

be constantly reviewed in the light of the various developments in the economy, some of which may originate within the system and some of which may represent the impact of external forces and happenings. Ultimately, the scale of deficit financing feasible for any year, or for any particular period is a matter of judgment, and one should proceed, though cautiously, not too timidly.

I am often asked what value one can attach to the vigilance which I said Government would exercise and what course I propose to follow should my expectations in regard to the possible consequences of deficit financing be belied in order to counter inflation. This is equivalent to asking the driver of a motor car who is taking to a difficult mountain road which measures he proposes to take should he come to difficult portions of the road. His only answer can be that he promises to be a good driver.

The Minister of Revenue and Expenditure (Shri Tyagi): Keep to the left.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: If that is not sufficient he can humbly point to his past performances. Therefore, I would ask the House, until the contrary is shown, to have faith in the driver, as the common man in the country appears to have.

I have received a letter from the same gentleman who has been sustaining my Budget for the last two years. This is the translation of the note that he has sent me this year:

"Please find herewith my yearly donation. Rupees Five may please be credited to the country's revenue for the next year and Rupees Five may be utilised for the implementation of the Five Year Plan. Kindly do not disclose my name."

Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): May I know your relationship with him?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I do not know him from Adam, Madam.

RESOLUTION RE: PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION ON P.E.P.S.U.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up the resolution standing in the name of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju.

This is a motion and under the rules some time has to be fixed:

"The Speaker shall fix the appointed hour on the allotted day, or as the case may be, the last of the allotted days forthwith put every question necessary to determine the decision of the House on the original question."

Normally a couple of hours will be enough for this. However, I leave it to the House as to how long they would like to take and then I will fix up the time.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: (Calcutta North-East): Actually, I have got in touch with the Chief Whip of the Congress Party and he is quite agreeable to the rest of the evening being devoted to the discussion of this resolution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then I will put the question at seven o'clock today.

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): I beg to move:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on 4th March 1953 under article 356 of the Constitution, assuming to himself all the functions of the Government of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union."

I notice that notices of amendments to this resolution of mine have been handed in. I, therefore, do not propose to make a very lengthy speech: the more so, because the salient facts have already been stated by me in the statement which I ventured to place before the House at the time I placed the Proclamation itself on the Table of the House.

I would beg the House to consider some salient facts. Here is an Assembly which consists of sixty members and if you exclude the Speaker, then there are 59 effective members. Now, what is the position today? The General Elections were completed and the first Ministry entered office in March 1952—last year. The General Elections left the political parties in a very fluid conditions. No party was in a majority: there were several parties and independents. The Congress Party had 26 members: Akalis had 22; Communists three; K.M.P.P. one; Jan Sangh one; and Independents seven. The Rajpramukh called upon the party which had at that time the largest number of members to form a Ministry. A Ministry was formed. Immediately began a tussle and within less than a month the Ministry broke down. Then

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there was an alliance. A new party was formed called the "United Democratic Front", and a Ministry was formed under the leadership of the Chief Minister Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala. This happened on the 20th of April 1952, less than eleven months ago.

Now in between the House might be interested to know what has been actually happening to the Ministry. They came into office on the 22nd of April 1952 and there was a Chief Minister and three other Ministers. The PEPSU State consists of eight districts with a population of nearly 3½ million—35 lakhs. I am not making any comments of any kind—I am just narrating the facts. On the 22nd of April there was a Ministry of four Ministers, including the Chief Minister and two weeks later, on the 4th of May, a fifth Minister was added and two Deputy Ministers. Then they carried on and in November a sixth Minister was added, said to be a representative of the Harijans—Harijan Sikhs—and one Minister was—what shall I say—asked to resign, removed or dismissed, and replaced by another. This was in November 1952. In December 1952 there was a curious spectacle in PEPSU. The Budget session had come to an end in the month of May 1952; there was plenty of legislation for discussion and consideration, as I shall explain to the House a little later. The law and order position was exceedingly difficult, and it was said that the need for consideration of a proper agrarian legislation was urgent. Therefore, one might have expected that the Legislature would have met, would have taken the urgent problems into consideration, and would have done a lot for the promotion of the public welfare. But for six months the House never met.

Under article 174 of the Constitution it is incumbent upon a Legislature to meet within six months of its last prorogation. Therefore, on the 19th November the House was called to meet, and it was planned to have a ten days' session.

But immediately after the meeting of the House began a tussle for, shall I say, the throwing overboard of the then Ministry, and of the then Ministry keeping its power in its own hands.

I have already told you that in November 1952 there was the going out of one Minister and the coming in of two.

In November and December extraordinary things happened. I do not know what was apprehended, but it was said that while the House was sitting, the Chief Minister just passed on a note, a private note, to the Speaker asking him to adjourn the House; and the Speaker quietly adjourned the House forthwith, informing nobody about the reasons why he was doing so. That was about the 25th of November.

There was a great deal of noise about this matter among the Opposition parties, a great deal of discussion in the newspapers, a great deal of public comment. And it is said that the Speaker realising his mistake or—whatever it may have been—his impropriety, on the 6th of December, without consulting the Leader of the House, convened the House back again for the 22nd of December. The Chief Minister was very angry and took a lot of measures about it, and the House was going to meet on the 22nd of December in a tremendous state of excitement. People apprehended that one Ministry might be overthrown and another Ministry might come in.

But on the 21st of December strange things happened. One Minister resigned. Then, two members of the Opposition, who till then had been the most vigorous members of the Opposition, crossed the floor and were sworn in, one as a Minister and the other as a Deputy Minister. The result was that a certain equilibrium was retained and the motion of no confidence, which was pushed to the debate in one form or another, was defeated. And, as soon as it was defeated the House was adjourned and subsequently prorogued.

The result was that during this November-December session, apart from this tussle about the Ministry and the no confidence motion and the Ministers going out and coming in, not a single particle of any relevant business was conducted. And the Ministry was there, of six Ministers new and old, and two or three Deputy Ministers.

In between there had been lots of election petitions pending. I believe PEPSU holds an absolute record in the number of election petitions filed to contest the various elections. Thirty-three election petitions were filed altogether to contest the validity of the

election of thirty-one members. Out of these, fourteen are still pending and seventeen have been decided upon. And the result has been that nine members have been unseated. Out of these nine, two have been disqualified. Out of these two, one is a sitting Minister and the other is a Minister who went out in the month of November. The four who have been unseated are the Chief Minister and three others. And the two Ministers who remain are the Ministers who were appointed in December last year when there was a sudden crossing over of the floor of the House from one side to the other. Today there is just one Minister, I believe, and one or two Deputy Ministers.

Now, fourteen election petitions still remain to be disposed of. I do not want to venture on any prediction as to what would happen about those fourteen. But most of these election petitions depended upon the decision of the question whether the nomination paper had been rightly rejected or wrongly rejected, or rightly accepted or wrongly accepted. By this time there is a large volume of case law on this point. And looking into that case law, probably all parties are agreed that out of the remaining petitions there are good prospects of many proving successful.

I only go into these facts for the purpose of showing that on a very modest estimate there would have been by-elections for the purpose of filling up, people say, at least fifteen vacancies; might be more; might be twenty; or, as the Prime Minister tells me, twenty-five. I do not know about it. But in a House of sixty, if you have an election even for twenty, well, it is a miniature General Election.

And I should like to put it specifically that under the prevailing conditions there can be no guarantee; no party will be satisfied; I mean there will be petitions from one quarter or another that the elections are not being properly conducted. I am aware of the fact that under the Constitution we have got an Election Commission who have got the power to see to it that the elections are properly managed and who have the controlling power for directing and supervising of elections. But the machinery which the Commission uses is the State machinery, the State officers, the district magistrates, the subordinate officers. And the House may take it from me—I am speaking with some knowledge there—that the conditions are so bad that it is absolutely im-

possible to inspire public confidence in any election whatsoever, at the moment.

Now, this is one ground why the President thought it absolutely essential, I say compulsory, in public interest to intervene and to take over the powers. I want at the very outset to disabuse the mind of everybody, so long as we are here, it does not matter to me, speaking as a Home Minister of the Government of India, as to what particular party comes into power in any State.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazaribagh West): We want Congress Governments everywhere!

4 P.M.

Dr. Katju: We have now got twenty-two States in India, and there is the Central Government. It may be that in the Central Government you may have a particular party in power. At the same time it may be that the same party may continue in all the twenty-two States—it may be, it may not be. In the United States, for instance, you see the Republican Party is in power at the Centre. Out of the forty-eight States I do not know in how many there are Democratic Governors and in how many Republican Governors. It is the duty, function, obligation, and, I may say, the privilege of the Government of India in seeing that each State has its own chosen representatives in office to manage its own affairs. Our Constitution prescribes the two different parts and I have no doubt whatsoever that on one point we are all agreed namely the security of India, the safety of India, the protection of the independence of this country and therefore it does not concern me as to whether in a Part A or Part B State this party in power or that party in power comes into power. The House can take it from me that I entirely repudiate the insinuations when it is said that this action has been taken for the purpose of promoting or advancing the interests of any particular political party in PEPSU. Nothing of the kind. It does not matter to us as to what happens in the election. I want to hold this assurance out that a General Election is bound to take place as early as we can hold it. The Proclamation is not going to stand for all time to come. The Constitution says for six months and for three years. Whenever a General Election takes place it will take place in an atmosphere of complete tranquillity, complete impartiality, complete

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independence and not the slightest effort will be made to influence the electorate improperly either this way or that way or the other way.

I will tell you the reason why this action has been taken because it has become a matter of importance, it has become essentially imperative. There was no stable Ministry. Nothing was being done there and the Legislature was not even functioning properly. The Budget session was to commence from the 16th March and by then there would have been a truncated House. By that time 15, 16 members would have gone out and there would be then tussle. I do not want to say anything against the gentlemen who are not here. It is not proper for me to do so but the House will be able to draw its own conclusions. By this shifting climate, by the shifting nature of private political parties, what is going to happen to the administrative services? From the highest to the lowest, the district magistrate, the *pawaris*, the revenue assistants—all these people do not know what is going to happen—and please remember further that PEPSU is a place which is not accustomed to democratic traditions. This is applicable to all the Part B States here.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Dr. Katju: Here, in what we used to call as British India, we have been functioning in the British Provinces, nine Part A States, in a sort of democratic tradition. It was being built up for the last 60 years. There were Legislative Assemblies, Legislative Councils. People have become accustomed to electorates and this and that and therefore they could draw a distinction between an administration and the right of going to the polls; but in PEPSU and all other Part B States, the General Election was the first thing. In PEPSU it was not known. In Madhya Bharat from where I come, it was not known and therefore the local officer played a great and vital role in these elections. My submission therefore is that the Government would not have fairly discharged its duty if it had withheld its hand simply by saying that we have extended the President's rule over there. The hon. gentlemen will say with great flourish that this has all been done for the purpose of promoting Congress interests. Nothing of the kind.

Let me now come to the essence of the matter. What were the conditions there? I told you right from the start, there were several independents, one representative of the KMPP and three Communists. Observing this state of affairs in a spirit of detachment, it strikes me sometimes that these three Communists were enjoying the very best of the lot, the cream of the lot. They thought that they had the balance of power and they had the balance of power. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members will have an opportunity to speak.

Dr. Katju: If you want to speak, I will sit down now and leave the rest to you.

What is happening today? I have got reports here which say that in three districts about 70 to 80 panchayats have been formed, a very fine performance. I am myself a great believer in panchayats but these are rival governmental institutions.

Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain): Who formed them?

Dr. Katju: Great fighters for the common good! Panchayats have been formed for what purpose? They collect rents, they collect land revenue, they try cases, not ordinary morbid cases, they try murder cases. They try very serious offences against men, women and children. They try all sorts of cases and they compel obedience. Everyone cannot go to a law court, not to a magistrate, not to a civil judge and the sentence that was imposed in a murder case, according to my report, is a fine and the blackening of the man's face. Then he can do what he likes. Now, in three districts, this movement is spreading and the Government cannot do anything. In Government itself, opinion was widely divergent. It is the talk of coalition Ministries and all that but in a Cabinet, you require harmonious working, a harmonious team but if two join pulling this way and two pulling the other way, the result is nothing is done. Can we tolerate all this?

Several Hon. Members: No.

Dr. Katju: If the Constitution is functioning properly

Dr. S. P. Mukherjee (Calcutta South-East): You only want a harmonium.

Dr. Katju: My hon. friend had plenty of time to play harmonium for the last five days.

Dr. S. P. Mukherjee: The Supreme Court has also sounded some notes on harmonium.

Dr. Katju: I am accustomed to hear harmonium of this type for the past 40 years. It is not a question of harmonium. What is he talking about? Dr. Mukherjee was a member of the Cabinet. He went out. He has had some so long as he remained there. You have got to be a member of a concert and not to play a discordant note. If he comes again here, you will see how the harmonium will be played. So, my point is that the law and order situation was deteriorating morally and the services were deteriorating. What was to be done? The object is, as stated in the statement made, purity of administration, purity of services, inspiring of confidence among the services. But is the House against this? The agrarian legislation should be taken in hand, something has to be done for the tenants, the biswedars, the occupancy tenants, the tenants-at-will, not that they should be allowed to do what they like. I went there in the month of August.

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): Biswedars or ristedars? I could not hear properly.

Dr. Katju: I can deal, Sir, with every Member of the House but not with this gentleman. I do not know why I am frightened. I am frightened by many things. I respect him and therefore do not want to give a proper answer. Anyway he is the repressor.

The question was this. I went myself about six months ago. I went to one of these villages. What did I see? A woman came to me and she wept. I asked, what has happened. She said, "my husband has been shot dead." Because, PEPSU is a trigger free land. They shoot at the slightest cause. There were many tenants and cultivators sitting and this woman was weeping. I asked them, what is the truth about it. They were silent for a minute or so. They then said, "her husband was shot, but not by us." I said, shooting is a real thing, and asked what happened. They said that he was shot by his son-in-law, that the father was not sending the daughter to her husband's house, the husband got angry and shot the father-in-law. Maybe PEPSU politics; I do not know. But, it was

absolutely false. Then I went to another place. The cultivators came along and showed me a boy with the hand lopped off. He is a biswedar. I spoke to many villagers. I asked, how are you getting on. They said, "we are perfectly happy." I should like to go and live there: a perfectly happy atmosphere. I asked, "how much do you pay as rent. They said, "we do not pay. It is the biswedar's business." He is recorded in the revenue papers as the person responsible for paying the Government revenue. What about rent? They said, "we have decided that no rent should be paid."

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: O.K.

Dr. Katju: I can give the name of the village. No rent; no Government revenue. Now, of course, we have got these panchayats. (Interruption).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Dr. Katju: Here is a small territory within the Republic of India owing allegiance to nobody. This is what is happening.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Thank God.

Dr. Katju: I therefore respectfully ask the hon. Members to consider the situation and not to make it purely a party affair. That is not the spirit of it. They may take it from me that we have given the greatest latitude. Otherwise, a case for an action like this was there some months ago. But, I thought, let the people manage their own affairs if they can. Do you mean to say that any one on these Benches is anxious to add to his responsibilities? There is plenty to do. Please remember it is not as if the President is becoming an autocrat. What happens is this. Up till now, no question could have been put on law and order or any State matters. I could have easily said, "it has nothing to do with me, go to the PEPSU Legislature." Now, every Minister of the Government here becomes responsible to this House, to every one of you, to answer questions. It is not as if there is no responsibility and there is nobody to look after the PEPSU people, and the Government of India or the President can do whatever he likes. In a few days, if this resolution is approved, you will have the Budget and you will have a long discussion on the Budget. If this resolution is approved, there would be agrarian legislation. I say it

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is a completely wrong picture, a misleading picture to paint that the State Ministry has gone, the President has come in and there is despotic rule. We have got Members in the House of the People representing the PEPSU people. We have got Members in the Council of States. Apart from that, it is a big thing; the whole Opposition now becomes the great fighters for the cause of PEPSU. The result would not be as if PEPSU will be neglected. The anxiety has not been to take over PEPSU because, as I said, speaking for myself, I believe, and speaking for other Members of the Government of India also, we are most anxious that every State should look after itself and manage its own affairs, everything assigned to it within the State List, of its own. But, we are compelled. We cannot possibly see all this: namely, no law and order, dacoities, murders being committed, the poor people in the services not knowing whether this man will come into power or that man, newspaper reports and a number of telegrams coming from all sides that election is not being properly held, and this and that. We have taken this step solely in the interests of the people, to stop the rot and to restore confidence. As soon as the Delimitation Committee finishes its work, a proper General Election will take place.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: After rehabilitation.

Dr. Katju: After delimitation. Rehabilitation of what?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Congress rehabilitation.

Dr. Katju: Some of these interruptions make me sad because they are made with such a sense of irresponsibility that really I do not know how to answer them.

That is the crux of the matter. Before I sit down, I should like to say one thing more. I have read in the newspapers some insinuations that the President's rule may be a precursor of all sorts of things: precursor of the merger of PEPSU with the Punjab. This is pure imagination. Nothing of the kind. If the President's rule is there, it is a care-taker rule. If any decision is to be taken on any big matters of policy, on any major questions of policy about the future of the province, about the future of this community or that, that we will not do. That will be a matter entirely for the people to decide

for themselves. Our main anxiety will be preservation of law and order; nothing else. We do not want to confer this particular privilege on this community or that particular privilege on another community. The province is constituted as it is constituted. It will function as it is functioning. All the existing conditions that prevail about rights of voting and not voting will remain where they are.

With these words, Sir, I commend the resolution for the approval of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on 4th March 1953 under article 356 of the Constitution, assuming to himself all the functions of the Government of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union."

Shri Bahadur Singh (Ferozepur-Ludhiana—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

"That this House disapproves the action of the Government of India in suspending the Constitution in Patiala and East Punjab States Union and looks upon the assumption of all the functions of the Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union by the President as unwarranted, undemocratic and unconstitutional."

Sardar Lal Singh (Ferozepur-Ludhiana): My amendment is also the same.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendment moved:

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

"That this House disapproves the action of the Government of India in suspending the Constitution in Patiala and East Punjab States Union and looks upon the assumption of all the functions of the Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union by the President as unwarranted, undemocratic and unconstitutional."

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I beg to move: That in the resolution,—

(i) for the word "approves" the words "takes into consideration" be substituted: and

(ii) at the end, the following be added:

"and resolves that the President be requested to suspend the Rajpramukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union".

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendment moved:

That in the resolution.—

(i) for the word "approves" the words "takes into consideration" be substituted; and

(ii) at the end, the following be added:

"and resolves that the President be requested to suspend the Rajpramukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union".

These are the amendments received earlier. But today I have received notice of amendments by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Shri Vallatharas. If the hon. Minister is agreeable to accepting them, for waiving notice I have no objection. Has he received a copy of these amendments?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): Mine is a formal amendment.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. There are not many amendments allowed. I shall waive notice in these matters.

I find that so far as first three amendments of Shri Vallatharas are concerned, they are not in order. Only amendment No. 4 is in order. The first one is negative in character. The hon. Member can oppose the original resolution. The second one also is negative in character for he wants the word 'Disapproves' to be substituted in place of 'approves'. The hon. Member can oppose the resolution instead. The third amendment reads:

"and resolve that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be

exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf."

This is also a negative one in character.

So far as amendment No. 4 is concerned, the hon. Member can move it.

Shri Vallatharas (Pudukkottai): In amendment No. 3, I am quoting from the Proclamation itself, where it is contended that it shall be lawful for the President—

"to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf".

So, it is not negative in spirit.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He wants to substitute the word 'Adviser' for 'Rajpramukh'. But whom is he advising then?

Shri Vallatharas: Of course, there is a limit to the Rajpramukh's acting, suggested by the Proclamation, which I am supporting here. That is the only point.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right, I shall allow that amendment also. The hon. Member does not want the existing Rajpramukh to act, but somebody else who is appointed as an Adviser. He may be called by any name, it does not matter. So, amendment No. 3 is also allowed.

So, the amendments that are in order are the two already moved by Shri Bahadur Singh and Shri Hiren Mukerjee respectively and amendments Nos. 3 and 4 handed over to me by Shri Vallatharas and the amendment handed over to me by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Could you please have these amendments read out because the House does not know what the amendments of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Shri Vallatharas are?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right, the hon. Members may read out their amendments.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I beg to move:

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendment moved:

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation."

Shri Vallatharas: I beg to move:

(i) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf."

(ii) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that the General Election for constituting the new Assembly for the said State shall be held before 31st July, 1953, irrespective of the final order of the Delimitation Commission."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Amendments moved:

(i) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajpramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajpramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and

control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf."

(ii) That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that the General Election for constituting the new Assembly for the said State shall be held before 31st July, 1953, irrespective of the final order of the Delimitation Commission."

I fix 15 minutes for each hon. Member to speak on this resolution. I have received lists of a large number of hon. Members who desire to take part in the discussion. We have to close it at seven o'clock.

Shri Punnoose (Alleppey): May I submit, Sir, that Group Leader may be allowed to speak at greater length, because this is a very important subject, and the hon. Minister himself took such a long time?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right Twenty minutes for the Group Leaders, and 15 minutes for the rest. I have always not been very strict in that matter.

Sardar Lal Singh: In the absence of Sardar Hukam Singh, representing PEPSU, it has fallen on me to represent the cause of PEPSU, or may I say, of the United Front Party. Unfortunately, I do not happen to be a lawyer or an orator. So, I can not indulge in legal quibbles or in oratory, but I would like to discuss this matter from the viewpoint of a simple layman: Although it is generally said that truth or decency or honesty has no place in politics, yet I believe in Mahatma Gandhi's teaching that even in politics, we should not say goodbye to these human virtues.

PEPSU affairs concern not only the people of PEPSU, but all people in India, who believe in democracy. PEPSU however, is the only State where the Sikhs happen to be in a majority. And it is the only State where a non-Congress Government has been functioning for some time; even though people in other parts of India—who did not see eye to eye with the Congress—had been trying to establish non-Congress Governments. Accordingly PEPSU provided an excellent opportunity to them to see

what they have to contend with, and to what extent the Congress could go to defeat its opponents. If PEPSJ was of great concern to India and also to the Sikhs, it was also an acid test of the honesty of the Congress High Command to show to the world whether they could tolerate opinion different from theirs, and whether they could rise to the occasion and give fair opportunity to their political opponents to show their worth.

Many reasons have been put forward for suspending the Constitution. I shall try to deal with them as briefly as I can, within the short time at my disposal. It has been said that petitions are pending in the case of 30 members. But whose fault is it? It is either the fault of the Congress Government at the Centre, which allowed these flaws to remain in the election rules, or it is the fault of the PEPSU State Congress Government which was first foisted at that time by the Central Government, and which allowed the returning officers to commit all sorts of irregularities or mistakes.

An Hon. Member: Purposefully.

Sardar Lal Singh: I would not say purposefully, because I am not in the habit of attributing motives. All that I can beg of the hon. Members on the Opposite benches is that they are in so overwhelming a majority that they can afford to display a dignified silence and at least listen to the views that are expressed. I am not in the habit of passing any undesirable remarks on anybody.

Secondly, the logical course was to allow those members who would be unseated to seek re-election. Even if 15 members are unseated, in a House of 60 members, still, it would not have mattered much. Why should the remaining 45 members who were elected last year, and against whom no election petitions are pending or those who may not be unseated, be forced to go through the election process once again? Besides, it would be a cossal waste of national funds also. It has been said by the Government that if the Assembly were allowed to meet on the 19th March it would have been a truncated House. There were to be no less than 51 members in a House of 60 members on that date and you can see for yourself whether by any stretch of imagination it can be called a truncated House. It has been said that

the United Front Party had a very narrow majority. I ask: "Is position in PEPSU worse than in some of the States like Rajasthan and Orissa where the Congress Governments are functioning?"

An Hon. Member: Madras.

Sardar Lal Singh: Yes, Madras also. I take, for instance, the case of Orissa alone, with an Assembly of 140 members—almost 2½ times the number of PEPSU. The Congress had only 67 members with 73 in the Opposition. The Congress at that time did not mind throwing to the winds all the high principles that it is advocating at present. Instead of taking disciplinary action against those MLAs who had revolted against the Congress and who had fought against the Congress in the elections, Congress did not mind offering them bribes in the form of Deputy Ministerships and so on to win them over. Not only that. In order to create even a precarious majority of five members only, in the House of 140, this very Congress went to the extent of wooing those Rajas, Rajmatais and Jagirdars whom it had been maligning and abusing previously. It was a question of getting a few votes—that is, only a majority of five. Further, it is well known that recently while discussing the educational budget on a motion of refusal of supplies this Congress Government narrowly escaped defeat by two votes only. Then it is also a fact that in that very Assembly there are 12 or 14 MLAs belonging to the Scheduled Tribes and they openly declare that they owe allegiance to the Adibasi Party and not to the Congress and that it is a Coalition Ministry and they are there as long as it suits them. I ask, is the Orissa Ministry stronger than the PEPSU Ministry?

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): What about Madras?

Sardar Lal Singh: As against this, let us see what was the position of the Rerewala Ministry. Even after some of their members had been unseated, there were 26 members in the United Front Party as against 20 in the Congress. And only a day before the Constitution was suspended, an election was held in the case of two constituencies and both were won by the candidates of the United Front Party—and what is more with a thumping majority of 80 per cent. Further, it was also an open secret that several Congress MLAs had signified their intention to join the United

[Sardar Lal Singh]

Front Party. It was also surmised that out of 20 or so bye-elections, the Congress had not the slightest hope of winning very many seats. It was then and then only that the Constitution was suspended, when Congress lost all hopes of forming a Congress Ministry, since the United Front Party had become solid like a rock.

Rabu Ramnarayan Singh: Hear, hear.

Sardar Lal Singh: I am certain that if the Assembly had been allowed to be held on the 19th of this month, the people, the world at large, would have seen the true state of affairs. Surely the heavens would not have fallen if the Congress had allowed the Ministry to function for 10 days more, at least to have the situation cleared before the world. But the Congress was naturally afraid of exposure. It did not want the people to know the true state of affairs.

It has been said that the members had been crossing the floor. Now, let me mention that it was mostly the Congress MLAs who had been crossing the floor, so that if anything at all, the discredit goes to the High Command or the State Congress which gave them the tickets. Secondly, it is possible that some of them may have crossed the floor in all sincerity, thinking that it was in the interest of the State. Thirdly, if crossing the floor is really so abominable, why did not this very Congress High Command interfere in the Punjab during the days of Dr. Gopichand Bhargava's Congress Ministry when it was an open secret that members were being bribed and were being won over by Congress leaders and it was an open bid carried to a disgraceful extent? (Interruption). Further, leaving apart Orissa, everybody knows that in PEPSU also, the Congress did not leave any stone unturned to win over the non-Congress MLAs. Then why are they making so much fuss about this crossing of the floor in this case? Is it merely because the United Front Party happens to be the gainer? It only confirms the proverb that just as the king can do no wrong. Likewise anything done by the Congress party is of course always moral and quite right; but anything done by others, of course, is all wrong.

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Rohtak): It is just the reverse.

Sardar Lal Singh: So much fuss has been made as to why the Assembly

that was called on the 19th of November for 10 days' sitting was at once prorogued on the 26th, that is, after seven days' sitting. Our hon. Home Minister has also referred to this now. But he conveniently overlooked to mention that it was not that the United Front Party was afraid of its strength which had been tried repeatedly before, but it was because the Election Tribunals had refused to postpone the hearing of the members of the United Front Party. Naturally those members could not be in two places at one and the same time. There was no other course left for them except to prorogue the Assembly.

There is also another interesting feature. It may be only incidental, because I am not in the habit of attributing motives. The election petitions were pending against both Congressmen and non-Congressmen. And an average man like myself would have expected that they would be heard by Election Tribunals more or less simultaneously so that no party could have undue advantage by unseating of members. But it is rather interesting to note that the Election Tribunals in the first instance listened or heard the election petitions affecting the United Front Party in most of the cases. I do not want to say anything more than that.

So much has been said about the law and order position. Here again I ask: is it really worse than that in Rajasthan, Saurashtra or even in Punjab from where I come? I can say here without the least fear of contradiction that the conditions in Punjab, especially in districts like Ferozepur are far worse than what they are in PEPSU? And yet nobody has ever suggested the suspension of the Constitution in the case of these States which are run by Congress Governments! (Interruption).

Ch. Ranbir Singh: Question.

Sardar Lal Singh: Let me tell you that the law and order position in PEPSU is far better now than it ever was.

[SHRI PATASKAR in the Chair]

There is no question of laughing. I am prepared to give facts and figures. The Inspector General of Police PEPSU was formerly the Deputy Inspector General of Police in Punjab and he gave me these facts. I am certain he could not have given wrong figures.

The position at present is far better than it was before. And if you see the number of dacoits and other bad characters shot, captured or otherwise liquidated during the last few months, you will be surprised. More dacoits have been killed during the last few months than in many years past. And this is a solid proof of what the State has done.

Then it has been said that the moral of servicemen had greatly deteriorated. Firstly, I do not agree with this. Secondly, it will be worthwhile for some people to go there to see for themselves whether for this falling morale, which is so much talked about, it is the Congress that is responsible or any other organisation. I repeat that the morale is not lower than what it was before.

Mr. Chairman: May I suggest to the hon. Member to address me as far as possible.

Sardar Lal Singh: Further communal atmosphere has improved immensely during the last few months. And, at present, one can say that there is a great deal of communal harmony. Any one can see what example of non-communal outlook this United Front Party has set up. Although it was a Sikh majority area, yet most of the Government appointments as also in the Cabinet, have gone to non-Sikhs. They wanted to show their broad-mindedness and to set an example as to what treatment ought to be given to a minority.

Then, as regards community projects. I am certain that PEPSU has set an example for the whole of India. I was reading a report the other day by some of the foreigners who had come to India and they had nothing but the highest praise for the work done in PEPSU. I think PEPSU possibly leads the whole of India so far as progress in community projects or even agricultural development during the last few months is concerned. Nor have they been lagging in land reforms. They have taken definite steps in that direction and what is more, they were always trying for a rapprochement between the landlords and the tenants in order to avoid the bitterness which we find in so many other States. And, all this they had to do under severe handicaps because we all know how Congress was trying its utmost to oust the United Front Party; and now when

the United Front Party had fully Consolidated its position and had every reason to be a very strong party, the Congress thought fit to suspend the Constitution

Article 352 of the Constitution provides for the taking over of the States Governments by the President in cases of grave emergencies and external crisis or internal disturbances and under article 356 when the Government of the State cannot be carried out. It is obvious that none of these conditions or exigencies prevailed and there was not the slightest justification for the Central Government to take over the administration of PEPSU. It was just because the Congress, under no circumstances, was prepared to allow a non-Congress Government to function anywhere in India. That was a plain fact and nothing else. I feel that it is a challenge to all the people in India who cannot see eye to eye with the Congress. This is the fate that they may expect at the hands of Congress Government.

Then as regards Sardar Rarewala, the Chief Minister. He had been unseated on technical grounds only and not on moral turpitude. According to the Constitution he could stay on for a period of six months more until he was re-elected. This concession had been shown to a number of people in India, for instance Shri Morarji Desai Chief Minister in Bombay and Shri Rajagopalachari Chief Minister in Madras, and others. And, the case of Rarewala was far stronger than that of these gentlemen, because Shri Morarji Desai was actually defeated and Rajaji had not even sought election. No fair minded person can deny that Rarewala should have been given that concession. It is a clumsy excuse that these two gentlemen Shri Morarji Desai and Rajaji were elected or nominated—to the Upper House. It is not the fault of PEPSU or of Rarewala that PEPSU has not got an Upper House.

The Constitution provided consultation with the Central Government and poor Rarewala came to the Central Government for advice. He was told he could not continue. Not contented with that, Government even ruled that it could not allow the Ministry to continue even after the election of another leader in place of Rarewala even though United Party had a majority of members in the House.

Mr. Chairman: I think the hon. Member has taken about 20 minutes.

Sardar Lal Singh: I had a good deal to say but I would finish in one minute, Sir.

In short the people of PEPSU feel that the Central Government did not suspend the Constitution as long as there was any ray of hope of the Congress Ministry being formed. But when they found that not even the slightest chance was left to form a Congress Ministry, the only alternative that they could think of was to suspend the Constitution.

The main object of the suspension of the Constitution is that Congress may be able to hold elections under its own supervision and in its own way just as it did in the case of the first elections, when the Central Government foisted a Congress Government on PEPSU for obvious reasons which I need not go into. Dr. Katju has said that PEPSU people are not accustomed to the democratic way. I think they are as much accustomed as others. Of course, they are men of self-respect and men of martial spirit. They cannot many a time see things being done which touch their self-respect. Well, I do not think this is something of which they should feel ashamed.

Dr. Katju has referred to panchayats as rival institutions. I think he cannot deny that when he was actually going through those places which are called disturbed areas, many a time bogus applications were put up to him to give impression about pitiful state of affairs there. In one case he himself happened to enquire as to who had written those applications. He was told that Babu Vakil—meaning Brisban, the President of the PEPSU Congress Party—had done it. It shows how the Congressmen there were trying to depict PEPSU in the worst possible colour and I feel that the Central Government is not being properly guided in this matter. I am sorry I have got to stop because the time is up.

گھانی جی - ایس مسافر (امرسن) :
سمہاپنی ہو ! جب یہ کانستٹی ٹھوشن
پیپروں کا ختم کیا تو وہار پہلے
دوز ہی، ایک برا جلوس نکلا کیا
جس میں تیموری کا جلاز نکا
کیا - وہاں تیموری کے بت کو

چڑھ کر یہ ثابت کیا کیا اور اظہار
کیا کیا کہ بہاں تیموری کو ختم
کیا ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ
تیموری کا جلاز اصل میں
نکالنے کا وہ وقت نہیں تھا جس
وقت یہ وہاں کانستٹی ٹھوشن کیا کیا
اس سے بہت پہلے ہی اگر یہ
کارروائی ہو جانی تو زیادہ ملابس
ہوتا - اس وقت وہاں پر جو جلاز
نکلا کیا میں اسے ملابس وقت اس
واسطے نہیں کہتا کیونکہ در اصل اس
وقت تو وہاں تیموری کو محفوظ
کیا کیا ہے کیونکہ صحیح مملوں میں
وہاں اس دذارت کے عہد میں
تیموری کی کوئی عزت نہیں
دھی نہیں -

اگر آپ واقعات کی طرف جانیں تو
آپ کو پتہ لگے کہ کس طرح سے وہاں
سمیوس کو ادھر سے ادھر اور ادھر سے
ادھر کیا جاتا تھا - یعنی ۱۰ میلوں
کے ہاؤس میں ۱۳ ایسے سہر
میں جنہوں نے کئی دفعہ - ایک دفعہ
ہیں - دو دفعہ - تین دفعہ - بلکہ چار
دفعہ اپنے کو کہیں ادھر کیا کہیں ادھر
کیا تو اگر اس کو تیماکری کہتے ہیں
تو پھر سمجھو او کہ یہ بات ختم ہوئی -

لکھیں؟ مکتب است وہ میں
فلان ، کار طفال نام خواهد شد -
دوسری بات یہ کہ ابھی میں ۵ وسیت
سوداگر لال سلطان نے زیادہ دوڑ اور بات
ہو دیا ہے کہ بہاں جو کوئی نمائت اف

اندھا ہے یا کانکریس کی جو سرکار ہے اس کی کوشش یہ تھی اور وہ یہ برداشت نہیں کر سکتی تھی کہ وہاں یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی گورنمنٹ قائم ہو۔ انصاف کی بات یہ ہے اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ میرے بھائی دامنراں سمجھتا ہوں کہ میرے بھائی دامنراں سلکو چی ہمارے ہرے پرانے سہر ہیں۔ میری بات کو سن کرو گردد اس نتیجے پر پہلے چھین گئے کہ سردار لال سلکہ چی کی بات بالکل فلٹ ہے پہلی بات یہ کہ جب وہاں کانکریس گورنمنٹ قائم ہوئی۔ اگر سرکار ہند پا کانکریس کی سلتول سرکار کی یہ نہت ہوتی کہ وہاں کانکریس گورنمنٹ بنے اور دوسری کوئی گورنمنٹ نہ بن سکے تو یقیناً کانکریس کی گورنمنٹ ٹوٹ نہیں سکتی تھی۔ اور دوسری کوئی گورنمنٹ بن بھی جاتی تو وہ چل نہیں سکتی تھی۔ مجھے بتا ہے کہ جب کانکریس ملستروں وہاں قائم ہوئو، تو پانچ ملستروں اور دو قضاۓ ملستروں بدلائے کئے۔ وہاں کی کانکریس سرکار نے کہا کہ ہم میں یہ کمی ہے کہ شہدولت کاست کا کوئی ادمی یہاں قل قلیچہ ملستروں نہیں ہے۔ اس لئے انہوں نے استیضح ملستروں سے کئی دفعہ درخواست کی کہ ان کو اجازت دے دی جائے کہ ہم ایک چھٹا ملستروں بنا لیں تاکہ شہدولت کاست کا وہاں اچھی طرح سے پرتھیلد ہتو ہو جائے۔ مگر جسے کانکریس کی کیلدری سرکار کہتے ہیں اس نے اس کو نہیں مانا۔ اہکن جب وہاں یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی

ملستروں بدلائی کئی تو اس ملستروں کو جب یہ خطرہ ہوا۔ مجھے تو یہ اعتماد ہے استیضح ملستروں پر اور سرکار ہند پر کہ جب یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی وہاں ملستروں ہیں کئی تو اس کو قائم رکھلے یہ لئے۔ اس کو مفہوم بلانے کے لئے ان کو اجازت دے دی کہ وہ چھٹا ملستروں شہدولت کاست سے بلالیں۔ ان واقعات کو کوئی جھٹلا نہیں سکتا انہیں کوئی فلٹ نہیں کہہ سکتا۔ میرا خیال ہے کہ ہابو دام نوائیں سلکو چی اس زور سے کہیں گئے کہ تمہاری بات تھیک ہے جسے زور سے وہ دوسرا باتیں کہا کرتے ہیں۔

دوسری بات۔ سپہاپتی، جی! میں آپ کی وساطت سے اور مدد سے ہاؤس کے سامنے یہ دکھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہاں ایک صاحب جو بعد میں ملستروں بدلائے کئے۔ یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ میں۔ ان کے اوپر بہت سے چڑھتے ایک دفعہ یہ کوشش کی کئی کہ یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی ملستروں میں ملستروں بدلائے جائیں۔ لیکن استیضح ملستروں نے اجازت نہیں دی۔ کہونکہ ان کے خلاف بہت سہریں چارچھڑتے۔ اور کہا کہ وہ ملستروں نہیں بن سکتے۔ ان پر مقدمہ بھی چلے والا تھا لیکن یہ یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کے لیکن زادہ زور دینے پر۔ آپ حیران ہونکے سن کر۔ استیضح ملستروں نے آوت آف وے چاکر ان صاحب کو یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ کی ملستروں کو مفہوم بلانے

[گیانی جی - ایس مسافر]

کے لئے ملستر بلانے کی اجازت دے
دی جن کے خلاف چارج ہے - اور
ان کو انہوں نے ملستر بلنا دیا -
کچھ آنریل میں: کہا چارج ہے؟

گیانی جی ایس مسافر : بہت
سینکڑیس چارج ہے جن کے متعلق
میں یہاں پر کچھ نہیں کہنا چاہتا
مگر یہ ایک فہکت ہے اور بالکل
صحیح ہے کہ پولے انکار کیا اور بعد
میں ان کو ملستر بلانے کی اجازت
دے دی کوئی۔ اس وجہ سے بھی ان کو
کچھ طاقت مل گئی ۔

ڈاٹ اے نو ڈی ۱۹۵۳: اسی کو تو کارخان
کہاتے ہیں ।

گیانی جی - ایس - مسافر : سلا
جانا ہے کہ کانگریس کی سوکار ملستروں
ام کے خلاف ہے - میں کہنا ہوں کہ
کانگریس کی جو سوکار ہے اس کا
منشا یہ تھا کہ وہاں کوئی استھبیل
چیز بن جائے - چاہے کسی پارٹی
کی بنے - کسی نے تجویز پیش کی
کہ چب نہا الیکشن ہوگا تو اس سے
بوا خطرہ ہوگا - شاید کانگریس والے نہ
جهت سکھیں تو ہمارے نہتاؤں نے کہا
کہ خواہ ایک کانگریسی بھی نہ دوئی
لیکن ایک پارٹی وہاں مفہوم ہو
چائے - ہم تو چاہتے ہیں کہ وہل
ایک استھبیل ڈونسلٹ بن جائے -
ہمارا مقصد یہ نہیں ہے کہ وہاں
کس خاص پارٹی کی ڈونسلٹ بلے ۔

تہسیل بات میں آپ کے سامنے
یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کہہں نہ
کہہں یہ سوال چھوڑا جاتا ہے کہ
اس میں سکھوں کو پلچھ کیا گیا
ہے - ایک بات تو میں یہاں ہی
بتلا دوں کہ چب سے وہاں ڈمکریسی
شروع ہوئی ہے وہاں کا چھف
سینکڑیتھی کوئی نہ کوئی باہر سے ہی
جانا رہا ہے - اس خہال سے کہ پیہسو
میں نئی نئی ڈسکریسی شروع ہوئی
ہے اور وہ تھیک طرح سے کام چلاتے
کہہں باہر کے کسی استھت سے یا
سروکار ہلڈ کا کوئی اچھا ایڈمیسٹریٹر
بھیجا جانا تھا - یہ پہلی دفعہ ہے کہ
وہن کے پوناٹیتھیڈ فرنٹ کے چھف
ملستر نے کہا کہ میرا کام تھیک
سے نہیں چل سکتا - اگر آپ ہماری
مدد کریں تو مجھے اپنی مرضی سے
یہاں پیہسو میں دھلے والا کوئی
چھف سینکڑیتھی بلانے دیں - اگر آپ
اس کی اجازت دے دیں تو مجھے
کام چلاتے میں زیادہ سہولت ہوگی
استھت ملستروں نے اجازت دی کہ
پیہسو کے سوقی صاحب چے دیوسلکہ
جی کو چھف سینکڑیتھی بلانے کیا
وہ قابل ہیں اچھے ہیں مجھے اس
پر اعتراض نہیں کہ ان کو کہوں بدایا
کہا میرا کہنا یہ ہے کہ ہماری ہلڈ
سوکار کی یہ خواہیں ہیں کہ پیہسو
میں کام اچھا چلے - اسلامی انہوں نے
پوناٹیتھیڈ فرنٹ کے لیتھ کی یہ بات
مانی اور کہا جس طرح سے ان کا کہ

اچھے طور سے چلے ہم اس کو مانتے
کے لئے تھاہ ہیں -

Sardar Lal Singh: On a point of order. I want to enquire from you whether my hon. friend is in order in disclosing (Interruption)

Some Hon. Members: There is no point of order.

Sardar Lal Singh: There is. My hon. friend is disclosing talks or discussions that took place in the States Ministry. May I know whether he had access to them, or whether he was being consulted, because he represents Punjab and not PEPSU?

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order in this.

گھانی جی ایس مسافر : سردار
لال سالکہ جی کو اگر اس پر اعتراض
ہے تو وہ اس کی تردید کر دیں کہ
ایسا نہیں ہوا -

سਰدار اد۔ اس۔ سہنگل : (بیلاسپور)
उنکو تنازعہ کیا میل تھی تھی ؟

گھانی جی - ایس - مسافر : جو تھیں
بات جو میں اس سلسلہ میں کہنا
چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ کہ ہمیشہ یہ
قائدہ ہوتا ہے کہ اگر کوئی سہر اپنی
پارٹی چھوڑتا ہے اور دوسری پارٹی میں
جانا چاہتا ہے تو اس کو چاہئے
کہ جائے کے پہلے وہ اپنا استعفای دے -
پہلے اس کا استعفای ملظوہ ہو تب اس کے
بعد وہ کسی پارٹی میں جا کر شامل
ہو اور کچھ عہدہ لہنا چاہتا ہو تو یہ
مگر ہاؤں دو یہ بات سکر حیرانی
ہو گئی سپاہیتی جی ! میں آپ کی
واسطت یہ یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ
وہاں کے کچھ مدرس نے اپنا ڈاگو

چھوڑی تو پہلے ان کو انتیت مذکوری
نے اجازت دے دی کہ وہ استعفای ملظوہ
ہونے کے پہلے حلف لے لوں تاکہ
یونائیٹہڈ فرنٹ کو کوئی اعتراض نہ
دے - پہلے انہوں نے حلف لے لی اور
بعد میں ان کا استعفای دفتر میں
آیا - ایسا مجھے بتایا کیا ہے -

کانگریس پارٹی کے ساتھ مہرا بھی
سمبلدھ ہے - کانگریس آنکھائیشن سے
مہرا سمبلدھ رہا ہے اس لئے میں
پہلے سے ان باتوں کو نوٹ کرتا رہا
ہوں - اور مجھے ان کاموں پر بوا
اعتراض رہا ہے جب کبھی ڈاکٹر کانجھو
پھیسو میں کئے تو ان کے واپس آنے
کے بعد وہاں کے جو کانگریسی ہیں ان
کو شکیتیں مہرے کالوں میں پہنچیں
کہ ڈاکٹر صاحب یہاں آگر جو یونائیٹہڈ
فرنٹ کی ملستدی ہے اس کو زیادہ
مغضوط کر لئے ہیں - کیونکہ ان
کی باتوں کو انہوں نے زیادہ دھیمان سے
سلا ہے - دوسروں کی باتوں کو انہوں
نے دھیمان سے نہیں سلا - میں ایک
مرتبہ شری لال بھادر جی شاہنہبی کے
ساتھ پھیسو کیا تھا بہتلا میں ایک
بڑا بھاری جلسہ ہوا - تقریباً سارا شہر
اکٹھا تھا - وہاں میں انہی کاؤن سے
شری لال بھادر جی کو یہ کہتے سنا
اور انہوں نے لوگوں کو سمجھایا کہ
سوکاڑ ہلد کے سامنے یہ بات نہیں ہے
کہ یہاں پر کس جماعت کی
ملستدی ہے - اس لئے سب لوگوں
کو اچھی طرح سے سن لیتا چاہئے

[گھانی جی - ایس مسافر]

کہ بہاں جو بھی ملستروں ہوئی اس کا حکم چلے گا - ہماری کوئی ملشا نہیں ہے کہ ہم کسی تھلک سے اس ملستروں کو کمزور کریں - ان کی یہ تقریر میں نے اپنے کاتوں سے سُنی -

تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان باتوں کی موجودگی میں یہ کہنا کہ سرکار ہلد کا نوئی ملشا تھا کہ اس ملستروں کو کمزور کیا جائے - یا وہ کسی فیروں کا تکریسی ملستروں کو بردشت نہیں کر سکتی تھیں - یہ بات بالکل غلط ہے - یہ کسی طرح بھی ماننے لائق نہیں ہے -

کے وقت ایک گروہ آیا اس نے ایک مہاجن کو پکڑا اور اس سے کہا کہ شہ کو پون کسار کا گھر بتاؤ - اس کو نبھ ساتھ اس کے کھنک لے کر اور وہاں سے اس کی نوجوان لوکی کو اٹھا لہا - اس واقعہ کے دن ایس - چی - اور ایس - اُنی - وہاں موجود تھے - اور وہ لوکی ڈاکوؤں نے ۱۷ ہزار ڈوبیہ لے کر واپس کی - اس طرح سچھے اور مثالیں میدے پاس موجود ہوں - گونہاں - مانسا ملتی - لہرا گا اور شہر گوہ ایسے گاؤں ہیں جہاں سے دن کے وقت ڈاکو لوکوں کو اٹھا کر لے گئے اور کافی ڈوبیہ لے کر ان کو واپس کیا -

لا ایلند آرڈر کے متعلق مہرے بھائی نے کہا ہے - ہو سکتا ہے کہ اس سے پہلے بھی جو حکومت تھی اس کے زمانہ میں بھی وادا تھیں ہوئی ہوں - مگر یہ بات تو بالکل سودج کی طرح درشن ہے کہ پچھلے دنوں میں کچھ ایسے واقعات ہوئے ہیں جن کی وجہ سے وہ استہلت ملستروں، پا سی، ہلد چو کہ یہ چاہتی تھی کہ وہا، آئے۔ ہلچال نہ ہو - ۰، ۰، محبود ہو گا۔ یہ ماننے کے لئے کہ سچ میج دیاں لا ایلند آرڈر کی حالت خراب ہے - چند ایک مثالیں مہرے پاس ہیں - ایک گاؤں ہے تلونقی صابو جس کو دمدمہ صاحب بھی کہتے ہیں - وہاں دن

جیسا کہ ہمارے ملستروں صاحب نے ابھی فرمایا یہ بات تھیک ہے کہ اس وقت بھی وہاں ۶۰ گاؤں ایسے ہیں جہاں عملی طور پر کمپونسٹوں کا دلچسپی ہے - ایسا کیوں ہے - آج یہ دعویٰ کیا جاتا ہے کہ جو یونائیٹہڈ پارٹی کی مہاجارتوں تھیں ان کو توز دیا گیا ہے - میں یقیناً یہ کہتا ہوں کہ ال تین کمپونسٹ ممبر اس طرف مل جاتے ہیں شاید ہاؤس میں باری مار لے جائے - مگر کمپونسٹوں کا تو یہ طریقہ ہے کہ ایک ملستروں بنانے میں تو وہ شامل ہو جاتے ہیں مگر ایسے قائم کوئی میں شامل نہیں ہوتے - وہ دوسری طرف ہو جاتے ہیں کہ ایسے توز دیا جائے - اس لئے ان کے

بھروسے جلموں نے سانہ گاؤں پر قبضہ کیا ہوا ہے اور لکان وصول نہیں ہوئے دیتے کسی منسٹری کو قائم رکھنا مجھے نامسکن سی بات نظر آتی ہے ۔

سچھاپتی جی : مہن آپ کی اجازت سے ڈومن ملت میں ایک بات اور کھلا جاہنا ہوں ۔ کہا ہے کہ اس سے سکھوں کو نازارگی ہوگی ۔ مجھے اس بات کا پتہ بھی لکا ہے کہ کچھ بڑے بڑے سوداگر سکھوں نے کٹی موقعوں پر اپنے خجالت کا اظہار کرتے ہوئے یہ کہا ہے کہ سکھوں کو نقصان پہنچ دھا ہے ۔ انہوں نے اس پر بڑے دکھ کا اظہار کیا ہے ۔ اور جیل جانے کی تہذیب کی ہے میں کہتا ہوں ۔ سچھا پتو جی ۔ کہ اس بھروسیں صدی میں ضبور ایک وقت ۔ ہوں پر تکلیف کا آیا تھا ۔ جس وقت کہ پلقدت جواہر لال جاگر نابھ میں قید ہوئے تھے ۔ وہ سکھوں پر ایک بڑی مصہبہت اور دکھ کا وقت تھا ۔ جس وقت پلقدت مونی لال جی الہ آزاد بھوں کے پہلویں سے انہکر جوں جو لٹی کی کدمی میں اپنے لائل کو نابھ کی جیل میں دیکھ لائے تھے ۔ وہ وقت سکھوں کے لئے بڑی نکلیف اور دکھ کا وقت تھا ۔ وہ وقت وہ تھا جب سہانسا گاندھی جی نے اکال تخت صاحب میں اُکر دکھ کی انسو بھائی تھے وہ وقت تھا جب پلقدت مالویہ جی نے عدالت میں جاگر سکھوں کا کیس پھنس کرتے ہوئے انکوپڑا سوکھ کے

بلائے ہوئے جیج کی آنکھوں سے انسو نکلوا دئے تھے ۔ وہ واقعی سکھوں پر مصہبہت کا وقت تھا اس وقت ان بڑے سوداگروں دو کوئی دکھ محسوس نہ ہوا ۔ سبھا پتی جی میں ایک مثال آپ کو دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس وقت کتنا دکھ تھا ۔ اور یہہ جو کہتے ہیں کہ ہم پر اس وقت بڑا دکھ ہے ۔ وہ اس نے سانہ اس کا مقابلہ کریں ۔ مہرے ایک دوست تھے جنلسٹ اُن کا نام تھا سوداگر اسلام سلکھ ۔ وہ ایک اخہاد نکالنے تھے ۔ جس کا نام تھا لائل ٹوٹ ۔ آپ اس نام سے ہی سمجھے سکتے ہیں کہ وہ انگریزوں کے کتلے وفادار تھے ۔ لیکن انہوں نے بھی الہ بچوں کو بلا کر ایک دوڑ کھا کہ میں جہل جاتا ہوں ۔ اب میں نہیں وہ سکتا کہوںکہ اسر وقت سکھوں پر دکھ کا وقت ہے ۔ چھوٹے چھوٹے بچے تھے ۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ ہم کیسے کوارڈ فریلانگے ۔ انہوں نے بچوں سے کہا کہ میں تاویخ میں یہ نہیں لکھوانا چاہتا کہ ایک سکھ کا بچہ جس میں سکھ کا خون تھا جب سکھوں پر مصہبہت کا وقت ۔ آیا اس وقت وہ چھل میں نہیں کہا میں ایک ستم بیپ ڈا بھتا ہوں ۔ اس لئے میں ہمدرد جہل جاؤں گا ۔

میں ایک اور مثال دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ سکھوں پر مصہبہت کا وقت تھا جب کہ ماسٹر تارسلکھ جی نے لہور گورنولارہ قیصرہ صاحب میں کہا تھا کہ سکھوں پر اس وقت مصہبہت ہے ۔

[گھانی جو - ایس۔ مسافر]

اس وقت جو مدد نہیں کریکا وہ سکھ
کا سچھ، ہیں ہے۔ انہوں نے یہ بھی کہا
تھا کہ اس وقت الگ گورو ہماری
مدد نہیں کریں گے تو ہم
کہہنے کے کہ وہ ہمارے گورو نہیں ہیں۔
یہ ان کے لفظ تھے کہ جو سکھ مدد
نہیں کریکا وہ سکھ نہیں ہے اور الگ
گورو ہماری مدد نہیں کریں گے تو ہم
گورو سے بھی مدد کو ہو جائیں گے۔ جو
سکھ اس وقت انگریز کے زمانہ میں
چپ چانپ بھیتھے دیے اور جن کو کوئی
دکھ نہیں ہوا۔ اج وہ سکھ کہتے
ہیں کہ ہار ہم پر بڑا دکھ ہے۔ میں
مانتا کہ ان کو بڑا دکھ ہے اگر
وہ اس وقت انگریز کے زمانہ میں
سامنے آتے اور سکھوں کے درد میں
شامل ہوتے جس وقت کہ آں انتدیا
انگریز کمیٹی نے اپنا دفتر
امتسد میں جاکر کھولا تھا۔ سکھوں
کی مدد کرنے کے لئے۔ اس وقت جن
سکھوں کو جوہ نہیں آیا اج وہ کہتے
ہیں کہ سکھوں کو بڑا نقصان ہوا ہے
ہم قانون توزیل کے مددی سمجھو میں
یہ بات نہیں آتی۔ میں بھی سکھ
ہوں۔ میں بھی چاہتا ہوں کہ
کسی تھلک سے سکھوں کا بہلا ہو۔ مگر
میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ بہاں پر اس مسئلے
پر کوئی بھی گوبز پیدا کرنا کسی
تھلک سے بھی نہیں ہے۔
میرے پاس ثابت نہیں ہے۔ میرے
پاس اور ۴۴۴ ت سی باہن کہندے
کو ہیں۔ مگر میں سماں پذیر ہو

آپ کی اجازت نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے
اس سے زیادہ کچھ نہیں کہدا چاہتا
ان لفاظ کے ساتھ میں یہ کہدا چاہتا
ہوں کہ یہ کہدا انگریزی سرکار وہاں
کسی دوسری وزارت کو سلسلہ سوکار
دیکھنا نہیں چاہتا تو یہ بالکل غلط ہے
اس بات کا کسی کو قطعاً ختم
نہیں ہے۔ مہرا جو کچھ انگریز
آرکلائزیشن سے تعلق ہے۔ اس کی
جانکاری کی بنا پر میں کہتا ہوں
کہ انگریز عائی کمائی کی طرف سے
تو یہ کوشش کی کئی کہ وزارت
قائم دی اور وہ صوبہ بھی اچھے تھلک
پر آجائے اور دوسرے صوبوں کے ساتھ
ہو جائے چاہے رہاں وزارت کسی
بھی پارٹی کی ہو۔ یہ بات میں اپنی
جانکاری سے کہتا ہوں۔

(English translation of the above speech.)

Giani G. S. Musafir (Amritsar):
Mr. Chairman, on the day the Constitution was suspended in PEPNU, a big funeral procession was taken out and an effigy of democracy was burnt to express the feeling that democracy had been buried there. In my view the proper time for doing so was not when the Constitution was suspended, but much earlier than that. I do not call this occasion as opportune, because at this time, democracy has actually been made safe and it was during the regime of the Ministry that democracy had no value.

If you study the events you will realize how often members changed sides. Out of the 60 members of the House, 13 changed sides not once, or twice or thrice but four times. If this is called democracy, then that is the end of the matter.

My friend S. Lal Singh has laid great stress on the point that the Government of India, or in other words the Congress Government, could not tolerate a United Front Ministry. My hon. friend B. Ramnarayan Singh, who is a member of long standing would

agree with me that S. Lal Singh's assertion is totally incorrect. If the Government of India or the Congress Central Government wanted only a Congress Ministry to function there, then the Congress Ministry there could not have been thrown out, and no other Ministry, even if one was formed could have carried on. I know that when the Congress Ministry was formed there, five Ministers and two Deputy Ministers were appointed. It repeatedly requested the States Ministry that as there was no full-fledged minister from among the Scheduled Castes, permission may be given to appoint a sixth minister to represent the Scheduled Castes. The Central Government did not agree to this. But, one may criticize the States Ministry and the Central Government on the fact that when the United Front Ministry was formed there, it was given permission to appoint the sixth Minister in order to strengthen and stabilize the Ministry. Nobody can deny this. I think Babu Ramnarayan Singh would, in his usual emphatic manner, support my view.

Sir, there is another point which I would like to place before the House through you. A member against whom there were serious charges and against whom a case was going to be started was sought to be included in the United Front Ministry, but the States Ministry did not allow it in the first instance. But you will be surprised to know that at the insistence of the leader of the United Front, the States Ministry went out of its way to give permission for appointing this gentleman against whom there were charges as Minister simply to strengthen the United Front Ministry.

Some Hon. Member: What were the charges?

Giani G. S. Musafir: There were very serious charges, about which I would not like to say anything here. But it is a fact that in the first instance the request was turned down but later on it was acceded to. This strengthened the Ministry to some extent.

Dr. N. B. Khare: This is what is called corruption.

Giani G. S. Musafir: It is said that the Congress Government was against this Ministry. I say that it only wanted to see a stable Ministry, to whatever party it might belong. Someone expressed the fear that in the fresh elections the Congress might not be able to win. Our leaders replied that it did not matter even if not a single

Congress candidate won; they only wanted to see a strong party and a stable Ministry and not the Ministry of any particular Party.

The third point is the allegation made in certain quarters that the Sikhs have been punched in this matter. I might recall the fact that since the inception of democracy in Pepsu, some person from outside has always been appointed as Chief Secretary there with a view to securing efficiency of administration usually a person from another State or a good administrator from the Centre was sent there. It was the Chief Minister of the United Front who for the first time suggested that a person belonging to Pepsu would be more suited to the administration and requested that he might be allowed to appoint a Chief Secretary of his own choice. The States Ministry accordingly agreed to the appointment of Sodhi Jaidev Singh as Chief Secretary. He is an able man and I do not object to his appointment. My point is that our Central Government was keen on having a good administration in Pepsu. That is why it accepted the request of the leader of the United Front and pointed out to him that it would accept any proposal of his which was conducive to better administration.

Sardar Lal Singh: On a point of order. I want to enquire from you whether my hon. friend is in order in disclosing (*Interruption*).

Some Hon. Members: There is no point of order.

Sardar Lal Singh: There is. My hon. friend is disclosing talks or discussions that took place in the States Ministry. May I know whether he had access to them, or whether he was being consulted, because he represents Punjab and not Pepsu?

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order in this.

Giani G. S. Musafir: If S. Lal Singh takes exception to this it is open to him to contradict this.

Sardar A. S. Saigal: What was the salary drawn by him?

Giani G. S. Musafir: My fourth point is that according to an accepted practice, any member who wishes to leave one party and join another, must resign first. After his resignation is accepted he can join any other party and take office under it. But, Mr. Chairman, the House would be interested to

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know that the States Ministry allowed some members leaving their party to make the new pledge before resignations were accepted, so that the United Front might have no objection. They made the pledge before the receipt of their resignations in the office. This is what I have been told.

As I have been connected with the Congress Party and the Congress organization, I have been noting these things and I have always objected to such things. After Dr. Katju returned from PEPSU, complaints of Congressmen there reached my ears that his visit, in effect, had strengthened the United Front Ministry. They paid more attention to his advice than to the advice of others. Once I had occasion to accompany Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri on a visit to PEPSU. A mammoth public meeting was held at Bhatinda and almost the whole of the people of the town had gathered. There I heard with my own ears Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri declaring that the Government of India was not interested in having the Ministry of any particular party and telling the people that the will of the Ministry functioning there would prevail and that they had no mind to weaken this Ministry in any way. In view of these things it would be totally wrong to say that the Central Government wanted to weaken this Ministry or that it could not tolerate any non-Congress Ministry. None can believe this.

My hon. friend has referred to the law and order situation. Of course, there were incidents during the regime of the previous Government too, but it is as clear as daylight that on account of the incidents which have occurred in the recent past, the States Ministry or the Central Government which did not want any disorder, was convinced that the law and order situation there was really precarious. I can give certain illustrations. In village Talwandi Sabo, also called Damdama Sahib, a band of dacoits caught hold of a Mahajan and ordered him to direct them to the house of one Pawan Kumar. He was forced to accompany them to his house, from where his young daughter was abducted.

The S. P. and the S. I. were present on the day of the occurrence but the girl was handed back after payment of a ransom of Rs. 17 thousand to the dacoits. I can give some more examples. Dacoits have kidnapped boys in broad daylight from the vil-

lages of Goniana, Mansa Mandi, Lehragaga and Sher Garh and have returned them after extorting considerable sums of money.

As the hon. Minister has just said, it is true to say that practically Communist rule prevails in 60 villages there. Why is it so? It is alleged that the majority of the United Party has been broken. I can say with certainty that even if three Communist members had gone over to that side, they would perhaps have secured a majority in the House. But the Communists, who are prepared to help form a Ministry do not help in letting it continue. They go over to the other side, so that the Ministry may be dissolved. To me it seems impossible to expect that they, who have occupied 60 villages and who prevent the collection of land revenue, would help in keeping a ministry in office.

It has been said that a wave of resentment would spread among the Sikhs. I have also come to know that some prominent Sikhs have expressed their resentment against the alleged injury being caused to Sikhs and have made preparations for going to jail. Mr. Chairman, I must say that in this twentieth Century there was certainly a time when the Sikhs were beset with troubles and hardships. It was the time when Pt. Jawaharlal was imprisoned in Nabha and his father Pt. Motilal, leaving his palace at Anand Bhavan had come to see him in jail in the gruelling heat of June. Those were really hard times for the Sikhs. It was in those days that Mahatma Gandhi shed tears at Akal Takhat Sahib and Pt. Malviya, presenting the case of Sikhs in a Court set up by the British, had moved the Judge to tears. That was really a time of calamity for the Sikhs. At that time these leading Sardars felt no pain. They should compare the situation which was obtaining then, with the present situation and decide. I had a journalist friend named S. Amar Singh. He ran a newspaper called the "Loyal Gazette". From this name, you can form an idea as to how loyal he was to the British. Even a man like him gathered his children together one day and told them that he could not tolerate it any longer; he must go to jail, as it was a critical time for the Sikhs. The children were minors. They protested that they would not be able to support themselves. But he told them that he, the son of a Sikh did not want it to go down in history, that at a time when a calamity had

befallen the Sikhs, he had refused to go to jail. As Sikh blood was coursing through his veins, he must go to jail.

I may give another example. Those were hard days for the Sikhs when in Gurdwara Dera Sahib, Master Tara Singh appealed to the Sikhs for help and declared that those Sikhs who did not come forward would not be true Sikhs and that even if the Gurus did not come forward to help, he would disown them. Those Sikhs, who at that time during the British regime kept silent and aloof and felt no pain, who did not feel enthusiastic when the All-India Congress Committee opened its office in Amritsar to help the Sikhs, today declare that serious harm is being done to Sikh interests and that they would break the law. I cannot understand it. I am also a Sikh and I want the welfare of Sikhs in every way, but I say that creating any kind of disturbance in this connection would not be proper.

I would like to refer to many other things, but I have no time. I would only say that it is totally wrong to say that the Central Government cannot tolerate any non-Congress Ministry there. On the strength of the information I have on account of my association with the Congress organization, I can say that the Congress High Command actually endeavoured to keep a Ministry, irrespective of its party affiliations, in office, so that Pepsu should progress and come on par with other States.

Dr. S. P. Mukherjee: It is rather unfortunate that while discussing this matter of importance we should be dragged into any controversy as regards the merits or demerits of the claims that may be put forward by the Sikh community. My approach to the problem would be not in consideration of any particular community, but in consideration of the claims of the people living in that State.

The Home Minister, the Minister of States, elaborated a little too much on the point that Government was not being actuated by any party considerations while taking this extraordinary step. In fact, with all apology to Dr. Katju, it seemed the lady was protesting too much. After all the fact remains that PEPSU was the one Ministry in the whole of India which was a non-Congress Ministry and it was, therefore, necessary for the Government to be extra careful in applying the emergency provisions of the Constitution. My hon. friend who spoke just before me, I believe, did disclose

certain secrets or certain information which he possessed, but one thing he said was very damaging to the States Ministry. We are talking about corruption, about inefficiency, maladministration and so forth. The hon. Member just now said that with regard to some of the Ministers at any rate, who according to him were very undesirable—I do not know that—in PEPSU, they were selected with the special approval of the States Ministry and the States Ministry gave their consent knowing their undesirable character, because they wanted to see perpetuated in PEPSU a non-Congress Ministry! What an argument! What an argument from a supporter of the Government! It is not possible for us to know all this, because we have not got the materials before us—(Interruption). I am not going to yield—baring the little romantic story we had from the hon. Minister, as to what exactly was happening in PEPSU. We had some list of dacoities, robberies, murders, etc. Well, unfortunately, there are many States in India where in portions of some States (An Hon. Member: Bombay State) such serious occurrences are going on. (An Hon. Member: Delhi). It is a tragedy that we cannot avoid them. What is the special report the House has got? We are told the Rajpramukh has submitted a report. Where is that report? I would like to see it. Why is it not placed before Parliament? It is not an easy matter when Parliament is being asked to set its seal of approval on a matter like this. It is suspension of the Constitution, and suspension of the Constitution in relation to a State where the ruling party in the country is not in charge of the affairs of that State. Therefore, it was necessary, as I said, for the Government to have been extra-careful in placing before us facts and materials which would go to show that it was impossible, in the opinion of the President, for the Constitution to function in that State.

What is the main fact that has been given? Election petitions are pending. Are they not pending elsewhere? What is the immediate reason for promulgating this order? The order of the Election Tribunal, setting aside the election of the Chief Minister? Is that by itself such a serious occurrence? He is not at fault? Give him a chance. He might have been asked to stand for re-election within a month or so. If you want to base your argument on this that the policy of the Government of India or the President is that it would not like to see functioning in any State in India a Ministry which has not a clear and a comfortable majority in the House, I can understand it—although I doubt

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whether the provisions of the Constitution could be made applicable to such a case. But if you do that, look to your own house. We had the story about the Orissa Ministry. There the Congress Party had not a majority. The rebels from the Congress, who stood at the last General Elections in defiance of the Congress mandate, have been—what shall I say—cajoled to come into the Congress Party so that they might have a majority. What about Madras? How has a majority been formed there? How was Shri Rajagopalachari called upon to become the Chief Minister? He was nominated Chief Minister.

Shri B. S. Murthy: Even today.

Shri G. P. Sinha (Palamau cum Hazaribagh cum Ranchi): But you have seen the voting results.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Yes, I have seen. But many other results also you will have to see, only if you have the patience.

There the Chief Minister was not in office at all; he was nominated Chief Minister. Is there anything in the Constitution which permits that? There is nothing to prohibit it, as was the case under the old Government of India Act.

What has happened with regard to Rajasthan? You are talking about a particular meeting of the Legislative Assembly in PEPSU being postponed. Is not Dr. Katju aware of the fact—when the Ministry in Rajasthan, the Congress Ministry in Rajasthan, ceased to have a majority in the House and when a no-confidence motion was tabled, and when the day on which the motion was to be considered came, who asked the Speaker to give an adjournment? And what happened during the next few days during which the Congress Ministry was again allowed to have a majority? The no confidence motion could not be moved. These are telling facts.

What is the position of Travancore-Cochin? Is there a comfortable majority for the Congress Ministry there?

You have got to look at all these cases if you really, sincerely and genuinely accept this proposition, that the Government of India wants to see established in every State a Ministry which has a comfortable majority in that Legislature. I am not so much against it. But if that is your principle, apply it consistently, genuinely,

sincerely with regard to all the States in India.

What were the alternatives which were open to you? Dr. Katju knows very well that the Constitution gives him ample powers for directions to be issued to the PEPSU Ministry. Were such directions issued? Is not the House entitled to ask what were those directions which were issued to the PEPSU Ministry when those serious matters, to which reference has been made by the hon. Minister, were not being carried into effect by that Ministry? And what reply did the PEPSU Ministry give? We are entitled to that information.

Again, may I draw the attention of the House to articles 352 and 353 of the Constitution? It is not necessary for you to take recourse to article 356 and completely put the Ministry, which is in power with the majority of the votes of the members of the House as then composed, out of operation. You could have partially brought the authority of the Central Government over the affairs of that province. The articles in the Constitution are there. There are stages indicated. You might have taken over law and order, of which Dr. Katju is so fond and in which he is such a proficient master. He could have easily taken that in his own hands and shown what sort of a model law and order he is going to establish in PEPSU. The PEPSU Ministry would have submitted itself to his authority without any compunction.

All these matters are embodied in the Constitution. But you do not do anything of the kind. The Chief Minister loses his seat as a result of an election petition. You do not give him a chance to stand for re-election. There are by-elections pending, and in two of the by-elections the Congress was defeated and the party in majority in the PEPSU Legislature has come out successful. You do not allow the other seats to be filled by by-elections. You do not order that within the next one or two months all the remaining seats which have been declared vacant on account of election petitions should be re-filled by by-election. You waited for so many months. Why did you not wait for a few months more and allow all these seats to be filled by by-election and meanwhile take charge of law and order under the provisions of the Constitution? What answer can you give? It will not do for Dr. Katju to get up and say: I do not mean to interfere with any other political party. It will not be relevant for me on this occasion to say things which

have come to my knowledge in the last few days and make interesting revelations in regard to the manner in which law and order is administered under the authority of the hon. Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Home Minister of the Government of India. But if any occasion arises, and if I am free, I hope I shall be able to tell even my friends who may be sitting opposite to me as to how this administration of law and order is being carried on under the distinguished patronage and guidance of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju.

But the point is that you did not take advantage of any of these provisions of the Constitution. Why do you do so? We are entitled to draw conclusions from your conduct. And your conduct is that you want to see uprooted from only one State, where a non-Congress Ministry is functioning, that Ministry and want to create conditions so that when the next elections take place you will have a Ministry of your choice. We are having President's rule. We are placing officers there. Dr. Katju said in his speech: well, look at these Part B States, they have no experience in administration as we fortunate people in Part A States have; there is corruption, inefficiency, there is manipulation made by officers. Now does he want to play a little of this manipulation with regard to this period of rehabilitation through which PEPSU will have to pass under the directive guidance of Dr. Kailas Nath Katju? I suppose that that is the sort of programme he has in view. At any rate people become suspicious, because the facts are not placed before us.

He has referred to the activities of the Communist Party. I have no love lost with them. They like to put their dagger into me and metaphorically if I can do so I will return the compliment. It is not a question of my liking or disliking the Communist Party. If the Communist Party functioning there had a vestige of foothold in some areas in PEPSU, the remedy is not the President's rule, the remedy is for your party to be a little more active and to undo the mischief which the Communists might be doing. If you think by suppression by the doing. If you think by suppression, by the President's rule and by the Preventive Detention Act and all the other weapons that Dr. Kailas Nath Katju has in his pocket, you can uproot all the different political parties from the country, I may tell him that he will soon find that he is living in his own paradise. That is not going to happen so easily. I say if the Communist Party has done anything unlawful or dangerous, ban the Communist Party

in PEPSU. Bring out the Communist Party workers who are doing such things. He has been telling us that some areas are out of Government control. Who were those people? Why can you not prosecute them? Why can you not bring them to book. Why can you not send troops from here and take charge of particular areas? You say Government is not functioning. It is not a disgrace on the PEPSU Government. It is a disgrace on Dr. Kailas Nath Katju who cannot enter into his area.

Dr. Katju: On a point of order. Can any hon. Member refer to a Minister by his name over and over again?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I agree, Sir.....

Dr. Katju: If he thinks that he brings others into contempt, he is very much mistaken.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: At least once I have succeeded in seeing Dr. Kailas Nath Katju losing his temper. I withdraw. I shall not mention his name at all. I shall only say Home Minister of the Union of India.

The point which I am stressing is this. It is a very serious matter. The Home Minister gets up here and says that in this State of PEPSU there are certain areas where law and order has ceased to function. I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that it is not a party question at all. For that the remedy is not by undoing the Ministry that is in power. What help was offered by the Government of India and when did the Government of India come to know that such a state of affairs has come into existence—that, in a particular State in India and in particular areas, particular groups of villages the Government's writ does not function? It will not do for Government merely to transfer the blame on the PEPSU Ministry. Therefore, I would say that the procedure which has been followed is wrong—a procedure which can be followed in case of real emergency which is not proved. Those of us who are familiar with the circumstances under which such provisions have been put into the Statute book remember very well that we were extremely anxious that they should be applied only in cases of grave emergency and there also we have made out gradations so that Government could not abuse its power. In the case of a State where a non-Congress Ministry was in power, it was doubly necessary for the Government to have placed full facts and materials and to have satisfied the House that the Government have ex-

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plored all other possible avenues and when they have found no other means except by having recourse to article 356, they have decided to do this. For this reason, I am unable to extend my support to the resolution which the hon. Home Minister has moved, and I would beg the hon. Members who belong to the ruling party not to look at it from the point of view of the party itself; if you want to see democracy established in this country, what you are doing is just to sound the death-knell of democracy and for these developments, you are creating precedents for which you will not be happy in your leisure moments, if any; neither will you be able to hand over anything to posterity for which you may feel proud.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): It is really a surprising thing for the Home Minister and Minister of States to talk about breakdown of law and order in PEPSU and that for that reason the Constitution is being suspended there. At the present time the United Party has got 26 members out of a total strength of 51, nine members having been unseated, while the Congress has only 20. It is well known that after the General Elections there were certain States, particularly like Madras and Orissa where the Congress was in a minority and yet, the Constitution was not suspended there. Within a few days or weeks, the Congress High Command—the High Command consists of members of the Government and nobody else—managed to have Rajaji, as a nominated member of the Madras Council, to form a Ministry and become its Chief Minister. In the same way in Orissa, the minority was made into a majority by bringing in all kinds of people. Probably the Ministry even today is in a tottering condition because the Adivasi members might leave the Congress any time. The Congress had given them the name "Adivasis' Congress". Now-a-days the leader of that party says that he belongs to Adivasi or Jharkhand Party. In these places such a necessity has never arisen, nor in the States where there are dacoities, murders, etc. For instance in Madhya Bharat, a part of Vindhya Pradesh, a part of Uttar Pradesh and in Saurashtra—Bhupat's country—all kinds of things are happening for months and yet, the Government of India does not announce the President's rule in those States. As Dr. Mookerjee has pointed out, there is absolutely no doubt that because PEPSU has a non-Congress Ministry, the President's rule has been brought up and as I whispered at the

time because the Home Minister says so many times, I say "the lady protested too much". It is the desire of the Government of India to finish that PEPSU Ministry and the United Democratic Party and consolidate the Congress during this period of President's rule so that the Congress may be able to come in a majority and a Congress Ministry may be formed there.

In this connection, I wish to refer to the discussion of these articles when they were taken up in the Constituent Assembly. Here is what Mr. Kamath had foreseen. He said:

"There are grave dangers lurking in the article brought before the House today. The dangers are that on the pretext of resolving a ministerial crisis or on the pretext of purifying or reforming mal-administration obtaining in a particular State, the President may have recourse to this article 278."—Now it is 356; the number is changed—"I am sure that this article is not meant to resolve any ministerial crisis that might arise in any particular State for which the remedy lies elsewhere. The remedy lies in the dissolution of the Legislature by the Governor and a reference to the electorate."

Then, there was a question by Pandit Kunzru:

"May I ask my hon. friend Dr. Ambedkar to make one point clear? Is it the purpose of articles 278 and 278A to enable the Central Government to intervene in provincial affairs for the sake of good Government in the provinces?"

Dr. Ambedkar said:

"No, no. The Central Government is not given that authority."

Pandit Kunzru asked:

"Or only when there is such misgovernment in the provinces as to endanger the public peace?"

Dr. Ambedkar said:

"Only when the Government is not carried on in consonance with the provisions laid down for the

constitutional government of the provinces. Whether there is good Government or not in the provinces, it is for the people to determine. I am quite clear on the point."

Further on, he said:

"The proper thing that we ought to expect is that such articles would remain a dead letter. If at all they are brought into operation, I hope the President who is endowed with these powers will take proper precautions before suspending the administration of a province. I hope the first thing he will do would be to issue a mere warning to a province that has lagged, that things were not happening in the way in which they were intended to happen in the Constitution. If that warning fails, the second thing for him to do will be to order an election allowing the people of the province to settle the matters by themselves. It is only when these two remedies fail that he would resort to this article. It is only in those situations that he will resort to this article. I do not think that we can then say that these articles were imposed in vain or that the President had acted wantonly."

It is very unfortunate that the communication from the Rajpramukh, describing the conditions in the State is not before us. It should be before us. Otherwise, it is impossible to judge why it has become necessary to suspend the Constitution there.

Again, take a recent thing. When the Home Minister talks of law and order in PEPSU, as far as I remember, the case of those States, Patiala, Nabha and so on, was rather peculiar. When the States Ministry brought the State of PEPSU under its direct control, it took about three years, and the law and order situation was the same as it is today; or as some of my friends from the Punjab claim, it is better. If it is better, so much the better. I want to know from the States Minister what he was doing in those three years when the law and order situation had not improved.

Dr. N. B. Khare: He was in the state of dynamic neutrality.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: There is no use talking about law and order in these small Part C States. Take the States in Part A or Part B, particular-

ly Part B, for which the States Ministry has got a lot of responsibility. What is happening in Rajasthan? What is happening in Madhya Bharat? What is happening right here in Delhi? Sir, you will be interested to know what has happened to three distinguished Members of this House who were detained. Their case came before the Supreme Court and they have been released by the Supreme Court from detention. Here in Delhi the Home affairs are directly in the hands of the Home Minister. We find the police failing in their elementary duty when effecting the arrest and remanding to custody three hon. Members of this House. Government must be thankful that the Supreme Court has merely ordered release and not passed any strictures on the conduct of the police.

Mr. Chairman: I think the hon. Member need not go into the details of that matter.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: I am not going into the details, Sir. But the matter that I am referring to will no doubt come out in the near future and then the doings of the Home Ministry for the maintenance of law and order will be fully exposed.

For these reasons, I oppose the resolution. I do not see that the Home Minister has made out any case at all.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I listened with some amusement to the anecdote which came from the hon. Minister of States and also to the formidable ejaculations made by my hon. friend from the Punjab, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir. But, I feel that as far as the resolution is concerned, no case at all has been made for it.

We know that there must be some sort of a rotten state in the PEPSU. There is no doubt about that. But, the steps which are being proposed by the Government of the day are by no means intended to set the crooked straight, because, if Government really wants to put an end to the rotten state of PEPSU, then, other steps would have been taken. For example, the Rajpramukh, who in the context of what happened recently might be described as Charles I was described by the English Parliament as the 'moth of all goodness' should have been sacked first of all. He should have been suspended. Something ought to have been done in order to register the disapproval of all decency in regard to activities which have gone on in PEPSU, which have led to the present state of things. Or, if Government

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wanted to show its bona fide, then they could proceed and take steps for merging the scattered uncompact areas of PEPSU into an understandable State. If Government were serious about its own intentions, regarding agrarian reforms, which have been talked about by the hon. Minister of States, then Government could have done a great deal more about it than what it has done. But nothing of that sort has been done. On the contrary we find Government trying to take shelter in a most equivocal fashion behind an article of the Constitution. I found a Mark Twain quotation which said that in statesmanship 'you get the formalities right, never mind about the moralities'. I do not know if Government has the same intention. I hope the legal advisers of Government have at least tried to see that the legal loopholes are not there, but I am sure, as far as the desirability, let alone the morality, of this procedure is concerned, Government has not proved its case at all. Even in regard to the formalities also, there are certain points which have already been alluded to by my hon. friends Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Sarangadhar Das, they have not been abided with.

I tried to find out what exactly was in the minds of the makers of our Constitution, when they invested our President with certain emergency jurisdictions. I know that many of our erstwhile Constitution-makers are arrayed on the other side, but I wanted to find out what was their mental reaction when they were operating in the more rarefied atmosphere of the Constituent Assembly. I know very well what their reactions are now when they are puffed with power and the pride which goes with it. I looked up the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly in 1949, to some of which reference has been made by my hon. friend Mr. Sarangadhar Das, and there I discovered that it was said unequivocally, particularly on the insistence of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, that the Central Government was not going to be invested by these emergency provisions with power to interfere in the activities and the constitutional life of the States, unless a very grave situation had arisen. It is absolutely clear that article 356 can be exercised only after certain formalities have been observed, only when all other constitutional means have failed, constitutional means such as giving directions, giving a warning, ordering elections, and that sort of thing. But nothing of that sort has been done, and as Dr. Mookerjee pointed out, we do not even know the kind of report which has been sent by the precious Rajpra-

mukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

As I said earlier, there is no doubt that there is a regrettable state of affairs, which has persisted for sometime in PEPSU. Dr. Katju has waxed very eloquent on that point. I recapitulate some of the facts which, of course, are very well known. The Congress Ministry under Col. Raghbir Singh had to resign, and then there came the Rarewala Ministry, which started, it seems, manoeuvring for position—I am quoting the words which were used by the hon. Minister of States, on a prior occasion. This reference to manoeuvring for position by each party, by securing adherence from the opposite camp, went on in a manner which is extremely unsavoury, and which throws a lot of light on the working of the Congress brand of democracy. It is a sad reflection on the crudity and cupidity of Congress members, at least as far as PEPSU is concerned. The hon. Minister wants restoration of sound administrative conditions. He used the expression 'restoration of sound administrative conditions', which, desirable as it may be, is no valid reason for the invocation of article 356 of the Constitution. It is only on the failure of constitutional machinery and not otherwise, it is only on the happening of that contingency that you can proceed on the basis of article 356, which we are told, the President is now requisitioning in order to assume powers on to himself. In order to cover up this menage, this rather unsavoury mess of things, Dr. Katju, the hon. Minister of States, has tried to sound very plausible and has tried to take shelter behind this talk about agrarian reforms. He said that he is very keen on these agrarian reforms going through. There I would like to pin him down. I would like to say that it is exactly in reference to agrarian reforms that the Central Government has shown its teeth against the interest of the people. There is no doubt about that. As far as we are concerned, in PEPSU, our position has been and is very clear. We know that Rarewala, the outgoing Chief Minister, who is the uncle of the Rajpramukh of PEPSU, is a dyed-in-the-wool sort of communal reactionary. We know also that the Raghbir Singhs of PEPSU are similarly big landlords, who are hand in glove with such elements as the Raja of Faridkot, and the feelings of the people about either of these groups are such that I do not wish to characterise them in the language which really fits. But I am reminded of the 18th century, when in London, the people had a doggered

about the parties which were fighting inside the House of Commons, and the doggerel ran somewhat like this:

"What this rogue loses, that rogue wins,

All are birds of a feather,

Let us damn the 'outs' and damn the 'ins',

And damn them altogether."

If you do not like this particular doggerel, I shall quote Shakespeare to you, and say that as far as we are concerned, we told these groups: "A plague on both your houses", you are both behaving in dastardly fashion, as far as the interests of the people are concerned, and we tried to do what we could in the circumstances. We sat there and utilised our strategic position by insisting that the Rarewala Ministry or any other Ministry, if it were going to continue, must do something in order to further the interests of the people, and we may say that to a certain extent we got some little results. It is not very much. There is not much to write home about, nothing to make a song about, but we could do something. And here is a statement issued in December—on the 3rd December 1952—by Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala in which he castigates the Communists in PEPSU, but where he tries to list a number of measures which his Government had passed or was striving to get through the Legislature, which would be somewhat ameliorative of the condition of the people. And I must concede that there are certain measures which had been pushed through, which have brought about a certain improvement in the condition of the peasantry. There are certain Bills, as for instance, the Bill to deal with the tenants-at-will, by fixing batai and giving them certain rights to acquire ownership. This benefited 50,838 tenant families, and about 40 per cent. of the cultivable area of PEPSU was coming within the ambit of this particular benefit. This is one example of the kind of thing which we could extract. I do not say we ever went out of our way to compliment the Rarewala crowd, but we tried to see that the interests of the people were not given the go-by, and to a certain extent, we succeeded.

But lo and behold, what do we see? We see that as far as the Government is concerned, they do not like this kind of thing at all. I am sorry that the hon. Minister of States has gone out for the time being—he has left no stone unturned—I see him coming now, and I shall repeat that he has left no stone unturned by means of visits and other-

wise to see that whichever measures were good for the interests of the agrarian people were hindered and made infructuous. I say it as a challenge. I accuse the Central Government of this country that a united front of reactionaries had to be set up, because that alone would satisfy their objectives. Therefore they tried this method in an area, where the living conditions of the people, and their natural born militancy irresistibly drove them towards a somewhat basic transformation of society. It was exactly in that area, that they wanted to get these two rival groups, fighting, jealous landlord groups together. That is why confabulations had happened over and over again in PEPSU, in order to bring the Rarewala and the Raghbir Singh crowds together and behind it can be seen the spectre of the Rajpramukh and the feudal scum of a decaying social order that is passing.

And when you see it in this context, it is only then that you realise the gravity of the conspiracy; it is then exactly that we can find out why this extraordinary measure, this extra-constitutional measure has been adopted in regard to PEPSU.

There is another aspect of the matter to which, fortunately, because you are trying to ring the bell, I find.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has got two minutes more.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: In any case, there is another aspect of the matter to which fortunately for me, because you say there are only two minutes to go, reference has already been made by other speakers. I am glad reference has been made by other hon. Members, because we are rather closely concerned with this kind of political vindictiveness on the part of the ruling party. I refer to the fact that while the Congress Government talks, shall I say, foam-at-the-mouth fashion, against totalitarianism, its practice is very remarkable! Whenever it thinks, wherever the Congress is not strong in the Legislature, the Damocles' sword of Presidential rule must hang, and this particularly is to be seen in the case of Andhra where a new province is announced to be in a process of formation.

In connection with this, you must have seen reports in the papers about the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee and on the basis of the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee, as reported in the papers, a Congress newspaper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, which in

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

its editorial of the 7th March applauded the President's action in regard to PEPSU, writes about Andhra as follows:

"If the Congress Party manages to have a decisive majority in the Legislature of the new Andhra State, the problem will be solved. But if the Congress Party does not get a majority, or in case the majority is too small for a stable Government, the President may have to intervene and take over the administration as he has done in PEPSU."

Now, this is common talk all over the place in regard to Andhra, in regard to Hyderabad, in regard to Travancore-Cochin; the Damocles' sword of the employment of the President's emergency jurisdiction is always hanging over particularly those elected Legislatures where the Congress does not have a comfortable majority. I could have understood it if the Congress had come forward with an understandable programme of work, if the Congress had come forward definitely against the Rajapramukhs, if the Congress had ordered expedition of the bye-elections which are in the offing, if the Congress had seen to it that the present constitutional machinery, whatever its faults, was maintained for the time being and if the Congress had directed quick disposal of measures in favour of agrarian reform. I could then have understood the situation, but in the absence of any bona fide effort to ameliorate the condition of the PEPSU people, I consider this an extremely drastic violation of the rights of the people, and as such, I oppose the resolution.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): I beg to support the resolution moved by the hon. the Home Minister. To use a common phrase, there must be something rotten in the State of PEPSU. Law and order have been completely violated, sanctity of life and property has been set aside. Whether we agree with our opponent or not, we have to uphold the sanctity of life and sanctity of property. We may not enjoy that property, but we cannot destroy property which has been reared by the sweat and labours of any man or person. We have now come to a drastic stage of having the Proclamation by the President under article 356. The 'A' class States number nine, the 'B' class States number eight and the 'C' class States number ten and in one of the 'B' class States, the President has exercised the discretion of issuing a Proclamation.

My hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, whose presence we welcome in this House—we would like to have him here rather than elsewhere—raised an important point whether the President should submit to this House the report of a Rajapramukh or a Governor. This is a very moot point. There has been no decision on this point. But I would like to submit that the report of a Rajapramukh or the report of a Governor sent to the President prior to the Promulgation of action under article 356 could not perhaps be open to this House for the simple reason that it is a report of a very high officer sent bona fide in the discharge of his duties and may or may not be produced before this House. I would like, at some time or other, a decision either by the hon. the Speaker or even perhaps by a test case in the Supreme Court, on whether the report sent by a Rajapramukh or a Governor to the President is open to this House before action under article 356 is promulgated.

Something has been said in this House about the position of the Sikhs. I do not think that in this Union of India, governed as it is under the ideals of a secular State, any action has been taken against any particular community and that any action has been prompted by the deeds, by the good deeds or misdeeds, of any community. We are the greatest admirers of the Sikh race. They are a valiant race; they have spilt their blood on all the battle fields of the world; right from France to Hong Kong, the graves of the Sikh soldiers lie. They have borne the brunt of the battles of freedom with the strength of their arms and courage and we offer them a great tribute of praise. But be that as it may, we cannot also be participants in any kind of action which subverts the character of the State. I would lay down this maxim—that no community should exert an influence or threaten to exercise an influence beyond its own numbers, except on character, on public service and on its conduct as patriots. My own community of Christians or the community of Sikhs or any minority community in this country or in any other democratic country shall not exercise influence or threaten to exercise influence which is not warranted by its numbers except on character and public service. By this test alone, whether it be a Sikh or a Muslim or any minority community or anybody, the foundations of a secular State shall be built up. By this alone we can keep this country going; otherwise, if each community demands

more influence than its numbers warrant, we shall have the destruction of the ideals of our State. Some friends may come and tell me: 'Oh, the Hindus are in a majority. They can exercise that influence'. I would say, 'certainly, as long as they are in a majority, you cannot thrust them into the sea or drown them or put them in a barricade or throw them out'. As long as each community has its numbers, it may exert an influence, but beyond that number it shall not threaten to influence the ideals of the secular State except on the basis of character and public service as also on the high ideals of patriotism.

As I said we are the greatest admirers of the Sikh race. In the State of PEPSU it is agonising to see these bed-chamber politics when Ministries change overnight, when people throw away their loyalties and fling them into the dust-bin. Or perhaps we might enact the scenes which have been enacted in France when one Ministry topples down almost every month and comes another. I have not had the joy of seeing PEPSU, but I had the pleasure of the acquaintance of the Rajapramukh and the Maharaja of Faridkot and of Master Tara Singh during the Simla Conference. I miss my friend Sardar Bhopindra Singh Mann, who was a Member of this House and also a member of the first Ministry there. It was my fortune or misfortune to go to the Simla Conference when the fate of India went down the hill and when partition became a sore and pressing problem. In 1945 I watched with great but pathetic interest Mahatma Gandhi going up to Mohammed Ali Jinnah's house in Bombay for 18 days. I also watched our Prime Minister and Mahatma Gandhi going to Lord Wavell in Simla during the Conference, and also certain decisions which became inevitable because of certain things which happened in the streets of Lahore when partition became inevitable. We shall not repeat these things. We shall not have this kind of anarchy or disorder by which the foundations of secular State are being shattered. If perhaps it is inevitable that under article 356 PEPSU shall be taken over, it shall be taken over. No argument shall be trotted out that something happened in Bombay and you cannot do it in PEPSU. Bombay is the most efficiently and well administered State in India and what perhaps holds good in Bombay cannot hold good anywhere else. With these few words, Sir.....

6 P.M.

Mr. Chairman: I will just appeal to the hon. Member to finish early for the hon. Minister has to reply.

Shri Joachim Alva: I offer my unstinted support for the resolution moved by the Home Minister and hope that within a period of six months or within a year at the most, things would be planned up so much so that like a ripe fruit from the tree falling, PEPSU may be ready for a democratic State of Government.

Prof. Agarwal (Wardha): To our very great regret amazing things have been happening in PEPSU during the last one year. PEPSU in the right sense of the word has become the playground for politicians. It has become a kind of arena for all selfishness and political opportunism. When I say this, I say of all parties including the Congress. The Congress believes in self-criticism, in self-examination and when the Congress leaders found that things were happening and going beyond the limits, they cried halt to it and ordered an enquiry into the affairs. We do not want to mince matters. But, I want to ask, is that the way in which democracy should function in this country, especially in a border State where you do not know who is who. Everybody changes colours and coats—I am talking of all parties. People talk about other States, Rajasthan, Orissa and Madras. But can anybody point out to me that those people who co-operated with the Congress were offered Ministerships and Deputy Ministerships. What happened for example in PEPSU? The United Front Party originally consisted of 23 Akalis. There were two Independents. (*Interruption*). There were seven others who joined them later.

Shri Punnoose: I would draw the hon. Member's attention to what happened in Travancore-Cochin.

Prof. Agarwal: Out of the seven persons who joined purely out of opportunism, it is remarkable, six were taken, one as Speaker, the other as Deputy Speaker, two as Ministers and two as Deputy Ministers. (*Interruption*). This is an amazing state of things and still people talk of Rajasthan. What happened in Rajasthan? Have we offered any Ministership to persons? A few persons have come. I may say for the information of the House, several people who acted against the Congress at that time have not been taken into the Congress and will not be taken into the Congress. There are several applications pending of people who want to come. We do not want to encourage this sort of democracy in this country. It raises several constitutional points. It is for the country to consider what kind of independence is growing up in our democratic set-up. In PEPSU all these people who have been changing from

[Prof. Agarwal]

one side to the other happened to be independents and they have no loyalties to any party. Of course, they say that they are free to join this side or that side. But, I hope, the public of this country will benefit from this example in PEPSU and see that in future people belonging to well organised parties with definite purposes only are encouraged and not independents who do not have any loyalties to one party or the other.

In PEPSU it is said that the States Ministry wanted to help the Congress. I can say with full confidence that the States Ministry was all the time feeling embarrassed because of all this, and what should have happened some months ago happened now. We do not want to take any advantage. We have been telling everybody and I say it now that Congress is not out to capture power anyhow. Of course, we have enquired into the affairs of the Congress also and we are determined to set our own house in order. Let others also do so. I would welcome that and it is entirely for the electorate to do whatever they like. We are prepared to be in the wilderness in PEPSU. It does not matter at all but the thing that we decry here is that in the name of democracy all sorts of things should not be allowed to function any more.

A word about law and order in PEPSU. People have said, "Well, there are dacoits elsewhere". But, in PEPSU what are the conditions? Out of the eight districts, in about four districts there has been complete panic during the last few months. Dacoit gangs operate almost throughout the State and there is evidence of crime in many places, all kinds of crimes, so much so that even vehicular traffic on the main roads is not able to ply peacefully. There are about 60—and some say 80—villages where there is parallel Government—although my friends opposite may not admit it. Here all sorts of taxes are being collected in the name of the parallel Government, all punishments are imposed and the Ministry that has just gone out felt helpless. They wanted to cling to power somehow. There are large collections of unauthorised arms and in spite of all instructions from the Counsellor the Ministry failed to take any action against them or try to seize them. That is not the way in which any State, particularly a border State, should be allowed to function. Therefore, I would plead with you that whatever has been done in PEPSU was overdue and it has been done not for this party or that party but for maintaining law

and order in a State which can ill afford to let democracy run loose.

About the Government servants in that State also, I would like to say a few words. Representations have been pouring in—and they have appeared in the Press—that many Government servants, including some high officials, openly sided with some parties during the recent elections and even in the discharge of their ordinary duties. I would plead with the States Minister to order a kind of impartial enquiry into all this. He says that he wants to hold elections in a fair and tranquil manner. If the States Ministry is keen on this, they must punish those who may be found guilty. Otherwise, if the same officers are allowed to go on there, I do not think we can have any hope of holding fair elections in that place. (Interruption). We are discussing today PEPSU; therefore, I am talking of PEPSU. Everywhere if a Government servant interferes, he must be punished and we must enquire into his conduct.

Dr. Mookerjee spoke with a little bit of bitterness and his bitterness is quite understandable. He was trying to take the hon. Home Minister's name all the time in a humorous and funny manner. Well, I was very much surprised because the hon. Member formerly spoke with restraint and in a parliamentary way, but today I think he somehow imbibed the PEPSU atmosphere and I do not think.....

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna): On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: What is the point of order?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: The hon. Member mentioned that another hon. Member has imbibed the PEPSU atmosphere. It is an insult to both of them.

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order.

Prof. Agarwal: Therefore, I would say that those who really talk of democracy in this country should also know and realise that law-makers cannot be law-breakers in this country and they cannot encourage law-breaking. Therefore, if we want to set up healthy traditions in this country, we must—at least Members of Parliament—stand for maintaining peace in this country and then only we can set our house in order in PEPSU and elsewhere.

Shri Nandhari (Fazilka-Sirsa) rose—

1949

Resolution re:

12 MARCH 1953 President's Proclamation 1950
on P.E.P.S.U.

Mr. Chairman: Yes—I find that hon. Members are clapping. I appeal to them not to do so, but hear the hon. Member patiently.

Shri Namdhari: Sir.....

Some Hon. Members: Speak in Hindi.

Shri Namdhari: If I do, my South Indian friends will not understand.

Mr. Chairman: Let him address the Chair.

Shri Namdhari: I was fed up by hearing that only the non-Congress Ministry has been superseded by the President's rule. I am simply surprised. I wonder whether those who say this are sleeping or awake. Where there is complete law and order, naturally the Central Government do not interfere, but the question is whether there is a stable Ministry or not. In PEPSU there were three Parties and each one was adopting a frog-policy, that is, jumping this side and that, and the Ministry was unstable. In Punjab, there was an overwhelming majority for the Congress, but when the Central Government found it in the interests of the masses, they were honest enough and did not care whether it was a Congress Ministry or a non-Congress Ministry, and suspended the Congress Ministry. I want to remind the critics on the other side about this, and ask them what reply they have. Had this PEPSU affair been the first attack, they could have exploited it, being professional agitators, but the first attack was on the Congress Ministry in Punjab, where due to instability the Congress Ministry, which commanded an overwhelming majority, was suspended.

I belong to a frontier constituency. During my last tour, I went to Thana Nathana Ferozepur district. It borders on PEPSU. My hon. and noble friend, Sardar Lal Singh, said that there is disturbance of law and order even in Punjab, Ferozepur district. Well, naturally there is, because Ferozepur of Punjab borders on PEPSU, and if a good charactered girl comes in contact with a bad character, naturally the effects will be there. People cannot even go out to collect their cotton. Murders and dacoities are common. I do not want to explain them in detail. I halted at Giddobha police station and the magistrate told me, "Better take two armed constables. You are our representative in Parliament. Since there is a lot of lawlessness, we find it our duty to give you protection". But I felt insulted to take two constables, but since the magistrate felt it his duty, we had to take their help. If we, Mem-

bers of Parliament, could not tour without police help, how can ordinary people move about?

Recently I had been to celebrate Holi in PEPSU area. On my way back, I met an ex-Major who was coming to Delhi. I asked him why he settled in Dhuri now and did not stay in his village. He said that it was impossible for him to live in his village. Even a military officer finds it difficult; and feels unsafe. But these agitators exploit the position in the name of religion. I do not know why great sins they are committing. If in Hyderabad, the majority of the people are Hindus, Hindu majority will have to rule. If in Kashmir, the majority of the people are Muslims, Muslims have to rule. Why should anyone be afraid? If there are 66 per cent. Sikhs in PEPSU, then let the right people come into power and let there be a stable Government. Should a few Sardars, and some professional agitators, who do not look to the public interest, exploit the situation for their own ends? I submit that these people have misled the masses. The Congress is the guardian for the whole nation. Sikhs need not be afraid. As my hon. friend Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir has said, even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru courted arrest in *jato morcha* and the whole Congress gave support to the Akali movement. The Akalis are not bad. It is the leadership which is bad. The masses are not bad. It is the leadership which is bad. Our friends talk of our religious rights being trampled upon. They say that Government has interfered with their religious rights. Sikhs never wanted to join the exploitation in the name of the Praja Parishad. When the Nankana Martyr Day was celebrated, it was celebrated everywhere, even in Amritsar in Gurdwaras on the actual day of martyrs, that is, 21st February, why then they celebrated it in a public place again on 22nd? Section 144 was not used only for the sake of the Akalis; it was promulgated long before. But their action was intended only to mislead the Sikh masses in the name of religion and help the other movements like the Parishad movement. My submission is that Sikhs should follow the policy of their Gurus, who selflessly sacrificed a lot for the sake of the whole nation. The result is that fifty lakhs of Hindus and others baptised to Sikhism and even Master Tara Singh has converted himself from Nanak Chand to Tara Singh, being impressed by the Guru's sacrifices. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Chairman: Let him speak more about PEPSU now.

Shri Namdhari: You have disallowed so many illegal adjournment motions of the Opposition. Otherwise, there is no chance to expose these professional exploiters. This is the only way out. As far as the Sikh masses are concerned, I say this: we are their servants. We are with them. If they want to celebrate Nankana Martyr Day, I am sure even Shri Jawahar Lalji and Congressmen would join them, but it is only to mislead the Sikhs in the name of religion that this public display was held in Amritsar.

Nothing wrong has been done in PEPSU. So much has been said about the Rajpramukh. Nothing unconstitutional will be done. The Rajpramukh, the Maharaja of Patiala, was the first man who put his State into the Indian Union. He gave the lead to all other States and sacrificed first, we should not forget that. If these exploiters have temporarily misled him, we will cure him patiently and fit him in new conditions.

About Dr. Mookerjee Saheb's anger, I have no grievance. He is naturally angry. It would have been better if Dr. Katju Saheb had immunised him first, just like a surgeon, who before operating immunises the patient by first giving some anaesthetic injections. But I do not see why he should have been so much angry and should have indulged in personal talks. I was wondering: the Chairman was there and yet what did all this mean?

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

We have sympathy, but why should there be so much anger? Why should they do such things as put them in trouble? My submission is that in PEPSU nothing unconstitutional has been done. Let the 66 per cent. Sikhs and others elect the right people—the masses will elect them. The Central Government only wants the right people to run the Stable Government—people who will truly represent the masses, and not a few Sardars and professional agitators who do not see public interest first.

श्री चिन्नारिया (महेन्द्रगढ़) : मैं तो यह समझने लगा था कि पेप्सु की डिमाकेसी तो डिस्टर्ब हुई ही है, यहां की भी डिस्टर्ब हुई है। पेप्सु पर डिस्कशन होता है, पेप्सु के चार पाँच मेम्बर बैठे हुए हैं, लेकिन अब तक उन को मौका नहीं दिया गया। उन की कोई आवाज ही नहीं है। हमारे

जिन्दगी का सबाल हमारे सामने है फिर भी पेप्सु के रहने वालों को बक्त नहीं मिला। लेकिन यह शुक्र है कि हमारे घर में खराबी हुई तब एक साल बाद मुझे खड़े होने का मौका मिला, वर्ता शायद किसी को मालूम भी नहीं कि पेप्सु का भी कीई यहां बैठा हुआ है। यहां पर लोग कहते हैं कि यह गवर्नरमेंट कांग्रेस को सपोर्ट करती है, लेकिन हाल यह है कि यहां पर हमारी पेप्सु की कांग्रेस को कोई रिप्रेजेन्टेशन नहीं मिलता। घर की बातें तो बाद में कहुंगा। उल्टे इल्जाम लगा रहे हैं। अगर हम कांग्रेस पर इल्जाम लगायें कि वह हमारी मदद नहीं कर रही है तो एक बात है, लेकिन मुझे तो दुख होता है कि बिल्कुल इस की उल्टी बात कही जा रही है। अगर इस हाउस में मैं एक एक बात बतलाने लगूं तो वह एक घन्टे में भी खत्म न होगी। यहां की चिन्हिस्त्री ने, यहां की गवर्नरमेंट ने और यहां की कांग्रेस ने कांग्रेस वालों के खिलाफ क्या क्या काम किये हैं। आज कांग्रेस वालों के लिये यह कहा जाता है कि उन्होंने यह कर दिया या वह कर दिया। हमारे दिलों से पूछिये कि वहां के आदिमियों को क्या क्या शिकायतें हैं।

वह लोग कि जिन्होंने कास पकोर किया है उन्होंने आज नहीं किया बल्कि मन् ४८ में किया था। इस के लिए आप पहले की हिस्त्री देखिये। मुझे दुख है कि पेप्सु में डिमाकेसी फेल हुई। क्या आप समझते हैं कि इस से कांग्रेस वालों को खुशी हुई थी, ऐसा नहीं है। हमें रंज है कि पहले हमारे यहां पेप्सु में डिमाकेसी फेल हुई। कौन चाहता है अपनी बदनामी ? मैं कांग्रेस से ताल्लुक रखता हूँ और हमारा हर्ड कमान्ड और दुनिया जितना वहां की कांग्रेस को कमजोर समझते हैं उतनी कमजोर नहीं हैं। और

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Member must address the Chair and not Sarder Lal Singh.

हम दिला देंगे जब इलेक्शन आयेंगे कि कौन जीतता है। मुझे सिफ़र दृश्य इस बात का है कि गलत इलाज में लगाया जाता है। इस हाऊस में कहा जाता है कि गवर्नरमेंट ने कांग्रेस की मदद की है। मैं तो इस हाऊस को मुल्क की सब से बड़ी पंचायत समझता था। मैं बचपन में देहात में यह सुना करता था कि पंच परमेश्वर होता है। परमेश्वर जहां होता है, वहां सचाई और अकल होती है। सत और चित के मिलने से परमेश्वर होता है। इसलिये पंचायत में सच्ची बात कहनी चाहिए। लेकिन यहां क्या है? इधर बाले एक बात को चाहे वह सही हो या गलत ही सही कहेंगे और उधर बाले इधर की बात को गलत कहेंगे। तो सचाई पर तो नहीं रहे। अगर डिमाकेसी के माने पंचायत राज के हैं तो इस को सच्ची पंचायत बना दीजिये। किसी पार्टी की ज़रूरत नहीं है। सच्ची बात कहिये। मेरे दिल में जो सच्ची बात मालूम होती है उसे मैं मान लूँ, आपके दिल में जो बात सच्ची मालूम होती है उस को आप मान लें। लेकिन बाकाया यह नहीं है। मुझे कांग्रेस में आज तीस बरस हो गये हैं। लेकिन सैर। यह दिल की आग थी। हमारे सरदार लाल सिंह जी इस बक्त बहुत सी बातें कर रहे हैं, वह मुझे शाबाशी दे रहे हैं लेकिन शायद आगे नहीं देंगे। यह तो दिल की आग थी वह निकल चुकी। अब दूसरा आदमी बोल रहा है।

मुझे तो खुशी होती अगर आज सरदार हुक्म सिंह जी बोलते। मैं उन को जबाब देता। उन के लिए मेरे दिल में इज्जत है। आप के लिए भी है। लेकिन उन से अपनायत थी। उन को मैं अपना बुजुर्ग समझता हूँ। आप ने भी एक लक्ज कह दिया कि वह सिल्व मैंजार्टी का लाका है।

श्री चिनारिया : तो सिल्व इलाका है, यह एक बड़ी अजीब सी बात बन गयी है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में अगर हम हिन्दू और मुसलमान और सिल्व की बात कहते तब तो कोई बात थी। अंग्रेज ने ही हम को अलग अलग होना सिखाया था। आज हिन्दुस्तान हमारा है। यह कहने से क्या बनता है? सिल्व कब बने थे। जब मुल्क ने यह समझा कि एक फ़ारेन गवर्नरमेंट यहां राज कर रही है उस बक्त सिल्व बने, काली पगड़ियां बांधी और फौज खड़ी की उन से लड़ने के लिए। अब वह लोग नहीं रहे। उनके बाद आने वाले भी निकल गये लेकिन आज भी वह फौज कहती है कि हम कुछ अलग चीज़ हैं। तुम तो मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिए थे। अगर मेरा एक भाई आज फौज में भरती हो जाय तो वह खाकी बरदी पहनेगा। लेकिन पेंशन ले कर जब वह घर आये तो उस बक्त भी क्या उस को कहना चाहिए कि मैं तो तुम से अलग हूँ, मैं खाकी पहनता हूँ? तो वही बात सिल्वों की है। कोई नयी बात नहीं है। सिल्व मजाहब की मैं उतनी ही इज्जत करता हूँ जितनी कि सरदार लाल सिंह या श्री मुसाफिर साहब करते हैं। मैं गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी की उतनी ही इज्जत करता हूँ। और ग्रन्थ साहब में कोई ऐसी चीज़ नहीं है जिस को कि मैं हिन्दू रहते हुए भी न मान सकूँ। इसलिये आज के हिन्दुस्तान में तो सिल्व के कोई मानी ही नहीं हैं। जो लोग आज सिखिज्म का नारा लगाते हैं वह यह नहीं समझते कि हम सब हिन्दुस्तान के हैं, हिन्दू सिल्व बगैरह का कोई सबाल आज नहीं है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में सिल्व थे, हिन्दू थे, मुसलमान थे, जैनी थे, लेकिन वह चीज़ तो आज बिल्कुल बदल गयी है।

[श्री चिनारिया]

अभी मेरे दोस्त सरदार लाल सिंह यहाँ ठंडी हवा में यह बात कह गये कि पेप्सू में तो राडेवाला ने स्वर्ण ला दिया था। मिस्टर श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने भी कह दिया कि डाके तो बम्बई में भी पड़ते हैं, पहले पड़ते थे और अब भी पड़ते हैं। ठीक है। डाके पड़ते हैं, अब भी पड़ रहे हैं और आगे भी पड़ेंगे, लेकिन डाके मालदारों पर ही पड़ते हैं। पर पेप्सू में क्या हालत है? आप जा कर एक जट्टी से पूछिये कि क्या उस में इतनी हिम्मत है कि वह दोपहर को रोटी ले कर खेत पर अपने आदमी को दे आवे? उस के गल में एक पचास रुपया का कंठा है, तो उस को डर है कि अगर वह रोटी देने गयी तो यह कंठा लौटेगा या नहीं, हो सकता है कि उसका कंठ भी दबा दिया जाय। उस किसान को पूछिये जिसे बक्त बेबक्त खेत पर जाना पड़ता है, खेती के काम से रात को भी जाना पड़ता है, रखवाली के लिये खेत पर रहना पड़ता है, बक्त बेबक्त बैल ले कर जाना पड़ता है। उस को डर है कि वह बैल ले कर लौटेगा भी या नहीं। यही नहीं उसे यह भी डर है कि मेरी जान भी बचेगी या नहीं। किसान खेती करने खेत पर नहीं जा सकता। यह हालत है। वहाँ आदमी घर से बाहर नहीं जा सकता। यह हालत तो किसान की है। दुकानदार और पैसे बाले की तो मजाल क्या है कि इधर से उधर भी जा सके। मेरे दोस्त लाल सिंह जी चाहते हैं कि फाईफ इवर प्लान भी आ जाय, सेलक सफीशेंसी भी हो जाय, लेकिन वहाँ यह हालत है कि किसान को यह पता नहीं कि वह खेत से बापस भी आ सकेगा, कैसे व्यापार हो सकता है, कैसे कोई सिनबत वहाँ हो सकती है? उसे अपनी जान का डर है, इस तरह कैसे कोई काम हो सकता

है? यह चीजें वह नहीं देखते। यही नहीं बतें ठहरा कर लूट ली जाती हैं..

श्री श्री० एस० सिंह (भरतपुर-साकार्ह माओपुर) : सरकारी कर्मचारी तो वही रहेंगे।

श्री चिनारिया : अंग्रेज ने दो चीजें ही तो यहाँ छोड़ी हैं। आज भी हम उन्हें चला रहे हैं, एक तो ब्यूरोक्रेटिक सिस्टम और दूसरा यह निकम्मा ऐजूकेशन का सिस्टम जिस से आदमी के हाथ पेर ही निकम्मे हो जाते हैं। वह किसी काम का नहीं रहता। यही दो चीजें अंग्रेज छोड़ गये हैं। पर हमारे पेप्सू में तो एक तीसरी चीज़ है जिसे काकाकेसी कहते हैं। अभी कल मिस्टर मोरे ने दो चीजें बताई थीं, एक देशमुक्तेशी और एक दूसरी मोरोक्तेशी। मगर हमारे यहाँ एक तीसरी काकाकेसी है। इधर मालूम नहीं काका से क्या समझते हैं पर हमारे पंजाब में काका से बेटा समझा जाता है। हम बेटे को काका कहते हैं। तो पेप्सू में बड़े बड़े फूरूडल लैडलार्डस के लड़के बड़े बड़े बोहंदों पर और पुलिस में काम करते हैं। इसीलिये कहने को तो वहाँ डेमाकेसी भी लेकिन वहाँ तमाम सरविसेज पार्टीज के साथ शामिल थीं। कोई काम हो यह पूछा जाता था कि तुम किस पार्टी में ही। अगर पुलिस में रिपोर्ट भी लिखता है तो यह पूछा जाता था कि तुम किस पार्टी में हो, किस पार्टी से ताल्लुक है। यह डिमाकेसी वहाँ पर बर्क कर रही है।

मेरे दोस्त यह कहते हैं कि गलत चीज़ कर दी गयी है, कांग्रेस की रिजायत की गयी है। अगर रिजायत की गयी है तो उस जनता के साथ की

गयी है जो कि उस गवर्नरमेंट से दुखी थी। मैं नहीं कहता कि कांग्रेस गवर्नरमेंट हो या कोई और हो। हमारे यहां के नेताओं को तो शायद स्थाल भी नहीं होगा कि वहां कांग्रेस थी भी। मुझे तो शक है कि उन्हें आया स्थाल भी है कि नहीं कि कांग्रेस वहां थी। मगर उन्होंने आजादी आते ही इन्हीं राड़े-साला साहब को प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनाया जो आज अमृतसर में जा कर सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं, बरना उन को कौन जानता था, एक सरकारी अफसर थे, राजप्रमुख के रिस्टेदार थे, लेकिन पालिटिक्स से उन का क्या बास्ता था। यह यही कांग्रेस गवर्नरमेंट है जिस ने कांग्रेस को भुला कर राडे-साला को आगे रख कर चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाया, और एक बार नहीं, तीन चार दफा उसी तरह से बनाया। तो आज आगर वहां कहा जाय कि कांग्रेस कमचौर है और कांग्रेस को मजबूत करने के लिये यह किया जा रहा है तो बिल्कुल गलत है। “इस्थालस्तो महाऽस्तो जनू अस्त” में तो यही कहूंगा।

अभी तो असली बात में ने कही ही नहीं, बहुत सी बातें कहनी थीं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are two more Members. They belong to PEPSU. One is Shri Ranjit Singh and the other is Shri Ajit Singh. They want to speak.

श्री चिन्मारिया। अगर दो साहबान म बोल रहे हैं तो उन का बक्स भी मुझ को ही दे दिया जाय।

Shri Ranjit Singh (Sangrur): PEPSU is the only State in India where the Sikhs are in a majority. Six months before the General Elections a Congress Ministry was set up in PEPSU. Really speaking, there were two main parties in PEPSU before 1947, the Akalis and the Congress. The Akalis were entirely neglected and left out from the Ministry.

The Congress Ministry appointed polling officers and returning officers

of their own choice. The returning officers rejected the nomination papers of many candidates without valid reasons. The result was that thirty-one election petitions were filed, and ten members have been unseated. Of these eight members belong to the United Front Party and two belong to the Congress Party.

In the mean time the Chief Minister, Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala was also unseated on mere technical grounds. Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala was re-elected Leader of the United Front Party. He approached the Government with a request that he should be allowed to carry on for six months and that in the mean time he would get elected. But this was refused by the Central Government. The members of the United Front Party also approached the Central Government with a request that they were prepared to elect another Leader in place of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala. But this request of theirs was also rejected by the Central Government.

In the mean time the members of the Congress Party were feeling shaky on account of the coming by-elections. The general feeling amongst the people was that in the coming by-elections the United Front Party would sweep the polls and the position of the United Front Party would be stabilised and later on it would be very difficult for the Congress Party to dislodge them. The result was that President's rule was proclaimed, and the United Front Party, the only non-Congress party, was pulled down against all principles of democracy. This unfair and unjust treatment was never expected from the Central Government.

An Administrator or Adviser has been sent there with full powers from Delhi to rule PEPSU. I want to ask the Government why they could not find any man or why they could not trust any man from PEPSU who could be made Adviser there.

I think that the Adviser's rule will not last very long. Free and fair elections will be held very soon and the people will have elected Ministers in six or eight months' time.

I have seen in the paper today that the Adviser has said that he has been sent to put down lawlessness and violence in the State, secondly that he wants to bring land reforms, and thirdly that he has gone there to discourage communalism.

Well, let me say about the land reforms that we are for it and we want it, and we want that this matter should

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[Shri Ranjit Singh]

not be delayed at all. Our position is quite clear on this matter.

Regarding the question of lawlessness and violence, well, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that there are certain other reasons, and unless those reasons are removed I doubt very much whether any law and order can be restored there. The simple position is this. There is a disparity, a great disparity, between the people. There are those people who play in gold, who are very rich, who own 80 per cent. of the wealth of PEPSU and who have control practically of the whole trade of PEPSU. This is the position of one section. The other section is ill-clothed and under-fed; they live in kucha houses and live in filth. As long as this disparity is not removed I doubt very much whether the law and order position could improve to any considerable extent. I would, therefore, request that this disparity should first be removed.

I would like to give you one example of this disparity by which the other section is made rich, and that is that gram in PEPSU was controlled and the controlled rate was Rs. nine or Rs. eleven per maund. This Rs. nine used to go to the landlords—you may call them feudal lords, tenants, labourers—that is 80 per cent. of the total population used to get between Rs. nine and Rs. eleven per maund. Now, take the other side. The very gram has been sold, exported outside from PEPSU at the rate of Rs. 15 to Rs. 35 per maund. Look at the difference in the disparity. This is the main cause of trouble.

I would like to ask you who are the feudal lords? There is much talk about these feudal lords. Is it not the people getting Rs. 18 or Rs. 19 per maund sitting under fans in shops who are actually the feudal lords? They have all control practically over the trade. I venture to say that every one felt happy that the United Front Party was able to dislodge this party. Another friend of ours was able to dislodge them from the Congress Party also. Those people have got no backing. Col. Raghbir Singh was elected President of the PEPSU Congress Committee. The other group left the Congress. These are the people who have brought the downfall of the Congress there.

I have said enough about these things. Now, I want to make one more point. That is PEPSU may be divided into two parts, one being the area in which Punjabi is spoken and the other where Hindi is being spoken. I do not wish

to say much about Hindi speaking area because elections from the Kandaghat and Nalagarh constituencies took place on the 4th and the result was announced on the 5th and both the candidates of the United Front Party were declared elected. (Interruption) I am not talking about the Congress candidates. I am for the Congress. I believe in a policy of non-communalism. I do not know why my friend is so much worried about these things.

About the Hindi speaking area I do not want to say anything but I must bring to the notice of the Government that there are 44 constituencies in the Sikh area and out of these, I will take out only one constituency which is a doubtful one, the constituency of Malerkotla where there are more than 10,000 Muslims. I would appeal to my Sikh brothers that they should not do anything that may create unpleasantness with the Government. I appeal to them that they should think twice before they take any action in PEPSU or Punjab. No Government can be formed in Punjab or PEPSU on communal lines. Government can be formed only on non-communal lines.

I would earnestly request the Government to be more liberal, rise to the occasion, accept the legitimate demands of the Sikhs, remove their grievances and take them into confidence. If this is done, I am sure the Sikhs will prove an asset to the country and they will be prepared to shed their last drop of blood for the sake of the country.

**श्री अजीत सिंह (कपूरथला-भट्टाचार्य—
राजित—अनुसूचित जातियाँ) :** पेप्सु के बारे में मेरे मुअज़िज़ ? स्तों ने बहुत कुछ कहा है और आनंदेबल मिनिस्टर ने भी हम को बतलाया है कि यूनाइटेड फंट पार्टी के मेम्बरों में तादाद भी कम थी, दूसरे वहाँ लालेमनेस बहुत ज्यादा है और वहाँ कोई कानून और कायदा नहीं चलता है, इसलिये उन्होंने राढ़ेवाला मिनिस्ट्री को तोड़ दिया और प्रेसीडेंट का शासन स्थापित करने पर मजबूर हो गये। लेकिन मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि आत सिर्फ़ इतनी सीधी नहीं है जितनी कि बतलाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। हक्कीकत यह है कि श्री तख्तमल जैन कांग्रेस के कार्य और संगठन के बारे में जांच पढ़ताल

करने और बैक करने पेप्सु गये ताकि कोई दीका वगैरह लगाकर हो सके तो कांग्रेस को वहां फिर से शक्तिशाली बनायें, लेकिन उन्होंने वहां पहुंच कर कांग्रेस की हालत देखी तो पता चला कि यह तो मुर्दा हो चुकी है और यहां कांग्रेस संस्था जिन्दा नहीं हो सकती चाहे नश्तर लगाया जाय या और कुछ किया जाय। तब लाचार हो कर उन्होंने वहां से वापिस आने पर हमारे भूमंत्री और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को बतलाया कि पेप्सु में कांग्रेस खत्म हो चुकी है और यह सोचा गया कि अभी और कोई तरीका अपनाना चाहिए जिस से कि हम जिन्दा रह सकें। उन्होंने जो यह राजप्रमुख रूल स्थापित किया है, यह लोगों के साथ कोई रिआयत नहीं है बल्कि उन का गला धोटा गया है। राजप्रमुख का राज्य सरमायेदारी का राज्य है और वहां पुलिस को अनरिस्ट्रिक्टेड पावर है कि जा कर वह लोगों की बहु बेटियों की बेइज्जत करे और यह बाकथा है कि पुलिस लोगों पर जुल्म और ज्यादतियां कर रही हैं और जब राजप्रमुख ही स्वयं राजा है तो पुलिस जुल्म और सख्तियां करने से क्यों हिचकेंगी?

मिनिस्टर साहब ने लालेसनेस का जिक्र किया तो मैं उन को बतलाऊं कि राडेबाला मिनिस्ट्री से पहले जब पेप्सु में कांग्रेस मिनिस्ट्री थी तो मैं ने अपनी आंखों से देखा है और मैं खुद उन गाड़ियों में सफर करता रहा हूं जो गाड़ियां लूटी गयीं, कांग्रेस की हुक्मत में वहां गाड़ियां लूटी गयीं हैं। आज हुआ यह है कि युनाइटेड फंट मिनिस्ट्री को बदनाम करने के लिए और उसको भंग करने के लिए गलत गलत प्रोप्रेंडा किया जाता है। मैं आप को बताऊं कि मानसा के श्री देशराज जो पहले मिनिस्टर थे उन्होंने पांच छः दिन के लिए एक लड़के को क्यरे में बन्द कर दिया और अलबारों में यह लिखा दिया

कि डाकू उठा ले गये, और पांच छः रोज़ के बाद बच्चे को बाहर निकाल लाया गया। हमें इस का पता लगा और मालूम हुआ कि यह लोग किस तरह प्रोप्रेंडा कर के यूनाइटेड फंट मिनिस्ट्री को बदनाम कर रहे हैं। मैं पूछता हूं कि लालेसनेस का जिक्र किया जाता है, तो क्या दूसरे सूबों में लालेसनेस नहीं हो रही? भूपत डाकू को लोग हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने हरू जी से भी ज्यादा जानते हैं। पेप्सु के लिए कोइ मेम्बर खड़ा हो कर भुजे बतलाये कि वहां का ऐसा कौन सा डाकू है जिसे लोग ने हरू जी से ज्यादा जानते हैं? इस के अलावा मैं आप को बतलाऊं कि मेरे गांव के साथ ही फीरोजपुर का इलाका लगता है, वहां के दो आदमियों को मार कर पुलिस बालों ने हमारी हवूद में छोड़ कर कह दिया कि पेप्सु में वारदातें ज्यादा होती हैं और आये दिन कल बलूटमार होती है, वहां लालेसनेस बहुत है, अस्ल में अपराध तो उन्होंने किया और बदनाम हमें किया जाता है।

दूसरी बात में जनरल इलेक्शन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। उसके बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि अभी पीछे जो जनरल इलेक्शन हुआ था, उस बक्त वहां पर कांग्रेस की मिनिस्ट्री तो नहीं थी, क्लैयर-टेकर गवर्नरेंट बनायी गयी थी, मैं आनंदेश्वर मिनिस्टर के सामने यह बात रखना चाहता हूं तथा प्राइम मिनिस्टर से भी यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अगर आयन्दा इलेक्शन पेप्सु में प्रेसीडेंट और राजप्रमुख के रूल के अन्डर होंगे तो इलेक्शन क्लैयर नहीं होंगे और पांशुधिल्टी हीगी, इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि लास्ट गवर्नरेंट को इलेक्शन के बक्त केयर-टेकर गवर्नरेंट बना दिया जाय तो ठीक होगा।

अब मैं रिजेक्शन आफ पेपर्स के बारे में आप को बतलाना चाहता हूं। और आप

[श्री अजीत सिंह]

ले कर बतलाऊंगा कि वहां पर कांग्रेस के दो भूतपूर्व मिनिस्टर श्री जैलसिंह और सम्पूर्णसिंह ने डिप्टी कमिशनरों के सामने बैठकर मुख्यालिक पार्टी के कई आदमियों के नामिनेशन पेपर संरिजेक्ट करवाये और अपनी पार्टी के उम्मीदवारों के भंजर करवाये।

मुझे एक इन्स्टेन्स याद है। हमारी पार्टी के कैन्फिडेट के मुकाबले में एक नक्त्र सिंह को कांग्रेस टिकिट मिला हुआ था। उस आदमी की उम्र मुझ से भी चार पाँच साल कम है। जब वह नामिनेशन पेपर ले कर आया तो आबजेक्शन हुआ कि उस की उम्र तो सिर्फ़ साढ़े बाइस साल है। वह है तो मेरा रिस्टेवार, मैं जानता हूँ पेप्सू के मिनिस्टर सरदार सम्पूर्ण सिंह धोल कहने लगे कि उस की उम्र बहुत ज्यादा है और उस डिप्टी कमिशनर को घमका कर उम्र ठीक करवा दी और उस का नामिनेशन पेपर भी ऐक्सेट करवा दिया। इसी तरह एक इन्स्टेन्स जानी जैल सिंह का है। फरीदकोट में उन के पेपर रिजेक्ट हो जाते हैं। यह है उन लोगों का इन्साफ़। आप ने कहा है कि पेप्सू बालों को डिमाकेसी का पता नहीं है कि वह क्या चीज़ है। लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि पेप्सू बालों को डिमाकेसी का पता लग गया है। पहले पेप्सू बाले न जानते हैं लेकिन अब उन के साथ और पंजाब बालों की कुछ थोड़ी थोड़ी बातें होने लगी हैं और वह लोग इकट्ठा हो गये हैं, और इकट्ठा हो कर उन में अबल आने लगी है।

जहां तक पाटं सी और पाटं सी डेट्स की बात है वह तो आप जानें था आप की सरकार। लेकिन उन लोगों की इन्साफ़ चाहिए और हम इन्साफ़ पाने के लिये यहां आये हैं। आप के लिये हँसी की बात हो तो हो क्योंकि आप मेंजारिटी में हैं, जो चाहे कीजिये।

एक और बात है। हमारे यहां जो प्रेजिडेन्ट्स रूल किया है उस से मुश्तों से यह शक होता है कि पेप्सू का जो आने वाला बजट सेशन था उस में वहां की यूनाइटेड फ़ॉन्ट पार्टी ने दो रेजोल्यूशन रखे थे। एक तो यह था कि जो राज-प्रमुख हैं उन की प्रीबी पर्सं कम कर दी जाय और दूसरी वहां लिंगिस्टिक प्राविन्स बनायी जायें। यह दोनों रेजोल्यूशन ऐसे थे जिन से कांग्रेस हुक्मत जरा मुश्किल में पड़ जाती थी। इसलिये उन लोगों ने यह समझा कि यहीं अच्छा होगा कि वहां की हुक्मत को ही खत्म कर दो। आखिर उन लोगों ने क्या कुसूर किया था? जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, उन लोगों ने दिन दिन, रात रात, बीस बीस, चौबिस चौबिस गांवों का दौरा किया, जिन के खिलाफ़ पिटिशन भी नहीं हुई, वह लोग मंजरिटी से जीते फिर भी आप ने उन, को निकाल दिया। आखिर क्यों? हम इन्साफ़ चाहते हैं और मैं पेप्सू बालों की तरफ से इन्साफ़ मांगता हूँ कि आप वहां जेनरल एलेक्शन करावें तो पिछली सरकार को केराटेकर गवर्नरमेंट बना दें तो अच्छा होगा।

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not calling any more Members. I thought originally the debate will conclude earlier. Having regard to the fact that a number of hon. Members are interested and as I ultimately found that three hon. Members of this House who come from PEPSU had not been called, I thought it was my duty to place their views also before the House. Originally I had thought of calling the hon. Minister at six o'clock so that we could conclude the debate by seven and then put the question. Having allowed 30 minutes to these hon. Members, I find the House will have to sit till 7-30. I will allow 20 minutes to the hon. Minister and then put the question.

Dr. Katju: We have heard many fine speeches and many legal views

have been expressed. I was rather surprised to hear from my hon. friend, the Member from South Calcutta

Dr. S. P. Mukerjee: South East Calcutta.

Dr. Katju:Member from South East Calcutta—I want myself to introduce this innovation; I think it is a nice innovation or a nice tradition—that if the Government were inclined, they might have had recourse to other articles of the Constitution and my hon. friend read article 352. I rubbed my eyes with wonder and I thought there must be something in it. He knows everything about everything. Article 352 says:

"If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, he may, by Proclamationetc."

I quite agree and declare that the security of PEPSU was not threatened by war or external aggression or internal disturbance and there is an end of the matter. The facts are perfectly plain, namely, that Government has broken down. The House has heard one view of the matter. My hon. friend from the Punjab, Sardar Lal Singh said, it was quite all right—there was nothing wrong; there was a majority party—and very charitably attributed motives to the Government of India, as representing the Congress party, of manipulating affairs. The other view was a new flirtation—I am attributing no motives there—a newly born love for other purposes, the forgoing of a great combination of various people, and therefore a new born anxiety for the Akalis, Sikhs and all that. Therefore, you heard, here is a great sin against democracy, democracy is being trampled. My hon. friend quite rightly said with his great eloquence that he would expose the Minister at a later stage. The Minister could only wait and see what comes from this great threat. But, he did not deal with it. He said, if there had been all this disturbance, and all these panchayats had been doing all this, you should have acted earlier. It does not concern him as to when it began, when these panchayats began operating. He does not know what the States Minister has been doing. The States Minister has been seeing these people almost every week, every fortnight

and talking to them. We have got Counsellors; we have got our own machinery there. As soon as information is received from a variety of people, it is passed on to them and matters are discussed. It is only when matters come to reach a certain stage that action is taken. So far as these panchayats are concerned, they came to notice from the month of October or November. Then matters began to grow worse and worse. We could not tolerate that.

Then, my hon. friend said something about a Minister. I may tell this; I do not know how far the Prime Minister would like that. I have got a personal liking for the Sikhs; all of us here. They are Indians. We are Indians. We are anxious that everybody should make a great progress. The Sikhs have played a great part in our development. They play a great part in our Army, in our police. They are a great industrial people. I have seen them in Hyderabad; I have seen them in Bengal; they are everywhere. Do you mean to say that there has been any anxiety to crush them, to do away with them, take away democratic rights from them? I quite concede what was said by Giani Gurmuhan Singh Musafir. If there was any weakness at any time, it was in the direction of the Sikhs because I am anxious. I know what would be said and what might be felt. I wanted to make it clear in my opening short speech. We want in this PEPSU, which the Sikh friends consider their homeland, where they have got a small majority—I do not know how much that majority is—that they should grow like any other State, play their own part, manage their own affairs and that every major question should be decided according to the will of the people: the question of merger and other questions. But I am anxious that they should have complete security in their own land. When I went on tour just for one day or two days, I heard a new phrase. Wherever the train stopped or the car stopped, people would come and say, ਲਾਕਾਨੂੰ ਵਡ ਗੁੜ ਹੈ। I did not understand what this phrase meant. I was told that translated into English it meant "Lawlessness everywhere". There is complete lawlessness. Of course, representations were made and I spoke to the Chief Minister and said that something must be done, and so on. Now, the only motive of introducing this was to give the people a chance to manage their own affairs, and to de-

[Dr. Katju]

lare their own wishes. People have talked here about crossing-overs as a very light affair. It does not concern me in the least as to whether the person who crosses over is a Congressman or a pro-Congressman or belongs to this group or that. What matters is that this crossing-over is a damnable thing. Of course, supposing something happens here, which goes against my conscience.....

7 P.M.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Is the word 'damnable' parliamentary?

Dr. Katju: I withdraw the word. I said the word in a sort of philosophical sense.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Can we describe Government action as damnable? Would it be parliamentary?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister has withdrawn that word.

Dr. Katju: I said that so that there may not be any opportunity for quarrelling either now or at any time. Let us say that crossing-over is not a very desirable thing, whoever does it. I can understand people crossing-over, when a big question of policy comes in, and members do not agree with their own party. Whether it is this side or that side does not matter. Then it becomes a question of conscience. They either cross over or resign, but if a man crosses over, and within two or three hours after that, he is sworn as a Minister—he may be virtuousness personified—people would start using another phrase about that crossing-over; and I tell you, it prejudices both. It prejudices not only the man who crosses over, but also the party which takes him over. Both lose in public estimation. From that point of view, I suggest that what had happened in PEPSU during the last two or three months was very objectionable.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Has not the Congress done in some States, the same thing, and it is in power today?

Dr. Katju: I would not answer you.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: How can you answer?

Dr. Katju: You only want to interrupt, and the Deputy-Speaker has given me only a few minutes.

What actually happened? There is a House of 60, and nine seats vacant. Very likely another five or six there might be vacant, because there are about 14 applications undisposed of. In a House of 60, supposing as a conservative estimate, there are 16 vacancies, would you call that a normal House, when nearly 25 per cent. of the seats are vacant? Then, the Chief Minister came along and said 'I have been unseated. Here is my resignation, not my resignation only, but the resignation of the whole of my Ministry', and the whole Ministry consisted, so far as unseated members were concerned, of only two such persons. He gave in the resignation, and the Rajpramukh was advised 'You better accept'. What should I have done? What should the States Ministry have done in this matter? I submit that Sardar Gian Singh Rawat, the Chief Minister, behaved, I think, with extreme constitutional propriety on this occasion. I do not want to discuss the previous matters, but on this occasion, he said 'The whole Ministry has gone to ruin. Those two came in under very doubtful circumstances only two months ago, and therefore my Ministry is finished. Here is my resignation'. Having got that resignation, what should we have done? What should the Rajpramukh have done?

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Dissolved the Legislature.

Dr. Katju: Should we have sent for other people, when the conditions were so unstable, when the Budget was going to be discussed, and the whole thing had to be laid down, and there were these complaints about lawlessness, about complete absence of respect for law and order, when people, both men and women could not cross from one village to another—what to say of night, when they could not go even in daytime?

श्री बहादुर सिंह : आपने कोई प्रेशर तो नहीं दिया उन पर ?

डॉक्टर काठमूँ : किस पर ?

श्री बहादुर सिंह : राडेवाला पर।

Dr. Katju : आप राडेवाला साहब को लूट जानते हैं ! क्या वह किसी प्रेशर में आने वाले हैं ? मैं तो मिलों को बड़ा

बहादुर समझता हूँ, वह बड़े मुस्तकिल
मिजाज होते हैं। आपने कह दिया कि प्रेशर
में आ गये। बहस के लिए आप अपनी
बुराई भी खुद ही करने लगे।

Nothing of the kind. The hon. Member knows it, he can probably teach me lessons. I am a simple man. I do not know what role my hon. friend of the Communist Party wanted to occupy. Well, he was impartial in this way, that he condemned the Congress, Rarewala, and the Rajpramukh and he condemned everybody. He condemned everybody except the *punchs* of the *panchayats*, in about 80 to 90 villages which had taken the law into their own hands, and formed another 'Telengana' in PEPSU, so to say, and wanted to carry on the administration. So far as the Rajpramukh is concerned, the question does not arise. We are not concerned about personalities here. The Rajpramukh is an institution, and in the Constitution, for Part A States, you have Governors, and for Part B, Rajpramukhs. And I believe there is an article which says clearly that the whole of the Constitution relating to Part A States, with minor modifications, is to be applied to the Part B States, and for the word 'Governor', all you have to do is to read 'Rajpramukh'. He is just a constitutional head. If he is guilty of impropriety, then we have got to deal with him. If he makes a mistake, then you tax us. We are responsible to this House. My submission therefore is that all the complaints about unjust treatment of PEPSU are really unfounded.

Shri S. S. More: Could not the Rajpramukh have taken action under article 174 of the Constitution and dissolved the Legislature? He had that power.

Dr. Katju: I really cannot understand.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): What then?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: The Ministers continue, and the elections take place.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When the Minister has been unseated, when the Ministry has gone, unseated Ministers cannot go on. What is this?

Shri V. G. Deshpande: When will it take place?

Dr. Katju: I personally think that my hon. friend for whom I have great respect, and who is a great teacher has probably misfired just now.

If the Legislature is to be dissolved, in the first place, the Rajpramukh cannot dissolve the Legislature himself. He can only act on advice. In the first place, the Ministry has tendered resignation.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Before that.

Dr. Katju: In the first process, he could have said, 'I refuse your resignation'. The Minister would say, 'We are unseated. We are very honest and sensible people. We are self-respecting people. So, for God's sake, take our resignation'. Then the Rajpramukh would say, 'No, no, I want you to carry on'. Having done that, the Rajpramukh had to say 'Please advise me to dissolve the Legislature'. And having dissolved the Legislature, these unseated Ministers had to carry on. Just conceive of it.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: They could carry on for six months.

Dr. Katju: I submit that it is the proper course that we have followed. That is exactly what has been done, which my hon. friend has put for me in a sentence. The House has been dissolved, and an Adviser has been sent, so that he may carry on in substance, under your guidance. That is the point. When I say 'Adviser' I weigh my word, and say it. Of course, he does not deal with Parliament directly. He deals with the President and with the Government, but we are responsible to you every day. Here four Members are there, and you are here, every question can be put, there can be a debate, there can be a motion for adjournment, or a motion for papers, and every question can be raised.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Dissolve all State Legislatures, and let us take that power.

Dr. Katju: If you say so, I shall do it. But I say, let us begin with Bengal first.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Start with those States where the Congress is in a minority.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members—both of them—may kindly address the Chair.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: After the resignation of Rarewala, did not the

[Shri Sarangadhar Das]

United Front Party elect a new leader to form a new Government?

Dr. Katju: I read in the papers that the party was dissolved.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Dr. Katju: I read it a day previously in the newspapers that the party had been summoned to elect a leader, but there were two candidates in the field and they could not elect anybody, did not come to any agreed decision and dispersed. I tell you seriously, if you ask Sardar Farewala privately, probably, he will be thankful that I have put him out of a great embarrassment. I say this deliberately because there were forces inside which were pushing each other in such a divergent manner that he was put in great difficulty himself.

Anyway, I do not want to go further. I just want to conclude this by repeating once again and appealing particularly to my Sikh friends on this side, the whole House, outside the House and in PEPSU—do not at least consider as if it were a reflection upon you. The President's rule is not going to be a sort of permanent thing. We do not want it. If the Delimitation Commission had not been in between, we might have had an election in four months. But now the Delimitation Commission is functioning and under the Parliamentary statute we cannot have a re-election or a General election till the Commission reports. That may be a matter of months. But we want to let the people take over the management of their own affairs and in the course of six months hand over to you a purified administration so that people could go about in a sense of security and work in their villages. And they can undergo the pangs of a General Election completely in a free and unfettered manner. That is the truth of the case and that is the assurance that I want to give to everybody.

Before I sit down, as regards the many amendments that have been moved, of course, I would oppose them. But one amendment has been moved by my hon. friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. It is purely a technical matter.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Why should you refer to him by name?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I did not object.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: In principle.

Dr. Katju: What he says is that the resolution should have contained a declaration that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament. What we thought was that the short resolution covered the whole field. But if Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, for whose legal knowledge I have great reverence, thinks that it is desirable that we should have it I have no objection. I shall accept it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will first put Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's amendment to vote and then the other amendments.

The question is.

That at the end of the resolution the following be added:

"declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation".

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, as regards the other amendments, the one standing in the name of Sardar Lal Singh....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: We will divide only on the main resolution.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right.

The question is:

That for the original resolution the following be substituted:

"That this House disapproves the action of the Government of India in suspending the Constitution in Patiala and East Punjab States Union and looks upon the assumption of all the functions of the Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union by the President as unwarranted, undemocratic and unconstitutional."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

That in the resolution—

(i) for the word "approves" the words "takes into consideration" be substituted; and

(ii) at the end, the following be added:

"and resolves that the President be requested to suspend the Rajapramukh of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union".

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is.

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that it shall not be lawful for the President to act to any extent through the Rajapramukh of that State and that all the functions of the Government of PEPSU and all the powers vested in or exercisable by the Rajapramukh of that State under the Constitution or under any law in force in that State, shall, subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the President, be exercised by the Adviser appointed by the President in this behalf".

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is.

That at the end of the resolution, the following be added:

"and resolves that the General Election for constituting the new Assembly for the said State shall be held before 31st July, 1953 irrespective of the final order of the Delimitation Commission".

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, I will put the resolution as amended to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on 4th March 1953 under article 356 of the Constitution, assuming to himself all the functions of the Government of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union, declaring that the powers of the Legislature of the said State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Parliament and making certain incidental and consequential provisions detailed in the said Proclamation".

Those in favour will kindly say 'Aye'.

Several Hon. Members: 'Aye'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will say 'No'.

Several Hon. Members: 'No'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The 'Ayes' have it. The 'Noes' have it.

Several Hon. Members: The 'Noes' have it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will divide.

Dr. S. P. Mukherjee: On a point of order, Sir. Those Members who are already standing outside the House cannot vote. You have just said that those who are for or against will go. The others who are already outside the House—they cannot vote. That has been the ruling of previous Speakers. Only those who are inside the House will vote. Lobby is not part of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, no. It was never done. The 'Ayes' to the right and 'Noes' to the left.

The House divided: Ayes, 208;
Noes, 60.

Division No. 3]

AYES

[7-13 P.M

Abdul Sattar, Shri

Banai, Shri

Achal Singh, Seth

Akarpuri Sardar

Barman, Shri

Achint Ram, Lala

Alagesan, Shri

Barupal, Shri

Achuthan, Shri

'Altekar, Shri

Basappa, Shri

Agarwal, Prof.

Alva, Shri Joachim

Bhagat, Shri B. B.

Agarwal, Shri H. L.

Amrit Kaur, Rajkumari

Bhargava, Pandit M. B.

Agrawal, Shri M. L.

Asthana, Shri

Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Da

Bala Subramaniam, Shri

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Bawanji, Shri
Bheekha Bhai, Shri
Bhonsle, Major-General
Birbal Singh, Shri
Borooh, Shri
Bose, Shri P. C.
Brohmo-Choudhury, Shri
Buragohain, Shri
Chanda, Shri Anil K.
Chandak, Shri
Chandrasekhar, Shrimati
Charak, Shri
Chatterjee, Dr. Susilranjan
Chaturvedi, Shri
Chinaria, Shri
Chaudhuri, Shri M. Shafee
Dabhi, Shri
Damodaran, Shri G. R.
Das, Dr. M. M.
Das, Shri B.
Das, Shri B. K.
Das, Shri Ram Dhani
Das, Shri S. N.
Das Shri N.T.
Dastar, Shri
Deb, Shri S. C.
Desai, Shri K. K.
Deshpande, Shri G. H.
Pholakia, Shri
Dhusiya, Shri
Dube, Shri Mulchand
Dube, Shri U. S.
Dutt, Shri A. K.
Dutta, Shri S. K.
Dwivedi, Shri D. P.
Dwivedi, Shri M. L.
Ebenezer, Dr.
Elayaperumal, Shri
Fotedar, Pandit
Gandhi, Shri M. M.
Garg, Shri B. P.
Ghulam Qader, Shri
Gopi Ram, Shri
Gounder, Shri E. P.
Gounder, Shri K. S.
Haril Mohan, Dr.
Hazarika, Shri J. N.
Heda, Shri
Hem Raj, Shri
Hemrom, Shri
Iyyani, Shri E.
Jajware, Shri
Jangde, Shri
Jayashri, Shrimati
Jena, Shri K. C.
Jena, Shri Niranjan
Jha, Shri Bhagwat
Joshi, Shri Jethalal
Joshi, Shri M. D.
Joshi, Shri N. L.
Jwala Prashad, Shri
Kakkam, Shri

Kamara, Shri
Kamble, Shri
Katju, Dr.
Kasmi, Shri
Keshavaiengar, Shri
Khan, Shri Sadat Ali
Khedkar, Shri G. B.
Khongmen, Shrimati
Khuda Baksh, Shri M.
Kirolikar, Shri
Krishnamachari, Shri T. T.
Krishnappa, Shri M. V.
Lei, Shri R.
Lotan Ram, Shri
Mahodaya, Shri
Maitra, Pandit L. K.
Majhi, Shri R. C.
Majithia, Sardar
Malaviya, Shri K. D.
Malliah, Shri U. S.
Malviya, Shri Motilal
Mandal, Dr. P.
Masuodi, Maulana
Masuriy Din, Shri
Mathew, Prof.
Matthen, Shri
Mehta, Shri A. L.
Mehta, Shri Balwant Sinha
Mehta, Shri B. G.
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
Mishra, Shri L. N.
Mishra, Shri Lokenath
Misra, Pandit Lingaraj
Misra, Shri R. D.
Mohd. Akbar, Sofi
Morarka, Shri
More, Shri K. L.
Mudaliar, Shri C. B.
Mukne, Shri Y. M.
Mussfir, Gian G. S.
Namdhari, Shri
Narasimhan, Shri C. B.
Naskar, Shri P. S.
Natawadkar, Shri
Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal
Nehru, Shrimati Uma
Pannalal, Shri
Pant, Shri D. D.
Pataskar, Shri
Patel, Shri B. K.
Patel, Shrimati Maniben
Pawar, Shri V. P.
Prabhakar, Shri N.
Prasad, Shri H. S.
Rachiah, Shri N.
Radha Raman, Shri
Raghbir Sahai, Shri
Raghbir Singh, Ch.
Raghunath Singh, Shri
Raghunamtaiah, Shri
Raj Bahadur, Shri
Ram Dass, Shri
Ramananda Tirtha, Swami

Ramaswamy, Shri P.
Ramaswamy, Shri S. V.
Ranbir Singh, Ch.
Rane, Shri
Raut, Shri Bholu
Reddy, Shri Janardhan
Roy, Shri B. N.
Rup Narain, Shri
Sahu, Shri Bhagabat
Sahu, Shri Rameahwar
Saigal, Sardar A. S.
Saksema, Shri Mohanlal
Samanta, Shri S. C.
Sanganna, Shri
Sankarapandian, Shri
Satish Chandra, Shri
Satyawadi, Dr.
Sen, Shrimati Sushama
Sewal, Shri A. B.
Shah, Shri R. B.
Sharma, Pandit K. C.
Sharma, Prof. D. C.
Sharma, Shri K. R.
Sharma, Shri R. C.
Shivananjappa, Shri
Shobha Ram, Shri
Sidhananjappa, Shri
Singh, Shri D. N.
Singh, Shri H. P.
Singh, Shri L. J.
Singh, Shri M. N.
Singh, Shri T. N.
Sinha, Dr. S. N.
Sinha, Shri G. P.
Sinha, Shri Jhulan
Sinha, Shri K. P.
Sinha, Shrimati Tarakeshwari
Sinhasen Singh, Shri
Snatak, Shri
Somana, Shri N.
Subrahmanyam, Shri T.
Suresh Chandra, Dr.
Suriya Prashad, Shri
Telkkikar, Shri
Tewari, Sardar R. B. S.
Thimmalal, Shri
Thomas, Shri A. M.
Thomas, Shri A. V.
Tiwari, Pandit B. L.
Tiwari, Shri R. S.
Tiwary, Pandit D. N.
Tripathi, Shri H. V.
Tudu, Shri B. L.
Upadhyay, Shri Shiva Daya
Upadhyaya, Shri S. D.
Vaishnay, Shri H. C.
Vaishhya, Shri M. B.
Vidyankar, Shri
Vishwanath Praasad, Shri
Vyas, Sevi Radhakish
Wilson, Shri J. N.
Wodeyar, Shri

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NOTES

Achais, Shri
AJH Singh, Shri
Amjad Ali, Shri
Anthony, Shri Frank
Bahadur Singh, Shri
Barrow, Shri
Basu, Shri K. K.
Biren Dutt, Shri
Chakravarthy, Shrimati Renu
Chatterjee, Shri Tushar
Damodaran, Shri N. P.
Das, Shri B. C.
Das, Shri Sarangadhar
Deo, Shri R. N. S.
Deogam, Shri
Deshpande, Shri V. G.
Gidwani, Shri
Gurupadaswamy, Shri
Jaipal Singh, Shri
Jatav-vir, Shri

Jayaraman, Shri
Keliappan, Shri
Khardekar, Shri
Khare, Dr. N. B.
Kripalani, Shrimati Sucheta
Krishna, Shri M. R.
Krishnaswami, Dr.
Lal Singh, Sardar
Mathuram, Dr.
Mehta, Shri Jaswant Raj
Mishra, Pandit S. C.
Mookerjee, Dr. S. P.
Mukerjee, Shri H. N.
More, Shri S. S.
Muniswamy, Shri
Murthy, Shri B. S.
Nambiar, Shri
Nanadas, Shri
Nayar, Shri V. P.
Pandey, Dr. Natabar

Punnose, Shri
Raghabachari, Shri
Raghavaiah, Shri
Ramasami, Shri M. D.
Ramaseshiah, Shri
Banjil Singh, Shri
Rao, Dr. Rama
Rao, Shri Gopala
Rao, Shri K. S.
Rao, Shri Vittal
Reddi, Shri Ramachandra
Reddy, Shri Eswara
Saha, Shri Meghnad
Sen, Shri E. C.
Shakuntala, Shrimati
Singh, Shri G. S.
Singh, Shri E. N.
Soren, Shri
Vallatharas, Shri
Veeraswami, Shri

The motion was adopted.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Friday, the 13th March, 1953