. friend say that? We wish him more life.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: The Home Ministry covers a very wide field.

Mr. Speaker: I can arrange for dinner for the hon. Members even if they want to sit up to 10 P.M.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Then we can consider sitting for a longer time.

Mr. Speaker: I am prepared to stand that dinner to hon. Members.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: It is not only law and order and internal security which are the responsibility of the Home Minister, but nowadays, because of the trouble on our frontiers, and because of the activities of Pakistan and the intrusions and attacks, the security of our borders and frontiers has also become the responsibility of the Home Ministry.

Here I must pay my tribute to all those members of the police force who in Kutch and other areas, where there is no accommodation, no place to stay, still held their ground and have brought credit to the country.

The way in which our Home Minister has been dealing with the law and order problem is illustrated by the way he conducted himself in tackling the Calcutta riots. He rushed to the scene and created confidence. The speed with which he acted was really commendable. In the same way, he is conducting himself with reference to the affairs of the Home Ministry in other regions also.

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

But I cannot say the same thing about how the language riots were dealt with. The language riots came as some sort of a surprise to the Home Ministry. That is really a thing which should not have happened. The intelligence wing of the Home Ministry is a vital thing in the whole set-up. At least they should have known what was brewing in Madras, how things were developing. This should have been known to the Home Ministry. If our intelligence was really efficient, we would have got not only previous information but we would also have been able to investigate and inquire into many matters. Take, for example, the episode of the leakage of some documents which have now been laid on the Table, by Shri Dwivedy and Shri Kamath. I should like to know from the Home Minister: why is it that no responsibility has been fixed so far for this leakage? This is really a very serious thing because today, in the context of the defence of the country with which we are very much concerned, secrecy is a vital thing. If documents like Cabinet Sub-Committee reports etc. are bandied about from place to place and exhibited, it will mean that our defence apparatus is getting weakened.

Shri Kamath has been condemning the Home Minister. But I thought it was his duty to tell the Home Minister at least in private how he came to have access to those documents and how the documents are being bandied about. After all, the security of the country is of as much interest to Shri Kamath as to Shri Nanda.

Today Shri Kamath produced some other document, a letter written to Shri Nanda by Shri Patnaik. If these things become public property and responsible M.Ps. allow themselves to be used as the receiving ends for these documents, it is rather a very sad state of affairs. I hope Shri Dwivedy and Shri Kamath will themselves come out and disclose to the

Home Minister what really had happened, because I understand both of them are taking great interest in moral rearmament.

I am glad Government have accepted a number of recommendations of the Santhanam Committee. At the same time, there are some matters to which I would like to draw their attention. Now for promotion of a non-gazetted person to a gazetted post, why it is necessary to get a certificate of honesty. Today in the confidential report there is a column about 'integrity' where the superior officer has to record his own opinion about the man's integrity and so on. What will happen if a certificate of honesty is insisted upon not only for promotion from non-gazetted to gazetted posts, but also for extension and so on, all those who do not get promotion will come under a cloud. After all, it is not for honesty alone that a person is promoted. So, this desire to accept all the recommendations without seeing the effect on the services is a thing which is to be regretted.

Our Home Minister nowadays is very much concerned with delays. Delays, of course, have to be avoided, but if the disposal is unjust, the increase in the speed will add to the increase in injustice. So, just avoiding delay is really not the vital thing. We have to see that in the disposal of the case, the decision is not unjust.

If delay is so important, I would like to know why there are two vacancies in UPSC. It has been going on for some time. There is no dearth of men who can be appointed to the UPSC. Last year it was seven, but some members retired and two or three were appointed, but is still seven, and below the quota. Naturally, there has been a complaint that there is delay in recruitment. If we want to avoid delay, then the first

thing for you to do is to appoint more members to the UPSC.

Mr. Speaker: Two minutes more.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: I have not yet started.

Mr. Speaker: Then probably he will end by dawn!

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: I hope so. Please give me five minutes more because it is not merely for speaking that I speak. I have got some points which I want to make.

There is one type of corruption which does not depend on the individual or national character, but on the economic environment. If there is a runaway inflation, then prices rise. Honest people resist for a time, and after a time honesty begins to be eroded. Whether it is in Delhi or Paris or London or New York, if there is inflation, corruption and blackmarketing are a certainty, and it has no relationship either to the individual or national character. So, this type of corruption does not come under the control of the Home Minister. It is a matter which the Finance Minister, the Food Minister and the Industries Minister, by their financial policies and policies of production, can meet, because it is not a crisis of character, but it is a financial and production crisis.

Another reason for corruption is that corruption is good business, and is good for business. If I invest Rs. 1,000 and keep on doubling it in ten years it will amount up to Rs. 10 lakhs, if I do not pay taxes, but if I invest Rs. 1 lakh I cannot make even Rs. 3 lakhs in ten years if I pay the taxes honestly. So, corruption is a device to fill up, to get richer and wipe out the gap. So, these people who want to make money naturally are interested that corruption should go on. You pay your employee for his honesty, but Big Business pays for his dishonesty. You tighten your con-

trol, they loosen their purse, and this thing goes on. And it goes on as long as the play is not serious. But once they know that you are serious, they are after your blood, and the first thing they will do is to pull you down, and that is the reason why there is so much veiled and unveiled attack on Shri Nanda. They know that Nandaji, whatever else he may be, is serious about this question of corruption, and that is why there is an attack. Because they cannot attack his integrity directly, they want to attack the association with which he is connected. Naturally, there is attack about the Sadachar Samiti, the Sadhu Samaj and Bharat Sevak Samaj and all that. I do not say that there is not any impropriety or even defalcation, but to connect the purposes of such bodies in such a way to a person is to pull down Shri Nanda. Surely, there may be some discrepancies in these organisations because they have not got the voucher honesty of Big Business or the device of putting up their accounts or submitting their election expenses in such a regular manner as is done by our politicians.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: If you want to get rid of this corruption, you must control the Big Business lobby, and for that, you must name and condemn whenever you find such a thing. Also, to stop the control of big business of politicians, there should be an electoral reform so that the politicians do not depend so much on the money of big business. That is why I finally wish to say that not only the politicians but also the businessmen should completely declare their assets. We are moving towards a socialist society, and our aim is to achieve an egalitarian society, and so, what is there that could assail us when action is taken to prevent people from hiding illgotten wealth?

Shri A. S. Alva (Mangalore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Home Ministry being a very important Ministry, it is but natural that there are people who find fault with this Ministry for various reasons, because the Home Minister has to deal very firmly in so many ways. In the first place, when the situation in the country becomes very serious, especially, when you realised what happened in 1962 and again the same thing in one form or the other is repeating itself now, it is but natural that the Home Minister must be very strict and it is up to him to see that the country unites itself and presents a common front.

Much has been said of the detentions under the DIR. The House unanimously passed that Act for the very good reason that the integrity of the country must be preserved, and there should not be any sabotage of any kind whatsoever. Under the ordinary rules of evidence, it is not possible to bring to book certain bad characters who are violating the sovereignty of the country and who are actually selling away the country. That is why the detention was resorted to in the case of those persons. Even that also is done under certain restrictions because, under the DIR itself, the detaining authorities should be satisfied with the subversive activities of the persons to be detained which is a safeguard against arbitrary use.

It is asked, why these people are not brought to the court. As a matter of fact, there are sufficient grounds for not doing so. You will see that the Home Ministry is acting on information especially when the security of the country itself is jeopardised. Then certainly it is not up to anybody to say that the DIR is applied only to certain political parties and not to others and as a matter of fact, no political party as such is proceeded against.

20 hrs.

Then again, I would submit that as far as the integrity and the oneness

of the country is concerned, it is absolutely necessary that there should be all-India services; the All India Services Act has been amended to include the engineering services, forest service and the Indian medical and Health services. All-India Services for education and agriculture are also under contemplation. Before independence, we had all-India services in several categories and it was working very well. I belonged to the old composite State of Madras which has been practically split up into 4 linguistic States. At one time we used to have high officers in the police, collectors, assistant collectors, educational officers, etc. from any linguistic area and we were not feeling any difference. Now most of the officers are confined to their own States. That is why integration is very difficult. So, the Home Ministry must be very careful to see that UPSC examinations are held in one medium only. Now we have English and we are committed, rightly, that Hindi has to replace English as all-India language. But at the same time, there should be patience. Unless all the States are prepared, it should not be forced on them.

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri rightly said that all the Southern non-Hindi States, except Madras, are progressing with Hindi; in Madras alone they did not make it compulsory and so, trouble started. If we had not thought of the language question for some more time and proceeded with the propagation of Hindi, it would have been easier; after 10 or 15 years, this problem will not be there. It is loosely talked about that UPSC examinations should be held in all the languages. There cannot be any other way of disrupting the country. A person who takes his examination in Tamil has to serve only in Tamilnad and not anywhere else. But if he takes the examination in English, he can go to all the States. Afterwards when Hindi comes into prominence and replaces English, he can take the examination in Hindi and go to all the

States That is how integration should be achieved.

There is corruption at all levels; it should not be minimised. Government should put it down with a strong hand. We are talking rather loosely of corrupt officers. The officers are but a cross-section of our nation; they comprise all sections. Always we try to see corruption in another person. Nobody sees corruption in the general level. If an individual wants to get some work done, he is prepared to give some bribe and get it done. The politician brings pressure on some minister. This is also corruption, but we do not see all these things. Unless the general level goes up, there is absolutely no chance of removing this completely. It is said that Nandaji should not patronise the Sadachar Samiti or the Bharat Sewak Samaj or some other useful organisations which are doing very good work. At the same time, there will be adventurers who will join the institutions. Care should be taken to see that they are kept out. Once they are in, there is bound to be some breach of trust and some money being misused. By that we should not condemn those organisations which are really doing good work. Therefore, the work which the Home Ministry is doing is

really stupendous. Simply saying that Shri Nanda is very honest, his intentions are good and all that will really amount to paying left-handed compliment. As a matter of fact, he is trying to do his best, and in that respect it is the duty of all of us to co-operate with him and see that our administration improves and the integrity of the country is preserved.

Some hon. Member: rose—

Mr. Speaker: I think we should rise now.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : परसों पाकिस्तान पर बहस होगी उस पर बोलने का विश्वास दिलाएं तो मैं आज नहीं बोलूंगा ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : विश्वास तो नहीं दिलाया जा सकता ।

We should have some consideration for these officers and officials in the Department also. They have to prepare for tomorrow's agenda and other things. The House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow at 11.00 A.M.
20.07 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 27th April, 1965|Vaisakha 7, 1887 (Saka).