

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

thing would have been to allow the adoption either of a son or a daughter. Let the people choose whom to adopt. In the presence of the son or a daughter, no other child shall be adopted. To say that the daughter may be adopted or a son may be adopted or both may be adopted and putting restrictions also as in sub-clauses (i) and (2) of clause 11 is not correct. Let the adoptive father or mother choose whether it ought to be a son or a daughter. A provision to this effect would be more reasonable.

**Shrimati Sushama Sen:** I support Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's point that the daughter's son and daughter's daughter should be included. The Minister, I hope, will kindly accept that suggestion.

**Shri Pataskar:** So far as the present provisions in sub-clauses (i) and (ii) are concerned, they are consistent with our present ideas. I think they are also correct and realistic. Even considered from all the points of view that have been put forth, I think the present provision is wholesome. There is no question of the lack of equality between man and woman. So far as the daughters are concerned, they stand on an equal footing, and there is very little difference between the son's son and daughter's son, in this context. I think a compromise has been made between all these claims in clause 11. We have tried not only to be logical but at the same time realistic in view of the existing conditions. Therefore, I do not think there is any change is called for in clause 11.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

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for lines 14 to 21, substitute:

“(i) the adoptive father or mother by whom the adoption is made must not have a Hindu son's son, son's son's son, daughter or son's daughter (whether by legitimate blood relationship

or by adoption) living at the time of adoption;”

The motion was negatived  
**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

“That clause 11 stand part of the Bill”.

The motion was adopted.

Clause 11 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 12 to 30 were then added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

**Shri Pataskar:** I beg to move:

“That the Bill be passed”.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

“That the Bill be passed”.

The motion was adopted.

#### COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

##### SIXTY-SIXTH REPORT

16 hrs.

**Shri Nageshwar Prasad Sinha** (Hazaribagh East): I beg to move:

“That this House agrees with the Sixty-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 12th December, 1956”.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

“That this House agrees with the Sixty-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 12th December, 1956”.

The motion was adopted.

#### RESOLUTION RE SCHOLARSHIPS FOR CHILDREN OF POLITICAL SUFFERERS—Contd.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now resume further discussion of the Resolution moved by Dr. Ram

Subhag Singh on the 30th November, 1956, re: Scholarships for children of political sufferers.

Out of 2½ hours allotted for the discussion of the Resolution, 7 minutes have already been taken up and 2 hours and 23 minutes are left for its further discussion today.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh may continue his speech.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh** (Sahabad South): I was saying the other day something about the persons who had supported the British Government for their continuance in India. They may belong to any party today, but at that time they organised different kinds of movements such as the movement of the Anti-national Party, War Fronts and so on, and helped the British Government. Some persons had joined the British Government as servicemen; others joined the Armed Forces; some became I.C.S. officers and so on. Those who helped the British rule got adequate rewards and when the British withdrew they got a guarantee from the successor Government for the security of those officers. The moment the British Government left the country, a vacuum was created and they got double promotion. Some of them might not have got that promotion had not the British left the country at that time. In that way they got themselves entrenched into the Government and today it has not been possible in few cases to get their order changed. I have known there are some Ministers also among them. It is very regrettable and I am mentioning this because.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Even though the Member may feel like that, it is not necessary that it should be said here.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** It is necessary in another way, because the persons who had participated in the independence movement and actively worked for it have been neglected. According to me, this is one of the reasons why they have been neglected. They have been neglected because the Government machinery is

largely controlled by persons who do not know how to help them. For instance, the persons in the Government machinery stay in Delhi or other headquarters where there are beautiful buildings, public schools etc. So, merit scholarships are now given only to the students going to public schools and not to the students who go to other schools, like basic schools. Therefore, the point which I mentioned a little earlier is relevant.

I shall say something about the persons who had actively participated in the independence movement. They may belong to any party today. At that time, some of them were hanged for various reasons. I categorise them as follows: persons who were hanged for political activities; persons who were shot at or who died inside or outside the jail, persons who were imprisoned in any of the political movements between 1905 to 1942; persons whose houses were burnt or damaged and property confiscated in any of the political movements; persons who were dismissed from service during those movements and are now helpless; and, persons who had joined the I.N.A. and are now unemployed. I am telling all this because today I accidentally met a person who had saved the lives of several persons, some of whom are today Deputy Ministers here. This is regarding one Shri Kewal Krishan Jasalmair, a promising young man. A certificate was given to that gentleman by Shri Jagdev Singh, who was Joint Secretary of the All-India I.N.A. Enquiry and Relief Committee, the Chairman of which was our revered Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. I will read that certificate:

This young man is from Punjab.

"He rendered conspicuous service to the I.N.A. by handing over at personal risk, the top secret files of the then British Government to the renowned lawyer Bhulabhai Desai, who was defending the cause of the I.N.A. heroes. The courage and the sacrifice of this young man brought to light the whole secret

[Dr. Ram Subhag Singh]

of the vindictiveness of the British against the I.N.A. and they were completely non-plussed at the time, for which he had to suffer. The help rendered by this young man made the task of defending I.N.A. heroes more easier for the defence council. He shares the credit of saving many precious lives of the I.N.A. patriots from the gallows. The loyalty of this young man to this country is great."

But today that man came to me. I feel ashamed to mention it, but I am doing so because some of the persons whom he saved from the gallows are Deputy Ministers now—Shri Shahnawaz Khan and Shri J. K. Bhonsle. He came to our Party Office and requested me to send him to some doctor for his eye examination. He is perhaps not having any means of livelihood at present. What will be the fate of his children? He is having no means to send his children to school. I do not know whether he is having any children or not.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He has no children.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** ...but there may be hundreds and thousands of persons like him who might not belong to the I.N.A., but who might have actively participated in the Congress movements of 1920, 1930 or 1942 and so on. They may not be having any means to send their children to the school. This young man, Shri Kewal Krishan Jasalmair, has received another letter also and he has been sent to some other authorities for employment. I do not know what will happen to him. I am not quite sure whether he will be provided with employment or not.

I moved this resolution, because I want to draw the attention of the House and the country to the facts which have been deliberately ignored. It may be said that it is not possible to find out all the political sufferers. It may also be said that it is administratively very difficult. It may be said

that we are not having funds. All these arguments are weak, because, if the Government can prepare the rolls of thousands and thousands of Government servants, if they can prepare the rolls of thousands and thousands of refugees, the list of political sufferers also can be easily prepared. If there is no person in the Government competent to do it, they can entrust it to you or anybody else who can do it. About finance also, you know that there are so many building programmes going on. We may curtail some of the expenditure there; we can stop the big hotels that are being constructed and provide Rs. 10 lakhs or Rs. 20 lakhs or even Rs. 1 crore for for this purpose. To me, it appears, if there is a will, the finances or lists or other things are immaterial and they can easily be arranged. So far as I notice, I notice with extreme regret that the Government have no desire that this should be done and therefore, I have moved this Resolution.

In other countries, it is not the case. Here persons who have joined our armed forces are given all facilities. Wherever a Government township is set up, either in Bhakra Nangal or Damodar Valley, immediately, a school is established there. If there is a desire, Government can easily arrange for the education of only such political sufferers who have not got any source of livelihood today. There are persons who are employed or who are having adequate sources of livelihood, I do not want that they should be included in the list.

For example, in China where I hear equalities have been restored, when the land settlement programme was going on, they made an exception in case of the workers of the Communist Party simply to honour them. Those workers have surrendered their lands themselves. But the fact is that they did make certain exceptions to these people. Here also we should set an example in the case of persons who have saved the lives of two of our precious colleagues here, and

hundreds of other persons who might have been sent to the gallows by the British Government. In America also, all the persons who have returned from the war get these facilities. In our country, we are giving pensions to those who joined the Army in 1942. We get them settled somewhere. Our Defence Minister said that. The Soldiers Boards and other organisations come to their help. It is good that they are being helped. It do not want any discrimination to be made against any of our citizens. But, I do desire that their bare necessities must be provided to all the persons who had worked in our freedom movement. If we do not do that, all sorts of fissiparous tendencies which are raising their ugly heads will grow. If we give room to a situation where love of the country and work for the country is not given special honour, we may create a situation where all anti-national forces will dominate. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister, particularly the hon. Deputy Minister who is here, the Janata Minister Dr. M. M. Das and our revered Maulana Azad. Because under his Presidentship, we all went to jail—I do not mean me,—others—and all persons sacrificed everything. He continued to be President for four or five years. He made history and we are all proud of his leadership. Today he is the Education Minister. He has provided various kinds of scholarships to different categories of students. It is all good. Because, in a welfare State we must give scholarships and we must give opportunities to all the down trodden sections of our society. If we do not give these facilities to them, it will be very difficult.

Similarly, persons who had participated in the movement and who are not having any means of livelihood, should be given the benefits of such scholarships. Funds should be created for that purpose so that the family members of these persons may realise that even after nine or ten years of freedom, here is a Government which stands for the people, which is ready

to honour the martyrs, to honour Shri Bhagat Singh and Subhash Chandra Bose, or whoever has laid down his life for the sake of the country. Otherwise, some of them—I do not know everybody; I know some—are thinking that it is bad to participate in such movements. This is a very dangerous tendency. No Government or no individual who has any love for the country should allow that sort of a tendency to grow in the country. I am thankful to the Government for doing something to the poorer people. The Government must do something for these people also. Their children who are suffering all sorts of hardships should be given adequate facilities. There may not be more than 50,000 or 60,000 such children in the entire country. To give Rs. 30 or 40 by way of scholarships won't cost more than Rs. 20 or 25 lakhs. We are spending crores of rupees on one or two buildings. We may stop that programme and give these scholarships for 5 years or 10 years. In ten years, all these children will get a fair education. The Government should also see that they are absorbed somewhere. I refer to this because in absorbing such people, some difficulty is created. We must make it a point that persons who had participated in the freedom movement are given a fair deal. They should not be neglected. I believe that the Government will see the sense of this Resolution and accept it, the idea contained in it. I hope the Government will also provide enough funds for implementing the idea contained in this Resolution. With these words, I commend the Resolution for the acceptance of the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that the Government should award scholarships to the children of such political sufferers in the country as have not got adequate source of income for their education."

There are amendments. May I know if they are being moved?

**Shri Thanu Pillai** (Tirunelveli): I beg to move:

"That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that the Central Government should give to the political sufferers, who had participated in the freedom movement, their dependants and descendants who are in need, all assistances on similar terms and conditions and for such period as is being given to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes."

**Shri Raghur Sahai** (Etah Distt.—North East cum Budaun Distt.—East): I beg to move:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted:

"Having regard to the very deplorable financial condition of most of the political sufferers in the country, the Government in the opinion of this House, should not only make provision for imparting education free to the children from primary to the university stage, but also award scholarships in suitable cases."

**Pandit D. N. Tiwary** (Saran South): I beg to move:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted:

"This House is of opinion that a Committee be set up to enquire into the condition of Political Sufferers and to suggest ways and means to help their dependents".

श्री भक्त दर्शन (जिला गढ़वाल पूर्व व जिला मुरादाबाद उत्तर पूर्व) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने संशोधन संख्या ५ और ७ प्रस्तुत करता हूँ

(1) That after the words "political sufferers" the following be inserted:

"of all categories."

(2) That after the word "education" the following be added:

"and should make education free for all of them at least up to the Higher Secondary stage."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Ramachandra Reddi is not here.

**Shri Ram Das** (Hoshiarpur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That before the word "education" the following be inserted:

"professional, scientific and technical".

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The Resolution as well as the amendments are now before the House for discussion.

We have about two hours. May I know the time that would be required by the hon. Minister?

**The Deputy-Minister of Education** (Dr. M. M. Das): Fifteen minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have got nine names here. Perhaps there may be others who may like to speak but who have not given their names. (Some Hon. Members stood up.) That is, six besides the nine. Would the hon. Members like me to put a limit of ten minutes?

**Some Hon. Members:** Ten to fifteen minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then I would be able to accommodate only 6 members. Ten minutes should suffice normally.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** (Calcutta North East): Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which has been moved by my friend Dr. Ram Subhag Singh and I do hope that the Government will be in a position to accept it, and if it becomes necessary to alter the language of the Resolution, I am sure a great deal of assistance could be had from some of the amendments which are also being discussed in this House at the moment. I do feel that on a subject of this description, the House should express its unanimous vote.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh has rightly pointed out that there is, in our country a tendency to forget the genuine political sufferers of the anti-imperialist period. Perhaps the trappings of office require people of a different

type, but that should not mean that we should ignore those who suffered the greatest in the cause of the freedom of our country. I say this because those who joined the struggle for India's freedom were necessarily compelled to neglect their family and the result has been that many of them today are ignored particularly because perhaps out of self-respect they do not always wish to cultivate the persons in authority. And I submit that it should be the duty of Government on the advice of public organisations to find out these political sufferers and not wait for applications to be made by them, applications which I am sure many of them find to be out of tune with their sense of self-respect.

I have had the rather doleful experience of having encountered a number of refugees in West Bengal who were connected for a very long time with the freedom movement since the early days, and I know how I was driven so to speak from pillar to post with their petitions for assistance which I forwarded to the Minister of Rehabilitation and even to the Prime Minister. Then I was told by the Minister of Rehabilitation that the West Bengal Government could perhaps help them, but he was under some technical disability of some sort or the other. I discovered altogether that in the case of these very deserving people, assistance was not forthcoming, and some rather gratuitous technical objections were being raised.

I have noticed also that certain efforts had been under Government auspices to assist political sufferers, but there again the choice has been made in a particular fashion, and discrimination has been practised against certain people. I am very happy that Dr. Ram Subhag Singh has pointed out that it is important that political sufferers, irrespective of their party affiliation when they were taking part in the fight for freedom, should be

assisted. In this resolution he wants educational assistance, but in certain other amendments it is suggested that other kinds of assistance should also be offered to them. The main point is that there are these political sufferers in fairly large numbers and what Government has done so far—I cannot deny that Government has done anything at all in this matter, Government has tried to do something—has been by no means enough, and discrimination has definitely been practised. Not merely these who are in the good books of the present day authorities should be sought to be assisted, but others besides who have played a part in the national fight should be given every reasonable facility.

Talking of this point, I am reminded of what I was told by a member of Government whom I shall not name, who told me that in one of our States—as a matter of fact it was Mysore—there was somebody who was assisted to a certain extent by the State Government on the ground of his having been a political sufferer, but then later when it was discovered by the bureaucrats in power that he happened to be a Communist by conviction, that assistance was withdrawn. This kind of discrimination is actually practised. I know for example in West Bengal there is a definite ban on those who are either Communists or near-Communists but who have taken part for decades in the national movement. I say this because I wish to tell this House how in my party, the Communist Party, there are people who have suffered for years and years in the cause of national freedom. I may tell you that at our last party congress in Palghat we had 407 delegates and we took account and it was discovered that the total number of years spent in jail by all the delegates came to 1,344 years and 2½ months, the average period spent in jail by each delegate working out to three years and four months. Part

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of it may be in the present period after 1947, but the major part of this long period spent in jail was in the British regime. One of them, for example, Shri Ganesh Ghosh was in the Chittagong armoury raid and he has spent altogether 24 years in jail.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** He was not in fact a Communist. He has become a Communist afterwards.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** These figures were collected and published. They were sent out to the press.

I wish also to say that we have in our movement people like Baba Gurmukh Singh of the Punjab who spent about 19 years underground. These 19 years underground were spent not obviously in the present period, but in the period of the fight against imperialism. Here is my leader Shri Gopalan who has spent more than twelve years in jail, and most of that time was spent in jail in the British period. I do not want to give further examples, but the point is that in the period of the fight for freedom so many of us were in that fight and people suffered and their families were neglected and today it is only up to Government to do something about it. And Dr. Ram Subhag Singh has brought forward a very moderately-worded resolution. He only suggests that Government should adopt ways and means in order to assist those people who have suffered in the fight for freedom. That is, after all they do not ask for the moon, they do not ask for pecuniary compensation for their effort, but they do at least deserve some kind of recognition, they do at least deserve to be told by the country that after all their services are remembered, that after all when they suffered for the sake of the country's freedom they were not going to be ignored altogether, they were not going to be treated with indifference, and that Government, when it claims to be a national Government, has a responsibility, a very definite liability to make provision for

educational and other purposes for members of the families of those political sufferers who find it very difficult to carry on under present day conditions.

I therefore feel that this is a matter on which all of us are agreed and it is for Government to come forward and say that Government is ready. If there is some difficulty, Government should at least be in a position to come forward and tell us that Government is ready to work out a scheme so that assistance, educational and otherwise, can be given to the families of political sufferers of all categories without distinction who participated in the fight for the freedom of our country.

**Shri Thanu Pillai:** I fully endorse this resolution of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, but it does not go far enough. My amendment is the outcome of the limited nature of the original resolution which does not cover all aspects of the question of political sufferers.

The question should have been taken up as the first act of the first Parliament of India, but now we have come to the end, and it is perhaps the last resolution of this Parliament. If we pass this resolution we will be giving a mandate to the next Parliament to take it up as its first act to do justice which we have failed to do so far.

When we talk about political sufferers, somebody who does not know what is suffering, somebody who had nothing to do with the political movement or independence movement, not inside this house but outside, sometimes passes some lighthearted remark which is so painful. These people who now occupy positions look down upon the political sufferer because he is the most downtrodden man today. I would like to remind the House of the movement and how the people suffered. Not that we do not know, but we have forgotten, we will have to remind ourselves.

When the call came from the Father

of the Nation, whatever might have been their walks of life, those that were attracted by the call, lawyers, traders, students, artisans, labourers, workers and all kinds of people joined the movement. It was not a particular community or caste that had joined the movement, but people from all communities. Mostly, they came from the middle class. Today, the middle classes are normally the most hard hit, and the political sufferers who come from the middle classes are the worst hit.

When these people joined the movement, what did they want? They did not think of political sufferers' aids. Somebody asked, 'were they given this assurance?'. Certainly not; they were not given that assurance: Who was there to give that assurance? Their only objective was the fight for freedom. The independence of the country was the only objective; that was the only reward which the freedom fighters wanted. But when that reward came in 1947 and the whole picture changed. The political sufferer has been left in a position where he finds that people who opposed the movement, who were police informants, and who suppressed the movement, are enjoying the benefits of independence, while he himself remains a mere passive onlooker. The onlookers of the movement, who were standing by the side, not to support it but to oppose it, are enjoying all the benefits. So, if these people who have sacrificed their all are not cared for naturally, they have got a right to get irritated. Even then, they did not fight very much for the last nine or ten years. But, now, you see rumblings here and there; political sufferers go on fast for nothing, because they are not cared for. In the beginning, there was some fervour. Some medals were given to these heroes of the freedom movement. But some of them have been in such abject poverty that they have had to pledge their medals for their existence. On the contrary, the people who belonged to the rich few, who opposed the move-

ment, who advised their kith and kin not to join the movement by saying that it was all foolish and so on, went on hoarding money, and educating their children. The students who ridiculed their friends who joined the movement passed examinations and went into power, while the students who left the colleges and sacrificed all their wealth and went to jail have come out only to find out their whole family is left in the lurch, whereas the families of the other students are all very well-placed.

Further, in the new set-up, many developments are taking place, and many new social reforms and improvements are taking place. All that goes to a particular category of people, either in the name of cast or community.

Then, some hon Member had pointed out that Part IV of the Constitution containing the Directive Principles of State Policy was intended mainly for the Scheduled Castes and the backward people. Now, why was the Constitution so drafted? The Scheduled Castes and the backward people had been socially oppressed for hundreds of years, and they could not come up by themselves. So, our national government thought, and rightly so, that aid should be given to the people who had been suppressed for so long, and that no citizen of India should suffer on account of the disabilities of his past inheritance or heritage. Therefore, the framers of the Constitution rightly said that the backward people and the Scheduled Castes should be helped. Not out of malice, but out of sheer ignorance, many of those people who were not even in the ranks of the middle-classes did not participate in the freedom fight; but today their condition is not so miserable. While those that opposed the movement are enjoying the fruits of independence, those that contributed their mite and who stood in the forefront and bore the burnt are stepped in poverty; their children are stepped in poverty. In the new set-up, new colleges are opened, techno-



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logical institutions are being opened. But who joins those institution? It is the children of the people who did not participate in the movement that are going to these institutions.

But what happens to the children of those who participated in the freedom movement? Those political sufferers have no money even to educate their children up to the elementary stages. Let me just cite one or two instances. A particular gentleman, who was a trader, had gone to jail in the freedom movement. He had two or three children. His first son got seventy to eighty marks, and up to SSLC he somehow or other managed. But he has no earning. He is not able to get any employment. Off and on he is employed in some Congress office for Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 a month. He has to maintain his wife and children. The wife is completely free from any ornaments except the *thali* which a woman with a husband alive cannot give up. That is the only piece which is there; everything else is gone. They are clad in torn clothes which have been stitched. They do not have even clothes to wear. It is for this that he fought for freedom? That is his cry. Is it wrong if he thinks: 'Is this freedom? Perhaps, I have fought a wrong battle. The freedom that came, came not for me or my children but to somebody else'. It is such persons who are the most angry people today.

We are believers in soul-force. Even saints cannot give up the love of their children. These followers of the saint of Sabarmati who met brute-force with soul-force will become brute force tomorrow, if this Government is not going to take up this question and solve it. I know the rumblings are there. The volcano will erupt, if not today, sometime tomorrow. Nobody can stop it. If the mighty British Empire with all its repression could be overthrown by this passive resistance, let there not be anybody who thinks that this neglect

and this indifference can be tolerated by the people.

Anybody will be moved, if he were to see the condition of these people. Somebody asked 'How are we to find out the political sufferer?'.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** They can find out everything, but not these.

**Shri Thanu Pillai:** We can find out everybody on the face of this earth, but not the political sufferer! we can find out lakhs and lakhs of refugees coming into our country because there is a border; we can find out the ex-servicemen because they served a mighty big empire, but the soldier of freedom cannot be found out! What does this mean?

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Administrative difficulty.

**Shri Thanu Pillai:** We have got first-class police officers to detect rogues and thieves, but honest good men could not be found out even when they have come to the position of asking for some aid. If they are not given aid even when they ask for it, then, I say that is something thoroughly wrong with us.

My amendment says that not only educational concessions, but also other concessions should be given. It reads as follows:

"This House is of opinion that the Central Government should give to the political sufferers, who had participated in the freedom movement, their dependants and descendants who are in need, all assistances on similar terms and conditions and for such period as is being given to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes."

I am not trying to take away any money from the funds earmarked for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But there must be a pattern, and there must be a formula for this purpose. And what is the formula that is required?

Firstly, those who are disabled must be given some sort of dole or pension. Can you not give them even one

rupee a day, or thirty rupees a month for the maintenance of their families? Is that too much? Then, take the case of a person who dies, leaving his wife. Should that woman be a beggar in the street, when other people's woman go about in 'posh' conditions?

My amendment seeks to provide that those dependants also should be protected. Then, their children should be given educational concessions. One hon. Member has given a notice of an amendment to the effect that up to the higher secondary standard, the concession should be there. But why should that restriction be there? Up to the time the boy is able to get educated fully, he should be entitled to get the concession, not by mercy but by right. I say this because he got the freedom for us to legislate. And if we do not legislate for the man who got it, we are doing a grievous wrong. That is my approach to the question.

How long should it be given? That is the next question. For hundreds of years, we neglected the Scheduled Castes. For hundreds of years, they were a 'depressed' community. The reservation seats may be for ten years or for 20 years; but the aid is not so limited. Till the community, by and large, comes up to a standard comparable with others, we will have to continue the aid. Till such time as you give such aid to the backward or disabled people, you continue this aid to those people who have suffered for winning freedom.

As regards employment, I know certain people who were political sufferers, who also happened to be in school now and then. They were not able to get degrees. But if an appointment is given to any such person, I challenge any other officer in the department to compete with him in efficiency. This is because he has got the soul in it, he has got the heart in his work and he works for the sake of work, not for showing that he is an officer.

There are some departments, handicrafts and others, where people who

come through the UPSC are not appointed. As for U.P.S.C. that is a different matter; that is a trouble-spot where these people cannot go. Those people who have had an opportunity to serve the Government in some departments have got a very efficient record.

Now, the Madras Government has passed some orders that in the development schemes, these people should be given an opportunity. I would like the Central Government also to consider that in all places where social and economic programmes of a developmental nature are undertaken, where a psychological and political approach—a national approach—is to be made, these freedom fighters and their children should be considered as having a better fitness for taking on the job than others.

**Shri S. L. Saksena** (Gorakhpur Distt.—North): I am thankful to Dr. Ram Subhag Singh for bringing forward this Resolution.

Sir, the blackest thing about this Government is its treatment of political sufferers. In fact, today when we go to our constituencies or to the countryside, we see old comrades with their houses razed to the ground or burnt down during the 1942 movement. Their sons have died or have been burnt down in the fire. They are just like beggars and they say: 'Is this the Swaraj for which we were asked to fight?' Tears come out of our eyes when we see them. This Government would not listen; it would not even think of them. Today, I think there is a unanimity of opinion that this matter has been most neglected. Even Members of the Congress Benches feel that the Government has failed in this respect.

I was in China. I was surprised to see a People's University there. That University is meant for those persons who were heroes in their war of independence. Those heroes were not very educated. But they were men of stout heart, of great courage and character. So when they became free, they took them and put them in the

[Shri Thanu Pillai]

University. They devised courses for them, of five years and seven years according to their standard of education. In this way, they tried to fit them up for all jobs.

Today there is corruption everywhere here. Why? Because the real men, the men who suffered, the men who did not care for the burning of their property and the killing of their relatives, have been neglected.

16-45 hrs.

[SHRI BARMAN in the Chair.]

Even those who were the biggest supporters of the British Government and who fought against the leaders of the independence movement, are now enjoying full freedom.

So by neglecting the political sufferers, the Government has wasted the most useful asset it had, men of character who had proved their worth during the battle of freedom. They have now been thrown to the scrap-heap.

I think Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's Resolution is somewhat narrow, but the amendment of Pandit D. N. Tiwary, which says:

"This House is of opinion that a Committee be set up to enquire into the condition of political sufferers and to suggest ways and means to help their dependents"

is more comprehensive. The problem should be tackled on a more comprehensive basis. We should not think that we are doing some charity for them. I think they are a national asset. To take care of them and to make use of them in the development of the country is a very important job for any government which is in power. It should not be thought that giving them some scholarships or giving some other help by way of doles or some money will meet the situation. Not at all. We are really using their talents for our own reconstruction.

Again I found in China that those who went to Korea and fought were honoured. Their sons had died and they had undergone other sufferings.

So in every village, the parents of such sons were feted on occasions. They felt that the whole country honoured them for sending their sons for the patriotic fight. Today, in our villages, those volunteers who suffered and sacrificed their all, are taunted: what have you got? Instead of being honoured, they are scorned.

I, therefore, think that nobody will come forward to sacrifice for the nation because those who have sacrificed are despised and scorned. From that point of view, you have to see that those who suffered for freedom should be honoured. It is not a question of giving them some recompense for what they did. It is for our own future, because if heroes are honoured for their sacrifices, people will like to become heroes and the country will rise.

For these reasons, I think that this problem should be tackled on a very comprehensive basis. An attempt should be made to find out all those who suffered and sacrificed for the country's freedom.

A question has been raised as to who is a political sufferer. Many definitions have been given. In my State, those who have passed six months in jail for some political offence have been termed political sufferers. But what about those who were helping the revolutionaries and the Congress workers during the 1942 movement? Their houses were demolished or burnt down. They had been absconding after helping the freedom fighters.

So I think there should be a more comprehensive definition of 'political sufferer'. In fact, everybody who is found to have been helping the movement for freedom and suffering on that account should be included in the definition. It should be wide enough to cover all such persons.

Then there is discrimination in regard to the treatment given to political sufferers. In my State, they have promised some help to workers. Now, I am sorry to have to say that all those who are recommended by

members of Opposition parties are not given any help.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : [सारन व चम्पारन]:

यह गलत बात है।

**Pandit K. C. Sharma** (Meerut Distt.-South): On a point of order.

**Mr. Chairman:** Let there be no interruption on this matter.

**Shri S. L. Saksena:** I was President of the Gorakhpur District Congress Committee for six years. It was under my supervision that most of them suffered by going to jail. About 300 persons got my certificate about their having suffered. But I can tell you that not one of them has been given any help, because he had my certificate. Those people who have not suffered have got help.

So it is not true to say that there has been no discrimination. Sometimes it also happens that those who come to the Congress are given a pension. This is how things are done. This sort of discrimination should not be there with regard to this matter. The question of political sufferers should not be thought of in that matter.

Then I would suggest that not only those persons who suffered for themselves but their dependents, their sons and others, if they are in real need, must be helped, as my hon. friend suggested. This help should be of several kinds. They should be given free education. If they have some education, they may be given scholarship to maintain themselves in the University and other places, because it must be felt by those in the countryside that those who suffered are being honoured by Government and the country and that they will be useful to the country.

I think this is a very important resolution and this amendment of Pandit Tiwary should be adopted and the Government should appoint a committee so that a comprehensive definition of 'political sufferers' may be devised and everybody who has suffered should be helped.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : सभापति महोदय, आदरणीय मित्र डा० राम सुभग सिंह ने जो संकल्प सदन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका हार्दिक समर्थन करता हूँ और उन्हें इसके लिए बधाई देता हूँ। श्री थानू पिल्ले ने ठीक ही कहा कि हमारे देश की प्रथम संसद का यह कर्तव्य होना चाहिए था कि स्वाधीनता प्राप्ति के बाद ही सबसे पहले हम अपने स्वाधीनता-संग्राम के सैनिकों का आदर करते और उनके प्रति कृतज्ञता प्रकट करते, लेकिन देर में ही सही आज यह जो संकल्प रखा गया है मुझे पूरी तरह से विश्वास है कि सरकार की ओर से इसको स्वीकार किया जायगा और इस पर शीघ्र ही अमल किया जायगा।

हमारे देश में, जैसा कि अभी तक कई वक्ताओं ने यहाँ पर बताया है, हमारे स्वाधीनता-संग्राम के सैनिकों की बहुत ही दुर्दशा है। मैं नहीं समझता कि शायद किसी भी देश ने अपने स्वाधीनता के सैनिकों के प्रति इतनी कृतघ्नता का परिचय दिया होगा। हर एक राष्ट्र ने, जिसने कि स्वाधीनता प्राप्त की, अपने सैनिकों का पूरी तरह से सम्मान किया; यहाँ तक कि उन देशों ने जिनके मेरे आदरणीय मित्र श्री हीरेन मुकुर्जी बड़े प्रशंसक हैं, रूस और चीन, वहाँ तो यह हालत हुई कि जब उन देशों को स्वाधीनता मिली या क्रांति सफल हुई तो वहाँ पर संग्राम और क्रांति के सैनिकों के हाथ में ही शासन की पूरी बागडोर दे दी गई और आज उन देशों के शासन की बागडोर उनके स्वाधीनता-संग्राम के सैनिकों के हाथ में है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि हमने अपने यहाँ एक बड़े आदर्श लोकतंत्री राज्य को स्थापना की है और हमारे देश के नेताओं ने बड़ी उदारता का परिचय दिया कि जिस स्वाधीनता को हमने इनने परिश्रम, त्याग और बलिदान के बाद प्राप्त किया उसको हमने फिर से नौकरशाही के हाथों में दे दिया। स्वराज्य-प्राप्ति के बाद सबसे अधिक लाभ अगर किसी वर्ग को इस हमारे देश में हुआ है तो वह हमारे नौकरशाही

## [श्री भक्त दर्शन]

वर्ग को ही हुआ है। आप सेना में ही ले लीजिये तो पायेंगे कि शायद वे लोग जो मेजर या कर्नल से आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते थे, आज वे उनसे ऊंचे पदों पर अर्थात् जनरल आदि के पदों पर विराजमान हैं। इसी तरह यदि आप सिविल साइड में देखेंगे तो पायेंगे कि जो शायद डिप्टी कलक्टर और डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट नहीं हो सकते थे वे आज के दिन कमिश्नर गवर्नर आदि जैसे ऊंचे पदों पर विराजमान हैं और उनके बेटों को कोई छु भी नहीं सकता; और इसीलिए मैंने कहा कि देश में जो स्वराज्य स्थापित हुआ है उसका सबसे अच्छा उपभोग यह हमारा नौकरशाही-वर्ग कर रहा है जब कि वे लोग जिन्होंने कि भारत को स्वाधीनता प्राप्त कराने में कठोर कष्ट झेले और त्याग और बलिदान किये वे अभी तक बहुत बड़ी संख्या में दुखी हैं और इधर-उधर भाँ-भाँरे फिरे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार फौरन ऐसे राजनैतिक पीड़ितों को सहायता मुलभ करे और उनके दुखों और कष्टों का निवारण करने का प्रयत्न करे। यह संकल्प इसी उद्देश्य को लेकर सदन के समक्ष रक्खा गया है और सरकार को इसे स्वीकार करना ही चाहिए।

सभापति महोदय, मैंने इस सम्बन्ध में दो संशोधनों में दो संशोधन संख्या ५ और ७ को प्रस्तुत किये हैं। पहला संशोधन मेरा यह है कि सभी श्रेणियों के राजनैतिक पीड़ितों को इसमें सम्मिलित किया जाये। वैसे तो यह कहा जा सकता है कि जो संकल्प रक्खा गया है उसकी भाषा में इसकी भावना विद्यमान है, लेकिन इसको और भी स्पष्ट करना मेरी समझ में आवश्यक है। श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी ने और इस संकल्प को प्रस्तुत करने वाले डा० राम सुभग सिंह ने भी बतलाया और एक सूची पेश की कि इन इन श्रेणियों के राजनैतिक पीड़ितों को इसमें सम्मिलित किया जाय अतः, अगर यह संशोधन स्वीकार कर लिया जाय तो यह बिलकुल

स्पष्ट हो जाता है और फिर इसमें संशय की कोई बात नहीं रहती है।

अभी हमारे मित्र श्री शिबन लाल सक्सेना ने उदाहरण देकर यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया कि वे राजनैतिक पीड़ित जो कि कांग्रेस में नहीं हैं उनको सरकार सुविधा नहीं देती है। हो सकता है कि किन्हीं जिलों में या किन्हीं राज्यों के अन्दर इस तरह का पक्षपात किया गया हो। हो सकता है कि जिन प्रान्तों में कांग्रेसी सरकारें हैं वहाँ एक-आध केस में ऐसा पक्षपात किया गया हो, लेकिन मेरा विश्वास है कि इस तरह का पक्षपात कोई बड़े पैमाने पर नहीं किया जा रहा है या किया गया है। और अगर इस तरह का पक्षपात बर्ता जा रहा है तो उसकी भर्त्सना करनी चाहिए। राजनैतिक पीड़ितों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धा और कृतज्ञता प्रकट करने में कोई अन्तर नहीं होना चाहिए, चाहे वे किसी भी विचारधारा के हों।

आजाद हिन्द फौज का जिक्र हम अक्सर सुनते रहते हैं अतः मैं उसके सम्बन्ध में इस अवसर पर अधिक नहीं कहना चाहता, केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे बहुत से आजाद हिन्द फौज के भाई बड़ी दयनीय और दुखी अवस्था में हैं और उनकी कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है। जैसा कि डा० राम सुभग सिंह जी ने बताया कि आजाद हिन्द फौज के दो बड़े अफसर तो जरूर आज केन्द्रीय सरकार में उप-मंत्रियों के पदों पर विराजमान हैं; लेकिन जो अधिकांश उनमें से हैं उनकी हालत बहुत खराब है और मेरा यह निवेदन है कि राजनैतिक पीड़ितों को सुविधा देते समय उनका विशेष तौर पर खयाल रखना चाहिए।

इसी तरह से मैं आपको बतलाऊँ कि सन् १९३० में जो पेशवार-कांड हुआ था और जिसमें हमारे भारतीय सैनिकों ने बड़ी बहादुरी और देशभक्ति का परिचय दिया था और जिनके लिए उनकी अपार कष्ट भोगना पड़ा

या उनमें से श्री चन्द्र सिंह गढ़वाली का मैं विशेष तौर पर उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ। वे पेशवार-कांड के नेता थे और उनके त्याग और बलिदान की स्मृति में सारे देश ने सन् १९३० में कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष स्वर्गीय श्री मोती लाल जी के आदेश से "गढ़वाली-दिवस" मनाया था और श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने जो अपनी आत्मकथा लिखी है उसमें उसका बहुत अच्छी तरह से स्मरण किया है; उस वीर सेनानी की आज क्या हालत है? आपको जानकर आश्चर्य होगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने बड़ी कृपा करके उनको १४ रुपये मासिक पेंशन देने का संकल्प किया है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : शोम।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : मैं समझता हूँ कि उन्होंने उस अपमानपूर्ण चीज को लौटा कर बहुत अच्छा किया। १४ रुपये की मासिक पेंशन देने का प्रस्ताव करना उनके साथ मजाक करना है। उत्तर प्रदेश में स्वयं मेरे जिले में, मैं किसी का यहां पर नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि बहुत से मोटे-मोटे शरीर वालों को ५७) और १००) रुपये तक की पेंशनें दी गई हैं; जब कि उसके विपरीत एक ऐसे आजादी के संग्राम के सिपाही को, जिसने कि इतनी देशभक्ति और त्याग का एक उदाहरण देश के सामने रक्खा, उसको १४ रुपये मासिक पेंशन दी जाय, यह कितना अपमानजनक है। मेरा यह अनुरोध है और मैं समझता हूँ कि सदन के सब वर्गों का भी यही मतव्य है कि इस में कोई भेद-भाव नहीं होना चाहिए, बल्कि जिसकी जितनी कुर्बानी है और जिसका जितना त्याग और तपस्या है और जिसको आज के जमाने में जितना कष्ट है उसके अनुरूप उसको सरकार की ओर से सहायता मिलनी चाहिए। अर्थात् ऐसा करते समय हमें बिलकुल निष्पक्षता बतानी चाहिए।

अब मैं सभापति महोदय, केवल दो-एक बातों की ओर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। यह जो मूल प्रस्ताव है इसका

मतव्य बड़ा सुन्दर होते हुये भी जैसा कि श्री यानू पिल्ले ने कहा यह बहुत थोड़ी दूर तक जाता है। इसमें केवल यह व्यवस्था की जा रही है कि जो लोग शिक्षा पा रहे हैं और उनकी हालत खराब हो तो उनको छात्र-वृत्तियां दी जायं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने अपने संशोधन मंथ्या ७ में यह सुझाव दिया है कि उन सबके लिए कम से कम हायर सेकेंडरी स्टेज तक फ्री एजुकेशन (निःशुल्क शिक्षा) की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए।

मैं अपने राज्य के बारे में और स्वयं अपने जिले के बारे में जानता हूँ कि जब उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार की ओर से यह निमंत्रण दिया गया कि जो लोग राजनैतिक पेंशन लेना चाहते हैं वे अपने आवेदन पत्र सरकार के पास भेजें, तो बहुत से लोग अपने आत्म सम्मान के कारण आवेदनपत्र नहीं देना चाहते, हालांकि वे पीड़ित और दुखी हैं, लेकिन वे आवेदन पत्र देकर अपने सम्मान को मिटाना नहीं चाहते। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनके लिए कोई एक युनिफॉर्म फारमूला होना चाहिए कि अगर ज्यादा नहीं तो कम से कम हायर सेकेंडरी स्टेज तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा दी जाय और इसमें बहुत ज्यादा पैसा खर्च होने वाला नहीं है। हमने अपने हरिजन भाइयों के लिए निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की हुई है, जन-जातियों के लिए निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की हुई है और अगर हम सब राजनैतिक पीड़ितों के लिए भी इसकी व्यवस्था करते हैं तो मेरे खयाल में देश भर में आपको १ लाख व्यक्तियों के लिए और निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करनी होगी। उनमें भी बहुत से लोग तो मर गये होंगे और बहुतों के बच्चे पढ़ने वाली अवस्था पार कर गये होंगे और अब तक वे शायद किसी रोजगार या धंधे पर लग गये होंगे और इस तरह देखा जाय तो १ लाख व्यक्तियों से अधिक के लिए आपको इसकी व्यवस्था नहीं करनी पड़ेगी और अगर उनके लिए निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था हार्डिकूल तक कर दी जाती है तो वह एक बहुत सुन्दर

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

कार्य होगा। श्री थानू पिल्ले ने जोश में आकर यह कह दिया कि अगर राजनैतिक पीड़ितों के साथ न्याय नहीं किया गया तो वे ब्रूटफोर्स (पाशाविक शक्ति) का इस्तेमाल करेंगे, ब्रूट फोर्स यह शब्द इस्तेमाल कर दिया जो कि मैं समझता हूँ कि अवांछनीय है और नहीं किया जाना चाहिए था। हमारे इन स्वाधीनता संग्राम के साथियों ने देश के सामने एक 'आत्म शक्ति' का उदाहरण रक्खा है और उनके द्वारा पाशाविक शक्ति का प्रदर्शन करके अपनी मांग को स्वीकार कराने का कार्य कभी नहीं हो सकता है, इसका मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है।

मुझे पूरा भरोसा है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी और हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय और हमारे उपमंत्री महोदय जिनको कि हमारे डा० राम सुभग सिंह ने "जनता मंत्री" का टाइटिल दे डाला है, मैं तो उनको इससे भी ऊँची पदवी देने के पक्ष में हूँ, लेकिन खैर जनता मंत्री आपने उनको कहा है तो मुझे पूरा भरोसा है कि वे अपनी पूरी शक्ति को इस कार्य में लगायेंगे और मैं समझता हूँ कि जैसा कि बहुत से मेरे अन्य साथी कह चुके हैं अगली बार जब हम यहां नई पार्लियामेंट में अगर भगवान ने सफलता हमको दी तो हम यहां पर आर्येण और हो सकता है कि बहुत से लोग अभिगम्यता यहां पर दुबारा न आ सकें।

बहुत से लोगों की शकल शायद इस सदन में न दिखलाई पड़े। बहुत से लोग जो आएंगे वे सब मिल कर इस बात को देखेंगे कि जो संकल्प हम लोग स्वीकार कर रहे हैं उस पर अमल हो चुका है या नहीं और हम ने अपने देश के स्वाधीनता-संग्राम के सैनिकों के प्रति अपने कर्तव्य का पालन किया है या नहीं।

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

17 hrs.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business for the last week of

the session commencing 17th December will be as follows:

1. Discussion and voting of Supplementary Demands for Grants—General and for Railways and Demands for Excess Grants for Railways.

2. Appropriation Bills relating to these Demands.

3. Representation of the People (Miscellaneous Provisions) Amendment Bill.

4. Banking Companies (Amendment) Bill.

5. Union Duties of Excise (Distribution) Amendment Bill.

6. Central Excise and Salt (Amendment) Bill (to be introduced on 17th December).

7. Kerala State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill.

8. Territorial Councils Bill.

9. Delivery of Books (Public Libraries) Amendment Bill, as passed by Rajya Sabha.

10. Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Continuance Bill.

11. Delhi Tenants (Temporary Protection) Bill.

12. Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Bill.

The last 3 bills are expected to be passed by Rajya Sabha early next week.

The order which I have announced of the above items of business is also the order in which they are provisionally scheduled to be brought forward.

As regards discussion on the fixation of pay scales and other service conditions of employees of Life Insurance Corporation, it is proposed, subject to your approval, Sir, to hold it at 5-00 P.M. on Monday, the 17th December.

#### RESOLUTION RE SCHOLARSHIPS FOR CHILDREN OF POLITICAL SUFFERERS—Contd.

श्री रघुबीर सहाय : सभापति महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव हमारे माननीय मित्र डा० राम सुभग सिंह ने रक्खा है उसके उद्देश्य में मैं पूरी तरह सहमत हूँ और मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ। अगले हम यह चाहेंगे कि जब