

LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

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LOK SABHA

Wednesday, 11th April, 1956

The Lok Sabha met at Half Past Ten  
of the Clock.

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-30 A.M.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

FORTY-NINTH REPORT

**Sardar Hukam Singh** (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): Sir, I beg to present the Forty-ninth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS\*

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now resume further discussion of the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs. Out of 8 hours allotted for the Demands of this Ministry 1 hour has already been availed of and 7 hours now remain.

**Shrimati Khongmen** (Autonomous Distts.—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was referring to necessity of teaching the tribal people new and improved methods of cultivation so that the economic condition of those people may be improved. The supply of good seeds should be made available in adequate measure. Cotton cultivation is to be encouraged, particularly of the suitable variety which is found to grow well in the belts at certain altitudes. This is necessary, but is being neglected. What small quantities are grown in the Garo, Lushal and Mikir

hills are being bought off at a very low price by the middlemen taking advantage of the ignorance and poverty of the growers. Assam is a land of weavers and most of the tribal people in that distant corner depend entirely for their supply of cloth and yarn on cotton crop. Therefore, efforts should be made to encourage cotton cultivation there.

There are other handicraft products which need marketing attention. Proper heed has not been paid to this aspect of the matter to improve the condition of the tribal population.

When you look at the side of education, the same old gloomy picture presents itself. The people in certain areas are very backward in all respects, particularly in education. In other areas they are slightly better off. For instance, in the Lushal and Khasi hills districts the percentage of literacy would be about 17 to 18 per cent, whereas in the other hills it might be just about 1 or 2 in a thousand. My hon. and learned friend, Shri Murthy, was annoyed yesterday and he vehemently protested against the term used by members of the Selection Board & Ministers that "no suitable candidates have been available from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes" whenever the question of appointment arises to Government posts. Perhaps I have no right to be annoyed, but I am deeply sorry to hear time and again that these sections of the population are not even qualified for class IV jobs. How can you produce suitable candidates when children have no education? And how can they get education when there are no schools in most parts of the tribal areas? I, therefore, request that Government should give facilities for education by opening up more schools in the tribal areas and make education free to the children, at least up to the primary standard, and scholarships for secondary and higher education should be afforded generously. This has to be urgently done if these people and areas are to be brought up to the level of other developed or advanced regions of India.

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Shrimati Khongmen]

I also plead for a special housing scheme suitable for the hill areas. A special department should be created for the hills alone to execute this scheme. The people in the interior of the hills have no houses, broadly speaking. They have improvised shelter made of leaves and branches of trees, which neither give them shelter from the rains and storm, nor safety from wild animals.

Attention to health and hygiene is also deplorably lacking. Malnutrition and diseases are literally crippling the hill population, particularly in some areas such as the Mikir hills district. I have received information that, taking a considerable number of men, women and children, as many as 100 or more died in the Mikir hills of an epidemic which is suspected to be plague. I am not aware what steps are being taken to control the spread of this disease there. I invite the urgent attention of the Government to this matter and request that immediate steps be taken in the matter. I suggest that medical facilities under the World Health Organisation be extended to the hills in the North, East and South of Assam, giving priority over the plain areas in India. Training of midwives and nurses is an urgent necessity. Adequate arrangements are to be made in the Assam Medical College and other institutions elsewhere. Maternity and child welfare centres, which are non-existent in many parts of the hill areas, should be directly run by Government as many of these people cannot look after or manage these by themselves.

Drinking water has remained as a commodity of scarcity during the winter months when there are no rains. This too needs Government's attention.

Conditions of the people vary with localities, for instance, those living in the vicinity of highways and thoroughfares are a little advanced as compared with that of those in the interior without communication.

Cottage industries have to be introduced extensively where feasible and can be worked to their advantage. With a view to bringing about a better understanding, the economic level of the various people has to be improved as expeditiously as circumstances permit. For this purpose, while the cottage industries will constitute a great help, a few small-scale and medium industries may be installed in the hills where suitable or feasible. This will increase their

cash income and as well as by way of contact and competition with the people in the plains.

Above all, communication is urgently needed in the hills both for security as well as economic development. People living on the Pakistan border feel insecure due to so many reasons; I need not go in detail. For want of communication, all forms of progress and development in this area are retarded. This must receive very urgent attention.

This House is aware that for the last four years, district councils have started functioning in the five autonomous districts of Assam according to the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of our Constitution. We have already had considerable experience in this. The progress of these is greatly hampered by financial difficulties. I may say this, that its proper and successful working is necessary for bringing peace and happiness to the tribal areas. With a view to overcome the difficulties that stand in the way of the successful functioning of these councils, I have tabled an amendment to the Sixth Schedule. I hope Government will consider this and if the same is not acceptable, the Government itself will consider out of its own experience whether any amendment should be made so that better, proper and a successful working thereof may be brought about.

In conclusion, I think I owe it to Government as well as to myself to make it clear that while I have put forward a long list of wants, inadequacies and shortcomings, I am not unmindful of the fact that Government could not accomplish all these things within a short span of time; which in fact were not even attempted to be done during the last 150 years and that our Government has not got a magic wand to achieve all these overnight. But, I do urge upon the Government to take steps without delay to ameliorate the conditions of the people residing in the hills, so that they may feel that they are also part and parcel of the welfare State of India.

In this connection, I would like to refer to what our Prime Minister said about these people and these areas. He said:

"As I wandered about these areas, New Delhi, with all its paraphernalia of Government, seemed to be very far away and I realised that

the reverse was also true. These areas, so full of promise with such a fine and often sensitive and intelligent population, were hardly remembered by New Delhi. In a vague way no doubt they existed as some outlying tract which had to be kept going. But there was no intimate appreciation of their existence, their difficulties and their problems. Certainly no feeling that these people would add greatly to the strength of India as well as to their own prosperity, if properly helped. I wish that more people from New Delhi visited these areas and came in contact with these very attractive, intelligent and hard-working people."

I appeal to you and to the House to study the conditions of these people and help the Government by suggesting ways and means to help the development of these people. I earnestly hope that the hon. Home Minister will deal with the question of the development of these tribal people and the tribal areas with sympathy and understanding.

**Shri Gadgil (Poona Central):** On the 29th of March, our great Prime Minister made a historical speech. Since then, the political climate, both national and international, has changed. In that speech, there was a correct diagnosis of the disease. Doubtful friends had been ascertained and cunning enemies had been properly referred to. In that context, when you know the disease, when you know the doubtful friends and cunning enemies, our *shastras* enjoin that one must be beware in time and take steps so that the consequences may be avoided. If there was any time in the period since Independence when unity of purpose and solid support to the Prime Minister were necessary, it is today. It is in that context that I want to make a few observations and suggestions.

In the first place, I do not want to refer—because it may not be relevant—to the international situation. But we can only deal with the international situation adequately and effectively, if we are strong and united at home. It is, therefore, a relevant occasion, since the Demands of the Home Ministry are before the House. In the country, an atmosphere has been prevalent for the last six months; everybody is aware of it. I most respectfully urged on the Home Minister, that much more positive steps should be taken, if we want to be strong, solid and united at home.

A few days ago, the Chief Minister of Bombay made certain allegations in the Bombay legislature. Of course, the floor of any legislature is immune. We have been asked to heal the wounds and create harmony. Everyone of us is honestly and genuinely trying for that. The wounds of the body are fairly healed up, but the dead cannot be recalled and the wounds of the mind and the anguish of the soul still continue. It will be an act of high statesmanship if something is done to remove them. Knowing as I do the atmosphere created after the great killing in Bombay in the second and third weeks of January, I must say a wave of horror has gone through the State. I, therefore, repeat most humbly—knowing my responsibility full well—the demand for public judicial enquiry. It is only then we, who are being accused of all sorts of things as a community, will feel a little more confidence. I assure the hon. Home Minister that then the air will be clear for an atmosphere of goodwill to function effectively.

In 1919, Gandhiji put political questions aside and insisted on enquires being made into the excesses of the military and the police. The Government of India, I say, is not adequately aware of the situation and its full implications. If anybody tells the Government that bullets and bayonets can suppress truth he is wrong. History is a significant witness to this. For God's sake and for the sake of this country, do not subordinate truth to political convenience or justice to expediency. Truth is bound to triumph because that is our motto, but try to avoid the travel cost.

I am quite certain that the Home Minister is sincere and genuine when he again and again asks me, and has asked me in the past, not to press for this enquiry. But, as I said, I most respectfully differ from him, because I know that I am much nearer the atmosphere and much nearer the feeling in my State than he is. I will not refer to this matter further. If this is done, the malaise in the situation will fast disappear and, let me assure the hon. Minister, if there is an emergency and if he wants blood from the Maharashtrians I promise him here and now two million boys well trained for whatever risk he wants them to put to.

There is another aspect of this proposition of building up a solid and united front in this country. What has happened recently at Bhopal and other places? If

[Shri Gadgil]

the newspaper reports are correct, there has been a progressive infiltration of Pakistani nationals in Assam, in Kashmir and other places, and I do not know how many have succeeded in infiltrating into the interior.

An Hon. Member : Kutch.

Shri Gadgil : I do not suggest in the least that the Muslim citizens of this country will not play a right and honourable part. I am certain about it. But, all the same, the interests of this country do require that the Ministry of Home Affairs may be a little more cautious. I am not suggesting that they are not and an assurance to that effect will certainly, I am sure, come from the hon. Minister for Home Affairs.

In the course of the last eight years, during which I was for five years in the Government, I knew certain spots which were trouble spots and they still continue to be trouble spots. It is not that there is no knowledge about it. It is not that certain associations, which are parts or branches of certain associations in Pakistan, are not known. And, probably, the Home Ministry is aware of resolutions passed by the main associations in Pakistan. All this must be duly noted and adequate steps should be taken.

The third aspect in this connection is that we have heard time and again—and quite rightly—that casteism is stalking this land. If I have stood during the last 40 years for any main value or principle in social affairs, it is for a casteless society in the social sphere and a classless society in the economic sphere. What I have done for them is not for me to say. Some of those who were witnesses are already in this House. The Constitution has abolished untouchability, but their disabilities do continue. So far, the approach to liquidate caste in this country has been less positive. Somehow or other we believe that the consequences of law will bring about a revolution in the social outlook of the community at large. May I point out what had been said in Yoga Vasishtha:

“मातृवत् परदारेषु परधनेषु लौष्टवत् ।

नतुभयात् स्वभावात् यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥”

All that injunction is good, but if it is followed merely from भय, fear, it is useless. स्वभावात् यः पश्यति स पश्यति । If a man is convinced that this is good, that man is a real seer. I am, therefore, urging a positive aspect and a positive

approach that will create some change in the social outlook; in other words, re-educating socially our coming generation. For the generation that is in the evening of its life it is no good wasting our efforts. They have been brought up in certain traditions. A pattern of social conduct and thought had been woven, so to say, on the loom of time, and that pattern has to be changed. But our difficulty is that we have to use the same shuttles, namely the same human beings. With the high statesmanship and new outlook of life which is gradually emerging, if advantage is taken of that, I am certain that the revolution in mind will come first before it expresses itself in the tangible expression of ‘social conduct’.

The House will be surprised to know that an hon. Member of this House, belonging to the Scheduled Caste, Graduate in Law and practising lawyer at Sitapur in Uttar Pradesh—over the destinies of the people of which our great Home Minister ruled for pretty long—has been refused admission by the Bar Association there. The alternatives given to him for admission are: (1) he should have his own *balti* and *lota* for drinking water or (2) he should content himself with the water which the Muslim servant may be pleased to give. This is in the year of Grace 1956.

12 NOON

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Worse things are happening.

Shri Gadgil: What is this due to? The constitutional provision is there. In the sphere of sports, in the sphere of education, in the sphere of travel, in fact, wherever public life or social life is available, the laws are there. What was the state of affairs some years ago? Sir, may I tell you, when as a student I wanted to go to Virangum *via* Ahmedabad I found the whole train full, but there was one compartment on which the board was ‘वेड़ियों नेमाटे’. So I entered the compartment.

An Hon. Member: What does it mean?

Shri Gadgil: For Harijans.

The ticket collector could immediately see from my fair complexion and blue eyes.....

**Shri A. M. Thomas** (Ernakulam): How many years back?

**Shri Gadgil**: That was in 1912.... that I was a Brahmin. He said: "You are a Brahmin, why do you sit here?" I asked him whether the compartment in which I was sitting was different from the other compartments, to which he replied in the negative. Then, I told him that I was going to sit in the same compartment.

May I recall another occasion when during the session of the Indian National Congress in 1927 at Madras, when I entered the dining hall, I noticed placards like "Brahmins" and "Non-Brahmins". I tore the boards. I was hauled up before some captain of the volunteers. When he asked me why I have done so, I told him: "What are you doing? In a temple where there ought to be equality you are doing this. Has the congress temple become, so to say, the place of money changers, as it has become according to some, of the social reactionaries?"

I will recall another occasion. In 1930 when certain Harijans drank water from a lake or *talab* at Mahad they were assaulted. Some of our friends in Poona gathered together and decided that a meeting should be held and a nice resolution condemning the caste Hindus should be passed. I proposed that we should have a meeting on one day when the boys and girls from the Scheduled Castes should bring a pitcherful of water. Some of us should drink it and the next day we should have a meeting where it should be declared that nothing had happened to us excepting that we were spiritually and morally better. But that action was not approved: I have a witness of this incident here in this House.

Now, what I suggest is that unless there is a positive approach, unless some such things are undertaken by the Government this thing will go on. Within three or four generations people should be made to forget this. Gradually something is happening, I am quite conscious of it. But it is necessary that something must be done. What is the good of telling: "You are backward people you are Scheduled Castes, I am giving you this concession and that concession"? The very fact that you grant that concession creates a sort of vested interest and they are more interested in remaining Scheduled Castes people, or backward class people.

**Shri Velayudhan**: You want to take away even that?

**Shri Gadgil**: Wait.

**Shri Velayudhan**: It is strange.

**Shri Gadgil**: Please hear me fully. The point is that by creating in them a sense of equality with other classes, by creating social, economic and political institutions, it is possible. I suggest—I am not talking irresponsibly—that there should be no separate localities for Harijans, whether in a village or in a town-ship. If you give them a separate locality, the differences are perpetuated. You are not solving the problem. You are stabilising them. Just as in the schools they sit together, just as in a hotel they go, sit together and drink and eat, and in cinemas they can be merry, similarly, in the matter of town planning, in regard to house building you must see that a Harijan does not build his house only in that part meant for Harijans, just as the other day a Bill was passed in which the mention of sub-castes were done away with, abolish "Brahminwada", "Maharwada" "a Marathwada", etc. The whole atmosphere must be made so congenial that the coming generation may be made to forget about caste. Nowadays, when a person is asked where he lives, he replies I live in Brahminwada. Naturally, he knows what a Brahminwada means. Therefore, by creation of suitable and appropriate political, social and economic institutions, you will be able to create an atmosphere in which real social solidarity will be built up. The problem will not be solved by the kind of approach which obtains today. Why do you not make primary and secondary education compulsory? If they are backward give them a little more advantage. Make it compulsory, but make it a point that after five years or ten years this thing will not remain not only on the statute-book but also in our social thought. It is in that context, Sir, that I have suggested certain things.

Now castes are remembered when there is the question of a marriage or an election. Naturally. There too I have a suggestion which I am not making for the first time. I remember in good old days when the Central Assembly was functioning and I was the humble follower of the great Home Minister who is here, there was an instance. In Punjab the Public Service Commission used to advertise that a particular post would go

[Shri Gadgil]

to a member of a particular community, like Sikh, Mohammadan, Hindu, etc. The applicant used to write: "I belong to that caste to which this seat is to go, or this vacancy is to be filled." Now I put it in a different manner and I give you a positive suggestion.

**Mr. Speaker :** The hon. Member's time is up. I have been repeatedly ringing the bell; he does not even care to look at the Chair. In all he has already taken twenty minutes.

**Shri Gadgil :** I will conclude in one minute, or if you want me to conclude earlier, I have no objection. I can only function with your consent.

**Mr. Speaker :** I agree, but he does not function with my consent.

**Shri Gadgil :** I suggest that in choosing public servants in the employ of Government, other things being equal, one who has inter-married should have preference. In the election law I know provision has been made that if an appeal is made on grounds of caste or religion, it amounts to an election offence, but I am sorry to say that it is not being implemented.

Sir, I have much to say, but I do not want to take the time of the House any longer.

**Mr. Speaker :** Shri Raghavachari.

**Shri Velayudhan :** Nobody from the Scheduled Castes has been called till now.

**Shri Raghavachari (Penukonda):** Mr. Speaker, before I begin, I must express my feeling of satisfaction at the change in the personnel of the Ministry from the old to the new. It has been a welcome and satisfactory change, but I do not wish to go into the details of it.

This is a very big Ministry handling many matters. One of the foremost things that suggests itself to me—and it was referred to by me even last year—is that in this democratic set-up and in the socialistic pattern we find everything associated with imperial methods. It still persists and it hardly comes under our consideration. For instance, the house where our Governors live is called Raj Bhavan. And the style of arrangements on ceremonial occasions is all that of emperors. Where even the British Emperor had not started elephants in their

procession, we have instituted that. And the ordinary *bhoj* that they give has become *raja bhoj*—I do not mean our friend Shri Rajabhoj—but it is *raja bhoj*. My point is this, that in everything thing that glamour, that show and that succumbing to something which was criticised everyday and throughout our life when we fought for the abolition of this order, all that is being brought in again in another way; we are deriving great comfort and satisfaction that we preside over these things. It is something which offends my whole make-up with which we fought all our years. That is one thing.

Then I would like to go into the other aspect of it. The Constitution very solemnly said that we abolish the institution of titles, except academic and military distinctions. What was the conferment of those titles? The officers must be approached or must favour and make a recommendation, and the representative of the Government would confer it and confer it in a big durbar. And that insignia we once considered as a badge of slavery or our supplication. That was being exhibited hung in their necks or something hanging with this and that. Now it is instituted in similar durbars, it is worn on ceremonial occasions, and it is prefixed to our names throughout. The institution is there. I do not think that the recipients are much more honoured because of the receipt of this. By themselves they are honoured. Therefore it looks to me that the institution of these awards is simply the old grandfather in new clothes, a distinction without a difference. You have everything of it and you call it differently. This is the remnant of an institution which does not make for a very healthy approach in a democratic State. That is how I feel, and this institution may be abolished without any delay. That is what I feel.

Then I would go to the other points. This is a Ministry into which the States have come recently. That was in another Ministry. Now it has become Home Affairs and States also. Particularly I wish to ask this. I examined the Schedules of the Constitution, and Jammu and Kashmir is one of the States mentioned in Part B of the First Schedule. But in the matter of treatment it is not as one of the States. Though, when you refer to an agreement which you have recently entered into with that State, it is under articles 278 and 295, which are applicable to Part B States, if Kashmir is one of the States as the Constitution

says, and you deal with it like that, why is it not dealt with by the States Ministry or the present Home Ministry? It is dealt with by the External Affairs Ministry. I suppose it is an internal affair; why the External Affairs Ministry should deal with it and not the Home Ministry. But in respect of this Kashmir, possibly it may now be thought that under the present circumstances some things about it may better not be said because there is political tension. I for one feel that if the political tension is such, there is need for preparation and for keeping more military there. One can understand that. But why have you taken armed police of all sorts and varieties and description and dumped them into Kashmir? Is it that we are not quite sure of the affections of the populations and their behaviour, in so far as security is concerned, or is it that it is something different? It is not a matter that can be lightly brushed aside. But it is a matter for thought why so many of our security police and other forces should be stationed in every conceivable place there. This I say not because I want to criticise the Government but in order that the disease may be diagnosed properly and proper action taken, rather than feel satisfied that everything is all right, there is going to be an election and there is going to be no more trouble. That kind of feeling is no good. That is my point.

Then I would refer to the States reorganisation. It is a big matter about which you are going to introduce a Bill, we will have opportunities to discuss it; therefore now not much time need be taken over it. But the way you have started this reorganisation and shaping and coming to final decisions is a matter in which the public are interested, and I am afraid the way in which the thing is being done is giving room for plenty of irritation and dissatisfaction in the country. Well, the Government certainly have a responsibility to take decisions before they place it before Parliament. But the Government are consulting only their own party organisations. I am aware that the Chief Ministers are called and they are consulted and all that. But the Chief Ministers all belong to one political party only. Now it happens that you are in power in almost all the States. But that does not mean that there is no other side to these things. Other representatives, other people who have different points of view must necessarily have been consulted. It is said well, nobody prevents them from coming and making representations to us. That is not

the way in which an answer should be given. A responsible way of doing things would be to invite them, deal with these things and arrive at decisions after consulting all sections of the people.

Why I am concerned with it is for this reason. What is the resultant effect of all this? For instance, Shri Gadgil was just now elaborating; he started with a *ved gosha* and in the end came to the question of what kind of food we get after this? whether Bombay will be this way or that way. This was the whole sum and substance of his argument. I also have this feeling after having seen the public exhibitions in Bombay of the dissatisfaction against the kind of decision you have arrived at. You have no doubt suppressed it, it has gone underground. But how long can these underground, suppressed feelings continue to remain under and not come up to the surface? And when it does come up and does show itself, the suppression is poisonous. People have resigned. You do not feel—I do not wish to use any other adjective—you do not feel for the present safe to set up candidates even on behalf of your party. Because, it simply means that the same kind of thing for which they resigned will be repeated in the results of the elections, and incidentally the question of the linguistic groups and these animosities will be there. Can you avoid it? And when municipalities say so, they are superseded. You go on with the administration, and you put off the elections indefinitely till such time that you feel safe.

These are all symptoms of a disease which is going underground and is being suppressed. It might another day show up and it is certainly not conducive to the good of the country. That is the aspect of the matter which I want to stress. When an injustice is done and when there is something which ought not to have been done, you stand on mere prestige. We were all our life complaining against the foreigners that they stood on prestige and did many injustices. Should we not, when we realise that a particular thing that we have done is unjust, rectify it? The question of prestige ought not to have too much place in matters of this kind. That is what I feel about the States reorganisation.

In the matter of T. C. for instance, I am not complaining that the President's rule has come there. What I am most

[Shri Raghavachari]

surprised is that most of the Congressmen are so happy that the President's rule has come there. Of course, I share the feeling along with the rest. Because, when there is no chance of a stable Ministry and ministries exist and continue because they can have the support of this Member or that Member, which support is granted not on public grounds, but on their private satisfaction and things like that, it is most dangerous for such a ministry to continue. But, you made the ministry of your party go on without a majority, and even after they recommended dissolution and resigned, you tried again, if possible, to make those very people get into the ministry. You have put off the elections indefinitely. My point is this. In a democracy, whenever an occasion arises, order elections as often as possible. That is the best corrective and the best method of teaching the people that they must choose a stable ministry. No doubt, it is not so easy to do that. It is a question of expenses and other troubles. But, the basis of democracy is dissolution and election and not putting off elections indefinitely. Is this the remedy? Then, you better scrap democracy and say at present democracy is not good to the country.

Now, I wish to refer to the services and the new methods that you are introducing. This corruption is an annual affair on which we speak and then leave it. We find it very difficult and you and I agree that there are so many difficulties in the matter. Apart from that, you have now started some new rules. For instance, when a complaint of corruption comes, you immediately want to take action against the individual unlike the existing system where until the case is finally disposed of,—you wait. It usually takes a long time. First you are unwilling to start the very proceedings. So many obstacles are put in. The courts take their own dilatory way and finally after four or five years, something happens. All this while he is being paid some small allowance, a pittance. He too is unhappy. Government is unnecessarily paying. You now say that immediately there is some material, action may be taken against him departmentally and he may be punished. To that extent, it is very good. In the old state of affairs, it took years to start. Is that long period reduced now, or is it going to be reduced? That is the real test.

There is another happy thing that I have noticed. It is said that people with a reputation for dishonesty should not be appointed to places where discretion plays a large part. There is no office without discretion as far as we see. But, there are some of them with a greater scope for discretion where dishonesty can have full play. What is the method of testing the reputation for honesty or dishonesty of a person? I remember in Madras, during Rajaji's first Congress Ministry, he issued a G. O. saying that if half a dozen disinterested members of the public, (gentlemen), testify to the prestige for honesty or dishonesty of one, that should be sufficient. That would be one way. When so many people speak against a man's reputation, it is enough. Then you have the compulsory retirement, etc. But, the more important thing that I notice is the way in which officers are interfered with by Ministers, the party people, or people interested in the accused, and there is interference in the law taking its course. Even in the case of big people such things are going on. For instance, at the time when the Criminal Procedure Code was amended about defamation being made a cognisable offence what an uproar was there in the House? They did not want a different method of treatment to the Ministers and allegations of defamation against them. Your predecessor stuck to it. Of course, we had almost a compromise legislation in the end. Nevertheless, what happened? We were given an assurance that if allegations are made, the Ministers concerned should establish their innocence. Have people changed their notions about these Ministers? Today, the occasions for such allegations are still there. How many of them have tried to establish their innocence in courts? Are there any cases? Are there any figures supplied? Still it is going on. The Congress Party sets up its own court and its own machinery. When some allegations are made against Ministers, they make enquiries and finally say that this man has emerged out very safe. Why are the courts there in the country? Is that the way in which it was thought that confidence would be created in the people? Therefore, I feel that this method of interference must stop. The hon. Minister might as well say, "What can I do; if, in the States such interference goes on, it is not possible for us to interfere." The whole responsibility rests on your shoulders also. Some thought, should be given to this aspect of the matter.



About legislative matters, taking the Criminal Procedure Code, I wish we had been given some facts and figures of how justice was dispensed with quickly, how it was cheap and inexpensive, without dilatoriness, etc. These are the reasons for which the Code was amended. No figures are given about them. It is now more than a year. Then, we wanted to shorten the commitment proceedings and expand the summary jurisdiction. We said that attendance of witnesses should be more vigorously enforced. I do not know what has been done. One instance was Shri V. P. Nayar's case which came before us. As a practitioner I know that hundreds of cases go on on the files because the witnesses do not turn up. I have no sympathy for witnesses who disobey summons. They must be dealt with in a severe way. Some facts and figures might have been given which would have enabled us to see whether the purposes for which we amended the Cr. P. C. has been served.

Just one word about untouchability, because I have no time. I am not concerned with giving instances, etc. We are all interested in solving the problem. Though I am in perfect sympathy with the institution of scholarships, educational facilities, percentages of appointments which alone figure so much here on the floor of the House, in my humble opinion, the real thing is, we must try to bring about a state of affairs in the lives of these people when this scourge or the disabilities from which they are suffering are removed, for the whole lot of the population and not for students or a section of the people. For this purpose, you have provided Rs. 90 crores in the Second Five-Year Plan. The backward classes and all these people constitute one-sixth of the population. This amount of Rs. 90 crores is a huge sum. Instead of distributing this money this way and that, I suggest you concentrate on particular localities where you want to solve the problem. Take housing for instance. Build a colony in which backward classes, untouchables, and low income groups may live together. Build schools there. The children must all go together. They must all mix together. Give them some occupation like vegetable growing, fruit growing, supply of milk so that the community must be compelled to use these articles and mix with them every day

in their day to day life. Do not segregate them with separate schools, separate hostels, separate everything. This will not be a proper solution. Therefore, in all the community project areas this experiment may be made, and they may be given new industrial avocations. It is the economic way of improving them. Therefore I would humbly suggest that this matter may be considered and some relief granted.

**Shri Venkataraman (Tanjore):** The year under report will enthuse the hearts of many Members sitting opposite for it records the fulfilment of many of their own suggestions made in the course of the last several years in this House.

I would first like to refer to a very controversial matter which has been agitating the Members of this House as well as the public and the press, and that is the law relating to press objectionable matter. Senior Members of this House will remember that during the discussion of that Bill a genuine apprehension was expressed by all sections of the House and it was said that for the proper democratic functioning of our Constitution the restraints which were then being forged on the press should be withdrawn and that it should not at all be brought into the House. In fact, I remember, stalwarts like the late Dr. S. P. Mukerjee said that it made such a serious inroad into the rights of public expression or popular criticism of even the administration that very soon we would be turning our State into a Fascist State. The functioning of that Act during the last four years has belied many of the doubts and fears expressed by the Opposition, and when the Act was sought to be extended on the last occasion the then Minister for Home Affairs pertinently remarked that if the conditions improved, if the conditions showed that there was no need for the continuation of an Act of that kind, it would not be renewed. I am very happy that the Act which was the target of criticism, bitter criticism, in this House has been allowed to lapse from January 1956. I am quite sure that the press which has agitated so much against this piece of legislation will respond to the generous gesture of the Home Minister and behave in such a way that there will be no need whatsoever for enacting a law of this kind.

[Shri Venkataraman]

The next point about which there has been considerable criticism in this House whenever the Demands of the Home Ministry were brought up, was the working of the Preventive Detention Act. Even this Act has been almost a dead letter during the year under review. The number of persons who have been detained, according to the figures supplied to us, on the 31st December 1955 has been negligible. The criticism which was levelled against this Preventive Detention Act was that it might be used against political parties, that it might be used against genuine trade unionists. Members of this House had absolutely no objection whatsoever to the use of this legislation for the purpose of putting down corruption or for the purpose of putting down dacoity and other activities that were going on in parts of India. Now, if you look at the number of persons detained under this, you will find that there is no R.S.S. at all, there are only eight trade union leaders, of whom seven are from Bombay and one from West Bengal. The other States have not exercised their right under this Preventive Detention Act against trade unions at all. Therefore, this piece of legislation also has been almost a dead letter and the Home Minister is to be congratulated on the way in which he has administered this Act.

Then, my friends on the opposite side, particularly the Communists used to attack the Government on the way in which the National Safe-guarding of Security Rules are exercised against the Government servants. Even there the figures show a commendable state of affairs. In 1951 the number of persons against whom proceedings were taken under the National Safeguarding of Security Rules was ten, and during 1952—55 there were only two cases, and even in the two, one case has been dropped and the other has not yet been disposed of. So that, there is not even a single instance in which the Home Ministry has exercised this power of taking action against public servants under those rules.

The way in which the Home Ministry has functioned in other spheres also deserves our congratulation. Now, let us take the directive principles of State policy contained in our Constitution.

I am very sorry that my esteemed friend Shri Gadgil made some references to certain abuses existing in the country with regard to the treatment of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and untouchables. What the Government can do is to enact a stringent and penal law punishing those who violate the fundamental principles of our Constitution, and that has been done by the Untouchability (Offences) Act. What the social conscience has to do is to see that the law is implemented. It is for us members of the public it is for us members of the legislature and members engaged in the day to day life of the country and the political parties to spread this message of the abolition of untouchability and see that it becomes a success. Instead my friend has taken one or two cases—stray cases they may be—and brought them before this House for the purpose of criticising the Home Ministry. I am unable to understand how the Ministry would be responsible for a stray misbehaviour on the part of some antisocial person.

**Shri Raghbir Sahai** (Etah Distt.—North-East *cum* Budaum District—East): And those cases may be unverified.

**Shri Velayudhan**: Why? It comes under the Home Ministry.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande** (Guna): They are important cases also.

**Shri Venkataraman**: If you give me two more minutes you will learn what I am going to develop. I say it is up to people like Shri Gadgil to bring the matter before the authorities for prosecution. It is the duty of every person, every enlightened citizen in this country to see that he helps in the enforcement of the legislation, and that is the right thing to do. Wherever any one of us may find that the principles of our Constitution are violated, and on a matter of such fundamental faith for us, it is our sacred duty to see that the person is punished, is brought to book before the courts. I can even understand a certain amount of criticism that the punishments are not stringent enough, that the administration of courts is lax, but no such cases have been brought. On the contrary, stray cases of abuse or violation have been brought.

Now, I proceed to another point.

**Shri N. Rachiah** (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Can the hon. Member point out a village where there is no untouchability? He can bring a few cases to the notice of the Government.

**Shri Venkataraman**: We all recognise that there is an abuse and we are trying to get over it. In trying to solve that problem we enact legislation and then say they will be punished. If there is no untouchability at all, there will be no need for legislation. The very fact that we have brought forward legislation acknowledges the existence of a sore in our body politic and we are trying to cure it. I would like to make this point. It is one thing for us to recognise and acknowledge a defect in our own body politic and try to solve it, it is another to glorify it. Take, for instance, the South African Constitution. There they say the Whites are superior and they have got the right...

**Shri N. Rachiah**: You cannot refer that matter to untouchables. We are all one, Hindus. There is no question of white and black.

**Shri Venkataraman**: I am only trying to point out the difference between our approach and that of the other governments. Our Government say that it is wrong; our Government acknowledge that it is a sore in our social life, that it has got to be cured, and that it has got to be eradicated, while the governments of the other type say that it is right and proper and that *apartheid* is a just and right thing to do. Whatever shortcomings there may be....

**Shri Velayudhan**: Is it the hon. Member's intention to compare our Government with the South African Government?

**Shri Venkataraman**: I may be allowed to proceed. If they cannot understand the distinction it is no use....

**Shri Velayudhan**: The hon. Member has tried to compare our Government with the South African Government and illustrate his point. That is why I ask this question. By making that comparison, he has tried to justify the present attitude of the South African Government.

**Shri N. Rachiah**: The hon. Member is wrong in bringing in the comparison of South Africa. That question does not arise at all here.

**Mr. Speaker**: Order, order. It is a very sore question, and therefore any amount of caution in this matter is not too much. The hon. Member, Shri Venkataraman, has got many other points to deal with. He may proceed to the other points.

**Shri Venkataraman**: I am afraid I have been misunderstood.

**Mr. Speaker**: Hon. Members may kindly hear what Shri Venkataraman has to say. They also have a chance later on to say what they want. Arguments must be met by arguments, and not by abuses.

**Shri Venkataraman**: On the other hand, what I am saying is that our Government are far superior to the other governments in the world. Our Government are accepting and acknowledging the existence of a fact, and therefore they are trying to eradicate it, whereas the governments in other parts of the world refuse to recognise the existence of a sore in their body-politic. I am only saying that our Government are far superior, and they are trying their utmost. And it is a matter for compliments to Government that they are taking these measures.

**Shri Velayudhan**: That is not a Hindu Government.

**Mr. Speaker**: What is the quarrel over this matter? I am really unable to understand. It is the hon. Minister's point that everybody should go on abusing Government, and that nobody ought to see anything good in Government and in what it has done?

**Shri Velayudhan**: I was saying that there is everything good in Government. But the hon. Member, Shri Venkataraman, is saying something else. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Speaker**: An hon. Member can certainly say, "We have done enormous good." When arguments are advanced here, and speeches are made here for creating an impression that nothing has been done, it is quite right on the part of a Member to get up and say that much has been done here,

[Mr. Speaker]

and then compare it also with what has been done elsewhere in the world; it is not that he justifies thereby what has happened elsewhere in the world. But he can certainly say that this Government have been doing very beneficent work, and they will certainly do very beneficent work. How is this argument improper? What is all this kind of emotion and sensitiveness about it?

**Shri Velayudhan :** I am at one with you on that point. In fact, I would go to the extent of saying that our Government have done more good than what you have said. But what the hon. Member was saying was something different.

**Mr. Speaker :** Order, order. The hon. Member is not the only representative of the Opposition. There are many others also.

**Shri Velayudhan :** I am reflecting an opinion. I do not say I am a dictator here of my community.

**Mr. Speaker :** The hon. Member is not the only member of his community. What is this kind of assumption? Any hon. Member who speaks tries to reply not only to what has been said by one hon. Member but to what has been said by other hon. Members also. If Shri Velayudhan feels that he has not said so, then these remarks of Shri Venkataraman do not apply to him. They apply to others who have said so, or, if they have not said so, at least have that impression. Why should there be so much of excitement so far as this matter is concerned? I really cannot understand.

**Shri Velayudhan :** I would like to submit that I have never condemned Government. I am one who admits that the present Government have done more good to the Harijans than any other government. That is the point. The hon. Member, however, said that they have not done so much good. He was only trying to justify the Hindu orthodoxy. That is where I disagree.

**Mr. Speaker :** Has the hon. Member, Shri Venkataraman referred to Shri Velayudhan by name?

**Shri Venkataraman :** Never in the whole course of my speech.

**Mr. Speaker :** Why should the hon. Member, Shri Velayudhan, then think that everything that is said by Shri

Venkataraman is against him? Shri Velayudhan is not the only representative of that community here.

Shri Venkataraman may now proceed with his speech.

**Shri Venkataraman :** I was only trying to show the differences between the conscience of our Government and that of the other governments in the world. I was trying to show that the conscience of our Government is so great that they realise their mistakes in the Constitution, in the people, and so on, and then try to eradicate them, whereas the conscience of the people in the other parts of the world is very different. That was my point. I am very sorry that owing to a misunderstanding my hon. friend has been provoked to criticise me.

I now proceed to my next point. There is another Directive Principle of State Policy, and that is regarding prohibition. This is another controversial matter about which I have some very strong views. I feel that the economy as well as the standard of living of the people of our country would be very much improved by a progressive adoption of the prohibition policy. And that is the reason why we have embedded it in our Constitution.

In my own little personal experience with the working classes in the Madras State, I have found that prohibition with all its shortcomings has done a great deal to improve the standard of living of the working classes there, in fact, much more than what any amount of wages increases would have done. Any wage increase in the past used to go only to the toddy shop. But today, any wage increase that the worker gets goes a long way to improve his standard of living, and to give him more food and better clothing.

There is also another aspect of this prohibition. It elevates the moral tone of the people of the country, and to that extent, it is welcome, even though it will not be possible to enforce it cent per cent.

I am very glad that in pursuance of article 47 a committee has been appointed and that committee has submitted its report. I would urge Government to introduce prohibition progressively, as early as possible, in all the States. So far as the States of Madras,

Bombay and a few others are concerned, prohibition already exists in those States.

There is a third principle of the Constitution which I would like Government to pay attention to, and that is the separation of the judiciary from the executive. In order to ensure the freedom and liberty of the citizen, it is very necessary that the decision that he gets from the judiciary should be free from any taint of executive necessity. That is the reason why we have been demanding in the past for the separation of the judiciary from the executive.

So far as the Madras State is concerned, even before the Constitution was framed, a beginning was made in this direction, and it has now been extended throughout that State. It has been functioning very efficiently, and there has been very little complaint about the separation.

It is a cardinal principle of our jurisprudence that the judiciary should be separated from the executive. And I shall be happy to see that Government take immediate and early steps to introduce this separation in all the States.

The backbone of our administration is the administrative services. The appointment, selection and recruitment of the administrative services is vested with the Union Public Service Commission. The Union Public Service Commission have been consulted on all these selections, and I am happy to find that in the fifth report of the UPSC it is stated:

“During the year, there occurred only one case in which Government did not finally accept the advice of the Commission. In all other cases, Government have accepted the advice of the Public Service Commission, and to that extent, the independence and the integrity of the services have been preserved.”

Even in that single case—lest there should be any criticism about it, I may refer to it briefly—the advertisement calling for applications merely stated that the starting scale of pay for that service would be Rs. 1,000. But actually, when the person was appointed, it

was on Rs. 1,500. Then the Public Services Commission said: ‘If we had advertised to the effect that the starting pay would be Rs. 1,500, we might have got better candidates. Therefore, there should be a re-advertisement and another selection’. That was not accepted, and I do not think that the very grave error of judgment was committed by not accepting that.

With regard to the services, I want to make one suggestion. The central services are manned by people coming from all over India. They had the facility of the Privilege Ticket Order. The PTO concession facilitated them in going back to their homes once in a way. The withdrawal of this concession has meant a serious handicap to these people coming from far-off parts of India, and I would earnestly urge on the Government to consider whether it would not be possible to restore the PTO concession at least to class III and class IV staff to start with. Later on, they may extend it to the other classes.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज (शोलापुर, रक्षित अनुसूचित जातियां): अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे गृहमंत्री जी ने हरिजनों की छतछात मिटाने के लिये एक बिल पेश किया और कानून बनाकर बहुत कुछ कार्य किया है। इससे हमें बहुत संतोष है। मेरे भाई वेंकटरामन ने अभी कहा था कि हमारे काका साहब जो कहते हैं उसे भ्रमल से क्यों नहीं लाते। ऐसे बहुत से एम० पी० हैं जो हमारे बारे में पोलिटिकल (राजनैतिक) हैसियत से बात करते हैं। बहुत से लोग हमारे दलित वर्ग के सवाल को अपने अपने लाभ के लिये उठाते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सवाल को मानवता की दृष्टि से उठाने की जरूरत है। बहुत से लोग पोलिटिकल दृष्टि से हमारे बारे में कहते हैं कि यह होना चाहिये और वह होना चाहिये। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि पर्वतीय सत्याग्रह के समय हमारे लिये काका साहब ने कुछ काम किया था। लेकिन जैसा कि आज हमारे भाई वेंकटरामन जी ने कहा है, हमें तब संतोष होगा जब कि एम० पी० लोग यदि हम पर कहीं अत्याचार हो तो उस सम्बन्ध में कोर्ट (न्यायालय) में आकर हमारी मदद करें। लेकिन ऐसा तो कोई करता नहीं। ऐसा करने की ही तो आवश्यकता है। इसलिये मैं अपील करता हूँ कि जब जब हम दलित वर्ग

[श्री पी० एम० राजभोज]

बालों पर अत्याचार हो, मारपीट हो, जुल्म हो तो जनता को कोर्ट स जाकर हमारी सहायता करनी चाहिये। मैं तो गवर्नमेंट से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि हमको अपना इस अत्याचार से बचाव करने के लिये सरकार की तरफ से लीगल एड (विधि सम्बन्धी सहायता) दी जाये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से सरकारी मुकदमों में सरकार की तरफ से सरकारी वकील काम करता है, इसी तरह से अछूतों के मामलों में हमारी मदद करने के लिये होम मिनिस्टर साहब हमको वकील की सहायता दें, जिससे कि गरीब हरिजन अपना बचाव कर सकें।

बारह तेरह बरस तक मैंने अछूतों के प्रति होने वाले अत्याचारों के खिलाफ और उनकी स्थिति सुधारने के लिये क्रान्तिकारी भाषण दिये और बार बार कहा कि यह होना चाहिये, वह होना चाहिये। लेकिन मैंने अनुभव कर लिया कि झगड़ा करने से कोई काम नहीं हो सकता। जो काम होगा वह प्रेम से, शान्ति से और सहयोग से होगा। अब मैं चाहता हूँ कि सबके सहयोग से हमारे दलित जाति वालों का सवाल जल्दी से जल्दी हल किया जाये। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि इस दिशा में बहुत काम हो चुका है लेकिन अभी बहुत होना बाकी है।

कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि हरिजनों की अलग बस्तियाँ बसायी जायें, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा करने से हमारा सवाल हल नहीं होगा। अगर आप महारों की, चमारों आदि की अलग अलग बस्तियाँ बसा देंगे तो इससे प्रश्न हल नहीं होगा। हम तो यह चाहते हैं जहाँ ब्राम्हण, बनिये और ठाकुर रहते हैं उन्हीं की बस्तियों के बीच में हमको रहने की जगह मिलनी चाहिये। यदि ऐसा हो जाय तो हमारा छूतछात का सवाल जल्दी हल हो जायेगा। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं होता। हम हर वक्त अलग अलग नहीं रहना चाहते। हम तो चाहते हैं कि इस देश से यह छूतछात की गुलामी जल्दी से जल्दी दूर हो।

कुछ लोग स्वार्थवश यह कहते हैं कि हमको जो रिजर्वेशन (रक्षण) मिला हुआ है वह बन्द कर दिया जाये। हम भी सदा के लिये रिजर्वेशन नहीं चाहते। हम तो केवल यह चाहते हैं कि जब तक दलित वर्ग वाले शेष हिन्दू समाज के बराबर नहीं आ जाते तभी तक

यह रिजर्वेशन रखे जायें, बाद को समाप्त कर दिये जायें। लेकिन जब तक वह अवस्था नहीं आ जाती हमको रिजर्वेशन की जरूरत है। लेकिन कुछ लोग जिनको कि इस रिजर्वेशन का लाभ नहीं मिलता, वे चाहते हैं कि यह खत्म हो जाये।

हिन्दुओं का और अछूतों का सम्बन्ध इतने निकट का है कि हम उनसे अलग नहीं रह सकते। इस तरह से हमारा सवाल नहीं हल हो सकता। हमको तो सबका सहयोग चाहिये। हम जानते हैं कि आप सब लोग चाहते हैं कि दलित लोगों का सवाल हल हो, लेकिन इसके लिये आप सबको सहयोग देना होगा। तभी यह सवाल हल हो सकता है।

बहुत से लोग हमारे दलित वर्ग के भाइयों को मुसलमान, ईसाई आदि बना कर और उनका धर्म परिवर्तन करके उनको हिन्दुओं से अलग करते हैं। लेकिन धर्म बदलने से उनका आर्थिक प्रश्न तो हल नहीं हो सकता। मैं यह स्वीकार करता हूँ कि जिसकी धर्म बदलने की इच्छा हो वह अपना धर्म बदल सकता है, इसका उसे पुरा अधिकार है। लेकिन किसी हरिजन को मुसलमान बनाने से या ईसाई बनाने से उसका आर्थिक लाभ तो कुछ नहीं होता। हम हजारों वर्षों से हिन्दू समाज में रहते चले आ रहे हैं। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि हिन्दू समाज में रहने में हमें कोई प्रकार का दुःख है। अभी जाति पाति का मसला हल नहीं हुआ है। आज कांग्रेस का जमाना है जो कि ब्रिटिश के जमाने से बहुत भिन्न है। अंग्रेज लोग हमसे लाभ उठाते थे। उन्हीं से जिन्ना साहब को अपने साथ ले कर हिंदुस्थान से पाकिस्तान का झगड़ा खड़ा करवा दिया। इसी तरह से हममें से भी कुछ लोग थे जिनको उन्होंने अपने साथ कर लिया था और जिनके द्वारा वे लाभ उठाते थे। लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने इस रवैये को बदलने की कई प्रकार से कोशिश की है। वह हमारे लिये नौकरियों के मामले में, वजीफों के मामले में और जमीन के मामले में बहुत कुछ कर रही है। उसने हमारे बचाव के लिये कानून भी बनाया है। लेकिन जब तक अफसर लोग और पब्लिक पूरा कोओपरेशन (सहयोग) नहीं देंगे तब तक हमारा सवाल पूरी तरह से हल नहीं होगा। आप देहातों में जाइये और जिलों में जाइये तो आपको हमारी सच्ची अवस्था का पता लगेगा।

जहाँ तक नौकरियों का सवाल है, हमको क्लर्कों की और दूसरी छोटी नौकरियाँ तो मिल जाती हैं, लेकिन हमको गजेटेड पोस्टें (घोषित नौकरियाँ) मिलने में बड़ी दिक्कत पेश आती है। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि उन जगहों के लिये मैरिट (योग्यता) की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन इस विषय में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक अधिकारी लोग ज्यादा सहानुभूति प्रकट नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारा नौकरी का सवाल पूरी तरह से हल नहीं हो सकता। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि नौकरियाँ मिलने से हमारी छूतछात नहीं मिट जायेगी। लेकिन यह एक ऐसी चीज है जिससे हमें लाभ हो सकता है। इससे हमारे मुसलमान भाई और ईसाई और अंग्लो इंडियन भाई भी लाभ उठा रहे हैं, उनको बड़ी बड़ी नौकरियाँ मिल जाती हैं। इसलिये मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि इस विषय में वे विशेष रूप से हमारी ओर ध्यान दें। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि जब से हमारे होम मिनिस्टर आये हैं वे बराबर बड़े प्रेम और सहानुभूति से हमारी समस्याओं को हल करने का प्रयत्न करते रहे हैं। वे हैदराबाद से और यहां दिल्ली में भी महारों और चमारों की बस्ती में स्वयं गये और उनकी दशा को देखा। अभी तक ऐसा कोई होम मिनिस्टर नहीं आया जिसने हमारे लिये इतना कष्ट उठाया हो जितना कि वह इतना बुढ़ापा होते हुए भी उठा रहे हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि उनकी पूरी सहानुभूति हमारे साथ है। लेकिन यदि हिन्दू समाज के लोग और अधिकारी लोग हमारे लिए कोशिश करेंगे तो बहुत अच्छा होगा।

1 P.M.

अभी मैं ने रिपोर्ट से देखा कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन (लोक सेवा आयोग) ने ६०६३ लोगों को अफसरों की जगहों के लिये बुलाया। लेकिन उनमें हमारे पांच आदमी भी नहीं लिये गये। मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि इसका क्या कारण है। हम लोगो में योग्य आदमी मौजूद हैं, बी० ए० है, बी० ए० एल० एल० बी० है, बी० काम० है, बैरिस्टर हैं। हमारे अंदर काफी पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब हमारे लोगों की डाहरेकटली एपायंट (सीधी नियुक्त) करें और कांस्टीट्यूशन की धारा

३२० में हम तौर पर लिखा हुआ है

“Nothing in clause (3) shall require a Public Service Commission to be consulted as respects the manner in which any provision referred to in clause (4) of article 16 may be made or as respects the manner in which effect may be given to the provisions of article 335.”

इसके अतिरिक्त कांस्टीट्यूशन में यह भी लिखा हुआ है :

“The claim of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration.”

कांस्टीट्यूशन में हमारे हितों की रक्षा करने के लिये कई बातें लिखी हुई हैं, लेकिन जरूरत इस बात की है कि हमारे अधिकारीगण उन हिदायतों को अमल में लायें और मेरी प्रार्थना है कि अगर ग्रेड (श्रेणी) १, या २ सर्विसेस (सेवाओं) में जितना हमारा कोटा (अभ्यंश) होना चाहिये वह पूरा नहीं होता है तो हमें उस कोटे को पूरा करने के लिये रिजर्वेशन करना चाहिये और ग्रेड १ और २ सर्विसेज में भी क्लेरिकल सर्विस की तरह आपको पर्सेंटेज (प्रति शत) रखना चाहिये। मैं इस बात से इंकार नहीं करता कि आज तो हमारे पढ़े लिखे भाइयों को ऊँची नौकरियाँ मिलने लगी हैं और उत्तर प्रदेश और मद्रास के संबंध में मैं जानता हूँ कि वहाँ पर हमारे भाई लोग कलेक्टर्स और डी० एस० पीज बने हैं। इससे पहले शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट का सब इन्स्पेक्टर तक मिलना मुश्किल होता था। आज तो हम देखते हैं कि हमारे शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट (अनुसूचित जाति) के पढ़े लिखे लोग सरकारी विभागों में नौकरियाँ पा रहे हैं लेकिन जितनी नौकरियाँ हमारे लोगों को मिलनी चाहियें वह अभी नहीं मिल रही हैं और उसके लिये हम अपनी सरकार से प्रार्थना कर रहे हैं और रो रहे हैं और जाहिर है कि रोये बगैर तो मैं भी अपने लडके को दूध नहीं देती। हम सरकार से माँग कर रहे हैं कि सर्विसेज में ऊँची जगहों पर शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के भाइयों को और अधिक प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाय। पुलिस विभाग, पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन तथा और भी जितने सरकारी विभाग हैं उनमें शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट को और अधिक प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाय।

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

स्कालरशिप् (क्षात्रवृत्ति) के बारे में मेरा निवेदन है कि यह तो ठीक है कि हमारे हरिजन भाइयों को सरकार की ओर से बजीफे दिये जाते हैं लेकिन बजीफे देने के साथ ही सरकार को यह भी ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि ट्रेनिंग (शिक्षण) पाने के बाद वे लोग बेकार न रहें और उन्हें नौकरी मिल जाय ।

हरिजनों को अनिवार्य शिक्षा दिये जाने की इस समय बहुत आवश्यकता है। अनिवार्य शिक्षा दलित वर्ग के लोगों को जल्दी से जल्दी मिलनी चाहिये ताकि हमारे आदिवासी और हरिजन भाई जल्द से जल्द शिक्षित हो सकें और अपने को उन्नत बना सकें ।

इसके अलावा जहां जहां बंजर जमीन है वह हरिजन भाइयों को मिलनी चाहिये और खेती करने के लिये आर्थिक सहायता और मशीनों का प्रबन्ध सरकार की ओर से होना चाहिये । जब तक हरिजनों की आर्थिक अवस्था नहीं सुधरती है तब तक हरिजन लोग आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते और दूसरी जातियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते । हम देखते हैं कि आज भी देहातों में अछूतों को जितना सहयोग अन्य जातियों के लोगों से मिलना चाहिये वह नहीं मिलता है ।

जैसा मैं पहले भी कई अवसरों पर निवेदन कर चुका हूँ और आज फिर उस मांग को दुहराता हूँ कि जिस तरह सरकार ने रेफ्यूजीज (शरणार्थियों) के मामले को हल करने के लिये एक अलग वजारत (मन्त्रीमंडल) बनाई और उस वजारत ने रेफ्यूजीज पर लाखों और करोड़ों रुपये खर्च किये उसी तरह गृह मंत्री महोदय से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि हम हरिजनों और गिरिजनों की कठिनाइयों और समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए एक अलग डिपार्टमेंट या सेप्रेट (अलग) मंत्रालय खोलें जिसका कि सिर्फ यही काम हो । मेरा कहना है कि जब सरकार रेफ्यूजीज के लिये करोड़ों रुपये खर्च कर सकती है और मैं उस के विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ तब हमारे लोगों के लिये जो कि पिछले हजारों वर्षों से रेफ्यूजी हैं और निराश्रित हैं एक अलग विभाग या मंत्रालय क्यों नहीं खोला जा सकता । इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि आप हरिजनों की समस्या को हल करने के लिए एक अलग मंत्रालय खोलें ।

जहां तक कि हरिजनों को रिजर्वेशन दिये जाने का सम्बन्ध है मेरा कहना यह है की पांच वर्षों तो अब खत्म हो चुके हैं लेकिन जो हमारा

लक्ष्य था वह अभी पूरा नहीं हो पाया है इसलिए यह उचित होगा कि अगर यह रिजर्वेशन बढ़ा कर दस वर्ष के लिए कर दिया जाय ।

हमारे आर्थिक प्रश्न, जमीन, शिक्षा और दूसरे प्रश्नों को सफलतापूर्वक हल करने के लिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि एक अलग मंत्रालय नहीं तो कम से कम एक विभाग तो अवश्य ही खोलना चाहिये जो इन सब सवालों को हल करे ।

कुछ दिन पहले जब मैं अमरिका गया था तो मैंने देखा कि वहां पर अभी तक निग्रोज (हर्बिशियों) का सवाल पूरा नहीं हो पाया है, उनकी बस्तियां अलग अलग हैं और रंगभेद की नीति वहां पर बर्ती जाती है। इसके विपरीत अपने देश में मुझे यह देख कर बड़ी प्रसन्नता होती है कि अस्पश्यता निवारण के लिये यहां पर कानून बने हुए हैं। हरिजनों को जमीनें मिलती हैं और उनको नौकरियों में भी स्थान दिया जा रहा है और संसद व विधान मंडलों में हमारे हरिजन लोग मेम्बर्स बन रहे हैं और यह सरकार निरंतर हमारे हितचिंतन में लगी हुई है। महात्मा गांधी ने कहा भी था कि हरिजन हमारे भाई लोग हैं और अगर यह हमारे कंधे ऊपर भी चढ़ें और डा० अम्बेडकर हमें गाली भी दे तो हमें चुपचाप सहन करना चाहिये और हमें उस पाप का प्रायश्चित्त करना चाहिये जो हमने उनके साथ पुराने जमाने में किया है। आज यह बड़े संतोष का विषय है कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के लोकराज में हमारे उद्धार के लिए सरकार द्वारा प्रयत्न हो रहा है।

शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोगो के लिये एक अलग मंत्रालय या विभाग बनाने के अतिरिक्त जो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब के कमिशनर (आयुक्त) हैं उनको और ज्यादा पावर देनी चाहिये और क्लक्टर्स को भी ज्यादा पावर देनी चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं आपके द्वारा स्टेट गवर्नमेंटस् (राज्य सरकारों) से भी यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि रिपोर्टों में जो सिफारशें की जाती हैं और प्रांतीय सरकारों से जो उम्मीद रखी जाती है, वे उसको पूरी करने की भरसक कोशिश करें और जाहिर है कि बिना उनके सक्रिय सहयोग के जितने भी आप यहां से कानून बना लें या रिपोर्टों में कमिशनर्स सिफारश कर दें, हरिजनों की समस्या और उनकी विविध कठिनाइयां हल नहीं होने वाली हैं।



मुझे पूरी आशा है कि जमीन के सम्बन्ध में शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में और अन्य जितनी भी कठिनाइयाँ आज विद्यमान हैं वे धीरे धीरे दूर हो जायेंगी और उनको दूर कराने लिये हमें सरकार से प्रेम और शांति से कहना है और अपील करना है और आपने भूतकाल में देखा कि महात्मा गांधी ने इस अस्पृश्यता निवारण के काम को प्रेम और शांति से काफी हद तक आगे बढ़ाया और मुझे खेद के साथ इस तथ्य को स्वीकार करना पड़ता है कि १४ वर्ष तक मैंने कांग्रेस और सबर्ग हिन्दुओं को बहुत कुछ गालियाँ दी और बुरा भला कहा और सड़ाई भगडा और मारपीट तक की लेकिन उससे मेरे हाथ में कोई विशेष चीज नहीं आई ...

**श्री जांगडे (बिलासपुर रक्षित-अनुसूचित जातीयाँ) :** उस वक्त आप अटक गये थे ।

**श्री पी० एन० राजभोज :** ठीक है, मैंने समझ लिया है कि किसी को गाली देने से काम नहीं चलेगा और मैंने यह निश्चय कर लिया है कि अब से हरिजनों के उद्धार के वास्ते मैं सरकार से प्रेम, सत्य और अहिंसा को आधार मान कर लड़ूंगा और अगर कोई उन पर जुल्म होगा तो अहिंसात्मक सत्याग्रह भी कर सकता हूँ लेकिन इतना मैं जरूर समझ गया हूँ कि गाली गलीज और दूसरी प्रतिक्रियावादी हरकतों और गैर जिम्मेदाराना कार्यों से यह समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है और इसलिये मैंने हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिए प्रेम, शान्ति, सत्य और अहिंसा के मार्गको चुना है और वह मार्ग है :

“उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत्”

खाली गवर्नमेंट को गाली देने और भगवान से प्रार्थना कर लेने से हमारा काम पूरा होने वाला नहीं है ।

अन्त में मैं और अधिक न बोल कर गृह मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि मैंने जो कुछ सुझाव अपने भाषण के दौरान रखे हैं, उन पर ध्यान देंगे और हमारी जो अनेकों प्रकार की कठिनाइयाँ हैं उनको हल करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे ।

**Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura East) :**

Sir, I and my friend, Shri Biren Dutt, have tabled several cut motions drawing the attention of the Home Minister to the various problems of Tripura. I hope that he would have already applied his mind to the cut motions.

2-41 L. S.

At the outset, I wish to point out that the building up of a socialist pattern of society is our declared objective. If that objective materialises, the country will be substantially benefited. But is the Government keen that this objective should materialise? I may say that the manner in which our Government is moving and the method which is adopted in working out the Plans are not the methods which any Government, which wants to build a socialist pattern of society, should adopt. We must utilise the man power which is one of the most important factors which guarantee the achievement of socialism. But the Government's efforts in this direction are far behind. Its attitude is not one of seeking friendly co-operation from the people but one of commanding over them. That is the reason why it is strengthening the hands of the police and the bureaucracy.

The initiative and the creative energies of the people cannot be unleashed on a big scale without the extension of democracy. For that the power of bureaucracy must be curbed. Instead of doing that, I am sorry to say that attacks on civil liberties and democratic rights of the people in rural areas, in factories, in cities and towns, have been a daily feature.

Government refuses to make even a preliminary enquiry about the Bombay firing. There is nothing wrong with Maharashtrians; I may rather say that they are perfectly justified if they claim Bombay city to be in the Maharashtrian State. It is a great pity that our democratic Government has been trying to hush up the legitimate voice of the Maharashtrian people by lathis and bullets. This is not the way in which things should be done. If you want to see our country prosperous, our men and women, well-fed and well-dressed and our children to be well educated you must have opened roads for them.

Now, I come to Tripura. The time at my disposal is very short and I do not know if I can give expression to half of what I want to.

The House may be aware that on the last occasion I moved an adjournment motion drawing the attention of the House to police atrocities that took place at Ratachara in Tripura. Shri Datar replied justifying the police action

[Shri Dasaratha Deb] •

and refuting the allegation made against the police. But many of his versions were not based on truth. After that I went there personally and I saw the devastation done by the police. I heard the stories from the villagers who were affected. I may tell the House that, not one, but, thirty houses were burnt to ashes. People were tortured and properties were looted by the police officers. Women were molested and raped. Six or seven women of that area who have been molested and beaten had reported to the District Magistrate against the police; they walked 35 miles on foot and then they made a report. But, after they came back to their villages, they were again beaten by the police and the wife of Bidyabagis Debarma of Saiderpara was raped. It is all because they made a complaint against the police. But nothing was done after that.

I went there personally and I saw that ripe paddy was being wasted in the fields there—more than 100 bighas. The police did not allow them to harvest it. I went there and collected some labour and collected the paddy and gave it to the people there. After that I returned. But, even that paddy was taken away by the police officers. All these things are going on. This is the treatment that the people of Tripura, particularly the tribal people, have been receiving from the Government since integration.

I now come to the question of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Government has taken some steps and has assured that more steps will be taken. Whatever has been done, I am sorry to say, is very inadequate to meet the situation. The promises and assurances are still in the stage of wishful thinking and pious wishing. Many more things are to be done. The Home Ministry did not make any attempt even to discuss the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House during the whole year. If it was sincere, then it would have arranged for a debate. This is the way these problems are being dealt with here; it is very unfair. The Home Minister may give an explanation but the Scheduled Castes and Tribes could not be convinced.

Let me take up the case of the Naga Hills. The Government is launching military operation though it may say it

is a civil action. Military personnel are used there. The Nagas may be wrong and misled. But the method and the policy which have been adopted to solve the Naga problem are not the correct ones: it is not the correct approach. I admit that the Nagas should not have demanded an independent Naga land. They should be satisfied to be in the Indian Union as an autonomous body or State or whatever it may be. But, certainly, I can say that our Government should take other courses instead of taking armed action. If a greater autonomy with more power is assured to them, I do not think that the Naga people will not give up their present independence slogan. We should not forget realities. They may be wrong in certain respects but there are certain legitimate grievances and all these problems should be dealt with carefully, and sympathetically. It should not try to crush the people by the power of arms and thus solve the problem; on the other hand, it should solve these problems by peaceful negotiations because, in this way alone, the prestige of India will be raised higher and higher.

Now, again, I come to Tripura State. For a very long time, we want administrative reforms. We want the abolition of the Chief Commissioner and the Adviser's regime. We demand the introduction of responsible Government in our State. The Government has deliberately denied these demands. We demanded gram panchayats in Tripura. But it did not care to do this. We wanted amendment of all outmoded laws of Tripura such as the Tenancy Act, Forest Act, Municipal Act, etc. Nothing has been done. Our Home Minister, when he went to Tripura, expressed his satisfaction after seeing the task done by the gram panchayats committees. Of course they are not recognised bodies now. If that is so, why should he still hesitate to introduce this system in Tripura? May I ask the Home Minister and his Cabinet as to why they are so afraid of the people of Tripura if they want a democratic administrative set-up?

What is the special charm and fascination for them to retain the bureaucratic system of administration there instead of a democratic institution? I want an answer to this question from our Home Minister.

Now I come to the question of Tribal people. The problem of Tribal people is a big one and at the same time it is a very important problem. In this connection, I may say, very little attention is being paid to this problem because, in the eyes of our Government, these Tribal people are very poor, they are backward, they are illiterate and, perhaps, their voice is not strong enough to be heard. That is why the Government is deliberately taking an indifferent attitude towards this problem.

Then there is the question of Jhumia rehabilitation. This is an acute problem throughout the Tripura State. More than a lakh of people there are engaged in shifting cultivation. Our Government has, of course, sanctioned some amount to rehabilitate all these Tribal Jhumias, but that is not adequate. Also, the method and policy which the Government is adopting to rehabilitate these people is a dangerous one. The Government is not taking any co-operation from the local people, nor do the Government authorities respond to any of the suggestions made by them. They do not pay any heed to the complaints made by the local people. The House will be amazed to know that the representatives of the Government—the District Magistrates and Advisers have often openly announced in public meetings, saying that the people who do not support the Congress, people who do not join to Congress Party, will not get any amount for rehabilitation. At the same time they also say that those people who support or join the Congress Party will be given rehabilitation assistance. They not only say these things, but they also carry them out in actual practice. Those who hold ideologies different from that of the Congress are being harassed. Their petitions are being kept in their dead-letter files. These are the things that are going on there. I should say that the Government is trying to expand their organisation through the help of the police, military and all these things. This should be stopped. This is not the way our Tribal people are to be dealt with. If you foster this dangerous game, alien to the interests of the Tribal people, alien to the principles of democracy you will harm the people of Tripura.

In this connection I may refer to some judgments in the Sessions Court. I am referring to No. 5, Criminal Appeal

of 1954, in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner, Tripura. In regard to this I should like to say that this case was going on against certain Tribal people, just after the elections. In that connection some 200 people were arrested and put in the jail. One accused died in the police custody. The learned Judge says :

“After taking into consideration all the facts, it becomes clear that the hill people lived in the locality in question and had their cultivation by taking regular settlement from the Government, which others claim to have taken settlement and Rajanimohan Bidyaratna, P. W. 1 tried to take possession by any means possibly with the help of the Congress people who were very much dissatisfied with the appellant on account of their losing both seats in the last general election.”

In subsequent part he says:

“... it is clear that the name of the appellant was introduced later on after matured deliberations with Shri Sachindra Lal Singha P. W. 10, who appears to have been dissatisfied with the appellant on account of reverses in the election.”

This judgment was delivered on 16-12-1954. This, Shri Sachindra Lal Singha was Adviser and also the late Congress President of Tripura State Committee.

There is another judgment in criminal case No. 2, in the Court of S. D. M. Sadar 240, 365, 343 and 109, I.P.C.—The State *versus* Promode Ranjan Das Gupta and others. This was the case which was instituted just during the election period against one candidate of the electoral college and also our Communist workers who were arrested and put under police custody. At the time of delivering the judgment the learned Judge says:

“8 Prosecution Witnesses have been examined in this case, but even then no *prima facie* case has been established. Hence ordered the case is dismissed and persons are discharged.”

This is the way the Opposition is tried to be suppressed by the Government and the authorities there.

[Shri Dasaratha Deb]

Now I come to the question of rent. Our Home Ministry has been very kind enough to cancel the accumulated rent in Tripura amounting to Rs. 27 lakhs. At that time the Home Minister also gave us an assurance that rest of the accumulated rent—that is from 1952 onwards—would be realised in instalments. But, that is not being done. The peasants are again being troubled and their land is going to be taken away. It is impossible for them to pay all this accumulated rent at a time. I would, therefore, request the hon. Home Minister to issue instructions to the Government at Tripura at least to realise this rent in instalments and not to issue eviction notices to the peasants.

Lastly, I want to bring another thing to the notice of the hon. Minister. These Tribal people are living in jungles which are infested with wild animals. Every year more than 100 Tribal people are killed by tigers etc. In 1947, and in 1948, the guns possessed by the Tribal people were all taken away by the Government and they are now helpless to fight these animals. I would, therefore, request the Government to return all these guns to the Tribal people for their safety for their own protection.

Before I resume my seat I would request the Home Minister to give full consideration to the problems brought forward in the cut motions moved by me and my friend Shri Biren Dutt.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह (हजारीबाग-पश्चिम) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं, आपने मुझे जो यह भ्रवसर बोलने का दिया, उसके लिये आभारी हूँ। मुझे याद है कि एक बार आपने कहा था कि आभार नहीं मानना चाहिये क्यों कि यह हमारा अधिकार है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अधिकार भी जल्दी प्राप्त नहीं होता है, इस वास्ते मैं आपका आभार मानता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी आपने थोड़ी देर पहले कहा था यह कैसी बात है कि जो बोले बुरा ही बोले, और कोई भी गवर्नमेंट की सारीफ़ न करे यह बात आपने कही थी। तो बात यह है कि मैं तो परमात्मा से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह मुझे आँख दे जिस से मैं सरकार में भलाई देख सकूँ। मैं परमात्मा से यह भी मांगता हूँ कि मेरे कान ऐसे ही हों जिनसे मैं गवर्नमेंट के

केवल यश को सुनूँ। लेकिन क्या यह सौभाग्य मुझे इस जीवन में प्राप्त होगा या नहीं, यह कहना मुश्किल है। मैं इस बात को भी मानता हूँ कि बार बार कोसने ही से, बार बार सरकार को गाली बकते रहने ही से, कुछ कार्य नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन आप भी मानेंगे कि जो सच बात है उसे तो कह ही देना चाहिये। एक ही बात को कितने ही आदमी कितने ही दृष्टीकोणों से देखते हैं। मैं इतना ही कह देना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी तरह और और लोगों की तरह मेरा जीवन भी देशसत्रा में ही व्यतीत हुआ है और मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जो सरकार बनी है, उसके बनाने में आपका भी और मेरा भी हिस्सा है। इस बात को लोगों को मानना चाहिये। लेकिन कहना पड़ता है कि बहुत विषयों में जो होना चाहिये वह नहीं हो रहा है। इस समय गृह विषय पर वार्ता हो रही है। हम इस देश के अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं और सब जगह सुनते हैं कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति के संबन्ध में बड़ी बड़ी बातें हो रही हैं। लेकिन मैं गृह मंत्री जी से और उनके सहायक मंत्री जी से यह कह देता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर जो होना चाहिये वह नहीं हो रहा है। यह तो अच्छा है कि रूस हमारा मित्र बन गया, हो सकता है कि अमरीका भी हमारा मित्र हो जाये। या सारे संसार के देश हमारी सरकार के मित्र हो जायें लेकिन जब तक भारतवर्ष के अन्दर किसी भी भारतवासी के हृदय में सरकार के प्रति असंतोष है उस समय तक सरकार को समझना चाहिये कि यह अवस्था उचित नहीं है। सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि सबसे पहले अपने देशवासियों को प्रसन्न करें, उनको संतोष दे, और यही संतोष सहकार का बल है। लेकिन बड़े दुःख और लज्जा के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि सरकार को ये सुंदर बातें सूझ नहीं रही हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि किस तरह से मैं सरकार को वह आँख दिला सकूँ कि उनको ये बातें सूझने लग जाय।

अभी यहाँ नागा हिस्स में जो उपद्रव हो रहा है उसके बारे में कहा गया। लेकिन अब मैं जिस विषय पर बोलना चाहता हूँ वह दिल्ली के तख्त के पाम का ही विषय है। मैं राजस्थान की स्थिति के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ इस समय बड़ा हल्ला हो रहा है। वहाँ के कई लाख निवासी, जो कि भूस्वामी कहलाते हैं, आज आन्दोलन किये हुये हैं। उस

संबन्ध में जो सरकार को करना चाहिये था वह नहीं हो रहा है। जब यह विषय शुरू में श्रीमान पंत जी के सामने गया था तो उन्होंने पंच बन कर एक फ़ैसला दिया था। यदि उसके मुताबिक कानून बना होता तो आज इतना बड़ा आन्दोलन न खड़ा होता।

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

आज चार पांच लाख भूस्वामियों ने बड़े संकल्प के साथ आन्दोलन शुरू किया हुआ है और उनके आन्दोलन का लक्ष्य केवल यही है कि हमें भी जीने दो। वे इतना ही चाहते हैं और कुछ नहीं चाहते। कानून के जरिये ऐसा ही काम होना चाहिये कि सब को भला हो। हो सकता है कि किसी के खिलाफ कोई बात हो। लेकिन किसी का घात तो नहीं करना है। आज इन चार पांच लाख भूस्वामियों के पास कोई रोजगार नहीं रह गया है। पहले ये लोग राजा महाराजाओं के यहां नौकरी करते थे बड़े बड़े जागीरदारों के यहां नौकरी करते थे। लेकिन उनके चले जाने से उनकी वे नौकरियां तो जाती रहीं। जो लोग फौज में काम करते थे वे फौज से हटा दिये गये इस तरह से उनकी नौकरियां बिल्कुल जाती रही। इसके अतिरिक्त उनके पास जागिरें थी। ये लोग स्वयं खेती नहीं करते थे। इनकी सारी जमीन टिनेन्ट्स (किसानों) के पास बंटाई पर रहती थी और इनको तिहाई या चौथाई पैदावार मिल जाती थी जिससे उनकी परिवारिश होती थी। लेकिन जागीरदारी रिजम्पशन कानून पास हो जाने के बाद उनको जमीनों से कुछ नहीं मिलता और जो जमीन हजारों लाखों बरस से उनके परिवारों में चली आ रही थी और जिसको वे अपना समझते थे और जिस जमीन की बदौलत वे जीते थे जिस जमीन के लिये उनके बाप दादों ने खून बहाया था वह जमीन आज उनकी नहीं है। कानून का ऐसा मकसद नहीं होना चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि जो लोग जमीन जोत कर अपना जीवन बिताते हैं उनको भी अपना हक मिलना चाहिये लेकिन और लोगों को मार दिया जाये यह तो ठीक नहीं है। मेरे एक मित्र ने इस बारे में मुझ से कहा था कि उनको कत्ल कर देना चाहिये। मैं ने उनको उत्तर दिया कि अगर तुम में ताकत है और अगर तुम धर्म समझते हो तो उनको कत्ल कर दो लेकिन उनको भूखों मत मारो। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा कहना यही है कि गृह मंत्री जी ने एक निर्णय दिया था जिसके मुताबिक अगर कानून बनता तो न यह

आन्दोलन चलता और न इस तरह की विपत्तियां उन लोगों के ऊपर आतीं। लेकिन उस निर्णय के मुताबिक कानून नहीं बना। गृह मंत्री का जो फ़ैसला था उनके खिलाफ कई लोगों के षड्यंत्र से दूसरे ढंग का कानून बन गया जिसके कारण भूस्वामियों पर बड़ी विपत्ति आई हुई है। इसी कानून के कारण यह आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ है।

अभी हाल में जब हमारे गृह मंत्री जी बीकानेर गये हुए थे तो वहां की सरकार ने न मालूम क्या क्या उनके कान में भर दिया कि गृह मंत्री जी ने भी एक बयान दे दिया कि भूस्वामी ठीक से काम नहीं कर रहे हैं। उनको ठीक काम करना चाहिये। मैं भी उस समय जयपुर गया हुआ था। पांच तारीख को वहां पर एक भारी सम्मेलन हुआ और मैं ही उसका सभापति था। मैं ने वहां की दशा को स्वयं देखा है। मैं कहता हूं कि इस प्रश्न जो सरकार को हल करना पड़ेगा। यह मानवता का तकाजा है कि सरकार इस विषय में पड़े और न्याय के साथ उस पर विचार करे। मैं समझता हूं कि इस विषय में राजस्थान की सरकार का भरोसा करना भूल होगी। राजस्थान की सरकार कौसी सरकार है, इस बारे में मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा। मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहे देता हूं कि जिस वक्त हम लोग अंग्रेजी राज्य के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन कर रहे थे और सारे देश में आन्दोलन चल रहा था उस समय राजस्थान में कोई आन्दोलन नहीं हुआ। उस समय हम में से लाखों आदमियों ने कण्ठ उठाया, तरह तरह से देश की सेवार्यें की। ऐसे लोग आज हमारे राज्यों में मंत्री बने हुए हैं और सरकार बनाये हुए हैं। यद्यपि ऐसे ऐसे त्यागी और देशभक्त लोग भी ठीक रास्ते पर नहीं हैं, पर यह तो संतोष है कि वे तपे तपाये लोग हैं और उनसे कुछ आशा की जा सकती है। दुर्भाग्य से राजस्थान में आन्दोलन नहीं हुआ और ऐसे लोग मैदान में नहीं आये। अब वहां पर जो लोग शासन चला रहे हैं न उन्होंने देश का कोई काम किया है और न उन्होंने देश भक्ति की परीक्षा ही दी है। संयोगवश जब देश स्वतंत्र हुआ और राजा लोगो का राज्य गया तो वहां पर कुछ लोग कांग्रेस के नाम से निकल पड़े और उन्हीं लोगो के हाथ से सरकार दे दी गयी। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि शासन का काम दुनिया में सबसे अधिक कठिन काम है। इसलिये जो देश में चुने हुए लोग हों जो सबसे अधिक पबित्र हों सबसे अधिक ईमानदार हो यह काम उन लोगों के

[बाबू राम नारायण सिंह]

हाथ में जाना चाहिये। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि राजस्थान में यह बात नहीं हो रही है। दलबन्दी की वजह से जिस तिस के हाथ में सरकार चली गई है और वे लोग शासन कर रहे हैं जो कि शासन के योग्य नहीं हैं। तो मैं गृह मंत्री जी से यहां पर कह देता हूँ कि अगर वे इस मामले को तै करना चाहते हैं तो राजस्थान सरकार की कोई बात न मानें। वे लोग ऐसे नहीं हैं कि जिनकी बात मानी जाये। या तो गृह मंत्री जी स्वयं वहां जायें या अपने आदमियों को जांच पडताल करने के लिये भेजें और वहां के साथ न्याय करें। यह भ्रूस्वामियों का आन्दोलन कई मास से चल रहा है और मैं उनकी तर से कहे देता हूँ कि इस आन्दोलन का केवल लक्ष्य यही है कि "हमको भी जीने दो"। इसके सिवा इस आन्दोलन का और कोई उद्देश्य नहीं है। और मैं समझता हूँ कि इतना तो सरकार को करना ही होगा। योग्य जीविका के अभाव में कुछ लोग चोरी डकैती में लग जाते हैं। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है लेकिन Necessity knows no law (नेसेसिटी बोज नो ला) जब आदमी भूखों मरने लगता है तो क्या नहीं करता। यहाँ पर भूस्वामी आन्दोलन जिस संकल्प के साथ और जिस उमंग के साथ चलाया जा रहा है उसमें सरकार को आगे बढ़ कर देखना होगा। इस आन्दोलन के करने वालों के विरुद्ध वहां की जो पुलिस है वह बहुत जुल्म कर रही है और उनके साथ बहुत बुरी तरह से पेश आ रही है। इन आन्दोलनकारियों में ज्यादातर राजपूत लोग हैं जो कि सेना में काम कर चुके हैं और मार्शल रिस के हैं वे लोग अब तक अहिंसात्मक रीति से काम ले रहे हैं लेकिन मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर पुलिस उन पर अपना जुल्म करना नहीं रोकेगी तो यह लोग चाहते हुए भी अहिंसात्मक नहीं रह सकेंगे और आप समझ सकते हैं कि अगर अहिंसात्मक नहीं रहेंगे तो क्या हथ्र होगा और यह उसके बाद ही कहा जा सकेगा कि क्या क्या हुआ। और इस सब के लिये जवाबदह वहां की सरकार होगी और यहां की यह सरकार होगी जो यह सब जानने पर भी चुपचाप बैठी रही और उसने कोई हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया। अगर कोई अप्रिय चीज हो जाती है तो उसकी जवाब देही और जिम्मेदारी वहां के लोगों पर नहीं होगी जो कि दुखी होकर और भूख के मारे व्याकुल हो कर यह अहिंसात्मक आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं इतना ही कहता हूँ कि

केन्द्रीय सरकार इस मामले को अपने हाथ में ले और आवश्यक जांच पडताल कराये और ऐसा नियम बनायें जिससे कि वहां के लोग जो कि आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं उनके साथ न्याय किया जाय और उनके भी जीने का प्रबन्ध रहे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप अपना भाषण जल्दी समाप्त करने की कृपा करें।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : मुझे कहना तो अभी बहुत कुछ था लेकिन अब थोड़ा सा हरिजनों के सम्बन्ध में कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूंगा। मुझे हरिजनों के साथ पूरी पूरी सहानुभूति है लेकिन अभी जो मैंने अपने एक मित्र श्री राजभोज की स्पीच सुनी कि उनके १४, १५ वर्ष लड़ने के बाद तो कुछ नहीं हुआ लेकिन पता नहीं तीन, चार महीने से जब से वे कांग्रेस सरकार के साथ हो गये हैं, तब से उनको क्या क्या मिल गया है, मुझे तो पता नहीं है, वे ही जानें कि उनको क्या मिल गया है। यह ठीक है कि आज सरकार ने अस्पृश्यता निवारण के लिये अधिनियम बना दिया है लेकिन उसके सम्बन्ध में जनता में आंदोलन क्या हो रहा है? मेरी समझ में उस दिशा में सरकार की तरफ से कोई काम नहीं हो रहा है और मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि सरकार को जनता का सहयोग हासिल करके देश में एक ऐसा वायुमंडल पैदा करना चाहिये जिससे हरिजनों के दिल में यह विश्वास जम जाय कि वे किसी से हीन नहीं हैं और सब के बराबर हैं और जो अब तक हरिजनों को छोटा समझते रहे हैं वे भी यह समझने लग जायें कि हरिजन उनसे छोटे नहीं हैं और वे हमारे बराबर हैं और हमारे भाई हैं, इस तरह की भावना हमें देशभर में पैदा करनी चाहिये।

कभी कभी प्राइम मिनिस्टर महोदय या सरकारी पक्ष के कुछ और लोग इस तरह की बात कह दिया करते हैं कि हम इस तरह के कामों में सब बगों और सब लोगों का सहयोग चाहते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर आपकी इस सहयोग की मांग से तनिक भी सच्चाई है तो वह बड़ी खुशी का विषय है लेकिन सरकार की ओर से जो यह सहयोग की मांग की जाती है वह थोपी है। सरकार के साथ सहयोग करने से कौन आदमी अपनी इज्जत नहीं समझता और कौन आदमी सहयोग देने में अपना लाभ नहीं समझेगा लेकिन सहयोग कहते किस को हैं, सहयोग के माने यह तो नहीं है कि जो सरकार कहती जाय वह दूसरे लोग करते चले जायें, भले ही वह ठीक हो या

गलत हो। सहयोग के माने तो यह है कि जिनका हम सहयोग चाहते हैं उनको पूरी स्वतंत्रता और स्वाधीनता के साथ और एक बराबरी का भाव रखते हुए सहयोग देने का अवसर मिले। सहयोग के माने यह नहीं है कि जैसे टांगे में थोड़ा जुता रहता है और टांगा वाला उसको अपनी सम्पत्ति समझता है और जिधर चाहे उसको मोड़ कर ले जा सकता है तो वह बेचारा थोड़ा जो टांगे में जुता हुआ है वह कोई सहयोग थोड़े ही करता है, बल्कि वह तो लाचार है और उसकी अपनी इच्छा का कोई सवाल नहीं उठता है, इसी तरह से सरकार या कोई मंत्री इस तरह का थोड़े का मा सलूक करना चाहते हों और यह समझत हों कि हिन्दुस्तान उनकी जायदाद हो गई है और जैसे उनकी मर्जी हो लोग उनके कहने के अनुसार चलें तो यह तो होने को नहीं है। मैं कहता हूँ कि सरकार को देशहित के कामों में सहयोग देने के लिये हर एक देशवासी आतुर है और हर कोई सरकार के साथ सहयोग करना चाहता है लेकिन सबका सच्चे मानों में सहयोग पाने के लिये सरकार में ईमानदारी होनी चाहिये और अकल होनी चाहिये। खाली सहयोग सहयोग चिल्ला देने से काम नहीं बनने वाला है और मैं कहता हूँ कि आपको आज नहीं तो कल जनता का सहयोग लेना होगा और जनता का सहयोग प्राप्त किये बिना आप उन बड़े बड़े कामों को सफलता पूर्वक अंजाम नहीं दे सकेंगे। आपको इस सहयोग को प्राप्त करने के लिये देश में जो दलबंदियाँ विद्यमान हैं, उनको खत्म करना होगा। जब तक दलबंदी हमारे बीच में रहेगी और जब तक दलबंदी की सरकार रहेगी तब तक न्याय होना संभव नहीं है ...

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** अब तो माननीय सदस्य को चेअरमैन के साथ सहयोग करना ही होगा।

**श्री रामनारायण सिंह :** बहुत अच्छा, आपके साथ सहयोग करके मैं अपनी जगह पर बैठ जाता हूँ।

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena (Lucknow Dist. cum Bara Banki Distt.) :** There are many subjects which come within the purview of the Home Ministry, but I would like to refer only to two or three. But before coming to them I would like to say a word about the oft-repeated demand for an enquiry into the happenings in Bombay. In this House more than once this demand has been raised and it has also been repeatedly resisted. I want to say a few words as to what we want an enquiry into. Suppose

there is a family, a distinguished family, and there is some trouble in that family; some members of the family misbehave or commit acts which bring discredit to the family, and the reputation of the family suffers. What will you do? Will you not try, first and foremost, to see that at least the reputation of the family is maintained and, next, that the relations between the different members of the family improve? You, can, if necessary, at a later stage, find out, either by means of an enquiry or otherwise, as to what were the things that were wrong and take necessary steps to correct them. But to urge for an enquiry at this stage, when we know that these were committed—for nobody denies that these acts were committed—is, I think, not correct. You say: the whole community is blamed for these acts. I do not know who is blaming. It is only one side which is saying "we are being blamed". The Government,—the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and other spokesmen on behalf of the Government have said more than once here and outside the House that they do not blame any single community for the discreditable acts that were committed in Bombay. They have freely paid homage and tribute to the patriotism of the Maharashtrians, to the sacrifices that they have undergone, to the contributions that they have made in the struggle for freedom, and the hopes that we have of them. We have never said that the whole community has gone wrong. So, why this insistence on an enquiry? Even supposing it is found that these acts, these anti-social acts were committed by certain persons who were deliberately interested in bringing discredit to certain sections of the people, even then what will be the result? The whole country will suffer. Because, after all, the prestige of a country is made up of the sum-total of the prestige of the constituent members of the community or the country. So, whether it is Gujeratis or Maharashtrians or a section of them, of one community or the other, which comes out very badly in this enquiry, in any case the reputation of the whole country will suffer. And it is for this reason that the Prime Minister has said repeatedly that in this matter all of us, including the Members of the States Reorganisation Sub-Committee of the Congress, have not come out very well. So he has taken the whole blame on himself, and still we are persisting in this demand for an enquiry. A Member who spoke before me I think it was Shri

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

Dasaratha Deb—has also supported that demand. So in all humility I would urge and beg of the Members who press for it to have patience for some time. If something has been said or is being pressed, by those who are interested and for their own reasons, which is not proper or just, after some time the truth will be out. Truth cannot be suppressed for all the time. So, to make the allegation that truth is being suppressed because of errors,—some other word was used—is, to say the least, not desirable and will not ease the difficulties of the situation and might do the work of pacification more difficult. I am not one of those who believe that blame is wholly on one side. I am one of those who feel that we are all to blame and we should take the blame on ourselves. But, the first concern should be to repair the loss of reputation to this country, inside the country and abroad. That should be our first concern. The second important thing is that we must bring about harmony in the relations between the two communities. Later, if the time comes, there will be ample time for us to find out who is to blame and what is to be done to prevent the recurrence of such things in future.

Having said that, the first question that I want to raise is the question of political sufferers. If you will refer to the report of the Home Ministry, page 17, there is a para narrating as to what is being done for political sufferers. Of course, compensation has been given to those who had been in service and who had to leave service for political considerations. Then, it is said that the Government is greatly in favour of giving financial assistance to the members of the families of political sufferers, but that assistance should come from private funds and not public funds. It definitely says that this policy was reconsidered and they still stick to the view that no assistance should be given from public funds. Perhaps, you are aware that in the States, steps have been taken to give financial assistance by way of pensions or otherwise to political sufferers and in suitable cases, to the members of their family out of the public funds. This is contrary to the policy outlined in the report. But, I feel that there is no harm even in giving financial assistance out of public funds. But, there may be difficulties and we may not be able to find sufficient funds for that purpose. That is a different thing. Instead of openly admitting that it is not

possible for any Government to make arrangements for giving assistance to all the political sufferers, even in cases where they are in great difficulties, to say that no assistance should be given from public funds, is, something to which I cannot subscribe. Leaving financial assistance apart, I have been one of those who have been pressing upon the Government that something should be done for political sufferers.

I have had something to do with political sufferers and their relief in the past and as such I am still in touch with many of them. I know of cases where the whole family of a person died for want of proper medical assistance. I did my best. It was a case of a young man from East Bengal. He was a detenu with me in Banaras jail. I was in touch with him. I think it was in 1952, he wrote to me that he was suffering from T.B. I got in touch with the Chief Minister of West Bengal and tried to arrange for his admission to a T.B. sanatorium. The Chief Minister of West Bengal was good enough to make the necessary arrangements in a month or so. The moment I informed him, he wrote back saying that in the meantime his wife had become mentally deranged and it was not possible for him to leave her in that condition and go to any sanatorium. I wrote to the Chief Minister of Bihar to get her admitted to the Ranchi mental hospital. It took a long time and I am sorry to say that when the final letter came, it was seven or eight days after the death of the lady. In the mean time, his mother and two daughters had also died. Then, he came to Banaras. I got in touch with him. He was in some ayurvedic hospital or University dispensary. Later on, I wrote to the Health Minister of the U.P. and I was informed that he could contact the Civil Surgeon at Banaras. Before he could do so, he died leaving an only son of seven years. Think of the feelings of this young man, a man who suffered and who was in jail for several years. What would have been the feelings of that man when not a single member of his family could get proper medical aid? I brought this case to the notice of the Prime Minister. I feel that it is the duty of the nation to make free medical assistance available for the political sufferers and the members of their families. This is the least we can do. After all, nobody will mangle for medical facilities. We must make suitable arrangements. I know of cases where people who are suffering from other diseases like T.B. cancer, etc., could not get treatment.



These are hard cases. I think that, instead of earmarking a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs and placing it at the discretion of the Home Minister, it would be a proper arrangement to see that the State Governments and the Central Government make the necessary arrangements for free medical aid for political sufferers and their families.

I know of cases where the education of their children is suffering. I think this is another way the State could help the children of those who had suffered in the struggle for freedom, those who had given their all so that the country may be free. We are today enjoying the fruits of their sacrifices and we owe it to them to see that at least their sons and daughters do not remain uneducated for want of tuition fees or school books. That is another direction in which the Government should pay immediate attention and ask the State Governments also to do it.

I might make another suggestion. I know of cases where the persons have no relations and they are all alone by themselves. I know of one case and I know, the hon. Home Minister knows him personally. He belongs to Lucknow. He is 87 years old. He never married. He gave his all and went to the jail several times. Whatever savings he had, he invested in shares. Even there he suffered because he had to depend on others. He has lost all.

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

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena :** There are two or three more points. If you will give me at least five minutes more, I can briefly deal with them.

I was saying that this gentleman is very old and his self-respect will not allow him to apply to the Government for assistance. He would not accept any assistance from any friend or otherwise. I had gone to Lucknow. I was told by a common friend that he was sharing a house and that he was living in a small *kotadi*. It was winter. He had to go and sit in the compound of the post office. For such cases, I think it would be desirable that we should have veterans homes. We have such homes for soldiers of war. We should have such homes, one or two or three or for the matter of that, in the whole of the country, where persons who have no children or other family members to

look after, may go and they may be taken care of by the State. This is the least that we can do. It will not be a very difficult task. We have got so many hill stations where the Government buildings are not properly used. There are other places where buildings can be acquired at cheap rates. In a place like Rishikesh or any other place we can have the necessary arrangements where these gentlemen may be accommodated. This is the least that the State can and should do for political sufferers.

2 P.M.

Then there is another suggestion about them and it is this. We are talking so much about our achievements and projects, but these gentlemen are not in a position to have even an idea as to what has been done after independence. The Prime Minister has been telling us that these are places of pilgrimage, but is it not necessary to enable these persons, our fellow pilgrims who took part in the great pilgrimage and who have been left on the way and who have not the wherewithal, to go and see our achievements. We may give them a railway pass for one trip round India to see those places and satisfy themselves that they had not suffered in vain and that their sufferings and sacrifices have borne fruit and that the Government is doing its best to promote the object for which they have suffered. I would not say all the sufferers should be given passes. I would say only those who are not in a position to do the trip by themselves and those who are above 50 years. We should do something for them. After all, we know what a free pass means. We always use it for a purpose. Therefore, I think that is another thing that should be done.

Now I come to the question of the reappointment of superannuated persons who have retired or extension of service to persons who have reached the age of superannuation. The report says that about 465 superannuated persons were re-employed during the year and 114 were granted extension. It also says that the general rule is that only in cases of persons who are scientists and technicians, retired persons should be re-employed or extension given. So, I wanted information from the Home Ministry as to how many of these were scientists and technicians. But the hon. Deputy Minister has given me the information just now, that the number was 249. The Home Ministry has delegated its powers

[Shri Mohanlal Saksena]

to the Ministries concerned to make appointment of retired persons and give extensions subject to certain conditions, but what do we find? Out of nearly 600 persons we find only 245 were technicians or scientists. Who were the others? They were non-scientists and non-technicians. So, I submit that at a time when we have got so much unemployment, when we have got so many persons waiting in the queue, the appointment of retired persons is wholly undesirable, as also the extension of service of any person who has reached the age of superannuation. Not only that.

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

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena :** I thought you had given me five minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** It was two minutes to 2 when the hon. Member wanted five minutes, and he has got rather six minutes.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena :** I am sorry. Anyway, I will briefly refer to one or two points if you will give me two minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** That would exceed the maximum also which was laid down by the Members themselves. The hon. Member is about to take full 20 minutes now.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena :** I think I have not repeated anything which has already been said nor am I saying anything which is.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Never did I say that, that the Member was repeating.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena :** Anyway, I was saying that there must be a strict rule. You may raise the age of superannuation, if you want, in the case of technicians and scientists by all means and make it 60. But what happens today? Every officer in his last two years tries to please the person or persons who have got the power of granting extension. Not only are those persons appointed in their own Ministries when they retire, but even they retire from one Ministry they get appointed in another Ministry. Also from the State they come to the Centre. In this connection when I drew the attention of the Minister to the case of an irrigation engineer who was appointed to a post which required experience of building work, he said it was an administrative post. If it was an administrative post, it does not require

any scientific or technical knowledge. He could have just appointed any Deputy Secretary or any administrator. Why reappoint this man? Not only this. We find these persons are appointed in Corporations and other government bodies. There was a decision of the Cabinet that no person who had reached the age of superannuation should get an extension, and that no person who had retired should be appointed. If there is any need for re-appointment, it should be done in rare cases and at the highest level. These powers should not be delegated to the Ministries. I can give instances where it can be shown that they are being abused, and it acts as a demoralising factor so far as the services are concerned.

Then the last point in efficiency and competition.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Now, the hon. Member is exceeding the limit imposed by himself. Shri Iyyunni.

**Shri C. R. Iyyunni (Trichur) :** In the first place, I would like to congratulate the Home Ministry for tackling the situation in Travancore-Cochin State recently. I need not say that that State has got very many peculiarities, and it is causing a good lot of headache to the Ministry.

The States Ministry has been merged in the Home Ministry and therefore the duties that have devolved upon the Home Ministry have considerably increased, and when the Home Ministry takes upon itself the responsibility of looking after the States Ministry also, it is incumbent upon the Ministry to look into the financial and administrative machinery of Part B States.

And what is the condition of the Part B States, particularly Travancore-Cochin? You will please note that over the last seven years it has been impossible for the State to have a stable Ministry with a comfortable majority. That is one thing. And what is the result? The result is that the administration has considerably gone down because influence has been exerted by the Members constituting the legislature.

I come from a very small State which has been merged with Travancore-Cochin. Our condition has been practically helpless. Even though seven years have passed, the integration of the services has not yet been completed. Immediately after merger that question was

taken up and a circular was issued that vacancies occurring either in the Cochin or the Travancore area of the State must be filled only by persons coming from that area, but that has been observed more in the breach than in actual execution. Secondly, the new posts sanctioned have mostly gone to people from Travancore. Now, the Government has fallen because there is no majority for either party, and the President's rule has come in, and the Home Ministry has been good enough to send an Adviser.

**Shri A. M. Thomas :** It is rather unfortunate, Sir, that when the affairs of a State over which the Central Government has direct responsibility are being discussed, there is nobody to represent the Home Ministry here.

**Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur Distt.—South) :** That is often the case.

**The Deputy Minister of Production (Shri Satish Chandra) :** The Minister has just now left for a few minutes only.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** It is desirable that some Minister from the Home Ministry should be here. If some of the Whips are there, I shall ask them to send word to the Minister.

**Shri Satish Chandra :** The Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs has left just now.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The Minister should have got up when the question was raised, and told us that he is representing him.

**Shri Satish Chandra :** I am sitting here, and I am listening to the speeches.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Mere presence is not sufficient, unless Shri Datar has particularly asked the Deputy Minister of Production to represent him here.

**Shri Satish Chandra :** I would respectfully submit that all hon. Members are in a happy position to go out whenever they like. The Minister has gone out just for a few minutes to refresh himself.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** That is quite right. I quite appreciate it. But in other respects, the Ministers might be in a happier position.

**Shri C. R. Iyyunni :** I am happy to see that the gentleman who has been sent there as adviser is a man of wide experience both in administration and in other respects. Recently, he has toured the State to find out what exactly are the difficulties that the people are suffering from. And he has had contact with practically all the big people who had to be contacted. It is very heartening to find that he is going to see that the administration is carried on very well.

I could give you just one instance to show how the administration there has been functioning. If an application is put in before the secretariat, unless the person who has put in that application goes after the file, the file will not move at all. That is the actual condition. Can you ever imagine that in an advanced country like ours, a paper handed over to the secretariat will not move from one table to another, unless the person who has handed over that paper goes after the file? I have brought this matter to the notice of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister about two or three years ago, and I am sorry to find that absolutely nothing has been done. If they have gone to dogs. And I would say that the Home Ministry has rightly interfered, because there was no party there which could form a stable Ministry. An eminent adviser also has been sent there to carry on the administration. That is certainly very heartening for us, because we know that he will do justice to all parties concerned.

Within a few months, we shall be having the new Kerala State, but that will be the tiniest State in the whole of India, and besides, it will have a huge population. The most acute problem there is one of unemployment both among the educated and also among the uneducated. The only solution which I could think of, and which could minimise the unemployment, is to start a number of institutions and schools which will impart technical and technological education. That is the only thing that can possibly be done now. The next step would be to start a few factories sponsored by Government. Either the Central Government should start those factories, or the State Government should start them, but the Central Government should give them considerable help in this matter, so that the people in that State could get employment.

[Shri C. R. Iyyupii]

You will be pleased to see that the number of students who join the colleges every year is nearly 32,000, and the number coming out of the college is about 20,000 every year, and all these persons are without work. Is it any wonder that they go over the various 'Isms' and ideologies?

I would submit that this question must be seriously taken up by the Home Minister. I feel that the Home Minister is the only person who can do it properly, because just at present he has got his man there, and any direction that is given to him will be carried out by him properly without any hitch or hindrance. Up till now, because there was a Ministry which did not have a comfortable majority, things could not be improved. And it was always found difficult to go ahead with any measure of improvement, because one or two people would go out or come in and the result would be that the Ministry would be upset. That was the reason why no firm action could be taken with regard to these matters. That is one important point that I would like to urge.

It is true that ours is a problem-State so far as India is concerned. I say that it can be transformed into a non-problem State, if only the people of that State are given suitable opportunities for employment. The people who are educated there are mostly arts graduates, and only very few of them have had the benefit of technical or technological education. Very shortly, we are going to have the Second Five Year Plan put into operation, and for the implementation of that plan, we would require a large number of people who are technically qualified, such as skilled workers and so on. If a number of schools could be started where technical education would be imparted to the educated people there, then they can go to any part of India and eke out their living. If that is not done, then we would only be helping a thing for which we will have to be sorry.

My next point is in regard to colonisation. The people there are prepared to go to any place and live there, provided they have got opportunities to go there and settle down properly. The people are, generally speaking, fairly intelligent, and they are prepared to work. Generally speaking, they are free from corruption also. So, we have ample

human material there, and if we compare the people there with the people in the other States, we shall find that they are on a par with the others.

I would say that the Central Government must take the initiative in this matter and see that opportunities are given to people who are prepared to work outside either as agriculturists or as technical men and so on, and thus eke out their livelihood.

Generally speaking, ours is a very well-advanced State. And we could take pride in the fact that it is an advanced State. But that does not take us far. What we really want is that the people who are prepared to work must be given enough work. That must be considered as one of the essential requisites of our Constitution.

There are one or two more points that I would like to touch. But since you have rung the bell.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The hon. Member has two more minutes.

**Shri C. R. Iyyunni :** ..... I do not wish unnecessarily to take up the time of the House any further. I thank you for having given me this opportunity to speak.

**Shri J. R. Mehta (Jodhpur) :** I propose to deal at the outset with what I consider to be the most vital problem from the point of view of the progress and prosperity of the country, and the success of the gigantic and unprecedented efforts we are making to usher in a millenium in this country. The problem in view is the problem of corruption.

Corruption is a phenomenon which is familiar to all of us, and it forces itself upon our minds every now and then. We hear much talk about it almost every day in the press and in the platform, and in our Assemblies and in this House also. It claims considerable space in the reports of the Public Accounts Committee and the audit reports, and sometimes some sensational cases appear in the law courts also.

We have now an anti-corruption department almost in every State. As hon. Members must have noticed from the brief summary of the activities of the Home Ministry, we have now an organisation called the Administrative Vigilance Division, which has recently been set up, and whose function it is to ensure proper and speedy action for the

detection and prevention of corruption in the Ministries and the administrative departments here at the Centre.

Then, above all, it is very significant that during the life of this Parliament we have amended the Anti-Corruption Act five times making certain offences which were not previously cognizable, cognizable, and laying down that certain presumptions will be made against the accused in certain cases. All these facts indicate not only that the problem of corruption is always with us but also that we are constantly aware of the evil and are very anxious to eradicate it.

The crux of the question is, how far have we been able to achieve the results we have in view. There are people who consider that we have not gone very far while there are other people who think that corruption is on the decrease. All I can say is that there is no reason to be complacent in the matter and that corruption still continues to be enemy number one so far as we are concerned.

Some people are inclined to think that corruption in the services must be taken as a part of a vital malady, namely, deterioration of the moral standards of the society or of the community in general in almost all spheres of life. The persons who man our services are our own kith and kin and are made of the same stuff, more or less, as their other brethren engaged in other services and professions and, herefore, share all their failings and virtues. According to this school of thought, corruption in the services cannot be eradicated so long as the moral standards of the society as a whole do not attain a higher level of integrity or purity. It is contended, among other things, that corruption always presupposes not only those who take bribes but also those who give bribes, and it is a recognition of the force of this contention that we thought it fit recently to amend our criminal law with a view to make the giving of bribes as much an offence as the taking of bribes.

Be that as it may, must we then look helplessly and wait for the eradication of corruption until the moral standards of society as a whole have been raised? While I confess that it cannot be gain-said that there is bound to be some correlation between moral standards of the services and our social standards in general, the view that we cannot hope for better results until the moral tone of

the society as a whole goes up to the requisite length is, in my humble view, a counsel of despair. Indeed, I would go further and submit that we should not lose sight of the fact that this correlation works both ways and that the existence of corruption among the services has its own corrupting influence on the moral standards of the society in general, all the more so, when, as is inevitable, in a Welfare State, the Government are expanding their activities and incurring expenditure on a colossal scale all round.

So this is more or less a vicious circle and we have to break it somewhere. The question will be asked: what then is the remedy? We have tightened our laws, organised the anti-corruption and vigilance departments and in suitable cases we have not hesitated to drag the culprits to the court, and what more is wanted? Now, my humble submission is that we must effect a fundamental change in our approach to the problem if we are to deal with it with any measure of success. As hon. Members are aware, it is a well known maxim of criminal jurisprudence, accepted by all civilised countries, that a person should be presumed to be innocent unless he is proved to be guilty, that even in case of the slightest doubt, the benefit of doubt should go to the accused, and that it is better that a hundred guilty persons should go unpunished than that a single innocent person should be punished. We have extended all these principles in their entirety to our services. My submission is that we must modify this attitude in dealing with our services, except, of course, in the case of criminal prosecutions in law courts. We must insist that officers and other public servants, like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion, and that wherever there is a reasonable suspicion, the benefit of doubt should go to the community rather than to the suspected official.

What I am suggesting is that we must take drastic and severe departmental action against officials known or suspected to be dishonest or corrupt. Such officials—at least those notorious for corruption—must be summarily dismissed or their services should at least be dispensed with. Let us pick half a dozen officers in each State and deal with them summarily, and I daresay the effect will be marvellous. I recollect two occasions when this trick was tried

[Shri J. R. Mehta]

in my State, and with marvellous results. A number of officials who were supposed to be corrupt took a solemn vow to discard their old habits overnight and they have continued to be honest up to this day. I am afraid that conditions at present in this country are such that even those persons who are known for their integrity are doubting the wisdom of their ways. I am a believer in the stability of the services, as strong a believer as one could be. I myself belonged to that order once.

**An Hon. Member :** For how long?

**Shri J. R. Mehta :** All my life was spent in service, except the life I have spent here.

**Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru) :** Do you mean to say that life spent here is not service?

**Shri J. R. Mehta :** I mean public service.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** No issue need be settled privately in that fashion.

**Shri J. R. Mehta :** I am sorry. I was saying that I belonged to the services and I think it was a privilege for me to belong to the services. As no less a person than Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel observed, some of them are well worth their weight in gold. But I venture to suggest, that in very fairness to our honest officers, we must take the corrupt official more seriously than we are doing at present. Let us, I would respectfully submit, not make a fetish of the stability of service to the extent of imperilling the wider interests of the community or of the nation.

In this connection, I have a suggestion to make. I wish that our great Prime Minister or the Home Minister should convene a conference of all the Ministers and all heads of departments and Secretaries and representatives of all the services, and impress on them the need to be honest. He should bring the force of his personality to bear on them and then I hope it will have a very sound effect on the administration.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur) :** This has been tried so many times.

**Shri J. R. Mehta :** In this connection, I am inclined to say a word about the so-called *karta log*. As I have said,

there is an intimate correlation between the standards of our services and the standards of the society in general. But the behaviour of the *karta-log*, the so-called public workers, among whom I include the Ministers, all the more vitally influences for good or evil our services. And since the Congress happens to be in power in the Centre as well as in almost all the States, I appeal to the High Command to take care and see that among the *karta log*, among the Ministers and public workers, integrity finds the first place. Here also, the benefit of doubt should go to the community and not to the *karta log*.

Now, I crave the indulgence of the House to deal with an ugly problem—an ugly situation—that has developed in my State, Rajasthan, in the shape of the Bhooswami agitation. I believe it was Babu Ramnarayan Singh who referred to the question of Bhooswamis. Hon. Members may have been reading in the papers for some time past that there has been a sudden spurt in the agitation lately following the session of the Kshatriya Mahasabha at Jaipur when about 3000 Bhooswamis were arrested on a single day. Only in this morning's paper hon. Members may have read that there was an ugly demonstration before the State Assembly, and some of the Bhooswamis were sent to jail for the offence of contempt of the Assembly by the Speaker. But few Members of this House as well as outside perhaps appreciate correctly the background of this movement, its aims and objects, and above all, its potentialities for mischief, etc. As the House is aware, there is a big class of land-owners as distinct from the tenants, whose rights have been taken away as a result of the Jagirdari abolition laws. This class included the bigger Jagirdars who could afford a lot of luxuries or lead a luxurious life; it also included a number of land-owners who were holding small bits of lands, that is, who had small-holdings, and the Bhooswamis' agitation is mainly concerned with this . . . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The hon. Member has two minutes more.

**Shri J. R. Mehta :** The Bhooswamis' agitation is mainly concerned with the latter class. Since the Rajputs form a very large section of the land-owners, it is more or less essentially a Rajput movement. As was stated earlier, most of these small land-owners used to eke

out their livelihood by serving the rajas or big Jagirdars or serving in the Army and in the State Services. The Jagirdars and the rajas having gone, those who were employed with them have been thrown out of employment, and a large number of them have been demobilised as a result of the reorganisation of the State Forces. A large number had been demobilised earlier after the conclusion of the great war. The House knows very well that the Rajputs never took kindly to cultivation of land. Whatever savings they had made either in their service with the rajas or in their service with the military were invested by them in the land. They dug wells or constructed bunds and so on. When we introduced our tenancy laws, the effect was that the tenant became the lord of the soil overnight, and the small Jagirdar, the small land-owner, the Bhooswami, now finds that he has not only been thrown out of employment but that he has lost his land, not only lost his land but also the investment he had made in his land. This is the real grievance of the Bhooswamis. They are now landless. They are as good as refugees. Of course, it is unfortunate that a large number of other questions have been mingled up with this. This is inevitable because there are a large number of people who are always eager to exploit the situation in their favour.

My submission is that to the extent that these people have been thrown out of land, to the extent that they have no means of sustaining themselves and to the extent that whatever money they had has gone with the land—because that had been invested in the land—they do deserve sympathetic treatment.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The hon. Member should not take up any new point. He may conclude.

**Shri J. R. Mehta :** No, I will not. In fact, I am finishing. According to the Jagirdari Abolition Act, there is provision for *Khud Kasht* land, but we are told that there is no *Khud kasht* land available in the villages in which these people live. I put a simple question to the hon. Members here. Supposing I take a house on rent from an hon. Member, and when the hon. Member asks me to quit and I refuse to quit the house, what will be the feeling of the hon. Member? That is the feeling of these Bhooswamis. They had some plots of lands in their possession from time immemorial, which have gone

away overnight. So, my appeal to those in authority, and particularly to the Home Ministry, is that they should consider this question sympathetically, and that if they do so, it should be possible to bring round the Bhooswamis from the barren path which they have resorted to. I have not the least doubt that as against the might of the State, a sort of pitched battle which the Bhooswamis might hope to put up will be of no avail, but if we are able to curb the movement, it will go underground and it will have a very harmful and damaging effect on the law and order situation. I appeal for statemanship and sympathetic understanding of the problem. I say that we have a *bhoodan* movement and we are trying to rehabilitate the landless. We are trying to find land for those who have no land. Here is a case in which we are trying to make the landed people landless; people who have been attached to land from time immemorial. This should not happen. I appeal to those who are believers in the *bhoodan* movement to go to those villages and try the *bhoodan* experiment there. And if they make a correct approach, I think they will be able to get extra lands from those villages. In this way you should be able to satisfy the demands of these landless Bhooswamis to some extent. If that is not possible and if they have to be given land elsewhere, say, in Bhakra Nangal area, then they should be given land free of cost or at a nominal rent so far as the question of economic holding, and no more, is concerned.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The hon. Member has to conclude now. Already he has had three appeals. He should conclude now.

**Shri J. R. Mehta :** This is my final appeal. These people are being asked to pay Rs. 5,000, Rs. 7,000 or Rs. 10,000 for a *murabba* of land. I respectfully submit that it is beyond their means to find this money, and if there be any chance to rehabilitate them elsewhere, then they should get land at a cost which they can afford to pay.

**Shri Gidwani (Thana):** Sir, I wish to refer to page 24, para. 38, regarding permanent settlement of Pakistani nationals in India. It is stated :

“As indicated in the last year’s Report, it was decided at the Indo-Pakistan Passport Conference, 1953, to grant facilities for reunion of divided families.”

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Further, it goes on to say :

"During the year under review such facilities have been liberally granted to Pakistani nationals including certain persons, who had their close relatives in India on whom they were dependent."

Then paragraph 39 says :

"The practice regarding the repatriation to Pakistan of Pakistani nationals convicted of offences under the Passport Rules etc., in consultation with the Pakistan High Commission in India has been continued."

About this matter I do not want to say much, but I want the Government to be very vigilant, particularly in view of the present situation. Only yesterday, they must have read in the Press that during the last three or four days in Bhopal, certain persons who came from Pakistan on temporary permits have been arrested for instigating and for participating in the communal trouble there. Not only that. There is a news item in this morning's Press that a wireless transmitter set has been seized from Bhopal—whether those parties were responsible for it, I do not know and I cannot say—who was sending messages to Pakistan from Bhopal. You have to be very vigilant about these Pakistani Nationals who come to India. If they had no desire to migrate to Pakistan, they could have stayed in India and nobody would have objected. But after so many years, they wish to come to India. Particularly in these days they can create some trouble which will be not only harmful to the places where they go to and reside, but also harmful in the larger interests of this country

It is not a communal problem; it is a national problem. From the point of view of security and safety of our country, we will have to view the issue of permanent passes to these people to settle in India.

On page 230 of the report, it is said :

"Kutch has a land frontier of about 514 miles common with Pakistan. There is also an open sea coast line of about 210 miles from Jakhau to Kandla and Jangi in the South of Kutch. . . . For operating against the raiders from Pakistan coming by sea route, another

Coastal Security Scheme has also been put into operation. Steps are afoot to organise the village defence parties in Kutch."

I would invite the attention of the Home Minister to the news which has appeared in this morning's papers. Pakistan has claimed that Chhadbet is theirs. Whatever may be the decision about this matter, in view of the present situation, I repeat that we must not only have organised village defence parties. In my opinion, we should keep a part of the army there because this is a frontier which has to be safeguarded to give an assurance to the people that Government is doing everything possible to protect the frontiers.

I agree with Shri Mohanlal Saksena that our Government should take steps to help the political sufferers. Some of the State Governments have taken some action in the matter. Some people may say that it is a move of the Congress Party to support their own people. I would say to all parties that there should be no question of any party in this matter. All those who have suffered—whether belonging to the Congress Party, the Praja-Socialist Party or the Communist Party—and who have participated in the national struggle from 1907 or even before that, should be brought under the purview of this relief. The sum of Rs. 3 lakhs provided for this purpose is not sufficient. A survey should be made of all those who have not yet been rehabilitated or who are still suffering.

I would also refer to the conditions of some of the displaced political sufferers. Some States had given some relief to these people but the displaced political sufferers from Sind and the NWFP have not been able to get any relief because they belong to no State. They are Stateless people in the sense that many States do not consider them as their own and they have not received any help or encouragement. As it has, shown special consideration to the displaced persons in other respects, Government should extend relief and help the displaced political sufferers who have gone to jail or suffered otherwise during the national movement; they should receive sympathetic consideration.

Only today, I received a letter from a political friend of mine; he had been in jail for ten years. He was a municipal employee but he has not been able



to get any pension from Pakistan and so he is suffering acutely. I do not know the procedure adopted by the Government in giving relief. I would like to know from the Minister as to how he proposes to deal with or distribute the relief to the political sufferers—the amount they are providing in this year's Budget.

The previous speaker referred to a general matter—corruption and inefficiency in the Government. I have been in the political field for the last 48-49 years. Our greatest grievance against the British rule was that it was not the people's Government. It was a Government run by officials whom we called bureaucrats; we used to call them sundried bureaucrats. We have now to realise that a time has come for self-introspection. I do not remember the exact words in which the All India Congress Committee passed a resolution before Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated; he got us passed that resolution. I was then a member of the All India Congress Committee. The general tenor of the resolution was that we had ceased to be the servants of the nation and that the time had come for us to have self-introspection with a view to find out some methods by which we could serve the people.

I would, therefore ask the Home Minister and other Members of Parliament who are here this question: Do our people feel the glow of freedom? Do they feel that our bureaucracy, our servants, our administrators, have changed?

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** They are not our servants; they are our masters.

**Shri Gidwani :** We used to call Government servants as public servants. That was the word for them in English. We want them really to be the servants of the public. I do not want to dilate on this point. Everyone of us who is present here—, whether he belongs to this side or that,—there are Government servants who are sitting in the official block—should ask themselves this question. After attaining swaraj, eight years have passed. Have we created a feeling among the poorest of the poor that a new regime has come? Do they feel that they can bring their grievances to the Government and get redress? Do they feel that they can get justice from the highest quarter?

3—41 L. S.

On page 111 of the report, it is said :

“In the First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission had made certain recommendations in the nature of administrative reforms with a view to secure honesty, integrity and impartiality in the public services. These recommendations were accepted by Government and Orders have been issued to the following effect: (a) Government servants should at all times maintain a high standard of integrity and impartiality; and (b) No officer who does not have a reputation for honesty should be placed in a position in which there is considerable scope for discretion.”

Then, there is the administrative vigilance division. These rules or instructions are all right. But, how are we implementing them?

Shri Mohanlal Saksena referred to the appointment of superannuated officers. I do not want to name any particular officer. I know of a particular officer who was in the Agriculture Ministry. That officer managed to have lands in the Delhi State. That is how I came to know about him. He was not, as a refugee, entitled to agricultural lands in Delhi State. But, as a special concession, given by Shri Mohanlal Saksena—I wish he were present—because he was a big officer holding a very important post in the Agriculture Ministry, he was given lands in Delhi. The Punjab refugees were given lands only in Punjab. But, as a special case, he was given special land, very good land, canal-irrigated land, in Delhi State. That officer also secured, you will be surprised to know, lands in Bhopal. When I went to Bairagarh camp for the refugees in Bhopal, I came to know that the plot of land for that camp was purchased from him. The Chief Minister himself has told me that that man is a very big man. He has filed a suit against the Government because he claimed more money for that land. That man, who was a very big officer in the Agricultural Department, got agricultural evacuee lands as a refugee in Delhi State and purchased more agricultural land in Bhopal from the Nawab of Bhopal. You can understand why the Nawab had given land to him. I had put a question in the Parliament and

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I was promised that an enquiry would be made after which I would be told what were the facts about the matter. Nothing has been told to me so far. I have not been informed as to what happened.

**Shri B. Das** (Jaipur-Keonjhar). The hon. Member is referring to the Liaquat Ali Khan land which he exchanged.

**Shri Gidwani**: That man has been appointed now, I am told, in the Home Ministry as a Special Adviser. If this is how we are going to implement these rules, then I am sorry to say....

**Shri B. S. Murthy**: To catch a thief set a thief.

**Shri Gidwani**: .....that way we are not going to set things right.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: Shri Gidwani would be able to catch him.

**Shri Gidwani**: Therefore, I would request one thing. We are on trial. We are on a test. We are to be a guide to the generations that will come. We must, therefore, see that we implement what we preach. Whatever instructions we issue, we must be honest, we must be enthusiastic, we must be energetic and we must use every possible method to see that they are properly implemented. If people in high offices in the Ministries, on account of certain influences being brought upon them, violate these rules, take it from me, all our rules are not going to help us. I know Shri Datar. I have very great respect for him. I know his sympathy for refugees. I find that on page 8 of the Report four or five concessions have been made. I know he has settled the question of pensions of displaced persons from Sind and NWFP. They will be given ninety per cent. of the pension due to them. He has a sympathetic approach to deal with these matters. He has a heart also. But, what he requires is an iron determination to root out corruption no matter how high the officer may be, no matter how he is connected.

I may tell him, there is the question of evacuee property. There is the Custodian-General. He is very highly placed and very well connected. You would be surprised to know that he is a retired man. He does not do his business. Every day I get reports. I would request the hon. Minister, because he

deals with judicial cases, to make enquiries into the work of the Custodian-General's Department. Cases have been pending for long. Judgments have not been delivered in about 30 or 40 cases for two years. The whole procedure has been gone through in these cases but nothing further is being done. The Custodian General and others of his Department are moving about from one end of the country to the other like a picnic party and earning T.A. This is how the work is being done. I have a very sad experience of retired and superannuated officers. They may be very good gentlemen, they may have very high views, sometimes Harijan workers and so on, but when they come here at the fag end of their life they want to fatten themselves and earn at the cost of the poor tax-payer. I would, therefore, appeal.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: That would suffice. The hon. Member must conclude now.

**Shri Gidwani**: Sir, I accept your ruling. I have great faith in Shri Datar and Pandit G. B. Pant. If they are determined, they can change the present set-up and really bring about the change which we desire. Then alone the services will be improved, then alone the people will feel a new regime has come, then alone the people will feel the glow of freedom and then alone the people will feel that there is people's raj.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: The following are the selected cut motions relating to various Demands under the Ministry of Home Affairs which have been indicated by Members to be moved :

*Demand*

No.	No. of Cut Motions
51	536 to 543, 617, 843, 896, 897, 898, 924 to 929, 1148 to 1153
52	899.
53	900, 901, 902.
54	660, 661, 662, 903.
56	904.
57	541.
59	488 to 495, 497 to 505, 546.
60	30, 34, 35, 36, 38 to 42, 45 to 48, 50, 129, 135, 136, 137, 179 to 192, 221 to 244, 249 to 268, 506, 618, to 633, 663, 664.
61	905.
62	847, 906, 907, 908, 1154, 1155.

*Government's attitude towards Naga National Council and the present police operation in the Naga Hills Assam.*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

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

*Delay in introducing legislation to amend the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to safeguard the customs, culture and economic life of the Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

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

*Non-implementation of the various schemes laid down in the First Five Year Plan for the improvement of the lot of the Schedule Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

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

*Necessity for reservation of posts for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in departmental promotions and relaxation of educational qualifications for recruitment to Central Secretariat Services*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

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

*Police interference in the management of Postal works in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to implement recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission Report*

**Shri Gadilingana Gowd :** I beg to move:

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

*Inefficient working of the Intelligence Bureau*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

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

*Increase in the number of officers in Intelligence Bureau*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

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

*Inefficiency in the administration of justice in the Criminal Courts*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

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

*Delay in publishing report of the Backward Classes Commission*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

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

*Need to give more powers to the Commissioner and the Regional Assistant Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri Deogam :** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to stop exploitation of tribal people by outsiders*

**Shri Deogam :** I beg to move:

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

*Need to give preference to qualified tribals for appointment in Tribal Welfare Department*

**Shri Deogam:** I beg to move:

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

*Need to impose restrictions on transference of land by the tribals to non-tribals.*

**Shri Deogam:** I beg to move:

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

*Non-implementation of various schemes envisaged in First Five Year Plan for welfare of tribal people*

**Shri Deogam:** I beg to move:

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

*Unnecessary delay in publishing recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy:** I beg to move :

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

*Policy of giving appointments to persons belonging to the Backward Classes in the departments of Central Government*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy:** I beg to move :

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

*Need to take proper steps to check corruption in Administration*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy:** I beg to move :

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

*Working of the Preventive Detention Act*

**Shri N. B. Chowdhury:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to show due consideration to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the matter of appointments in the Central Government offices*

**Shri N. B. Chowdhury:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to have democratic set-up in States like Manipur and Tripura*

**Shri N. B. Chowdhury:** I beg to move:

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

*Expenses by the Government Hospitality Organisation on the Russian Dignitaries*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Cabinet' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Continued use of Urdu by Delhi Police Force*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I beg to move :

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

*Shadowing of leaders of political parties by the Delhi Criminal Investigation Department*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I beg to move :

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

*Growing corruption in Delhi Police Force*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I beg to move :

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

*Great disparity in pay scales of the ordinary policemen and high ranking police officers*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to train policemen as servants of the people*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

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

*Shadowing of political workers of opposition parties by intelligence and police agents*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

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

*Method of training of police Officers in Abu Police Training College*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I beg to move :

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

*Grant of allowances to relations of Indian Rulers*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to set up a representative form of Government in Andaman and Nicobar Islands*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

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

*Construction of bazars for tribal people in all the important business centres in plain areas of Manipur.*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy of award of red blankets to the tribal chiefs of Manipur*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need of recruiting more hill-men in the police department of the State.*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to construct hostels for tribal students at Imphal*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Immediate extension of relief, both in kind and cash, for the famine affected inhabitants of the Tamenglong Hill sub-division*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for taking effective measures against leprosy in Tamenglong sub-division*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inadequate supply of pipe water in the town of Imphal*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for a sound land Settlement policy in Manipur*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to extend the Panchayat Act to the villages of Manipur*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inadequacy of the Tribal Welfare Fund and its improper utilisation by the State Government*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to introduce the Assam Scales of pay in all the departments of the Government of Manipur with retrospective effect from 1-4-1950*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for free and compulsory primary education to tribal people*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Cancellation of the Batta of the 400 landless agriculturists in the Lamphel Pat area*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to appoint adequate number of hillmen in the various departments of the Government of Manipur....*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to implement development schemes in both tribal and plains areas of Manipur*

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Problem of unemployment in Manipur*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Reservation of Raima-Sarma Valley of Amarapur in Tripura for tribal rehabilitation*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Abolition of Chief Commissioner's rule and setting up an elected Legislature in Manipur*

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Manipur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to increase Compensatory Allowance of Tripura State Employees*

**Shri Biren Dutt :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to develop co-ordination between Collectorate and Tribal Welfare Department of Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for safeguarding interests of minority community in Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for guaranteeing civil liberties of the tribal and Backward people in hill areas*

**Shri Biren Dutt :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to provide rules for granting loans under the Lower-income-group Housing Scheme*

**Shri Biren Dutt :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for introducing land reforms in the State of Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to introduce Panchayat system in Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to extend the amended Land acquisition Act of West Bengal to Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to introduce a Legislative Assembly in Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for a Public Park in Agartala town for holding public meetings*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for a Town Hall in Agartala Town*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for providing a plot of land to the Tripura branch of Women's Food Council*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to check corruption in all branches of the administration, especially in the Collector's Office and the courts*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for stopping the use of thanas (police stations) for party work*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to giving land to those whose land people who have brought under cultivation fallow land in Kakraban areas of Tripura that they will not be ousted again*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to giving land to those whose land has been acquired for construction of embankment around Agartala town*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to settle the issue of Bat-tala Bazar of Agartala, Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to activities semi-Government institutions like Khadi and Village Industries Board in Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Elimination of the reservation of Khas land for the tribal people of Tripura*

**Shri Biren Dutt:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Immediate introduction of democratic set-up of administration in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Abolition of the existing Advisory Council to Government of Tripura without delay*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to fight out corruption in the Rehabilitation Directorate*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to stop Government high officials from holding ex-officio Chairmanships and Secretaryships of Co-operative Societies in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for constituting a Tribal Welfare Board in Tripura, with elected tribal members, to expedite development works for backward and scheduled tribes*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for formation of an ad-hoc Committee with representatives of different tribal organisations of Tripura to work out development projects for Scheduled Tribes of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to reserve Government khas land in Tripura for tribal joomia rehabilitation*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inordinate delay in giving landbondbast to tribal people of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to rehabilitate tribal joomias in Nelkata and Chailenta areas of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy of Government of Tripura towards backward and scheduled tribes of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to return guns to the owners in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to liberalise the issuing of licences for guns to the tribal people*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Settlement or rehabilitation of non-tribal people not to be made in area or areas predominantly inhabited by tribal people*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."



*Need to speed up the disposal of pension cases of the retired employees of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to stop the practice of engaging class IV Government employees of Tripura in domestic work*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to establish Tribal Welfare Office in each division for the rehabilitation of Joomias*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Priority for tribal candidates for appointment in Tribal Welfare Department*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to establish a separate Directorate to deal with the tribal problems in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inordinate delay in land settlement causing hardships to Joomias*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to make proper survey of the cultivable Khas land and take census of Tribal Joomias and landless displaced persons and landless agricultural workers in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to reconstruct bund of Teliamura, Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to investigate immediately into complaints made by tribals and displaced persons of Teliamura, regarding damage of bund near Teliamura, Tripura, and possible amount of loss to the people*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to provide necessary Government aid to Tribal Boarding House of Abhai Nagar, Agartala established by Tribal People*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy of not allowing Government school teachers of Tripura to study in colleges even in night classes*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy of not granting leave to those Government school teachers of Tripura who desire to appear in the University Examination this year*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Undesirability of establishing non-tribal displaced persons' colonies at Nalkata and Chailenta in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Settlement of land in Nalkata and Chailenta*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Land bundobast for Muslim peasants of Daria Bagma (Udaipur)*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need for reservation of land in Amarapur for rehabilitation of tribal joomias*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to start a Government store at Agartala for supplying motor car parts*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Corruption in Traffic Police of Agartala*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to conduct proper investigation in connection with coal mine found near Pecharthal in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Failure to settle land dispute between Swasti samity and tribal people of Kanchanpur*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Extension of Jiranla Community Project Hospital and provision for imparting knowledge of midwifery to tribal women*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Frequent motor accidents in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to establish a work-cum-training centre for employment of middle class women in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Functioning of Income Tax Department at Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to provide agricultural loan to displaced persons before ploughing season*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to make a thorough investigation into functioning of cooperative Societies in colonies*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to rehabilitate tribal joomias at Nalkata and Chailenta*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to impose restrictions on transference of land by tribal to non-tribals*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inefficiency in Education Directorate in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to provide adequate aid to non-government high schools situated in the tribal areas*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to reserve the entire khas land of Amarapur Division in Tripura for rehabilitation of tribal people of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to give settlement on Tuidu Bund near Ampu to those of Kaipeng Tribe who actually reclaimed land for cultivation*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to remove police camp at Emrabasa of Kailasahar in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Police repression in Ratachara and Bhuratale*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to make public enquiry into happenings at Ratachara in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to provide aid to peasants of Bhairagi para for irrigation works*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to stop the use of unsuitable bricks in construction of Agartala Kalachara and Agartala-Sonanura Roads in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to give monetary aid to the villagers for constructing village roads*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to provide necessary assistance to non-Government Tribal boarding houses in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Irregularity in payment of salary to the Primary school teachers in rural areas*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to investigate into the functioning of co-operative societies in Masmara colonies of Kailasahar in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to provide monetary aid and other assistance to tribal refugees*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Condition of displaced persons of Nehal Chandra Nagar in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Malpractices in distributing aid to refugees of Nehal Chandra Nagar who were badly affected by heavy storm last year*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to expedite the work of Jhumia rehabilitation in Tripura State*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Provision for at least one tribal teacher for each primary school situated in tribal areas in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Failure to absorb tribals in Social Education Service*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Provision for adequate Government aid to non-government schools of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to introduce Tripura language as a medium of instruction up to primary standard for Tribal students in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to stop transformation of primary schools into basic schools in Tribal areas of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Need to take over non-government schools run by tribal people in rural areas*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Appointment of Social Education Service Workers by Education Directorate of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Preference to tribals in the Police Service of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Urgency of setting up a Tripura Language Development Commission in Tripura to develop Tripura language*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Allocation of fund for development of Tripura language*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Failure to establish high schools in the rural areas particularly in areas inhabited predominantly by tribal people in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

“That the demand under the head ‘Tripura’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

*Necessity of more Boarding Houses for tribal students in divisional Headquarters of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Attitude of Education Directorate of Tripura towards the school-managing Committees of rural areas, particularly Tribal areas*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to recognise the school-managing Committees of rural areas of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Provision for a lump sum aid to Ram Krishna Mahavidyalay at Kailashar (Tripura)*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need for opening technical training schools at Agartala*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Provision for leave to teachers under Education Directorate Tripura for appearing in Examinations*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Provision for supplying tin for roofing etc. to Primary schools of rural areas of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Disapproval of Policy of recruitment to Central Reserve Police at Neemuch*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Relations with States' be reduced by Re. 1."

*Failure to give adequate loans and subsidies to improve conditions in tribal areas and the rehabilitate Chenchus in Nalla Mal forests of Andhra State*

**Shri Gadilingana Gowd :** I beg to move:

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

*Inadequate sum allotted for charitable purposes*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

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

*Mismanagement in the Department of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

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

*Non-provision for a Regional Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for Rajasthan*

**Shri U. M. Trivedi :** I beg to move :

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

*Policy of making Hindi as official language*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy :** I beg to move :

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

*Failure to give proper representation to people of Backward Classes according to their population in the matter of selection to Indian Administrative Service*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy :** I beg to move :

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

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** These cut motions are now before the House.

**Shri C. C. Shah (Gohilwad-Sorath):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am sorry that yesterday I could not speak when the Speaker called me. I was under the impression that I was to speak today and hence I had not brought my papers with me yesterday. I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity today.

The Ministry of Home Affairs is mainly concerned, normally speaking, with two broad groups of subjects, namely, public services and public security. During the year under review the Ministry has also dealt with two other very important subjects about which I should like to say a few words.

One is that in January, 1955, the Ministry of States was merged in the Ministry of Home Affairs and the enlarged Ministry of Home Affairs dealt with Part B and Part C States. The other is about the reorganisation of States which is also being dealt with by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

It was singularly fortunate for Part B and Part C States that at a critical period of their existence, they had the able guidance and advice of the Home Minister, because within a few months' time they will no longer exist as they have been existing today, and even one or two of them like Rajasthan which will continue to exist will no longer be Part B States. The process which began of integration of these States will now come to an end with the reorganisation of States and the discrimination between the States Part A, Part B and Part C, which particularly those in Part B States resented so much, will come to an end. We are happy, particularly those from Part B States, that the discrimination which we resented will now cease to exist. I will confess that in the beginning a certain

degree of Central supervision and control was necessary for Part B States, considering the past history and the conditions under which they came into existence, and, therefore a special provision had to be made in the Constitution. But, now that seven years have passed after that, we will see at state of affairs, where the great process which Sardar Patel began will come to fruition, in which there will be equality of all the States.

With this integration of all the States a few problems will arise and I wish to draw the attention of the hon. Minister particularly to the financial problems of Part B States arising out of the reorganisation, because, when Part B States were integrated with the Union, Federal Finance Integration Agreements were arrived at between them as a result of which the Part B States handed over to the Union the sources of revenue, which were Central sources of revenue like the Railways, Customs, Income-tax etc., and under the various agreements the Part B States were receiving assistance from the Central Government by way of grants and loans to fill up the revenue gap which arose out of the handing over of these sources of revenue to the Central Government.

Now, each State had a different agreement with the Union, but it was recognised that, considering the backwardness particularly of Part B States, the Central Government had a special responsibility to see to their development. Even when the Finance Commission was appointed and the Commission made its recommendation for the division of the Central Excise and the Income-tax pool, it was recognised that that was not adequate. Therefore, a special Assistance Enquiry Committee was appointed for the Part B States under the Chairmanship of Shri Gadgil. Those recommendations have been implemented by the Government as a result of which all the Part B States are receiving a total amount of Rs. 4 crores annually in order to fill up the revenue gap. My respectful submission is this: that with the integration of these States into larger States—and I speak specially for Saurashtra—a situation will arise when those gaps will have to be filled in and I would request the hon. Minister, considering the great sympathy which he has for Part B States and the care with which he has looked after them, that even after the reorganisation of the States, the grants which they have been receiving so far should continue, at least to the same

extent if not more. I will say, for example about Saurashtra, and I will give a few figures.

3 P.M.

The two kinds of grants which we receive are: one, under the Union Duties of Excise (Distribution) Act of 1953 and the other is under the Constitution, (Distribution of Revenues) Order of 1953. The States Reorganisation Bill paragraph 35 of the explanatory note expressly refers to this problem and in the fourth schedule to the Bill provision has been made to continue the grants and the loans for the year 1956-57. We are grateful to the Government that this has been continued for the current year. But what is necessary is that it should be continued for some years to come, particularly for States like Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat or PEPHU, which States have a backwardness which they have inherited out of a historical past and out of a primitive economy, which economy cannot be overcome within a few years' time.

**Shri B. Das :** The Finance Commission will do it.

**Shri C. C. Shah :** The recently appointed Finance Commission, I have no doubt, will take into consideration all the points which I will mention today. But what I am submitting is that even when the last Finance Commission made its recommendations the Government found that implementing those recommendations would not give adequate relief to Part B States and therefore they appointed a special committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Gadgil, which made recommendations for a total grant of Rs. 4 crores. Therefore, after the recommendations of the Finance Commission, and I hope the Finance Commission will take a sympathetic view of these things, if those recommendations, in any instance fall short of the requirements of Part B States, I would request the hon. Minister to bear that in mind and see that the Part B States do not suffer by reason of the reorganisation of the States which is taking place.

Take, for example, Saurashtra. Saurashtra handed over to the Central Government all its railways, ports, customs and what has not been done by any other State has been done by Saurashtra, namely, internal customs duty has been abolished as a result of which a large source of revenue has been lost. Rajasthan wants to abolish them; so also

Madhya Bharat. But in order to enable Rajasthan to do so the Central Government has given them a loan of Rs. 50 lakhs; in order to enable Madhya Bharat to do so, the Central Government has given a loan of Rs. 46 lakhs, whereas in the case of Saurashtra we asked for no loans. We implemented it because it was a recommendation of the Central Government. Similarly in the case of Saurashtra, we had a large income from railways and ports. Now the total revenue gap payable to Saurashtra under the Federal Agreement is Rs. 275 lakhs annually. That was to taper off I know from 1955-56, but we are grateful to the Central Government that for 1955-56 and for 1956-57 they have not tapered it off. They have paid the full grant of Rs. 275 lakhs. My request, therefore, to the hon. Minister is that for subsequent five years, in any event, up to 1959-60 or until we are able to stand on our own legs, the same grant will be continued. I entirely agree that the people of those areas must make efforts to stand on their own legs and they must create their own resources out of taxation or other sources. Speaking for Saurashtra I can say that we raised two loans, one of Rs. 200 lakhs and another of Rs. 125 lakhs, and those loans were over subscribed, people having the confidence in the financial stability of the State. But they have proved inadequate. In view of the developmental expenditure in Saurashtra, last year the revenue gap was Rs. 113 lakhs and it actually proved to be Rs. 281 lakhs. This year the revenue gap is Rs. 106 lakhs and probably it may be much more. I gratefully acknowledge that the Central Government has generously given assistance to all Part B States, including Saurashtra and while acknowledging that generous assistance, I take this opportunity to appeal to the hon. Minister to see that in the reorganisation to come the same amount of assistance, the same grant is continued. Because, so far as Part B States are concerned, their integration is still not even complete. They have a long way to go both in education or medical relief; or road development or irrigation. In Saurashtra we had very little irrigation facilities. The soil is not so fertile as in other parts of the country and we have undertaken a large developmental expenditure for irrigation work. That was the one thing I wanted to say about this.

The second thing with which this Ministry was concerned during this year was the reorganisation of States. Here a very short paragraph of the report—

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Para 25— very modestly, I must say, says about the work which has been done in connection with the reorganisation, but we ought to know what a stupendous task it is and I am sure that the whole House will agree with me in paying a compliment—and a handsome compliment to the Ministry for the very able manner in which the work of reorganisation is being handled by the Ministry with such speed and with such efficiency. It is a stupendous task with which it is very difficult to cope up in the short time within which we have to deal with the problem, and but for the wise statesmanship of the Minister and his able guidance the work of reorganisation would have been more difficult than it is today. The passions which it has aroused in certain parts of the country endangered even the security of the country and I am glad because of the firm handling by the Ministry and the manner in which the whole problem has been approached, we are now at a stage at which the work of the Ministry will bear rich fruits.

**The Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Datar):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in the course of the fairly interesting and exhaustive debate that we are now having on the activities of the Ministry of Home Affairs during the last year, a number of very important suggestions have been made and also compliments have been paid to us from time to time. On the whole, Sir, I am happy that the report that we have published, a fairly bulky report, has been very carefully studied by hon. Members and they have given us credit for what we have been able to do in all humility for the nation as a whole.

A number of suggestions were made and I would like at this stage to deal with a few of them, so far as the general aspect of such suggestions is concerned. I would naturally deal with the services, because my Ministry has to deal with the Central Services, with all the Services under the Government of India as also with the All India Services. A number of very valuable and constructive suggestions have been made and I would like to refer to some of these suggestions while pointing out certain elucidations wherever they are necessary.

Yesterday, my hon. friend Dr. Krishnaswami made a number of suggestions. He stated that so far as the All India Services were concerned, the recruitment should be at different levels

and not only at the earliest level at which we take in candidates who are fresh in life and fresh from university studies. Now, in this connection, I would point out that we have already been following the process of recruitment at different stages. We naturally require a very large number of recruits who have to be taken at the earliest stages because they are fresh from their college studies, they are fresh in their outlook and they have a promise which they can fulfil within the long range of services they have before them. Therefore, I would point out to this House that, naturally, a very large number of young recruits have always to be taken. I am happy to assure this House that we are getting some of the best and highly competent persons so far as the recruitment to the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. are concerned, and the House will find in the course of the next few years that so far as these young recruits or candidates are concerned they will give a better and a highly promising account of their own performance whenever they go into the districts and carry on the fairly onerous duties as district administrators. Naturally, we have to give a very large number of our posts to these young people.

But taking this circumstance into account, subject to the need for recruitment at these stages, I would point out that so far as the government work is concerned, so far as the activities of the Union Government as also of the State Governments are concerned, in addition to enthusiasm, in addition to intellectual equipment, we also require a number of other qualifications, such as experience and also maturity of judgment and, therefore, we have introduced in our rules certain provisions for recruitment at different stages. So far as the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service are concerned, we have already left scope therein for recruitment to the extent of about 25 per cent of the requirements of the Union and the States through what is known as the promotion quota. Under this quota, States' servants, in the Provincial Civil Services, are eligible. Their qualifications are taken into account and then, through the machinery of the U.P.S.C., they are gradually drafted into the Indian Administrative Service or the Indian Police Service.

You would, naturally, see that so far as the States' servants are concerned, they are of different age-groups and, therefore, they are taken into account for two purposes. One is that, so far as the



these provincial services are concerned, they are entitled to a representation on account of their experience, as also on account of, as I stated just now, maturity of judgment; because we require officers who have to tackle very important problems bearing on the establishment of a welfare State in India as early as possible. That is the reason why we have a very large number of States' servants who have been promoted to the Indian Administrative Service or the Indian Police Service.

Their number in each case is fairly large, and I would point out to the House that so far as the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. are concerned we have got 218 officers who have been taken from the States services into the Indian Administrative Service....

**Shri Punnoose (Alleppey):** Are they young recruits or old people from the States?

**Shri Datar:** They are not young recruits, but they should not be called old, because there is an insinuation attached to the word by my hon. friend.

**Shri Velayudhan:** As old as the hon. Minister himself?

**Shri Datar:** They are advanced in years, and advancement in years is itself a value which was to be taken into account.

**Shri Tek Chand (Ambala-Simla):** Ripe but not over-ripe!

**Shri Datar:** Government always takes care to see that it takes people who have a ripe judgment but not an over-ripe judgment which is vitiated by senility.

So far as the I.P.S. is concerned, we have already seventy-four.

In addition to this, I may point out to the House that in order that the Central Secretariat offices personnel should also be imbued with the real spirit of the work that is going on in the whole nation at district headquarters, officers of the Central Secretariat Service at various stages are sent to the districts for training. Similarly, we are also at various stages borrowing officers from the States, because thereby it will be found....

4—41 L. S.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** From where did you borrow the officer to whom Shri Gidwani referred?

**Shri Datar:** If the hon. Member will bear with me, I would reply to as many points as I can within the short space of time.

I would therefore submit that so far as this point is concerned we are already having either recruitment or the borrowing of government servants, especially so far as the higher services at different stages are concerned.

Then it was stated that formerly our officers during the British regime had formed a class by themselves, and that criticism especially is against the I.C.S. and I.P. officers. Now, it is quite likely that that was true. But so far as the present set-up is concerned, I would point out to the hon. Members who have been very strong in such criticism, that the whole atmosphere, the democratic atmosphere in the country, the democratic atmosphere in the administration has had its very welcome effect upon our officers also; and even the I.C.S. officers and also the I.A.S. officers have to understand that they have to work under a new and a democratic set-up under which it is the people who are the masters and it is not they, who are the masters. I would therefore point out to the House that the officers as a class also are trying to adjust themselves. Perhaps it is likely that at certain stages the process might be slow. But, all the same, we are absolutely anxious that our officers are not only efficient but they are also responsive to public opinion, they carry on their work as well as possible not under an autocratic administration but under a democratic administration where they have to live in constant touch with the people.

**Shri Sinhasan Singh:** A welcome change.

**Shri Datar:** So far as these two aspects are concerned we are trying our best to see that the best class of officers are taken for the purposes of carrying on the very onerous duties of a welfare State. I would assure the House that we are fully aware of the need for having a very good class of officers at the top; much more so that at all levels officers have to understand that

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they have to work under a democratic set-up; they have to be absolutely efficient and at all times they have to be responsive or accessible to public opinion so far as their functions are concerned.

In this particular respect certain other suggestions were made, and they were about the integration of services. So far as the integration of services is concerned. . .

**Shri Simhasan Singh :** May I just ask one question? How many of these top officers are reappointed people after superannuation?

**Shri Datar :** I will answer it in due time, because that point is before me.

I will ask this honourable House to remember that the question of integration of services has gone on at various stages during the last eight or nine eventful years. First, we had the integration of the services so far as the integration of the States themselves were concerned. Then we had the integration of the services, to a certain extent, of the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. And now a further problem has arisen on account of the reorganisation of States. Therefore I would request hon. Members to note the provisions that have been specifically laid down in the States Reorganisation Bill according to which it is our desire that there ought to be a harmonious integration of services; and, as I told the House only two or three days ago, we are anxious that the proper rights, the legitimate rights, of our government servants, whether they are in the All India Services or in the States services, ought to be protected to the extent that such protection is legitimate. Therefore, in the ultimate analysis the House will find that certain powers have been reserved to the Centre under—if I mistake not—clause 109 of the States Reorganisation Bill so far even as the States services are concerned. Inasmuch as we require the willing, enthusiastic as well as efficient service of a large number of officers, it is necessary that their legitimate interests should be protected and all uncertainties and all suspense should be removed. I would point out that the number of employees in the Government of India is nearly 15 lakhs including the Railways. When we have to deal with such

a large number, we have to see to it that they work properly. We have also to see to it that they are given very good conditions of service.

Reference was made to temporary government servants. I would point out to the House that this question has been discussed on a number of occasions in this House as also in the other. It will be appreciated that there are certain departments which are naturally of a temporary character. There are also occasions when we have to appoint officers first for a certain purpose and then to see whether that department or those activities are continued or are not to be continued. Therefore, it should be accepted as a fact that, to a certain extent, some officers or government servants will remain on a temporary basis. I have already told this House that the Finance Ministry has already issued a circular that with regard to 80 per cent. of the government servants in a particular department, confirmation should be offered to them provided that department has to last for long. Otherwise, naturally, we have to take into account all the circumstances. Temporary officers have got to be temporary provided their work is temporary and provided their department is temporary. All the same, I would point out to the House that the Government has taken care to see that the legitimate interests and expectations of even these officers are duly met. For that purpose, we issued as early as 1949 a particular order according to which they are given certain quasi-permanent rights. Therefore, it would be appreciated that all temporary government servants are not temporary in the literal sense of the term. Temporary servants get certain rights midway between a temporary position and confirmation. They are given certain valuable rights provided they have put in three years' satisfactory service. Then, the results follow. So, you will find that the Government has taken steps in this matter.

Something was stated about the re-employment or extension of service of superannuated officers. It is true that officers, generally, after they reach the age of superannuation, have to go. But, exigencies of the situation have also to be taken into account. I would point out to this hon. House that in some cases it becomes absolutely difficult to get immediately a competent officer, an

experienced officer to replace him; but the work he has been carrying on cannot be stopped. There are two considerations which are more or less of an opposing character. One is that the superannuated officers should retire, thereby giving chances or opportunities for higher service to younger people. That is one thing. The second consideration is that in some cases it becomes difficult to just substitute another man in that place. It is not a case of mechanical substitution of A by B. As I stated, there are certain important and technical positions in respect of which we find it so hard to get good people. There are also a number of higher appointments where, in the interests of the work, in the interests of the projects that Government has in hand, it is necessary that these officers should be continued for some period. I would point out to this House that in all such cases where such higher officers are going to be continued in service or where they are to be re-appointed, it is always for a short period, as short a period as possible and in some cases, the concurrence of the Ministry of Home Affairs is absolutely essential before either an extension is granted or a person is re-appointed. When all the aspects of the case are taken into account when it is found that a particular officer's service has to be continued, if the exigencies of the situation or the requirements of the nation make it necessary that he should be there, then only he is kept on. I would also like to point out that in all cases where the period of re-employment exceeds one year, the matter has to go to the U.P.S.C. There are a number of cases where it becomes extremely difficult even for the Members of the U.P.S.C. to find or suggest or recommend good names for these particular posts. It is there that the U.P.S.C. has, in a very large number of cases, agreed. We always bear these two circumstances in view. Chances or opportunities ought to be given to youngsters. Secondly, where such experience, and ripe judgment are necessary, then, not as a matter of routine, but as a matter of the special circumstances of the case, certain officers are either re-appointed or their services are extended. These are the principles by which we are guided.

Before I proceed to the next point, I have to make reference to Shri Gidwani. In the course of his speech,

he made reference to two officers. So far as these two officers are concerned, he has put before the House one side of the case. I do not know whether it is an accurate side of the case. All the same, if he had certain information, I would have surely gone into the so-called allegations or contentions that my hon. friend had to make. I know as a Member of this House Shri Gidwani who is generally extremely careful not only in making demands on behalf of associations or refugees, but is always well restrained in his observations. Today, unfortunately, on account of certain allegations that came to his notice, which allegations *prima facie* he believed to be true, he has made certain statements which I wish he had not made. I would promise him that even apart from this, I would have looked into these matters as regards these two officers. Apart from whatever he has stated, I would point out that I had had occasion to know these persons, not only personally, but in my official capacity and I know that both these officers are working very well. So far as one officer to whom he made reference is concerned, his services in the field of Agriculture are so great and so invaluable that even the Government of Jammu and Kashmir have been taking advantage of his services. Therefore, I would appeal to all hon. Members to be careful in making statements about our officers when they are carrying on very good work. So far as the other officer is concerned he was also a Judge of an honourable High Court. To the extent that I know, he has been carrying on his work very well. Under the circumstances, whenever any hon. Member has any complaints to make, in fairness to those officers, I would invite any hon. Member from any side of the House to give me the facts. I would certainly look into those cases. I agree with Shri Gidwani that so far as we are concerned, it is not sufficient that we carry on our work as earnestly as possible. Occasions do arise and I know that they arise when we have to act with sternness. I would tell him that the Government that is carrying on this work with your co-operation is strong wherever it is necessary and always it is fair not only to the public, but to the officers at large. It is quite likely that oftentimes unwarranted or exaggerated information is passed on, but whatever it is we have to note that the success of the establishment of the

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Welfare State depends upon the help that this sovereign House gives to the Government, upon the Government itself and also upon the executive officers at all the levels, and therefore let us try to have a spirit of complete co-operation. Whenever any officer goes wrong, naturally we shall take him to task, but I would appeal in all humility to this House that from one or two instances we should not come to generalisations. We are trying our best. A very important experiment is being carried on and for the success of that experiment we require also the unstinted effort and the enthusiastic co-operation of all the classes of the people including our officers. Therefore I hope we shall always take these circumstances into consideration.

**Shri Velayudhan :** Let us pray.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Prayers are never noisy.

**Shri Datar :** Then I shall make a reference to the next subject, that is with regard to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Their position is naturally a delicate one. They have suffered injuries or injustices for long, for centuries together, and therefore whenever any hon. Member belonging to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes criticises us even strongly, even unwarrantedly, I always take that criticism as a piece of advice because we have to do our best so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned. They are suffering under different kinds of grievances.

So far as the Scheduled Tribes are concerned we turned them out into the forests and they are known as Girijans, and they are suffering from a continued isolated existence. We have to bring them into the large arena of Indian society, we have to allow them to lead their own life so far as they desire to lead it. We have to safeguard their culture, because they have got a very good culture. Consistently with this they are entitled to all the rights, all the amenities that are due to them as citizens of India. The Constitution itself has made a provision that the Central Government have year after year to make certain grants for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and for the improvement of the tone of administration in the Scheduled areas. You

would have found that very large grants have been made to Assam for the hilly districts for bearing the costs of these autonomous councils. A number of other things are being done.

So far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, in some cases their disabilities in my opinion are greater and they have suffered longer because their disabilities are intolerable. It shall be the duty and privilege of all the Governments, either at the centre or in the States, to do all that is possible not only to give them a better economic condition but also to remove the social disabilities from which they are suffering. I agree that in the rural parts of the country, this evil of untouchability is still talking large. We have to take steps to remove it as far as possible. Here also we come across or we are faced with conflicting ideologies. One ideology says that we should have penal laws and we should enforce the removal of untouchability by penal laws. On the other hand, we have also to take into account the fact that these poor people who form a very small population in each village are at the mercy of the high caste people. Therefore, even for the removal of untouchability if you pass very stringent laws, or enforce them, the result would be a reaction or a revulsion of feeling on the part of the other castes and they are likely to retaliate by denying to these people even the apologetic economic existence that is being allowed to them. Therefore, while trying by all persuasive and peaceful means to wean away the wrong-doers, we have also to inform them that the anti-social elements among the Hindus have to understand that in case they do not yield to persuasion, they will have to yield to the enforcement of the law. That is the policy that the Government have been following. We are anxious that the provisions of the Untouchability (Offences) Act should be enforced as strongly as possible. The Government of India have taken up this case with the State Governments and we are trying to do our best. In fact, though this is a State subject, we are giving the various State Governments some grants for the purpose of carrying on propaganda. About one crore of rupees broadly have been spent during the first Five-Year Plan for the purpose of carrying on persuasive propaganda through various channels, for the purpose of rousing the conscience of the caste-ridden Hindus

that untouchability is an offence that untouchability is a sin against society and that it should be done away with.

**Shri Velayudhan :** Is not this money more misused than used?

**Shrimati Khongneu rose—**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Order, order. One question might be answered and then the second one put.

**Shri Datar :** I shall answer the Scheduled Castes question and then the Scheduled Tribes question.

So far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, from the reports that we have got, I am satisfied that the State Governments are carrying on their work very well. I would also point out to the hon. Member that we have been helping certain all-India organisations which are also carrying on this work very well.

**Shrimati Khongmen :** I just want to ask for one clarification from the hon. Minister. Is Government considering the necessity of bringing an amendment to the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution?

**Shri Datar :** I am not aware of any such proposal being before the Government. If the hon. lady Member has any strong reasons for an amendment of the Sixth Schedule, I shall certainly go into this matter and see what can be done, but I would point out to the hon. lady Member that we are giving very large grants to the Assam Government for the purpose of helping the District Councils. In some cases, the hon. lady Member will be interested to know, we are giving about Rs. 40 lakhs, because under the Constitution, whatever is there by way of deficit has to be satisfied by us. If the hon. lady Member has some complaints, the better course would be to see what the particular defects or evils are and we can remove them. All these age-long evils cannot be removed, cannot be eliminated, cannot be extinguished solely by a change in the constitutional law. The better course would be to have what can be called a human approach.

**Shri Velayudhan :** With regard to the grants to all-India organisations of Scheduled Castes or untouchables or anything like that, what I have understood from the report itself is that it is

more used as a political patronage of the party in power than for using it actually for the removal of untouchability.

**Shri Datar :** My hon. friend is entirely wrong. So far as we are concerned, we are dealing with all-India associations of repute and dignity. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Now, we should agree that there is an honest difference of opinion.

**Shri Datar :** So far as the State Governments are concerned, they are also taking into account or sanctioning schemes after a full scrutiny. It would not, therefore, be proper for my hon. friend to rush to the conclusion that they are being used for propaganda. In fact, we have laid down a restriction, a restriction which was not accepted by a certain all-India organisation, stating that it is not to be used for any propaganda except propaganda for the purpose of the removal of untouchability. That is the only thing they have to do.

**Shri Velayudhan :** The purpose is there.

**Shri Datar :** Then, I would point out that so far the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes in general are concerned, we have under the Second Five-Year Plan raised the amount to be given to the State Governments to Rs. 58 crores.

**Shri N. Rachiah :** On a point of information...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I could allow the Member to put questions, but I should like to warn hon. Members against the danger that they are incurring against themselves. The greater the number of interruptions, the longer is the Minister likely to take, and that would minimise in turn the time that would otherwise be available to the Members themselves.

**Shri N. Rachiah :** I am asking for the first time. I want to know. . .

**Shri Velayudhan :** I want to know. . .

**Shri Datar :** When two Members are talking amongst themselves, I think I may go on. I might point out. . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** If the Minister resumes his seat for a minute, then perhaps the hon. Member can put his question.

**Shri N. Rachiah :** I would like to know from the Minister what has happened to the assurances given with regard to the representation of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the administration, especially in the I.A.S. and the I.P.S.

**Shri Datar :** I have answered this question a number of times. But I would point out that so far as recruitment to the highest services is concerned, naturally we have to proceed slowly. Even article 335 of the Constitution has stated:

“consistently with the maintenance of the efficiency of administration,”

I would like to point out to the hon. Member that we have made certain provisions in the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. rules, according to which, so far as the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes candidates are concerned, we have invested the UPSC with greater discretion, and under that, it is open to them to lower the standards to the extent that they consider safe. Therefore, the hon. Member will find that the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes candidates is rising. I would concede that the number is not rising as much as possible, but we have to take into account the fact that the educational advancement has to go on. As one hon. Member has rightly pointed out, apart from the possession of university degrees, what is required, so far as these unfortunate people are concerned, is that they have to be properly trained.

Therefore, I have suggested to some associations that they should take up the question of training the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes applicants for admission to this examination. The State Governments, and perhaps the Central Government also will consider whether any such effort is to be made, because by such efforts only their number could be increased. I would point out to the House that we are anxious, that their number is larger,

the intake is far greater, proportionately to the large number of people because they are nearly seven crores in number. But we cannot proceed unless we have got people who possess not the highest educational or other qualifications but the minimum qualifications. I would request hon. Members to note that we do desire, and we have laid down a rule that it would be open to the U.P.S.C. to take into account the general performance of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe candidate, and then to take him, provided they are satisfied that generally he would answer the questions, not that he would answer the questions in the best manner, because we are getting the best students. So, whenever such persons come within this margin, they are naturally taken, at whatever stage they may be, provided they have got the minimum number of marks. In one case, I know that a particular Scheduled Caste candidate was taken, though he had got only the ninetieth rank. Actually, we took about forty people—I am giving this figure roughly—but this particular Scheduled Caste candidate was ranking ninetieth, and yet he was taken.

**Shri Velayudhan :** For a clerk's job, and not for an Under Secretary's job.

**Shri Datar :** No, for the IAS. That is what I would like to tell the hon. Member. The hon. Member is always speaking on the basis of information which is not correct.

**Shri Velayudhan :** I do not want any special favour.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Order, order. This cannot be converted into question hour, or a court where a witness is being cross-examined. Unless a lawyer has exhausted himself, he should be allowed to continue. A question might be permitted here and there, but that cannot be continued indefinitely. The Minister might be allowed to go on uninterrupted.

**Shri Datar :** I would inform the hon. Member that we take care to see that any man who possesses the minimum qualifications—not the maximum—will be taken, provided the UPSC have recommended him.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Perhaps, if the hon. Minister would keep his face towards the Chair, that might be better.

**Shri Datar :** Perhaps that will prevent more questions being put.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Yes, that would also happen.

**Shri Datar :** I want to point out to this House that so far as this particular question is concerned, Government are extremely anxious. . .

**Shri Velayudhan :** Controversial issues are raised. That is the difficulty.

**Shri Datar :** To see that the intake of the candidates from among the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is increased as early as possible.

I would like to make a reference now to a matter which concerns the Anglo-Indians. I have got here a note from the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, according to which I find that the amount of grant has not been reduced at all. What the Uttar Pradesh Government did was that they did not provide the amount that they had originally fixed up, because that amount, under the Constitution, was subject to a reduction of ten per cent, after three years. Therefore, what was done was that the amount was reduced to a certain extent, but that reduction had no effect of reducing the grants to certain Anglo-Indian institutions for the benefit of the Anglo-Indian students.

Actually, there were some Anglo-Indian institutions which had been closed. Whatever that might be, so far as the institutions that were entitled to the grants are concerned, the same grant is being given to them. And what has been done as a result of this decrease in the figure is that there has been lesser saving. The U. P. Government had a certain amount fixed up for grant to Anglo-Indian institutions every year; and there was a saving because the number was not very large. And about six institutions were ultimately closed. Whatever it is, all, along, you will find that the amount is the same; it has not been reduced, so far as the payments to the various bodies are concerned. Therefore, it was not right on the part of my hon. friend to have

charged the U. P. Government with the motive of purposely reducing the grant. The U. P. Government have also assured us that so far as the grants to be given to students who are of indigent origin are concerned, those grants would be kept up, whatever might be the amount that is otherwise fixed.

So far as Tripura and Manipur are concerned, I am very happy that the hon. Members from Tripura did not go into the numerous grievances that they have. Actually, it is a catalogue of grievances, and if I mistake not, the largest number of cut motions are in respect of this single item, and to a certain extent, other items also, so far as Manipur is concerned.

So far as the point that was raised regarding the *jhoomias* are concerned, I might point out to the hon. Member that large amounts are placed at the disposal of the State Government for the purpose of settling these people in a proper way. Rs. 60 lakhs have been provided in the Second Five-Year Plan, and it is our desire that as a large number of families of these *jhoomias* as possible should be properly settled. It is likely that in the course of this year, we would have made a grant to the extent of more than Rs. 6 lakhs, and about 1,500 families will have been properly settled, and weaned away from the harmful profession that they were following.

In other respects also, I have gone into all the matters raised in the various cut motions, and I can assure the hon. Member that the administration there, with our support, are going to do whatever is necessary for the economic and educational development of the Scheduled Tribes that form a fairly large part of the population of Tripura. I can say that the same thing is being done in the case of Manipur also.

I now come to certain minor matters. One hon. Member,—I think it was Shri Raghavachari,—suggested that we have not yet given the figures relating to the results of the amended Code of Criminal Procedure. I would point out to the hon. Member that the Code of Criminal Procedure was brought into force in the amended form only on 1st January 1956, and therefore it is too early yet to say what the position is.

[Shri Datar]

Then so far as legal aid to the Scheduled Castes is concerned, it is being given in Bombay. Even now, wherever there are certain proceedings to which Scheduled Caste people are parties, the Government of Bombay has appointed certain lawyers for the purpose of giving professional help and advice to them.

**Shri Sinhasan Singh :** But I believe there are no such arrangements in U.P.

**Shri Datar :** I am not aware of that. Anyway, I have made a note of this.

I agree with my hon. friend that so far as the indigent population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned, their case should not go by default and they should not suffer, on account of want of legal aid. That is a matter in which Government would do whatever is possible.

The hon. Member, Shri Gadgil, stated that admission was refused to a Scheduled Caste lawyer by a Bar Association at a place in a district.

**An Hon. Member :** Sitapur.

**Shri Datar :** I got the information. In this particular case, so far as the Bar Association meeting was concerned, there were only 60 members present out of 106. Therefore, the resolution which they passed was declared *ultra vires* of their Constitution because it had not got the two-thirds majority stipulated therein. It was on that ground that the admission was refused. We have got the information that this failure of his to be a member of the Bar Association was due to circumstances which made the resolution void, and it had nothing to do with the question of untouchability. (*Interruptions*). The hon. Member will kindly hear me.

**Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal-West Cuttack) :** That point is not clear.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The point is that there were 106 members and in order to have a resolution effective, two-thirds majority was required. There were only 60 members present, which was much less than the two-thirds.

**Shri Punnoose :** Is that the reason why admission was refused?

**Shri Datar :** Yes, Not on account of untouchability at all. The hon. colleague of ours was refused admission on account of this technical or legal flaw, not on account of untouchability at all. (*Interruptions*). So far as the question of untouchability is concerned, the members of that Association do not believe in it.

So I have touched some of the very important points. I am confident that the good opinion that hon. Members have got so far as the activities of the Ministry are concerned would be confirmed also by the speeches that follow.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh (Inner Manipur) :** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am not going to cover many items mentioned in the Report. But I would particularly refer to the question of succession in the Manipur State.

Recently in Manipur State, the Maharaja died leaving four sons by four different wives. The Government of India temporarily or provisionally had given sanction to the appointment of the second son, that is, by the second Rani, Komolabati.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Is the name also very necessary?

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** Name is necessary.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The hon. Member can refer to the Rani, without mentioning the name.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** When the second son was provisionally appointed to the *gadi* of Manipur, there was a hue and cry throughout the State, because, on account of the cultural and social background of the Manipuris, on account of their age-old customs and religious beliefs, the palace deity Govindjee and the Maharaja were considered to be sacred and inviolable. If the Maharaja belongs to a lineage which is corrupt and dirty, he is not regarded as sacred. So this age-long belief of the Manipuris cannot be removed. They want that persons whose lineage is not corrupt nor dirty should be in the *gadi*. If such persons are appointed, the Manipuris will be satisfied.

Speaking for myself I am not interested in this business of appointing a Maharaja. I am entirely against the appointment of Maharajas. During the



last Budget session, I said on the floor of the House that privy purses should be abolished. These privy purses have become a form of corruption and the present dispute has arisen more or less because of the heavy amount of the privy purse to the tune of Rs. 3 lakhs a year. Some individuals enjoy a lion's share while the rest of the people are suffering. So we are against it. But the facts being as they are at the moment I have to deal with these matters on their own merits.

As I said, the Maharaja died leaving four sons by four different wives. Now, the choice has fallen to the second son, that is, the son of the second Rani, Komolabati.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I would make a specific request to the hon. Member to avoid mention of names.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** Now, there are three claimants to the *gadi* in the field. One is the eldest son, the second, the son of the second Rani, and the third, the son of the fourth Rani *Prima facie* the *gadi* should go to the first son to become the successor to the Maharaja has been denied. Now, the second son has been given the right of succession of the *gadi*. So agitation is going on. People all over the State are agitated over this. These people are staunch believers in religion, they are believers in their age-old customs and age-long system, and they resist any intrusion into such system.

Whenever I am dealing with this problem, I also crave the indulgence of the House. It may look to be a very simple thing. At the same time, this House has got very little knowledge of what is happening in that part of the country. So I would crave the indulgence of the Deputy-Speaker also because this is the only forum where we can ventilate our grievances and this is the only forum where we can discuss our problems because we have no legislature at all.

As I was saying, the *gadi* has been temporarily or provisionally given to the second son. The only objection to succession in the case of the first son was that he was born of a village girl and that the marriage was not formal. But the marriage was not within the prohibited degrees and was within the precincts of Hindu law. There were performed all the ceremonies connected with *karna bheda*, *upanayana* and *vivaha*

of the 1st son in the palace Mundhop with the consent, knowledge and permission of late Bodh Chandra Maharaja. He was, to all intents and purposes, to be recognised as the Maharaja. But his claim was rejected, the son of the second Rani has now been temporarily or provisionally made successor to the *gadi*.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Does the hon. Member want some decision in this House in respect of that? As regards these things, the hon. Member should talk to the hon. Minister and he might look into the matter. Now he is putting it to the House for a decision, as if this is the forum that can decide these matters. I should say it is not advisable to do so. So far as the Ministry is concerned, if any particular reference is to be made, he may make it briefly. But he should not take advantage of this opportunity to put something in order to get something from the Ministry. If he has any particular case about rajas and ranis, he can go to the Minister and get it decided.

4 P.M.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** In the Report of the Home Ministry the matter is not clearly stated. In the case of Dholpur State, the same position obtains there and the matter is going to be resolved by a Commission. I am driving my point towards the appointment of a Commission. Before coming to that point, let me revert to what I was talking about. The Maharaja had a second Rani, whose son was selected by the Home Ministry to succeed him. But this marriage between the Maharaja and the 2nd Rani was declared to be *ultra vires* and was not recognised and I may cite the resolution of the Darbar. The Darbar had the highest jurisdiction and necessary powers in those days. Though the marriage was recognised by the Maharaja, let me read out the resolution of the Darbar:

"Darbar Resolution No. 10 of 3-4-42. Marriage. 10. To consider Memo. No. P-XVI-IV dated 25-3-42, from the P.S. to H.H. forwarding copy of report under Pandit Loisang Memo. No. 14 of 25-3-42 regarding H.H.'s wishes to marry one girl, Srimati Waikhom Komolabati Devi.

The Darbar have the following comments to make :

[Shri L. Jogeswar Singh]

(1) The Maharaja should only marry girls who are held in respect and esteem by the public of Manipur.

(2) The Darbar are not willing to incur expenditure on account of second and other junior Ranis of the present and succeeding Maharajas and on account of their issues and families."

What is the background of the Darbar's decisions? We should go to the background; because the Rani was a beautiful artist and she was good in the art of dancing. And, moreover, the marriage was within the prohibited degrees, it was said.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I have twice requested the hon. Member that he should avoid it. What does the hon. Member want now? Does he require that the hon. Minister should intervene in those marriages and those issues? What has the Home Ministry to do? Let the House not be the forum for these. What is the hon. Member driving at?

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** I am coming to the point I am driving at. . . .

**Shri Datar :** Let him answer your question instead of reading further.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** What is the hon. Member driving at? What does the hon. Member want the Home Ministry to do? He should come to the point. I am afraid he will be lost in the Ranis and their issues. Already he has spent ten minutes and he has only five minutes left.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** I am coming to the conclusion. The question of custom is very clearly stated in the Manipur Merger Agreement, article No. 6. The Dominion Government has undertaken to guarantee the succession, according to law and custom, to the *gadi* of the state. I am simply pointing that the law and custom may sometimes be ignored by the Home Ministry.

**Shri Datar :** May I point out one thing to this House and to my hon. friend that so far as the succession to the Manipur *gadi* is concerned, that question is before the Ministry and a high judicial officer is going to be appointed to go into the whole question, and then the question of succession will be settled.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Will the judicial officer give an opportunity for the hon. Member to put his points before him?

**Shri Datar :** It is perfectly open to him to place his points.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** I am very glad to hear that, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The hon. Member may proceed to his second point.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** I am very glad that Government will appoint a Commission, like The Wanchoo Commission for Dholpur State, so that every section of the Manipur people will be satisfied on the question of the succession.

**Shri Datar :** That the Government does whenever there are any contests.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** Very good.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Let us have the second point. One point is conceded.

**Shri L. Jogeswar Singh :** The second point is about the administration of the Manipur State. We have seen two Home Ministers already—I am sorry to say this—but not a single Home Minister like Pandit Pant in his achievement so far as our State is concerned. Here was an age-long cycle tax. The annual income from cycle tax was Rs. 20,000, and the arrears of cycle tax amounted to about Rs. 2½ lakhs. Those arrears have been done away with by the Home Ministry. This tax has been unjustly levied for several years throughout the State though there were no municipalities and local boards in the State. I mentioned this is my last Budget speech, and the Government of India was pleased to abolish this tax in response to my pleas in this behalf. Now people are very glad at the fact that this levy has been removed.

Another point is with regard to the abolition of minor forest tax. This fell on poor villagers, the rural people, the tribal people, who have nothing to eat. People are very glad at the abolition of this tax.

Another point is this. The last Chief Commissioner had done nothing so far as removal of difficulties of political sufferers of Manipur was concerned.

Here, the Home Ministry has done it. The Ministry has sanctioned the grant of land to political sufferers.

Another point is that in Manipur, during the Maharaja's time, those ex-Government officers, who were candidates at elections, were debarred from getting their pensions. The Maharaja ruled that retired government officers, who contested elections, would not be allowed to receive their pensions. Now the Home Ministry has been pleased to sanction them their pensions. My difficulty is that the sanction has not been given with retrospective effect. If the Home Ministry passes a rule that the sanction will have retrospective effect, then those people will be very very glad.

Two more things are needed to complete the achievements of the Home Ministry in the case of Manipur. One is the democratic set-up. We have not found any mention of a democratic set-up in the States Reorganisation Bill, that has been circulated, but the Home Ministry will think over this matter so that there will be a democratic set-up in the future for this State, though at present I know this State has been kept separate. Another is a fair and reasonable solution of the dispute over the succession to the Manipur throne.

Regarding sales-tax, I do not find any reason why the annual taxable turnover limit cannot be raised. The annual taxable turnover in the case of Assam is only Rs. 7,500. In Manipur the annual taxable turnover is Rs. 5,000. The lower and middle class traders were badly affected by fixing it at Rs. 5,000. If this taxable turnover is raised to Rs. 7,500, people will not suffer much. A large number of people will benefit. I, therefore request the Home Minister to raise this limit.

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** After having heard Shri Datar speaking about the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, I am in a rather embarrassed position because he has got a very fine, tender, vibrating heart and the vibrations always are sweeter than the vibrations of others. For all these years, he has been in charge of this portfolio; he has been doing his best and thus earning the gratitude of these helpless and hapless people all over the country. The Harijans and Girijans are also fortunate in having Pantji as the Minister. He has already proved that he has a heart for these people by making certain changes in the Ministry and by asking the State Governments to spend more money on them.

With all that, I am afraid that the gravity of the situation has not been realised by the Government on the one hand and the nation on the other. Every time when this question of the amelioration of the conditions of the depressed and suppressed classes comes here, some Members, I am surprised, are in a very jeering mood; it is rather paining. A man who is not able to understand that Harijans require top priority is doing injustice to the citizenship conferred upon him. The history of the struggle of untouchables, how Mahatma Gandhi has joined hands with these Harijans, how Harijans were prevented from either revolting against the Hindu community or joining the reactionary forces against the freedom struggle—all these are matters of concern for the people who have got an iota of patriotism in them. Every time this question is brought here, Members rise and ask: "Why this question? This is the fundamental question. If India cannot solve this question, it does not deserve any place in the comity of nations."

Today we are speaking about the socialist pattern. We are speaking about the gospel of Panch Shila with other countries. If you are not able to realise the gravity of the situation, what right have you got to preach that to others? You talk of co-existence and socialist pattern of society but you are not able to feel the justice of the Scheduled Castes. That is the point which I wanted to bring home to the Members as well as to the nation at large.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Even in his zeal, he should address the Chair.

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** Always looking at you is rather not good. (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** That does not matter.

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** This is a national problem. It must be dealt with on a national basis. It is no question of a few Harijans or a few Girijans rising and talking about their grievances. It hurts my self-respect to rise here and say: "My community is suffering; please come to my rescue." It hurts every self-respecting Harijan. But, we have to do it. This is the deplorable situation in which we are speaking here and this must be appreciated by Members. That is why, I am trying to deal with this question on a very broad basis.

[Shri B. S. Murthy]

After all, Harijans can be divided into three categories. (*An Hon. Member:* What are these?) I can give you all the three categories and your own category is included in it. They are: those who are working on the fields, those who are working in the conservancy activities and those who are working as cobblers, tanners, etc. Here and there, there may be others who are weavers, mat-makers, rope-makers, etc. I am dividing them professionally. Government must understand that it must not only uplift them. Economic independence must be given to them. Anti-untouchability propaganda is not enough. There must be something else as far as their social uplift is concerned. Films of saints from these communities and warriors from these communities may also be exhibited in Melas so that people may know that so many saints are there from these communities. They will feel that, if these people have been produced from these communities, they should not be treated as untouchables. Something like that must also be done.

We must be thankful to the Central Government for giving any number of scholarships for the education of our children. Year after year, the grant is being increased. All the money that is being spent on the education of the children is an investment for the future consolidation of the country. That is a security. I may say that sufficient money must be spent to give opportunities for brilliant and bright scheduled Caste boys to go abroad and receive higher training in technology and other sciences.

About housing, the report says that there is some provision for providing houses to these people. In all the villages, Harijans have been segregated. As long as you continue keeping Harijans separate from the village proper, I do not think it is possible to remove untouchability. The poison of untouchability has gone into the very making of every Hindu and to extricate it you must do as much as possible. Therefore, the fundamental thing that should be done is the removal of *cheris*—Harijan hamlets—and you should bring them nearer to the village proper. It may not be just the centre of the village but it should be at least in a very healthy and sanitary place in the village. Houses must be built adjacent to the village.

In the Second Five Year Plan, 86,000 houses will be built according to the

Draft Outline. At the rate of 86,000 houses in five years I do not know how many centuries are required to tackle this problem. Therefore, I think this question must be tackled on a war basis. Once you remove the Harijans from their present habitation and bring them nearer to the village proper, I think you would have solved at least 50 or 60 per cent of the problem. This must, therefore, be attended to as early as possible.

The very sore question today which is agitating the minds of the young Harijans is about the injustice done to them in the question of services. I am glad that a member of the Scheduled Caste has been appointed as a member of the UPSC. But, this has to be done in the States as well. I think it is not wrong to appoint a Scheduled Caste man to take care of the question of employment as far as Scheduled Castes are concerned. In almost all the cases many of the boys are being rejected on the grounds of being not suitable. Today I referred a case to Sardar Swaran Singh. There were three seats reserved in the Horticultural Department for the post of Assistants. Only one Scheduled Caste boy from the north, who has got B.Sc. Degree in Agriculture and Horticulture, went before the officer concerned for interview. As far as we are concerned we think he is well built, he is nearly 6 feet tall and well qualified. That boy, with all his degrees and experience, was rejected as not suitable. I can point out a hundred cases like this. Therefore, I say that sufficient care must be taken to see that all the seats reserved to the Scheduled Castes are being filled up by candidates coming from that community. I can assure the Minister that today hundred of graduates are coming from the universities all over the country, sometimes securing second class and even first class. There are people who have even got doctorates in several subjects. At the same time, even the statutory bodies are ignoring this question of reservation. Therefore, sufficient care must be taken to see that statutory bodies like the Indian Airlines Corporation, Sindri Fertiliser Factory, Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, Port Commissioner's Office, Industrial Finance Corporation and State Banks also give effect to this rule of reservation.

Then there is another thing. A number of delegations are going out of this country.

**An Hon. Member :** And, B. S. Murthy.

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** Yes, B. S. Murthy is competent to go. I say, B. S. Murthy has gone in 1949 and has won laurels from there.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** There would have been no dispute if Shri B. S. Murthy had addressed me.

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** After all, when I am telling certain of the disadvantages, certain disabilities, hon. Members must appreciate them instead of saying: "B. S. Murthy". I am competent. I am prepared to enter into competition with any of the Members here in any walk of life.

**Shri Punnoose :** Physically?

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** Physically, morally, spiritually or educationally (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I do not dispute it, but the hon. Member should go on addressing the Chair.

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** Therefore, in conclusion I appeal to the Minister that sufficient care must be taken in seeing that, as far as possible, in the delegations that are sent out, really suitable Harijans are included. One minute more, Sir, . . . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Even after conclusion?

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** That was only part of my conclusion. I would like to ask the hon. Minister to see that annual conferences of workers of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be held so that discussions may be had and experience exchanged. This is being done only as far as the Tribal people are concerned. This is not done as far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned. In conferences like this the workers from all over the country, both Harijans and non-Harijans, can assemble and they can give their opinion and experience to the Minister to formulate new policies and new programmes. This is a suggestion, which, I hope, will receive the consent of the Minister.

I once again thank the Ministers, Pandit G. B. Pant and Shri Datar, for the interest they are taking in order to remove the sin of untouchability from this country of ours.

**Shri Punnoose :** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Minister, Shri Datar, has tried to explain some of the points that have been raised during this debate, but I am sorry to say that I cannot accept many of them. Certain criticisms he has not correctly understood and in certain other things he has white-washed the whole thing by partial explanation.

Sir, when he said about the change of atmosphere I was wondering how an intelligent man, a man of experience occupying a very responsible position in life, could be so misled. If he thinks that the atmosphere in the country has changed, the atmosphere in the public service has changed and that there is a new relation between the public service and the people, I may assure him that he is totally wrong. In fact, I desire very much that such a change comes, but though many things have happened, this particular change, which is so very much desired, has not yet happened.

The Home Ministry can do several things. But, it, can undo much more. The Home Ministry can create, but its destructive capacity is much more. The average man looks at the entire governmental picture through this Ministry, what it does and what it does not do.

Looking at it from that angle, that is a Ministry with its tooth and claw out, I am to ask the hon. Minister whether the people today are feeling that there is a new atmosphere in which their complaints, their grievances are heard, their rights are respected and justice given? My humble opinion is that the new outlook has not come. The Government of India is now forging ahead with statistics. In that particular line it has developed. Will the hon. Minister in his reply give the number of times repressive laws have been employed? Will he say how many times section 144 has been employed in India, how many times lathi charges have been ordered and how many times our people have been fired upon? Our Prime Minister very often argues: "Is there a country in the whole world where people go about shouting slogans like this, where there are satyagrahas springing up as if from the pocket?" May I argue back: "Is there any country in the world outside the colonial orbit where firing is resorted to so easily against citizens as in this free country of India?" This is something beyond parties. This is something which does credit to none of us.

[Shri Punnoose]

Once, in this House, you might remember, Sir, the previous incumbent of this position Dr. Katju, while he was speaking went on repeating: "law and order", "law and order" and so on. The Prime Minister in his speech on Preventive Detention said: "I have developed a distaste for this law and order business. Do not repeat it." The next day or so, Dr. Katju was again on his legs. He went on as usual and said: "law and order", but turning to his left he saw the Prime Minister and immediately corrected himself by saying: "peace and tranquillity". This is what has happened: change in words, but the actual thing has remained the same. It may be a little distasteful, but I believe that the doings of the Home Ministry are today more prominently seen on the Naga Hills than in this House. Sir, every day we see in the papers,—and even yesterday the press reported,—that more armed forces are sent over to the Naga Hills, that the Nagas are being successfully hunted and that these violent people are being faced with a defeat. I do not agree with the violence that is being employed there by certain sections of the people, there no one here supports the demand for an independent Naga State. But I want the Minister to explain what difference there is between our approach, the approach of our Government and the approach of the British Government towards such a question. They also used to tackle such questions with arms. The present Government is doing the same.

On two occasions in this House it has been stated that for two reasons this Government is not prepared to open negotiations with the Nagas: firstly, that they should surrender their arms, because this Government is a non-violent Government and it cannot brook violence, and secondly, we will not negotiate over the head of the Assam Government. The attitude with regard to violence, I believe is not statesmanlike.

**Shri Sinhasan Singh:** What do you suggest then?

**Shri Punnoose:** Please listen first. After all, they are a tribal people, simplefolk, from time immemorial resorting to weapons. It is not against this Government alone that they have taken it. Our Government when dealing with the Portuguese in Goa is held up by considerations of non-violence. But they do not have the same attitude

towards the Nagas. Instead of approaching them in the present manner, instead of asking them to surrender arms, please negotiate with them and make them understand things. Show towards them a temperament and an attitude which they can appreciate. Then, Sir, the quarrel of the Nagas is not towards the Indian Government. It is mainly towards the Assam Government.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Does the hon. Member know what exactly are their minimum demands? Separation from India.

**Shri Punnoose:** My hon. friend Mr. Thomas is absolutely wrong, because he believes whatever the papers publish. Of course, there is a section of Nagas who believe in independence. But the vast majority does not. We must take them into our confidence, we must negotiate with them and must be able to convince them that to remain with us is better for them. If you are going to deal with the Nagas with arms, simple folk they are, but very proud people, you will have to exterminate them. And will it go to our credit? It will get us into all sorts of complications. Our case everywhere, in the international sphere also, will become weak if we continue this policy.

Therefore, I would request the Government not to stand on any niceties, niceties of our Constitution which the Nagas do not know or understand. It is better to settle the matter with them and bring about a conciliation between them and the Assam Government. This will be in the best interests of India as a whole and of the Nagas particularly.

My hon. friend Mr. Venkataraman a short while ago congratulated the Government over the careful use of the Preventive Detention Act. Government very often says that they have used it only on very rare occasions. If it is used so rarely, then the question naturally arises why should you keep this ugly duckling in your nest? Throw it away, if it is very scarcely used. Then, it means that it is not wanted. Shri Venkataraman was wrong when he said that it is not being used against workers. In fact, it is mainly used against the toiling sections, against sections that want to redress their grievances, whether it is workers in Bombay docks, or Nagpur textile mills or Kanpur factories. When they come up with their demands, when they agitate, this weapon is used. It is also handy to be used against persons

who preach linguistic redistribution of States. I do not say that everyone of the people who have been arrested is innocent. But this law is being used mainly against those who want their grievances redressed.

Here is a case in which one Mr. Tattier Hussain has been given an order of detention by the District Magistrate of Burdwan. The charges against him are that "you are a discharged employee of the Sheet Mill of the Indian Iron and Steel Company, Burnpur and the General Secretary of the Action Committee of Burnpur"—all these are offences for which he is kept under detention—and that "in order to realise some fancied demands of workers you carried on agitation". The Magistrate decides that they were fancied demands. But, as a matter of fact, the workers who had been thrown out were reinstated afterwards and their cases have been referred to a court of arbitration. In fact, this action amounts to a contempt of court. Still it is said, "You with the support of some leftist organisations tried to spread discontent and disaffection amongst the workers". Against the constituted Government of India—or against the management, I want to know; disaffection against whom?

And here I have a bunch of cases, three of them, all against workers of Burnpur. And the use of the Preventive Detention Act is mainly against those who want to have their grievances redressed. Therefore it is no good saying that we are using it only in exceptional cases. Whenever it is used it is used against the people who fight for their rights.

With regard to the selection of officers, Government say that they have got the U.P.S.C. But the U.P.S.C. itself has pointed out the defects and it has criticised the Government in its successive reports. Shri Datar wanted to explain that these temporary people are kept because it is absolutely essential, there are certain temporary posts which may be there only for the time being, therefore we cannot recruit people permanently and so on. Then he said that there may be certain departments themselves which may have to be dissolved afterwards. But the U. P. S. C. has pointed out that there is something very unfair about this recruitment; that is, when people are recruited for these posts and when these persons sit for competitive examinations, they have a better chance and the newcomers are at

a disadvantage. This has been pointed out by the U. P. S. C. But still, on a large scale they have been recruited. I have figures here. In certain sections there are only temporary people and nobody confirmed. Such entertainment of large numbers of people affects the morale of public service and is also a disadvantage to the other people coming in.

Then, with regard to the superannuated officers kept in service I would like to know how it solves the problem. Shri Datar said that there are some people who are absolutely essential. But there is Nature which is more powerful than any Minister. If Nature operates, what will happen? If you want a cadre for a particular job, you must take in somebody now and train him and make him fit for that post instead of keeping superannuated men. But the thing is that the U.P.S.C. also is coming in for public criticism today. The public believes that there are so many underhand dealings going on. There are Ministers who entertain people on an *ad hoc* basis. I have got here the cases of several people; two are in my hand. But I do not want to read their names. They were in a particular Ministry; they were sent to the U.P.S.C.; the U.P.S.C., rejected them; then they were sent to another Ministry. These two officers were taken into the Economic Wing of the Finance Ministry. Then, Sir, they were placed in a higher office. Afterwards the very people who were recruited by the U.P.S.C. at the original selection were superseded by these people. There are so many cases. If it is desired, I shall give the whole thing to the Minister here. The impression is that the U.P.S.C. is only a show to a certain extent to cover up what the Ministers and departmental heads are doing. For example, from the Travancore-Cochin State, after integration, some people were taken to the I. A. S. and I.P.S. With regard to the I.A.S. selections, there is something peculiar. All the I.A.S. candidates except one were Private Secretaries to one or the other of the Congress Ministers. With regard to the I.P.S., there are officers about whom there were vociferous charges from the public during the Dewan regime. They have found shelter and encouragement at the hands of the Congress.

I shall conclude with a remark about the T. C. State. Shri Raghavachari was not correct when he said that anybody suggested that there were conditions

[Shri Punnoose]

exemplary for a stable government there. Nobody argued like that. That is not our case at all. From 1951 onwards up to this day, there was no time when there was the possibility of a stable government in that State. After the 1951 elections, the Congress Party came out with 45 seats out of 118. There was no possibility of a stable government. Still a government came into being. It was recognised by the States Ministry. That ministry was defeated because the T.T.N.C. which was a part of that ministry deflected. Then, there were fresh elections. In the re-elections, Congress secured 45 seats out of 118. Then again there was no chance of a stable government. Still the P.S.P. with 18 members came into power with the help of the Congress. The Rajpramukh permitted it and the States Ministry got the approval. Then, the P.S.P. Ministry was thrown out. Again, the Congress Party with 45 seats, in company with the T.T.N.C. whose deflection was the cause of the fall of the original Government, and re-election formed the Government. The only complaint is this. The Government of India and its representative the Rajpramukh have two standards, one standard when they want to rope in the Congress directly or indirectly into power and another standard whenever the opposition parties want to form a Government. When the Congress Ministry was thrown out in 1954, the Opposition Leaders declared in the House, they were taking steps to form a Government. That very night the Rajpramukh declared the House dissolved. This time he kept it on for some time. But, the indications are that from above he was asked to dissolve the House. It will go down in the annals of history that the Congress Members from my State in this House stood up and applauded the imposition of President's rule. I may assure them that our people will not forget that on the day of judgment.

**Shri Achuthan (Cranganur)**: It was inevitable in the circumstances: that is what was said.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: The hon. Member is stating things leading to controversies. His time is up.

**Shri Punnoose**: I am stopping. I am told that the hon. Home Minister tried to keep the balance for some days and was reluctant to suspend the Constitution. But, the Congress Members from the State can

claim to their credit that they joined together and persuaded him to take over our State at a juncture when it was very important for us that we should have a democratic Government.

**Shri Raghubir Sahai**: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I thank you very much for having called me at last. As is well known this Ministry deals with a variety of items. I have no intention to traverse over many of them. But, I certainly intend to offer a few observations with regard to one or two points.

My hon. friend Shri Mohanlal Sak-sena, this morning, drew the attention of the hon. Home Minister and his Ministry towards the policy decision regarding political sufferers. Well, I agree that that decision has been made after prolonged deliberations. But it is a very painful decision, because in that decision it has been said that political sufferers will not be given any relief out of public funds except in some exceptional cases. I am not going to deal with this question at length as my friend has already done, but I will simply submit that if this policy decision is going to remain as it is, then it will have a very adverse effect upon several States. Only recently in Uttar Pradesh the Government has been pleased to invite applications from political sufferers and I understand that applications have been pouring in and they are being entertained by the Government. Now, in what form that relief is going to be given we do not know, but there are many deserving cases in which some relief should be given in the shape of money. If this policy decision remains, the Uttar Pradesh Government can take a very deliberate consideration, then is the policy of the Central Government which has been arrived at after a very deliberate consideration, then they should think hundred times before going contrary to it. So, in all fairness I say that this policy should be revised and should be reconsidered. It is well known that there are many political sufferers who have virtually laid down their lives in the cause of the country. All their life they have suffered and now either on account of physical disability or on account of absence of members in their families who can support them or on account of old age they would be in need of some financial support from the Government. I wish having regard to all these circumstances and facts this policy is reconsidered by the Home Ministry.



I listened to the remarks made by the hon. Minister regarding the I.A.S. and I.P.S. I wish all the encomiums that have been paid by our able and learned Minister could be fully applied to all these products of the I.A.S. and I.P.S. All my life I have been a severe critic of the services, but not an uncharitable critic. I could say that the present I.A.S. and I.P.S. do not come up to the mark and they are not fulfilling our expectations. Despite our prejudices against the I.C.S. I could very well say that they had certainly established some traditions of service, devotion, punctuality and sense of duty. I feel that the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. who are no doubt in their infancy have still to create such traditions. In our districts we come across, in the shape of the District Magistrate, an I.A.S. man, not now the I.C.S., but from what I see they are not giving a good account of themselves. Either they have passed through the training school here in Delhi or they are promoted P.C.S. people who have been made I.A.S. I feel that they do not possess the requisite mentality to work in the present atmosphere. They have not got the idea that they are working for a welfare State. They have not got any grounding in the Five-Year Plan, and they have got no faith in any of our plans, whether it be the First Five-Year Plan or the Second Five-Year Plan. I am pained to find successive district magistrates who have never seen a volume of the Five-Year Plan. They do not know what that book is.

I am really glad to know that lately this item has been introduced in the curriculum of the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. But mere inclusion of that in the curriculum would not do. Greater stress should be laid on the fact that the principles contained in those volumes should be imbibed by these young men, because it is not the routine work that is being done all this time by the existing I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers that is important, but the important thing is that they have to spread the new spirit of the Five-Year Plan into the districts. If that spirit is lacking, I can very well tell Shri Datar, the expectations that we form of our services will not have been fulfilled.

In the report of the Ministry, I came across an agreement that has been signed by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and the Government of

India, whereby a financial grant of something like Rs. 242 lakhs is to be paid to the Jammu and Kashmir State from the year 1954 onwards, and gradually that amount is to increase to Rs. 250 lakhs. I am glad that a grant has been made to the Jammu and Kashmir State. I wish that more money should go towards the development of Jammu and Kashmir State. Only a few months back, some of us had the privilege of going to Kashmir. We could see there with our own eyes the development work that was going on in that State, and we could come to the conclusion that all the policies enunciated in regard to the Jammu and Kashmir State by the Government of India stand fully vindicated, because the people there are grateful, the people there are contented, and they are also happy that they have got associations with India.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to one particular matter. I wish that the amount of money that is given to Jammu and Kashmir may be increased. But how it is spent should be supervised by us. I wish that the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India should be in a position to supervise the expenditure of at least that money that we give to Jammu and Kashmir for its development. Just as the audit reports are placed on the Table of the House for our information, with regard to the funds that are disbursed in this country, likewise, the audit reports about what we have given to Jammu and Kashmir and how it has been spent should also be placed before us.

I am very glad to know that in this school of I.A.S. and I.P.S. only recently some youngmen from Jammu and Kashmir were also admitted. Now the I.A.S. and I.P.S. services have been thrown open to youngmen from Jammu and Kashmir also. But I wish that for the efficient government of Jammu and Kashmir, it is very necessary that some of our very senior and experienced officers should be sent there on deputation. They should stay there so that by their association, the services there may take some lessons. Some senior officers from Jammu and Kashmir should also be sent to India on deputation.

In this Report which has been supplied to us, I find that the Central Government have lent aid to different States

[Shri Raghubir Sahai]

like U. P., Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat in the shape of special police to meet the dacoit menace. It was very good of the Central Government to have lent that aid. But I am really surprised that the U. P. Government should have stood in need of police aid from the Central Government. From what I know, I feel that U. P. was in a position in previous years to lend police forces to other States, wherever such aid was required. Now, when I began to study this question, I find that the strength of the police there is low compared to the strength of the police in Bombay, although our population is over 6 crores and that of Bombay is only a little over 3 crores. This matter was also discussed in the Police Organisation Commission Report which was issued in 1948. There also it was suggested that the police strength was too low. I am surprised that the police strength today is still lower than it was in 1947-48.

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

**Shri Raghubir Sahai:** I am coming to an end.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I only want the speech to come to an end.

**Shri Raghubir Sahai:** So far as this strength goes, I know that every State has got autonomy. I only wish that the Central Government would point out to the U. P. Government that the strength of its police should be increased. Then there are a number of police officials in Delhi who have come from U. P. They have got a grievance, a very sound and valid grievance, that a certain police officer hailing from the Punjab, who is not so qualified and who has got a shady record, has been given indiscriminate promotion.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** What is this matter about the Punjab Sir?

**Shri Raghubir Sahai:** I do not wish to point out any particular name. But I do wish that the hon. Minister will look into the case and remove the legitimate grievance of U. P. Police officials here.

5 P.M.

श्री जांगरे: उपाध्याय महोदय, मुझे खुशी है कि देश में पिछले दो तीन वर्षों से अमन व शान्ति स्थापित होती जा रही है और जनता को जो १९४७-४८ में गृह मंत्रालय से शिकायत थी

वह शिकायत अब दूर होती जा रही है। हमारे भाई जो विरोधी पार्टियों से ताल्लुक रखते हैं, वे पहले प्रिवेंटिव डिस्टेंशन एक्ट के सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ कहा करते थे पर गत दो वर्षों से हम देख रहे हैं कि इस एक्ट का भी बहुत ज्यादा इस्तेमाल नहीं किया गया है। इस से तथा देश में जो शान्ति और व्यवस्था कायम है उससे यही पता चलता है कि गृह मंत्रालय अपना कार्य कुशलता पूर्वक कर रहा है।

जहां तक न्याय का सवाल है हम बहुत पहले से ही यह मांग करते आ रहे हैं कि इसे एग्जिक्यूटिव से अलग कर दिया जाए। हम यह कहते आए हैं कि ज्युडिशरी को एग्जिक्यूटिव से अलग कर दिया जाये। हम ने बहुत से राज्यों में देखा है कि अभी तक भी न्यायालयों को एग्जिक्यूटिव से अलग नहीं किया गया है। यही हालत मध्य प्रदेश में है, यही यु० पी० में है और यही दूसरे राज्यों में है। इसको अलग न करने से कैसिस के फैसले करने में बहुत देरी लगती है। इसलिये जितनी जल्दी से जल्दी हम ज्युडिशरी को एग्जिक्यूटिव से अलग कर दें उतना ही अच्छा होगा।

हम ने यह भी देखा है कि दीवानी अदालतों में जिनमें व्यावहारिक न्यायालय भी कहा जाता है, तथा फौजदारी न्यायालयों में जो न्याय है वह बहुत देर से दिया जाता है। कई कई मुकदमों तो ऐसे हैं जिनके फैसले १५-१५ और २०-२० साल तक भी नहीं होते हैं। इसका क्या कारण है इसको मैं नहीं समझ पाया हूँ। मैं नहीं समझ पाया कि वे कौन सी ऐसी प्रणालियाँ हैं जिन के कारण हाईकोर्ट में भी यह मुकदमे १५-१५ साल तक पड़े रहते हैं। जब कैसिस का फैसला होने में इतनी देर लग जाती है तो इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि "डिले डिफीट्स दी जस्टिस"। इस तरह से किस प्रकार हम यह आशा कर सकते हैं कि हमें न्याय मिलेगा। आपने सिविल प्रोसीजर कोड में जो संशोधन किए हैं या करना चाहते हैं, उनको मैंने पढ़ा है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि उनसे हमारे जो ग्रीवेंसिस हैं, हमारी जो तकलीफें हैं वे किसी भी तरह कम होने वाली नहीं हैं।

मैंने यह भी देखा है कि प्रदासलें कई बार बहुत ही लीनियेंट ब्यू लेती हैं, बहुत ही उदारता से काम लेती हैं जिसका नतीजा

यह होता है कि जो भी हम कानून बनाते हैं, जो भी अधिनियम हम बनाते हैं, उनका जो उद्देश होता है वह पूरा नहीं होता है। मैंने कई प्रोहिबिशन के केस देखे हैं जिन केसिस में कि बहुत ही लीनियेंट व्यू लिया गया है। अगर एक आदमी २० पीपे शराब लेकर जाता हुआ पकड़ा जाता है तो उन पीपों को सील करने में २००, ४०० या हजारों रूपया खर्च करना पड़ता है लेकिन अपराधी को केवल दो रूपया बतौर जुर्माने के सजा हो जाती है। ऐसी सूरत में गवर्नमेंट की जो प्रोहिबिशन पालिसी है वह कैसे सफल हो सकती है। मैं बन्बई की बात नहीं करता हूँ। वहाँ के बारे में मैं बहुत कुछ नहीं जानता हूँ। लेकिन दूसरी जगहों में मैंने इस चीज को देखा है और मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ सरकार ऐसे मामलों में सख्त कदम उठाये और अपराधियों को डिटरेंट पनिशमेंट दिलाने का प्रयत्न करे। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो जो कानून भी हम बनायेंगे वह बेकार हो जायगा। इस लिये हमें चाहिये कि हम ऐसे कानून बनायें जिनमें कि मिनिभम पनिशमेंट प्रेसक्राइबड हो। न्यायालयों में केसिस का फेसला करने में जो डीले होती है उस डीले को भी दूर करने का हमें प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। मैंने देखा है कि मर्डर के केसिस कम होने के बजाय बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। मैं आपको अपने जिले की बात बतलाता हूँ की अब जब की शांति और व्यवस्था कायम हो गई है तो भी १९४८-४९ के मुकाबले में जो मर्डर के केसिस हैं वे बढ़ते ही जा रहे हैं। इतना ही नहीं मैंने यह भी देखा है कि इन केसिस में ९९ परसेंट अपराधी छूट जाते हैं। यह चीज मरी समझ नहीं आई कि यह अपराधी छूट कैसे जाते हैं। जो केसिस के डिसाईड करने में देर लगती है उसके बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि हाई कोर्टस आटोनोमस हैं और उनके काम में हम हस्तक्षेप नहीं कर सकते। सुप्रीम कोर्ट भी इंडिपेंडेंट बाडी है और उसके काम में भी हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन ये दोनों आती तो सरकार के आधीन हैं। वे भी एक तरह से सरकार के ही एक भ्रंग हैं। सरकार के तीन भ्रंग हैं, पार्लियामेंट, एग्जैक्टिव और ज्यूडिशरी। हमें चाहिये कि इन सब में जहाँ कहीं भी कोई डिफेक्ट है, उसे हम दूर करें। यह जो केसिस को डिसाईड करने में डील दी जाती है। और यह जो लीनियेंट व्यू लिया जाता है इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि अराजकता की भावना बढ़ती जा रही है। हमें सोचना है

कि हम इस अराजकता की भावना को कैसे दूर करें और फिर सोच विचार कर इसे दूर करने के प्रयत्न हमें करने चाहिये।

जहाँ तक नौकरियों का सवाल है, रेलवे जो है वह गृह मंत्रालय के पूल में नहीं आता है। बाकी जितने भी मंत्रालय हैं वे सब इसके पूल में आते हैं। रेलवे में जो कंडिशन आफ सर्विस हैं जो प्रमोशन रूल्स हैं जो रिट्रैक्टमेंट रूल्स हैं वे डिफरेंट हैं। अभी माननीय मंत्री जी ने कहा कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के मातहत १५ लाख एम्प्लायीज हैं जिनमें से तकरीबन साठे दस लाख केवल रेलवे मंत्रालय के आधीन हैं और वे किसी तरह से भी होम मिनिस्ट्री के पूल के अंदर नहीं आते हैं। इस तरह से केवल साठे चार लाख एम्प्लायीज ही गृह-मंत्रालय के आधीन आते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ये सारे ही इस मंत्रालय के आधीन आ जाए और इन सब की कंडिशन आफ सर्विस में, प्रमोशन रूल्स में और रिट्रैक्टमेंट रूल्स में एक रूपता आ जाए।

पिछले साल मैंने कहा था कि आप हर साल अनुसूचित आदिम जातियों की अन्युएल कान्फरेंस करने हैं। लेकिन क्या कारण है कि आप शोडयूल्ड कास्टस और बैकवर्ड क्लासिस को भी इसमें शामिल नहीं करते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन तीनों की एक कान्फरेंस हर साल सेमी गवर्नमेंट लेवल पर किया करें जिसमें सभी स्टेट गवर्नमेंटस के मंत्रालयों के प्रतिनिधि और गवर्नमेंट और सभी गवर्नमेंट अर्गनाजेंशंस के प्रतिनिधि भाग लिया करें। ये लोग आपस में विचार विमर्श कर सकते हैं और अपनी कठिनाइयाँ और अपने अनुभव एक दूसरे को बतला सकते हैं। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो हरिजनों के लिए सारे हिंदुस्तान में एक सी नीति अपनाई जा सकती है। ऐसा न करने से हरिजन और बैकवर्ड क्लासिस की क्या हालत है इसको दूसरे नहीं जान पाते हैं। मेरे विचार में अगर एक ऐसी कान्फरेंस आप बुलाया करें तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा और आपका खर्चा भी कोई ज्यादा नहीं होगा। इससे आपके प्रति लोगों का विश्वास बढ़ेगा और हम हिंदुस्थान में एक यूनिफाईड पार्लिसी हरिजनों के लिये, बैकवर्ड क्लासिस के लिये और शोडयूल्ड ट्राईब्स के लिये चालू कर सकेंगे।

मैंने अपने भाषण में पहले भी एक बार कहा था कि शोडयूल्ड कास्टस का जो सबजेक्ट है उसे कनकरेंट लिस्ट में होना चाहिए न कि स्टेट

## [श्री जांगड़े]

लिस्ट में। जो स्टेट्स हैं वे हरिजनों के प्रति उदासीनता बरतती हैं। हम जानते हैं कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट सच्चे दिल से हरिजनों की उन्नति चाहती हैं। लेकिन बहुत सी स्टेट्स ऐसी हैं जहां पर इन लोगों की ओर कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। बहुत सी स्टेट्स में तो मंत्रियों का रवैया इन लोगों के प्रति ऐसा रहा है जिससे कि इन लोगों को आगे बढ़ने में और उन्नति करने में बाधाओं का सामना करना पड़ा है। कांग्रेस के प्रति लोगों का विश्वास बनाये रखने के लिये यह चीज आवश्यक है कि इसे कनकरेंट लिस्ट में रखा जाए और कोई ऐसी पाबर्स अपने हाथ में लेली जाए जिनका उपयोग, अगर कोई स्टेट गवर्नमेंट इनके प्रति उदासीनता बरते, तो उनके खिलाफ किया जा सके।

मैंने यह भी देखा है कि आपने द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में हरिजनों के लिये ६० करोड़ रूपया रखा है जिसमें से कोई ४५ करोड़ रूपया सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट देगी। हम यह समझते हैं कि हरिजनों की उन्नति के लिए आपने जो रकम रखी है, वह बहुत कम है और इसको बढ़ाया जाए। इस रकम को हम नगण्य मानते हैं। यहां पर छआछत की बात की जाती है। मेरा विश्वास है कि जिस प्रकार से आज विज्ञान ने प्रगति की है और जिस तरह शहरों का विकास होता जा रहा है और जिस तरह से संसार का चक्र चल रहा है कोई किलना भी प्रयत्न क्यों न कर छआछत को जड़मूल से नष्ट होने से रोक नहीं सकता है। जितनी देर तक हमारे सवर्ण भाई इसे कायम रखेंगे उतना ही उन्हें भी और हरिजनों को भी नुकसान होगा। हरिजनों में अपने राईट्स को हासिल करने के लिए ज्वाला भड़क उठी है और वे अपने अधिकारों को प्राप्त करके ही रहेंगे और वे अब चूप नहीं बैठने वाले हैं। अगर हिंदुओं के दिलों के दरवाजे हरिजनों के लिए खुल जाते हैं तो फिर मंदिर चाहे हरिजनों के लिए खुलें या न खुलें हमें कोई परवा नहीं है। इस वास्ते मैं चाहता हूँ कि हरिजनों की उन्नति के लिए और ज्यादा रकम द्वितीय पंच वर्षीय योजना में रखी जाए।

लड़कियों की शिक्षा के संबंध में अब मुझे कुछ कहना है। क्रिसचियंस की जो लड़कियां हैं उनके बारे में तो मैं कुछ नहीं कहता। लेकिन हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की जो

लड़कियां हैं उनमें शिक्षा का बहुत अभाव है। हरिजनों में पढी लिखी लड़कियों की तादाद एक परसेंट भी नहीं है, यह ०.१ परसेंट है। चार जमायत पास कर लेना कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है। इतनी पढी लिखी लड़कियों को मैं अनपढ़ लड़कियों के बराबर समझता हूँ। आजकल हमारे एजुकेशनल स्टैंडर्ड्स इतने गिर गये हैं कि एक मैट्रिक पास लड़का या लड़की यह भी नहीं जानता या जानती है कि हमारा प्राइम मिनिस्टर कौन है और हमारा प्रेसिडेंट कौन है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि लड़कियों की शिक्षा की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाए और उनकी सैकंडरी स्टेज तक की एजुकेशन के लिये हम रूपये की व्यवस्था करें। अगर हम ने ऐसा किया तो ही हम लड़कियों को एजुकेट करने में सहायक हो सकेंगे ...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may slow down his speech; it is difficult for the reporters to take down.

**Shri Jangde:** That is my habit.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That habit also has to be adjusted according to the circumstances.

**Shri Jangde:** I have to cover so many points; the time is so limited.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He must realise that, even if he covers them, if they cannot be taken down by the reporters, of what use would they be?

**श्री जांगड़े:** अभी हमारे श्री रघुबीर सहाय जी ने कहा था कि आई० सी० एस० आफिसर्स और आई० पी० एस० आफिसर्स आजकल की परिस्थितियों के अनुसार नहीं चल रहे हैं। मैं ने भी इस बात को अनुभव किया है। मैं ने देखा है कि बहुत से अच्छे अच्छे उम्मीदवार जो कि आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० कि लिखित परीक्षाओं में ६० प्रति शत और ७५ प्रतिशत नम्बर प्राप्त करते हैं, वे वाइवा बोसी की परीक्षा में पास नहीं होते। मालूम नहीं कि उन आई० सी० एस० और आई० पी० एस० आफिसरों की क्या मेंटेलिटी होती है, जो कि वाइवा बोसी परीक्षा लेते हैं, कि वे ऐसे अच्छे उम्मीदवारों को भी पास नहीं करते। न मालूम

उनको उनकी गांधी टोपी पसन्द नहीं आती या उनकी घोती पसन्द नहीं आती, या वे उम्मीदवार बौने होते हैं इसलिए उनको नहीं लिया जाता। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय में अब इन अफसरों की एटीट्यूड बदलनी चाहिए। उनको सादगी को खराब निगाह से नहीं देखना चाहिए और सादगी के कारण किसी उम्मीदवार को नकसान नहीं पहुंचाना चाहिए।

मुझे इस बात का व्यक्तिगत अनुभव है कि अगर कोई आदमी किसी एम० पी० या एम० एल० ए० से पत्र लिखाकर किसी आई० पी० एस० आफिसर के पास ले जाता है तो वह उस पत्र को फ्राड कर फ्रैंक देता है और कहता है कि तुम पत्र क्यों लिखाकर लाये हो, हम यहां किस लिये बैठे हैं। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि जनता अफसरों के पास जाने में डरती है क्योंकि लोग जानते हैं उनकी सुनवाई नहीं होगी और अगर कोई जाता है तो उसको इस प्रकार डांट दिया जाता है और जो उसका असल ग्रीवांस होता है उसको रिट्रेस नहीं किया जाता।

इसके अतिरिक्त मुझे एक बात और कहनी है। नई योजना के अनुसार बहुत से राज्य ए० स्टेट्स में विलीन हो जायेंगे। इन राज्यों में हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की हालत खराब है। उदाहरण के लिए मध्यप्रदेश का बहुत बड़ा प्रदेश बन जायेगा। उसमें हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की बहलता रहेगी और वहां पर बस्तर का एक ऐसा इलाका है कि जहां पर अभी भी लोग बल्कल यानी पेड़ों की छाल पहनते हैं। वहां पर नेफ्रा की बात कही जाती है और नागा हिल्स की बात कही जाती है। पर बस्तर का भी बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है और यदि प्रगति की यही हालत रही तो ५० साल में भी वहां कोई बड़ा अन्तर नहीं आवेगा और जो हालत आज है वैसी ही हालत रहेगी। जब तक केन्द्रीय सरकार ऐसे इलाकों की और स्वयं ध्यान नहीं देगी उनकी उन्नति नहीं होगी। इस लिए मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार नये मध्यप्रदेश में ऐसे इलाकों की और विशेष रूप से ध्यान दे।

जो छुआछूत का कानून बना उसको केन्द्रीय सरकार ने बड़ी सद्भावना से पास किया। लेकिन उस पर ठीक से अमल नहीं हो रहा है। यह कानून एक जून से फोर्स में आया। मैंने भगस्त या सितम्बर में यह जानने के लिए कि

इस कानून पर कैसा अमल हो रहा है, अपने जिले के अफसरों के सामने कुछ छुआछूत के मामले पेश किये। पर मुझे से जिला जज और डी० एस० पी० ने कहा कि उनको नहीं मालूम कि कोई इस तरह का कानून पास हुआ है। अभी सन् १९५६ में मध्यप्रदेश के दुग जिले में मैंने कुछ छुआछूत के मामलों की रिपोर्ट करायी तो वहां के डी० एस० पी० ने कहा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तान भर के लिए यह कानून पास किया होगा पर दुग के लिए नहीं किया होगा। मुझे यह देखकर बड़ा दुःख हुआ। मैंने गृह मंत्री जी को भी इसकी सूचना दी। उन्होंने मुझे आश्वासन भी दिया लेकिन अभी तक बहुत से जिलों में यह कानून अमल में नहीं लाया जा रहा है।

अब मैं अपनी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे यहां कुछ लोग कम्युनल हेटेरेड फैला रहे हैं। इसका फल यह हुआ है कि मेरे जिले में एक साल में हरिजनों और सर्वर्ण हिन्दुओं के बीच पांच पांच मर्डर हुए हैं। वहां के डी० एस० पी० को इसकी सूचना दी और मैंने गृह मंत्री जी को भी यह बात बतायी थी। पर कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया गया जिससे लोगों में डर की भावना बढ़ती जा रही है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन तफ्तीशों को बहुत जल्द दूर किया जाये।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Shri Rishang Keishing.

**Shri Boovaraghassamy (Perambalur) :** No Tamilnad member has been given an opportunity.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I have called Shri Rishang Keishing.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi (Nellore) :** May I make a suggestion? Although the hon. Speaker invites names of persons who wish to speak on each Ministry, prepares a list and announces them, I would suggest another step to be taken, that the lists may as well be put on the notice board, so that hon. Members might know whether they have an opportunity to speak or not.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** I realise that several hon. Members have been put to discomfort, and some of them have

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

been disappointed as well. There may be many important Members among them, though in the eyes of the Chair everybody is equal. But I am sorry for that state of affairs. I shall consult the hon. Speaker as to what can be done in that respect. I do realise the difficulty of Members and have full sympathy with those Members, but I cannot help them in the circumstances, because the time is limited and within that time, only a limited number of Members can be accommodated. Hon. Members themselves will appreciate that it is not possible to accommodate all of them. So, the hon. Speaker exercised his discretion, and chose such Members as had not spoken before, or had certain interests to represent, or should be given some preference. In the selection, the back-benchers were also taken into consideration.

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

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** The House should now listen to Shri Rishang Keishing.

**Shri Boovaraghasamy :** A chance should be given at least to those Members whose States have not been represented in the debate so far.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

**Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur—Reserved—Scheduled Tribes) :** Sir, I want to deal with the problems of the Naga Hills. We are reading every day distressing news in the newspapers about the unfortunate state of affairs in the Naga Hills. I would like to place before the House. . .

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi :** I was mentioning to the hon. the Deputy Speaker that since you prepare lists of Members who will be taking part in the debate, such lists as you have made out, might either be published, or read out in the House early in the debate, or put on the notice board, so that hon. Members may know where they are, and whether they will get a chance.

**Mr. Speaker :** I shall explain the position to hon. Members. Even though it may take a couple of minutes, it does not matter, because it will remove any misunderstanding.

I get a number of chits, as many as thirty or forty. Just as I receive them, I go on noting the names of Members one after another. I have got a sepa-

rate list, which I prepare *ad hoc*. Some hon. Members give their names in advance. Now, with respect to the parties, or groups, they say that this Member will be our spokesman. I mark that this man must be called. In such cases, I put down the name of more than one Member, so that I may call them,—time permitting—in order of preference. So far as the Congress Party is concerned, the order in which their Members should be called is also indicated. With the experience that I have in the House, I know which Member of the other party or group will be able to answer the points made by the previous speaker. He may come from the same place. This is how I prepare the list *ad hoc*. It is not as if it is prepared at home or in my chamber.

The other day I gave out four or five names. I called them in order, because I did not want to take them by surprise. After all we can accommodate only ten or fifteen Members in the course of a debate and if I were to read all their names at all the others will go away and there would not be any quorum. Therefore, I make it a point to read the names in instalments four or five at a time. If the hon. Member is prepared to give me a guarantee about quorum, I have no objection to read all the names. I know who is likely to contribute to the discussion in a debate. Some of them may be from the front benches, some from the middle benches and some from the back benches, some according to the various States and some according to the interests. All these factors have to be taken into consideration, and above all the level of the debate in the House has to be maintained. In fact, I find this a very trying business. I have found it easier to speak on the floor of the House than to sit here and decide the priority of speakers.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi :** I am not unaware of the difficulties of the Chair at all. But it will be appreciated that hon. Members who have no chance to speak might as well spend some of their time in the library and read something useful to them. That opportunity is denied as long as they do not know whether they will get a chance to speak or not.

**Mr. Speaker :** With all respect to the hon. Member I would like to say this. I have been in this House for twenty or twenty-five years. I have always

found that I have learnt more by not speaking than by speaking. On every subject I would come prepared, sit here, and find out the various views expressed by hon. Members. If today, along with the hon. the Home Minister, I sit here throughout, I am able to understand any subject no subject is new to me. If I sit from ten minutes before the House starts till fifteen minutes after the House disperses, I will be sitting fixed to my seat—I am not speaking myself—so much so that it is an education for every hon. Member. A number of people shed their light upon this. They come prepared. One hon. Member referred to reading books. What does he do with respect to books which cannot speak—unless he himself gets into them? I am surprised that with all the experience he says that there is no education here. If a Member sits here regularly, at the end of a year he will know every important subject that goes on. Every Member is denying himself the pleasure and the benefit of the advantage and goes out and chats in the hall. I would request hon. Members to advise others not to lose this precious opportunity of educating themselves here. If, in spite of that, they do so, they do it at their own risk.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor):** It is very wise words that have fallen from your lips, and it is true that a good deal of education can be obtained here. . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not having a general debate on this. I am to regulate the debate. Shri Rishang Keishing.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** The only point is this. I know that your task is very difficult.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have called Shri Rishang Keishing.

I am prepared to receive any suggestions regarding the manner in which I should call Members. If it is the general sense of the House that only those Members who are to be called may be here and the others will not be in the House, I have no objection. I will close this chapter. But it is very wrong. I am not going to allow any discussion on this. I shall be sitting inside the chamber and I will invite Member after Member—the chamber is part of the House—and then I will decide about the procedure. But let no

one be under the impression that every Member has a right to speak on every subject. I know of hon. Members who have not had an occasion.

**Shri Rishang Keishing.**

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** Sir, I was saying that I would like to place a few facts as to how the Naga National Council originated the present movement in Naga Hills. Many of the Members of this House must be aware of the ten year agreement. There was an agreement arrived at between the then Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari and the late Chief Minister of Assam Shri Gopi Nath Bordoloi and the Naga National Council. I have got a copy of that agreement with me. And as I study it, the demand of the Naga National Council was never for full independence as they are demanding today. It was for a sort of maximum autonomy within the framework of the Constitution of India. That is how I understand it.

Here, I have no time to read all the points contained in the agreement. There are ten points. But I would like to read one or two points. Here are some:

**"Land.**—That land with all its resources in the Naga Hills should not be alienated to a non-Naga without the consent of the Naga National Council.

**Boundaries.**—That the present administrative divisions should be modified so as:

(1) to bring back into the Naga Hills district all the forests transferred to Sibsagar and Nowgong districts in the past;

(2) to bring under one unified administrative unit as far as possible all Nagas; all the areas so included would be within the scope of the present proposed agreement. No areas should be transferred out of the Naga Hills district without the consent of the Naga National Council."

And then, the last one:

**"Period of Agreement.**—The Governor of Assam as the agent of the Government of Indian Union

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

will have a special responsibility for a period of 10 years to ensure the due observance of this Agreement. At the end of this period the Naga National Council would be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period, or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people."

The agreement was signed by T. Aliba Imti, Secretary, Naga National Council, who is now, I think, an A.P.O. in the N.E.F.A. area and the late Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam and the late Gopinath Bordoloi, the Chief Minister of Assam. This was the agreement. From this agreement, as I said, it is seen that the demand was not complete Secession from India. This agreement was arrived at in May, 1947.

With the coming of the new Constitution, this agreement was dishonoured. Therefore, some of the leaders, the extremists in the Naga National Council took advantage of that and started this movement for complete Secession. Some of the speeches and statements of some of the leaders of this country also, in a way, encouraged the Naga National Council in starting such a movement. *The Hindusthan Standard* published this news on 30-11-49. It said:

"His Excellency the Governor-General of India, Shri C. Rajagopalachari received the "Spear of Peace" from representatives of Naga tribes. A section of the tribes expressed their fear that the new Constitution did not give them the same autonomy as they had been enjoying hitherto and would not, therefore, be acceptable to them as it would jeopardise their rights to land. They were eager to be friends of India, but they could not give up their lands."

"His Excellency, who gave the deputation a quiet hearing, replied that the Government of India also wanted to be friendly with them. They did not want to deprive them of their lands. They were at full liberty to do as they liked either to become part of India or be separated, if they felt it would be best in their interest to be

isolated and that he would convey their fears to the Government of India."

This was published in the *Hindusthan Standard* on 30-11-49. This was never contradicted. The Nagas take their stand on such utterances.

Again in 1953, the ex-President of the Congress Party in Assam Shri B. Chaliha went to the Naga hills and an agreement was arrived at between Mr. T. Sakhrie, the then Gen. Secretary of Naga National Council, who was killed recently by the Naga terrorists and himself (Chaliha). The agreement was:

"That there should be no bloodshed is recognised.

1. That the present *impasse* in Naga land should be resolved.

2. That the differences should be settled amicably and peacefully by negotiations.

3. It being understood that the negotiations will take place if the Congress Party accept to discuss the Naga independence issue.

4. If the Naga leaders be agreeable to come to negotiations it will be the effort of the President of the A.P.C.C. with the help of his organisation to move the proper authorities to create favourable conditions so that the leaders may participate."

These are some of the irresponsible statements or agreements made by some of the leaders of this country. These definitely have given a handle to those people who are anxious for secession from this country.

Apart from this, the Naga National Council also met Mahatma Gandhi. They were said to have been assured but, I have no knowledge about it.

Regarding the popularity of the Naga National Council, so far, there is no other political party in the Naga hills. Whether it is for good or evil, somehow it became a popular organisation in the Naga hills. A plebiscite was taken and almost cent per cent. of the Nagas voted for independence. When the Prime Minister visited the Naga Hills, his meeting was boycotted.



There were so many other things. So, the Naga National Council was apparently popular in the Naga Hills.

Government should have taken up the problem in a proper manner. I blame the Government of Assam also. They are responsible to a great extent for misrepresenting the case. Shri Mehdi, the Chief Minister of Assam, often says that it is a handful of people who are supporting this party. And then he says, "Very soon the representatives of the Nagas will take a seat in the Assembly." He also said that a large portion of the Nagas were giving full co-operation to the development projects and all that.

Then, when Shri Dhebar, the Congress President, visited the Naga Hills, the Nagas wanted to see him but it was sabotaged. The Congress Party of Assam arranged it but at the last moment it was rejected. Then, the Naga National Council sent a telegram to the Prime Minister for an interview some time in May last year and I understand it was accepted by the Prime Minister, but the reply from the Prime Minister was perhaps kept back by some of the officers and the day the interview was to take place it was handed to the Council so that it failed. They said: "Had we been allowed to meet Shri Dhebar and the Prime Minister, this present problem would not have occurred." That is what they are saying.

I am not for a moment supporting the Naga National Council, but what I am saying is that it has not been properly handled. A proper approach, has not been made at a popular level. The people are ignorant. Up till now the interviews have been confined between the Prime Minister and some of the leaders of this country on the one hand and Shri Phizo on the other. Therefore, Shri Phizo might have given all sorts of wrong informations about the interviews to those Nagas who do not get the opportunity to meet the leaders and the people of this country. Therefore I say that it has not been done at a popular level, and the actions of some of the people have helped to accelerate it indirectly. Perhaps they did not deliberately do it, but it was indirectly encouraged.

So, please view this situation with all seriousness. It will not be true that all Nagas are supporting this movement. I have met quite a number of

well-educated Nagas who were once members of the N.N.C. Some of them are now in the Government Service. None of them are in favour of the demand for complete independence. But they are not willing to come out to form a party as a rival to Phizo's party because they have a deep-seated grievance against the local Government. Some of them said: "Let them carry on. We are not joining the movement. We are not going to be treated well even though we form a rival political party. If they can achieve something, that is well and good." That is what they are saying. Therefore, I humbly request the hon. Home Minister and the Prime Minister and the Government of this country to look at this problem from the national angle. Please do not allow those local authorities, the petty leaders, to tackle this matter, because it is a very serious problem, and if we try to tackle it from the narrow and local angle, we will not easily find the solution. I think we are wasting a lot of precious life in the Naga Hills. Every day we are reading in the newspapers that so many police and so many Nagas have been killed, so many houses have been burnt. Many people are made homeless and those terrorists, hiding in the jungle are creating havoc. As I said, they will surely come round if a proper approach is made. Because they have committed some acts of violence and dacoity I do not think the Government of India will try to annihilate them or entirely kill them. After all, they are our countrymen. They have done very bad things, it is true. I appeal to my Naga brethren to give up acts of violence. Why should we brothers and sisters kill each other? Why kill our own countrymen? It is bad. It is really very bad and inhuman act and they should give it up. To claim complete independence is something impossible. I take it to be as impossible as a man trying to push down the Himalayas. Therefore, do not demand this impossible thing. If you take up a reasonable attitude, I am sure the Government of India will agree. I would also appeal to the Government of India not to allow the military to do whatever they like. I repeat what I suggested last time. Immediately issue an appeal to the extremist Nagas to surrender. I am sure many will respond. Those people living in the villages but their hearts are with the extremists will respond and many among the people underground will also

'Shri Rishang Keishing]

come out. They know that their wives and children and family members are homeless and they have nothing to eat. So, they want to come out and help. I would appeal to the Home Minister to consider this proposal and give them an amnesty. They will surely respond. After all, if there is a solution, why should we kill one another like that? Why should we indulge in killing like that? Law and order should be maintained. If there is a solution, let us at once try it to shorten the present period of tension in the Naga Hills.

Lastly, I would suggest that the Naga Hills problem can be solved, only if the Tuensang division and the Naga Hills district are put under one administration. I had urged this point in the course of my speech on the debate on the SRC report also, and I repeat that today because under the agreement, it was accepted that all the areas that were transferred and taken away from the Naga Hills should be brought back and kept under one administration with Naga Hills. I think it is their remaining separate that comes in the way of solving the Naga problem. Therefore, steps should be taken immediately. The local government may be displeased, but I think, in the interests of humanity, in the interests of the country and in the interests of particularly this little tribe which will be extinct if proper steps are not taken, we should bring about a settlement as soon as possible, and I think the people will respond. I would request the Home Minister to consider this proposition.

I want to mention something about Manipur also. In Manipur, a serious thing is happening. Apart from the bad administration, corruption and lack of sympathy towards the local population there are a number of other grievances. I have no time to refer to all these matters, but I could give them to the Home Minister if he is prepared to go through them. There is an Extension of Forest Act in the hill areas. And here, serious charges have been made against me. I wrote to the Prime Minister not to extend this Act into the hill areas, before terrace cultivation is introduced, before roads are made, and before sufficient steps are taken to remove the grievances and sufferings of the people. He made an enquiry, and on the basis of the reply that he has received from the Chief Commissioner, he has written:

"It is also incorrect that the entire hill areas of the State of Manipur belong to the tribal people as distinct from the Government."

I never say that this area belongs to the tribal people exclusively. All the tribals, are Indians and they are certainly under the Government of India. I am here in the Parliament as an Indian. India is my country. How can I say that my area exclusively belongs to the tribal people because this will amount to a demand for another Independent State. I think this is a challenge to my loyalty to the country.

I would like the Home Minister, if he has got any report from the Chief Commissioner, to place it on the Table of the House. I do not want that my loyalty should be challenged by anybody or by any officer there. And here is the letter. This letter came to me unfortunately. It should have gone to somebody else, but it came to me. Among others it is mentioned in the letter: 'A personal letter to Shri Rishang is being sent on the basis of the reply received from Mr. P. C. Mathew.' Why should he challenge my loyalty? Why should he give such a false information to Government so that the Ministers and the Government of India might look at me with suspicious eyes?

This is a serious thing. I would like to see the contents of the letter, from Mr. Mathew, the Chief Commissioner of Manipur, if my loyalty is challenged. I think he should prove it, and I should try to clarify my stand. I do not want that any of my countrymen should look at me or talk to me with suspicion. I want the disloyal Naga Hills people to follow us. I am doing my utmost to serve the interest of the country but unfortunately; some officers are there who are trying to push me into the camp of disloyal Nagas. I refuse to be pushed into their camp. I take that letter of the Chief Commissioner of Manipur to the Prime Minister or the Home Minister with all seriousness. This point should be clarified, and the officers who are trying to push every loyal person of that part of the country to the enemies' camp should be brought to book. Sufficient action should be taken against such offenders.

Regarding forest Act, I should like to mention that the Extension of Forest Act into the hill areas is causing immense hardship. I do not say that forest Reserve should not be extended, but I say, that should be extended in a limited form. Before extending this Act, Government should provide some alternative form of cultivation to the people. At present, *jooming* or shifting cultivation is done through out the hill areas. Terrace cultivation should be started. But up till now, not a patch of area has been reclaimed where terrace cultivation has been introduced. The work of road construction has been so slow. It is said that that work is almost at a standstill because there is no proper technical personnel available. And here you are trying to take away their land. Land is the main means of livelihood for them. I therefore feel justified in asking the Home Minister as well as the Prime Minister to take necessary measures to see that these things are not done indiscriminately and without proper consideration of local conditions.

I would like to mention one other thing. The Tamenglong area is facing starvation. I wrote to the Home Minister, and I was very pleased to see his reply. As soon as I received the information from Manipur about the acute scarcity of food in Tamenglong. I collected from some hon. Members of this House a few chips, about Rs. 300 or so, and sent it to them as relief measure. Now, the local officers, and the Chief Commissioner, are angry with the people of Tamenglong for accepting the money. They said, "How can they accept money from Rishang? For what purpose has he given this money?" I want to know why the Chief Commissioner should always be so suspicious about my action. Is it proper? Is it a crime to give some relief to these people who are suffering from starvation?

**Shri Algu Rai Shastri :** (Azamgarh Distt.—East-cum-Ballia Distt.—West):  
Not at all.

**Shri Rishang Keishing :** The local officers are unnecessarily creating all sorts of troubles. I want the Home Minister to take note of that also. With this Rs. 300, we bought a few maunds of rice and sent it to the distressed people. Now they are told: 'You people have accepted money from Rishang', as if I am untouchable, the untouchability which we are going to abolish! This sort of 'divide and rule' should be stopped. These are British tactics. I regret to say that the Chief Commissioner who is a trained I.C.S. officer, is trained in this method of 'divide and rule' that the Britishers used to practise in this country. This should be stopped.

I have many things more to say, but for want of time I have to conclude. I would only request the hon. Home Minister to consider the points I have placed before the House and take necessary action.

**Mr. Speaker :** The hon. Home Minister will reply tomorrow.

Before the House adjourns, I have to make an announcement. I find from the lists and various chits that have been sent to me that a number of hon. Members wanted to take part in the discussion of the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Home Affairs, but did not have the opportunity to do so. I shall certainly allow opportunity to all those hon. Members who did not speak on these Demands for Grants. If the necessity arises and they want to speak regarding this matter, I will give them opportunity to do so when we discuss the Finance Bill. They may reserve what all they want to say regarding this for that occasion. I shall certainly give them the opportunity. I do want as many hon. Members as possible, if not all the hon. Members, to shed their individual light upon the deliberations of this House. It pains me awfully to restrict the time, but time cannot be extended indefinitely.

5-44 P.M.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Thursday, the 12th April, 1956.*