

16 hrs.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT—
Contd.

GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO HANDLE THE PROBLEMS OF POLICE AND CRP PERSONNEL—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER: Now we will take up the Adjournment Motion. In this case I have fixed up the time that the mover will have fifteen minutes in the beginning and ten minutes will be for his reply. Other members will have ten minutes each.

Mr. Samar Mukherjee, will you kindly move the motion?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): I beg to move:

"That the House do now adjourn".

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी (मथुरा) : अध्यक्ष जी, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। हम 10 सदस्यों ने बनता पार्टी की पालियामेन्टरी पार्टी से इस्तीफा दे दिया है। मैं व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ कि हमारे दस सदस्यों के लिए अलग से बतने की व्यवस्था हो और हमारे दल को अलग से समय दिया जाये

MR. SPEAKER: That is not a point of order. That will be considered.

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : आप सुनिये, हम क्या कहना चाहते हैं। दस सदस्यों के लिये . . .

MR. SPEAKER: All will be considered according to the rules. That is not a point of order. Certainly, everything will be done according to the rules. I must look into the file. The papers have not yet come.

श्री मनोराम बागड़ी : मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : बतलाने की जरूरत नहीं है।

It is not a point of order. Please, no, I am not allowing it. We have fixed 4 O'Clock for Adjournment Motion.

Nothing is to be recorded.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Samar Mukherjee.

(Interruption)

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Bagri, it will be done according to rules. Please do not record.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Samar Mukherjee.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: The same thing will be applied to you.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: A serious situation has developed due to the policies pursued by Janata Government. Throughout the country the discontent among the people is growing to such a length that even the policemen and the armed forces under Central Government have joined the agitation. This is not an isolated thing. This is the result of the deepening crisis through which the country is passing due to the failure on the part of the Janata Government to guide the country correctly both in economic policies as well as in administrative policies. Since the budget proposals the agitations have grown up and the sudden outburst of the police men had such a wide echo and response throughout the country that it surprised all. This shows that the discontent was accumulated. It got certain outburst first in Panjab and then spread to other areas. So, Government got panicky because they were not prepared for the situation. Ultimately we saw that the discontent also started spreading among the CRP and CISF and lately it has spread to the RPF. They have a programme of agitation and they have already announced that it will come in July. We request the Government to seriously think over the basic causes which have generated this discontent.

** Not recorded.

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

But unfortunately I see that the Government is not at all prepared to go deep into this problem.

What are the demands of the policemen, the CRP, the CISF and RPF? Their first demand is wage revision. Their economic condition should be improved, because the cost of living is rising very high and in comparison to others their payscales are very low. You can imagine, when a CISF man who is guarding the Durgapur steel plant sees that a steel plant worker gets a minimum salary of Rs. 512 while he is earning only Rs. 300, is it not natural for him to come up with this demand for revision of payscale? Secondly, they wanted human treatment because we are still continuing the British tradition. Ordinary policemen were used as orderlies at the residences of higher officers. They resisted their being treated like slaves. Time has changed. The democratic consciousness of the people is growing. Naturally they want to live as human beings. So, one of their main demand is that they should get human treatment.

Thirdly, they want that there should be some avenue to express their grievances. No avenue was ever allowed to them to express their grievances. That is why they raised the demand that their association should be given recognition. Other workers and employees of Central and State Governments, even workers in Defence Production and railwaymen—all enjoy the democratic right to form their own unions and place their demands. This is totally denied to the policemen. The agreement is that policemen cannot have that democratic right. The CRP men cannot have that democratic right. In the name of discipline, all this is being done. That is why there has been a complete bursting forth of their discontent resulting in sudden and spontaneous struggles.

The Punjab Government conceded certain demands of the policemen. That inspired others also and they

thought that Government will also consider their demands sympathetically and accept them. Had the Government taken that attitude, this unfortunate situation would not have developed. In the case of the police, the Home Minister took the initiative to hold a conference of Chief Ministers on 6th June and some recognition was accorded to the associations for the policemen. But in case of the CRP and CISF there was a categorical denial.

SHRI G. K. GOPAL (Karur): On a point of Order, Sir. The Home Minister is not here. We want to bring that to your notice.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: It is an adjournment motion criticising the whole policy of the Government.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): A Calling Attention on the same issue is going on in the other House and the Home Minister is held up there. Therefore, I am sitting here.

MR. SPEAKER: He is held up in the Rajya Sabha on the same issue.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: The situation is so serious, you can easily understand. When policemen go on strike, when CRP go on strike, when CISF go on strike, it shows that the crisis has reached a stage where either the Government will have to rule on the basis of Army and force or they will have to abdicate and they will have to go. I remind you that in 1973, there was PAC revolt in UP. In 1974 there was an all India railwaymen's strike. Prior to Emergency, these were the situations. When the armed forces who are the instruments to suppress the people to maintain discipline, go out of their normal discipline, that means crisis has reached a stage where the Government has to give serious thought. Now, what has happened? The CISF were engaged to work against the steel workers or the workers of the other public sec-

for undertakings. So, earlier the Unions opposed the installation of CISF. Now, it is the same workers who are supporting the demand of the CISF. Government has taken an attitude of total oppression by deploying Army to suppress their agitation. That is why, discontentment is not diminishing. It is growing. Though temporarily by deploying Army you can suppress them for the time being, discontentment created by this will further spread and one day, it will burst. Because of this discontentment, the Government is now thinking of introducing MISA. Why does this question of MISA come? Those who fought against the MISA, those who came into power by the support of those people whom they are now going to suppress, are now thinking of introducing MISA and PD Act. So, by deploying Army with special powers if you want to maintain your hold over the whole country, you are living in a fool's paradise. This is the same way through which Indira Gandhi travelled. You will have to face the same result which Indira had to face. That is why, we are warning you that you should change your attitude. What is the behaviour of the Government towards their demands?

I am reading from the Home Minister's press conference, reported in the *Indian Express* of 25th June. He said:

"Four different batallions have been disbanded. They have been thrown out of jobs. The second thing is the Government will deal with the situation firmly and would not allow indiscipline in the police force."

So, the attitude is not to go deep into the problems and to find out democratic solutions. The only solution in the present context is to accept the justness of their demands, because it comes out of the very economic conditions through which they are now passing.

In the meeting of the Consultative Committee for the Home Ministry, Shri Patel accepted the justness behind their demand but, afterwards, he changed his attitude most probably taking the cue given by the Prime Minister. The same day the Prime Minister held a press conference. According to newspaper reports:

"The Prime Minister took a strong posture towards the agitating CRP and policemen and also railway employees who have threatened to go on strike, if bonus was not conceded to them, if railwaymen went on strike and tried to hold the nation to ransom, they would be firmly dealt with in the proper manner, he said. While reasonable grievances could be examined, nothing could be done at pistol point, he added."

So, according to him, strike is a pistol point while brutal suppression is non-violence! This is the same language which Shrimati Indira Gandhi used in the 1974 railway strike. You are using the same language.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is worried only about the language.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: In West Bengal the left-Government also deal with the problems and demands of the police. Long before they have recognised their Non-Gazetted Karmachari Sangh. That is why when there was police unrest throughout the country all the four associations in that State publicly made statements that "in West Bengal we require no agitation, because we have got the channel to represent our demands and cases". This should be an example. But our Prime Minister has said that the Punjab Government, by accepting the demands, committed a mistake. In the same press conference he has said:

"We are not going to commit the same mistake."

So, he is not going to commit the same mistake of conceding the demands of the policemen or the CISF; now he

[Shri Samar Mukherjee] is taking the correct stand of deploying the army to kill the agitating CRP and CISF people and virtually there is a war against them.

What happened on the 14th June? Some 24 or 25 representatives of CISF and CRP were invited to Delhi for some talks. When they came here for talks and negotiations, they were put in jail. What does it mean? The plea is that some of them had not come in uniform and so they have violated the breach of discipline. This is the sense of discipline which the Home Minister and the Government are showing.

Secondly, I have got the letter which the CRP people have written. I have forwarded that letter to Shri Patel some days before. They have written:

"The representatives, selected by us, were sent to the Southern Zone Headquarters. There all the representatives of the Southern Zone met together and selected two persons as Southern Zone representatives. Similarly, 9 SG and 9 HSG were selected from various zones. They were all sent to New Delhi as per request of IG of CISF. We had a meeting with the IG on the 13th June, 1979 and submitted our charter of demands, which are: (1) revision of pay scales; (2) permanency; (3) 8 hours duty including PT parade; (4) 100 per cent quarter facilities; (5) three years compulsory transfer scheme to be stopped;

"... (8) stoppage of direct appointment; (9) formation of our own association; (10) night allowance, (11) 6 days' continuous duty and one day off, (12) Government holidays etc. When the representatives submitted our demands, the IG had asked us to give the Charter of Demands which was prepared by him and already approved by the Cabinet."

So, the real memorandum to be submitted by the representatives was not allowed to be submitted. The IG there prepared another memorandum with the consent of the Home Minister or not I do not know, but their letter says so, and asked the representatives to accept that. When they refused, they were all arrested. This is how the Government is dealing with the representatives of the CRP when they were invited to Delhi for talks on plea of want of uniform for 3-4 people and on the other hand forcing them to accept the memorandum prepared by the IG. When they refused to do so, they were arrested. This is a clear breach of trust. People were sent to have negotiations and they were arrested here. That is why the anger among all the CRP and CISF started growing.

The present position is, a large number of CRP people have been dismissed from service. I have got some approximate figures which I can give you.

Those who are dismissed

Bokaro	nearly 830
Durgapur	6
Ranchi	50
Eastern Zone	4
Southern Zone	50
Northern and Western Zone	1
Total:	941
	(approximately)

There may be some variations. A large number of people are still in jail.

The persons in jail are:

Hazaribagh	157
Bhagalpur	248
Gaya	206
Baksar	171

Nearly 800 people are still in jail and yesterday I saw the report—today I have not seen—that plane loads of Border Security Force have been brought at Trivandrum to physically throw out the CRP there, who are on agitation, from their existing camps. I have got the report from Bokaro also. Now, an attempt is being made to throw them out of their quarters by force and it is also reported that in Bokaro where nearly 20 persons of the CISF have been killed or murdered, some have been killed after the surrender. They are 6 or 7. The *Blitz* has published that report—7 persons.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:
—But do you believe in *Blitz*?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: You may not believe. But there may be some facts sometimes which have been proved correct.

Now, this type of repression is still going on and I request the Government to change their present policy and to create an atmosphere where a settlement is possible, and the atmosphere of repression must completely be changed and those who have been arrested should be released without delay. Those who have been dismissed and whose companies were disbanded, should get back their jobs again and their unions must be given recognition and negotiations should be started for amicable settlement. If that is not done, I warn that the situation will further worsen and there is no doubt about it and if MISA and other methods are applied, then there will be resistance not only by the CRP and others, but the entire democratic people of the country will oppose and resist this.

With these words, I conclude.

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

“That the House do now adjourn.”

SHRI SAUGATA ROY (Barrackpore): Sir, today we have assembled here and this House has taken up one

of the most serious issues that are agitating the minds of all sensible democratic people in the country and today the country is faced with a situation when the whole democratic fabric, when the whole democratic structure is in danger of crumbling down altogether with the revolt from the police and the para-military forces. The present unrest in the police and CRP is one of the greatest examples of governmental ineptness, of its inability to cope with difficult situations, its inability to handle any agitation. It speaks of its total insensitivity to a problem which has been developing over the last few months, and which has erupted in the terrible shape that it took in Bokaro, the steel city, on June 24th, or in Jharoda Kalan, Delhi, in late June.

I may remind the House that in late 1977 Government had appointed a Police Commission to look into the grievances of the policemen. The Commission submitted its first interim report on February 7th. Though 6,000 copies of it were printed, this report was not even looked at by the hon. Home Minister, His Majesty's Patel. This report gathered dust, and in May the police agitation broke loose. It started from the Punjab with the revolt of the police against an Akali legislator. The Punjab Government quickly put it down by increasing the salaries and allowances of the policemen. Then it spread to Gujarat, the home State of the Prime Minister and Shri H. M. Patel, where in Rajkot and Bhavanagar the State police went on revolt. It spread also to various other States of the country.

On 6th June, the Home Minister convened a conference of the State Chief Ministers. One of the basic recommendations of the Police Commission was that the policemen's associations should be recognised, they should be given the right to have associations. It was only on 6th June, after all the revolt taking place in the

[Shri Saugata Roy]

different States, that the Home Minister called the different Chief Ministers and lectured them how to keep the police cool. While he was lecturing them on how to manage the police force, he, his intelligence, the Home Ministry, did not know that the agitation was simmering in his own ranks. You will be surprised to know that on June 18th he had called a meeting of the Staff Council of the CRP to discuss the problems of their lower ranks.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Mr. Chavan's residence was visited by 400 policemen in Delhi.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: That we will discuss.

After three days, the CRP struck work in Trivandrum, and then again the trouble spread to Bhubaneswar with demands for better pay and service conditions. The CRP jawans in Bhubaneswar went on strike. The Home Minister did not know all this time that he should settle the problems of the CRP jawans quickly.

While the Chief Ministers' conference took place on June 6th, even on June 18th the problem had not been resolved, and then happened the ghastly incident of Bokaro, where one military force was used to put down another para-military force brutally, an incident in which 24 CIF personnel were killed. There is hardly any parallel to this in the history of this country.

In 1973 such a thing had happened in U.P. Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi had to resign at that time, but here we have such an incident in Bokaro, and the Home Minister does not resign. He does not have even the courtesy to feel that it is his failure and that he should at least put in his resignation to the Prime Minister.

Within the Central Government I know there are many people who have expressed their reservations. Mr. Charan Singh in a letter to the Prime

Minister around June 26th had said that the situation was handled very wrongly, and a special Cabinet meeting was called to discuss the issue, and it came out in the *Indian Express* that in the same Cabinet meeting there was a direct clash between Mr. Bahuguna and Mr. Patel, where Mr. Bahuguna had said that the police agitation was not handled properly. This is the way in which one of the most serious problems of the country has been tackled.

While the policemen's agitation has been simmering from the month of April, till June no decisions were reached, and the Cabinet attempted to take a decision on the just grievances of the CRP only on June 28th. So, it is clearly seen that none of these problems of the CRP was unknown. In Delhi, in Jharoda Kalan, a CRP jawan had committed suicide because his leave to go for his marriage was cancelled at the last moment, while he was made to do the work of washing the drapers of the children of the senior Officers. All these problems were known. The National Police Commission's Report was there. But the Home Ministry decided not to act. It is quite clear that the Home Minister talks about indiscipline in the police ranks, he talks about disbanding the different units of CRP; two units of CRP at Trivandrum and one at Bhubaneswar have been disbanded. The CISF unit at Bokaro Steel City has been disbanded. It is quite clear that when there is indiscipline within the Government itself, it is flowing from the top to the bottom, and thus weakening the democratic fabric of the country. The question we have to answer is, whether the use of military to put down another section of para-military men can be justified in a democratic structure. The question is whether the democratic structure can be maintained if the military is given a free hand to shoot down their brethren and there must be somebody to take responsibility for all these things. So, today, my first and last point is that the Home Minister must own up responsibility for the

ghastly incidents that took place in Bokaro Steel city, for the inept handling of the situation, for the delay in implementing the recommendations of the National Police Commission, for the delay in having a talk with CRP staff Council, for the delay in recognising the Policemen's Association. He must own up the responsibility for all this and resign. Here is a Home Minister, Mr. H. M. Patel, occupying the post which was once occupied by a great man like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Now there is another Patel who is handling the CISF agitation with bulletins of the military, killing down 24 jawans of the CISF and three jawans in Jharoda Kalan in Delhi. You know what had happened in Delhi. You were there. In Tuglak Road Police station, the army took over the duties of the CRP. It seemed that the country's democracy was coming to an end, and that the military was taking over. Is it the impression this Government wants to give to the people? I know that Mr. Samar Mukherjee was not sufficiently harsh. I can understand that. But then, even he has been constrained to criticise the Government in some strong language. He did not go so far as to demand the Home Minister's resignation because the friendship is still there. (Interruptions) The agitation by the policemen is understandable but the agitation by the hon. members of CPM is not. If they are espousing the cause of the policemen, they should point out the finger at the guilty, at the Central Government for the inept handling of the situation. What is needed at this time is a fresh consideration by the Government of all the recommendations made by the Police Commission. The Government has already announced, though belatedly, on June 28th, a series of concessions to the police personnel, which will cost about Rs. 50 crores. But policemen all over the country are living in inhuman conditions. Their barracks are simply uninhabitable by human beings. They have to live away from their family. From Bokaro Steel City, some people came to represent their problems and they were arrested. Is

it not a parallel to what was done when Mr. George Fernandes was arrested, when he came to Delhi to negotiate with Mr. L. N. Mishra before the Railway Strike? It is the same thing that this Government has done. At that time the mistake was committed and it has been repeated again. Today this problem needs to be looked into. I do not say that Mr. H. M. Patel has to go to the police barracks at Jharoda Kalan like the West Bengal Chief Minister does, goes to the Lal Bazar and earns the salute of Bam Front Sarkar, long live the Left Front Government. I do not think that politicalisation to that extent is necessary. But all the same, I do say that the problems of the policemen should be dealt with sympathetically. That is why my demand is, when the House has adjourned, why is it that the Home Minister has not resigned and why is it that he is not resigning. Why is it that the Prime Minister did not care to attend the meeting of Chief Ministers when it was called to discuss the police agitation? The Prime Minister gives his views on everything. But the Prime Minister did not care, when the paramilitary forces were grinding to a halt, to have a discussion even with the Chief Ministers on this issue.

Hence this police revolt is born of two years of sheer neglect, of sheer incapacity on the part of the Janata Party and on the part of the top ranks in the Government which has percolated down and also the support extended by the people today in the C.P.M. which has emboldened the Janata Party to treat this issue in this manner.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Mr. Speaker, Sir, such a delicate and sensitive issue that has been raised in the House in the form as it is today is not only bad but the form of an adjournment motion is worse and the worse still is that this adjournment motion has been moved by my hon. friend, comrade Samar Mukherjee. Although I am not a Marxist, I have some respect for them in regard to their

[Prof Samar Guha]

understanding of the things objectively.

The situation in the country has been precipitated due to the agitation of the police, the CRP, the BSF and others, and also the confrontation it had between the Army and the CRP. What is the seriousness of the situation? I think, everyone of us cannot minimise or under-rate the gravity of it. If we discuss today the issue of para-military forces or the defence forces in a partisan way, if we discuss it in a way to score a point over the Government, we must not forget that we are paving the way for something else. The fire may break out which will consume not only the Janata Party but it will consume all of us. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Saugata Roy used words which should not have been used, of taking over the democratic fate of our country by some other forces—he mentioned it; I do not want to mention it—and even my hon. friend, Mr. Samar Mukherjee, in his anger used the words that the Janata Party has declared a war against the police, the CRP and others. If they really had a patriotic motive, if they really wanted to redress the grievances of the police, the CRP and others, they would not have brought forward an adjournment motion. They would have asked the Prime Minister to hold a meeting of all the Opposition leaders of various parties to discuss the issue.

It is the issue of para-military forces. It is not a party issue. It is a national issue. It is not only the question of the security of our country but it is also the question of the future of democracy in our country. It would have been better if we had discussed the issue with a patriotic motive on the floor of the House, not in the form of an adjournment motion.

We are talking a lot about meeting the grievances of the police. Are their hands clean? What happened in 1967 in Delhi when many policemen were arrested and dismissed? What hap-

pened in 1973 in U.P.? 26 PAC men and 30 Army people were killed. They are now criticising our Government. I wish that in future we will never require to call the Army to quell any kind of disturbance by the police, the CRP and others. I ask the people who were talking about it: Did you not call the Army in U.P.? Did you not call the Army because the situation so arose, because they were using guns, they were not in a position to surrender them, they refused to surrender the arms, as a result of which 26 PAC men were killed and 30 Army people lost their lives? It is a situation which is not happy for anybody; nobody would like such a confrontation ever to take place.

Those people who are criticising—Shri Saugata Roy is a new-comer and perhaps he does not know or remember what had happened—what clean conscience do they have to criticise our Government because the Army was called in? I am not justifying it, but they have no justification either. I ask my friend Shri Samar Mukherjee what happened in 1969. When 500 policemen went to the Assembly to present a Memorandum, they were beaten like dogs. Not only were they beaten like dogs, but hundreds were suspended and hundreds were dismissed under Art. 311. Why were these Policemen not given even the right to defend themselves? Why were they dismissed? Not only that. The Police organisation was disbanded, when their own Party had sponsored it and the Police Karmachari was given recognition.

They are talking a lot about it, but what is happening in West Bengal and what is happening in Tripura—the way they are using the Police there, the way they are suppressing the people's movement there, killing hundreds of people there. About 4000 Policemen were used to push out the people there!

What I was trying to impress is that this issue should have been taken up in a different perspective, in a different way. Shri Samar Mukherjee is

accusing our Government, that our Government is completely apathetic about the real, genuine and legitimate grievances of the Policemen. I want to remind Shri Samar Mukherjee that after 77 years, mind you, for the first time it was the Janata Government which instituted the National Police Commission to go into all the grievances and all the issues. (*Interruptions*). Before that, there was no such kind of National Commission, either in the Congress regime or in the British days. It is only the Janata Party which installed it.

So, there is no point of defence. There were many legitimate grievances of the Police and legitimate grievances of the CRP and, about all the various problems, a questionnaire was sent out—covering all the problems—and then they submitted an Interim Report. The Finance Commission has also made a special allocation—an additional allocation—for looking into the problems of the Police and the para-militia.

You may accuse or you may say that there is a gap in acquiring intelligence or gathering facts about the grievances of the CRP, Policemen and others. You can say that the Janata Government should deal with this more patiently and more tactfully. You can say that, but you cannot say that the Janata Government is completely callous or apathetic towards the problems of either the Police or the CRP. (*Interruptions*).

At the Chief Ministers' meeting these problems were discussed and when it was discussed with the Government, it said it is prepared to accept an organisation for giving them an opportunity to express their grievances. That was also agreed to. (*Interruptions*).

I was coming to that.

I only want to draw your attention and I want to give a warning to many friends and politicians. The CPI and the Congress (I) in many places instigated the Police agitation and that of

the CRP. In every place they worked as Agent Provocateurs; they sponsored it; they supported it. This is a dangerous game they are playing. They are playing with fire. This will consume us all, as I was saying. I say again, and I warn my friends of the CPI and give caution to my friends of the CPI that they have hand behind it, in Punjab and other places also. It is a dangerous game, particularly in the critical situation which our country is passing through.

Again I would say that the Janata Party and the Janata Government have full sympathy with the genuine and legitimate grievances of the police force, CRP and others.

Of those who are talking about calling of the Army, I would ask this. Of course, I am not happy and nobody would be happy about it. But what had happened in Bokaro? They were not prepared to surrender the armoury. When Army went there to take over the armoury who opened fire first? And what could the Army do in such circumstances? The circumstances were not so serious when the Congressmen in U.P. in 1973 used the Army against the PAC. I agree, the Army should not be called, Army should be the last to be called. But when uniformed para-militia rebel and refuse to surrender the armoury, the dumped arms, and even fire on the Army, when they throw a challenge of revolt or mutiny in uniform, what will the Government do?

MR. SPEAKER: Please try to conclude.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA: In conclusion, I would appeal to the Government that, when the agitation subsides, when the striking policemen see reason, they should deal with all their problems sympathetically and with a conciliatory attitude, especially the cases of those persons who are not guilty of serious charges of violation of the basic principles; I hope that Government will deal sympathetically with all their problems and issues.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Motion. It is rather an irony that this Session is to begin with an Adjournment Motion of this type.

Prof. Samar Guha questioned the wisdom of discussing this matter here, also the framing of the Motion, and the propriety of coming up with this matter for a discussion here. But let us not forget that the Adjournment Motion, given notice of were reflective of the sentiments of the different sections of the House, so much so, when the leave was asked for, nobody objected to the granting of the leave. That shows that, irrespective of party, there is a feeling that this is a subject which must engage the attention of the Parliament. This, I say, just in answer to the objection raised by Prof. Samar Guha.

Before I pass on to the rest, I would answer to one or two things which he said—I am not going to answer all. He mentioned about the Police Commission. He does not understand the scope of the Police Commission that was appointed. It covered a wide field. The purpose with which Mr. Charan Singh appointed the Police Commission was restructuring of the entire police forces. This was not the first time that a Police Commission was appointed. I was reminded of my friends here that there was a Khosla Commission which was appointed in 1967; reports were brought out and the recommendations were implemented. It is not as if the previous Governments were unconcerned about it or thoughtless about the affairs in the police force. This is all I have got to say.

Now, the matter we are discussing is certainly a matter of very serious national concern. I would rather approach it in two manners. Look at the immensity of the situation that arose. There were instances of Police strikes and agitations but they were all isolated instances. In some areas it occurs and there it is contained and never was it allowed to spread and never did it spread. But here is

for the first time a Police strike spreading throughout the country, sweeping across, from the Punjab to Kerala, deep down in the south and covering the entire layers of the Police administration and the Police forces. The regular Police, the CRP, the Industrial Security Force and the Railway security force—the whole layers of the Police forces were affected. The result is that there is a real sense of frustration and panic among the people. But, what exactly is going to happen? There is a sense of panic throughout. Let us not forget that there is panic. That is why this matter comes up here. I am concerned about it more because it is symptomatic of the situation in the country. When the Police goes on strike, when the Army resorts to particular courses, when the Navy resorts to particular courses, when the Armed Forces go out of the ordinary way of their behaviour, it is a warning that it is symptomatic of something which the nation and the leadership would do better to take note of. Unless things are difficult or suffocating within the forces, unless the forces know that things are difficult and suffocating outside the forces, normally an armed force does not come out and certainly the armed forces will not come out in the sweeping manner as it has happened in our country today. This sweeping nature of the agitation I want to emphasize. It could not have happened so. It has happened because outside the situation is far from heartening. Prices are rising, industrial production is slumping and the political authority in the country is getting shattered and the administrative efficiency is being splintered down.

This is the situation everywhere and we find for the first time in West Bengal where the Communist Party is in power, refugees going out of India, refugees feeling insecure and going out of India to an adjoining country. And there is nobody who pleads that everyone-else is bad and he alone is all right. This is not the

situation. This total collapse all round has instinctively induced the Police forces to come out as if by instinct. You cannot think of a Police force organized in a trade union manner throughout the country and as if by instinct from camp to camp the message was taken and the Police force comes out. That is why I say that it is symptomatic of something rotten in the whole national situation and it is a warning which the leadership would do better to take note of.

Such a calamitous situation has arisen as a result of acts of omission or commission on the part of persons who are responsible to see that it does not take place. That is the biggest national disservice for which anybody who is answerable has got to answer to the country.

Now, there are strikes taking place in the industrial area and in every/other area. It can be that there are genuine grievances which may not be much but they take place. There may be grievances which may not be very reasonable and then strike takes place and under the pressure of the strike those grievances are redressed. There will be cases when grievances are imaginary, unreasonable and so unreasonable that in spite of having a strike or agitation, the grievances can not be redressed. Now these sets of things are there. Here is a strange situation in which it is conceded that there are grievances—legitimate grievances. Prime Minister concedes that there were legitimate grievances. Everybody concedes that there were legitimate grievances and the grievances had to be looked into. All that the Prime Minister says is that it can be looked into but not at the gun-point. Nobody says that the grievances are not reasonable. Grievances are reasonable and the Police Commission which Mr. Samar Guha referred to have come out with a report months back pointing out that there are grievances—this and this and this have got to be done. And the Police forces came to know that these are the recommendations. Months go by.

Government does not act. Representations are made. No redressal is given. There is no symptom of the government starting to move. It is under those circumstances as if by a reflexive automation they go on a strike as if the ammunition is lit by a match, go to say. It happened in Punjab. The reasons, I do not want to go into.

Now, therefore, if there were legitimate grievances and, if those grievances are considered by the Government as having been legitimate and, if they are accepted by the Police Commission as legitimate, then Government will have to answer as to why those grievances were not attended to and why for the redressal of these grievances, a situation like this was permitted to take place? Once it starts, what did the Government do? They did nothing to contain it. It has in a way started; Punjab has given you a warning. It is here. Did you contain it? What steps did you take to contain it? Did the Central Government intervene and assure the people, the police forces, that they are moving in to redress their grievances? Did they tell them that no agitation is necessary? Here is a Government which has got ears to hear but they would not hear; here is a Prime Minister with eyes to see but he does not see or will not hear at all. Nothing happens. Nothing affects him—his immunity to the happenings in this country; his imperviousness to the happenings in this country; his sensitivity to the happenings in this country. For a person in authority, particularly, to the Prime Minister, it is a biggest curse in this country. Whatever happens he is not affected. It looks like that. As a result of that he has not been able to contain it. And under his leadership, here is our Home Minister who thinks that grievances are there. Long after a thing has happened, he is an expert to see things in retrospective effect in his own angle. He has no prospective approach to the problem that arises. That is why in Aligarh this thing took

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

place. That is why in different areas this thing is taking place. Bureaucratic approach is an approach for our Home Minister of this country. We do not want that at all as otherwise our problems cannot be solved at all. I am not demanding the resignation of the Home Minister. Why should I ask for his resignation? The real responsibility is on the totality of the administration. And the Prime Minister will have to answer for that.

I want to know whether this eruption could have been avoided. It should have been avoided by dealing with the grievances. Secondly after this eruption, whether it could have been contained. It should have been contained. But, they did not move to contain it. The result is that it sets across the country. It could have been solved. It could have been shortened. But, they did not take any action at all. They say that statutory notice of ten days is necessary for the Chief Ministers to assemble. I do not know whether in a situation like war they will say the same thing; the Chief Ministers could not be called because they require such and such days' notice even when the country is burning. This is the way in which the whole thing was approached. This is what I am submitting. Now, as a result of that, very much late they wake up like Rip Van Winkle. People start operating. The Prime Minister contributes his own share to incite the police further by saying that grievances there were of course but I will not attend to those grievances, unless you withdraw.' This is the ultimate thing. And then they find fault with. This is the situation and this is what happened in Punjab. Finally, people are resisting and this is going on. And large number of people have been dismissed and all that. I would plead that the responsibility for the beginning of this struggle is with the Central Government. And it should not be dealt with as if the police men alone are at fault. Therefore, the problem will have to be solved; responsibilities are with every body. It

has got to be solved. Let us not take a vindictive attitude against the police forces, who went on agitation. I won't comment about their demands. Quite a lot about them has been commented. Reasonable things must be considered. That is all I would say. One sentence more. That is this. When the police strike you call in the CRP; when the CRP strike you call in the Security Force; when the Security Force strike you call in somebody else and then you call in the military and when the military says I will not do it, whom are you going to call in. So, I raise my voice against this conduct of calling the military repeatedly and taking to the stage of making it to shoot at the other force. The situation will come when they will ask why should we shoot down our brethren to enable these Johnnies to remain in power.

17 hrs.

Sir, it is a break-down of the civil administration; it is a break-down of the administrative authority. It is the break-down of the political authority. It is the break-down of the Government of India which has brought about a situation in this country. So, it is not the resignation of a limb of the government that I am asking but it is the resignation of the Prime Minister, that I am asking for he has to answer for the country for this national calamity and for this total irresponsibility in dealing with the situation and having brought about a calamities situation in the country which is spelling a disaster for the future.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-East): Sir, I have just heard Stephan's swan song as Leader of the Opposition. Mr. Stephan's and this whole debate so far on adjournment motion has been a damp squib because there is nothing really to find fault with the government. I am not saying that a major grave event has not taken place. It has taken place but this is not unpre-

cedented. It had happened in 1966-67 in Delhi when Chatrapati was holding the lat'i here. It happened in 1973 in Uttar Pradesh in six-seven towns when not only Army was used but helicopters and missiles were used. The casualties were much higher than the casualties now. Today it is twenty-four whereas at that time the casualties in Uttar Pradesh alone were thirty-seven. (*Interruptions*)

What I am saying is that it is an even on which the fault is not being found in the situation instead of that what is being looked at is a political gain that one can get out of it. So, what is this adjournment motion all about? The government has acted. The Government has brought the situation under control. There is in Kerala where Mr. Stephen was up for the mischief even there the matter has been sorted out this morning. Therefore, what is it that they want to find fault with? They have brought the situation under control. You say that they have acted too much. This seems to be the criticism of Mr. Mukherjee, namely, brutality and authoritarianism. Of course, we know what his government is doing in West Bengal. What to talk of police even how innocent people of Marichjhappi were handled. He has no right to talk of ineptness. This is the key thing they have to concede. Sir, a grave situation did come about and this grave situation was handled with the minimum of force and with firmness. Today we have again restored normalcy. Now, can this Government be accused of having created the situation? As soon as the Janata Government came to power and the Assembly elections were held, the first conference of the Chief Ministers was called here sometime in August. The hon. Prime Minister addressed the Chief Ministers and spoke about the necessity of bringing about police reforms. So, as soon as the Janata Government came to power, we took the first step in this direction. In November 1977,

the Police Commission was appointed. This National Police Commission came into being after 77 years. (*Interruptions*) It is no use saying what is the use of the Police Commission, what it is going to do and so on. I have checked this up and I know that when the questionnaire was sent to Members of Parliament, my friend Mr. Saugata Roy did not fill up the questionnaire and send it to the Commission. Now he is pleading for the policeman! Why have they not filled up the questionnaire? Why did they not reply to it? Now they come here and talk about the policeman and all that.

One of the most important demands of the policemen is housing. And regarding housing, what is it that the Janata Government has done? At the moment certain additional steps are being taken. But I wish to point this out that at the stage of the formulation of the draft sixth five-year plan, the amount set apart for policemen's housing was Rs. 105 crores, compared to the allotment in the fifth five-year plan of Rs. 23 crores. Here is a step which our Janata Government has taken, which step ought to have been taken long, long ago, but that was not taken. We have taken this up now and the Home Minister is considering how to step up this allotment through non-plan expenditure. The Janata Government has set apart Rs. 90 crores in the non-plan resources for housing. So, this is an area where we have done all these things. This is what ought to be discussed here. We can discuss how we can allot more money for it; we can discuss how we can solve the policeman's problems. The policemen are not revolting against the Janata Government. The policemen are not revolting against high prices in this country. They only want that their

[Dr. Subramaniam Swamy]

basic demands should be met. That is what we ought to be doing and that is what we are doing. Today the revolt is an outbreak of an accumulated deadweight of delayed decision. The Janata Government has been there for more than two years and they are taking this step to remove this deadweight of delayed decision. In fact, the last Police Commission which was set up 77 years ago did not consider the position of the constables who form 92 per cent of the police force, but they considered only how to improve the status of the sub-inspectors and so on. The Police Commission which we have appointed had gone into the working conditions of the constables. Today the constable will be listening to the All India Radio and he will be interested to know how far Members of Parliament are interested in meeting his demands. He is not interested in the demand for the resignation of Mr. H. M. Patel voiced by Mr. Stephen or Mr. Samar Mukherjee's criticism of this Government being an authoritarian Government. He is not interested in all these things. He only desires to know how far his demands are met. This is what he wants and that is what we have got to tell him. We have come to grips with the problem and we have taken various steps. After all today the police constable is a completely different person. The constable is sometimes even a graduate although the minimum qualification is that of matriculation. Many of them are graduates. In Delhi also, during last year, that is, during 1978, 52 of them were graduates. In Delhi one police constable is writing his Ph.D. Thesis. The constable stays as a constable when there is direct recruitment made to the post of the sub-inspectors and that is what he is agitating about. He is demanding promotions. The Home Minister is looking into what steps have to be taken in the matter. He has reconstituted staff councils not only in Police force but in the BSF, CRPF

and ISF and so on. He is having discussion with the staff councils.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Why was Mr. Dharma Vira appointed as the Chairman of the Police Commission—the old bandicoot? Why have you not put in somebody else?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: I can agree on Mr. Dharma Vira but he is not so important in our Parliament here. It is important to remember one thing. A constable today is not only in charge of law and order, but he is also charged with maintenance of public order. (Interruptions) The question is: what is the status you want to give to the constable today? He is in Class-IV service when his work is clearly of a high status. Unless you give him a high status, how do you expect him to live up to the commitments. In Japan, for example, a police constable is paid 48 per cent more than that of an average industrial worker. Today a police constable is called to quell an agitation by the trade union workers. Ultimately he comes to know what is happening to them. He sees that the trade union after its agitation gets its demands accepted. This is what they see. Now we have to restore in him the confidence. Parliament has to make him feel that we have come to grips with the situation. We have understood his problems and we are going to allot money for this purpose. We are going to see that the recommendations that are made are speedily implemented. This is what the police constable would like to hear. I would therefore urge this House that this adjournment motion has no value at all. It is a damp squib. They have no argument. They have come up with nothing. Today what they ought to do is to try to heal the wounds? The mover of the motion himself has taken this in a very casual manner. The whole debate has gone on in a casual manner.

SHRI A BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): Sir, he has used the term

"damp squib" It is unparliamentary according to me and everybody will agree with me, Sir, you use your discretion as a judge.

MR. SPEAKER: That is not so. (Interruptions).

श्री गौरी शंकर राय (गाजीपुर) : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस देश में जब ऐसी गम्भीर स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है तो मेरी समझ में इस सदन को गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करना चाहिये। इस गम्भीर स्थिति पर राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से विचार न कर के, एक गम्भीर समस्या के रूप में विचार करना चाहिये।

17.13 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

मान्यवर, पुलिस की जो घटना हुई है, यह इतनी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है, जिस के लिए किसी को प्रसन्नता नहीं है, इसलिए इस मामले पर बहस करने के लिए गम्भीरता की आवश्यकता थी, जिस की प्रपेक्षा मैं विरोधी दलों में बैठे हुए सदस्यों से करता था। मैं समझता था कि इस मामले पर सौगताराय साहब नहीं बोलेंगे, बल्कि चड्ढाण साहब बोलेंगे, क्योंकि आज की बहस की श्री समर मुखर्जी जैसे सीनियर मेम्बर ने शुरू किया था और वह यह समझते थे कि पुलिस जब हथियार लेकर खड़ी हुई तो हम को वहाँ मिलिट्री नहीं भेजनी चाहिये, बल्कि माल्त्वापेण करनी चाहिये थी। इस लिये जो परिस्थिति पैदा हुई है—हमें उस परिस्थिति की गम्भीरता पर विचार करना है।

श्री बनी राम डगड़ी(मथुरा) : परिस्थिति क्यों पैदा हुई ... (व्यवधान)...

श्री गौरी शंकर राय : मान्यवर मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि पुलिस में यह बड़ा पुराना असंतोष था। अभी मेरे मित्रों ने बतलाया कि 77 साल के बाद पुलिस कमीशन बना। आज की परिस्थितियों में पुलिस के हाजात पर कास्टेट रिवीज करके की पब्लिसर दुनिया में है। हमेशा हर साल या दो सालों में सारी दुनिया में उन के हालात के सम्बन्ध में रिवीज होता है। हमारे यहाँ उन की इतनी ताबाद बढ़ी, लेकिन 77 साल के बाद कमीशन बना। मुझे मालूम नहीं, स्टीफन साहब को किसी अन्य कमीशन की जानकारी हो, लेकिन जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है ऐसा कोई कमीशन नहीं बना जिस में उन की समस्याओं पर विचार किया गया हो। जनता सरकार ने पुलिस कमीशन बनाया और पुलिस कमीशन के बनने के बाद, यह सही बात बुद्धिपूर्वक साहब ने कही है, हम लोगों ने, दोनों तरफ के बैठने वालों ने उस के क्वेश्चनेयर का जबाब नहीं दिया। जोशों ने उस में कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं ली। ... (व्यवधान) ... भाफ कीजिएगा कि आप ने उस का जबाब नहीं दिया। आप अभी ऐसे मामले में दिलचस्पी नहीं लेते। अभी फरवरी में कुछ रिफ्लेक्शन उस कमीशन के धारे हैं। सरकार ने उन के बारे में कुछ किया या कर

की आवश्यकता है, मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता कि एकदम से ऐसे मामलों पर कुछ कर दिया जाए। यह नाजुक मामला है और इस को नाजुक तरीके से डिस्कस करना चाहिये। सदन के जो इम्पोटेंट लोग हैं, उन लोगों को बैठा कर इस नाजुक मामले पर बहस करनी चाहिये लेकिन आज तो कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि एक दूसरे पर चाज लगा कर सारी जिम्मेदारी खत्म हो जाती है। अभी समर मुखर्जी ने जो धापण दिया, उससे ऐसा लगा जैसे कि उन को बेस्ट बंगाल की पुलिस पर बहुत गर्व है। आज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बेस्ट बंगाल की पुलिस की हालत सारे देश की पुलिस से दयनीय है।

श्री बन्धुशेखर सिंह (वाराणसी) : अभी माननीय सदस्य ने यह कहा कि सदन के इम्पोटेंट लोगों को बैठा कर इस नाजुक मामले पर बहस करनी चाहिये। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस सदन में कुछ लोग इम्पोटेंट हैं और कुछ गैर-इम्पोटेंट हैं ?

श्री गौरी शंकर राय : अभी इन अपोजीशन के लोगों को कुछ ट्रेनिंग लेनी चाहिये। ये बोलने नहीं देंगे। (व्यवधान) ... मैं यह कह रहा था कि इस मामले पर एक कन्सेंस को जरूरत थी और सारी तरफ के लोग आपस में बैठ कर इस पर विचार करते कि पुलिस कमीशन की रिफ्लेक्शन के बारे में क्या किया जाए। जैसे उन की हाऊसिंग का सवाल है। सरकार ने उस को लिया है। एक बात मैं यह कह रहा था कि हमारे समर मुखर्जी साहब ने कहा कि बेस्ट बंगाल की पुलिस की हालत अच्छी है। मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि बड़ी दर्दनाक हालत उन की है। अगर राशन की सक्सीडी की देखा जाए, तो हिन्दुस्तान में सब से कम उन को मिलता है। कर्नाटक की पुलिस की हालत अच्छी है और पंजाब की पुलिस की हालत तो बहुत अच्छी है। आप के यहाँ अभी रिफार्म की बहुत जरूरत है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक प्राइसोलेशन के तौर पर हमें इस चीज को नहीं देखना चाहिये। सब स्टेट्स के बारे में सोचना चाहिये और एक यूनीफार्मिटी इस मामले पर सारे देश में होनी चाहिये। सब लोगों को इस मामले पर बैठ कर सोचना चाहिये और एक हल निकालना चाहिये।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आईरली की हालत आज क्या है। यह आज का झगडा नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश में कई बार ऐसे मामले हुए हैं और बिहार में भी हमारे रामानन्द तिवारी जी ने, जो कि उन के प्रेसीडेंट थे, इस मामले को उठाया था। आईरली जो अफसर के घर में होता है, वह उस के बच्चों और बीबी के कपड़े धोता है, जिस से उस के अन्दर रिजण्ट होता है लेकिन वह काम उस को मजबूरन करना पड़ता है। अब हमारी सरकार ने यह एनाऊंस कर दिया है कि इस आईरली सिस्टम को खत्म कर दिया जाए लेकिन मैं बड़े विश्वास से और जानकारी के आधार पर सरकार से कहता हूँ कि आईरली सिस्टम खत्म होने के बाद भी धाब भी वह है क्योंकि सिपाही को अपनी तरफ की लिए अफसर की तरफ देवना पड़ता है।

[श्री गौरी शंकर राय]

अगर इस तरह के एक भी केस में कोई एक्शन हो जाए, तो फिर डर पैदा हो सकता है लेकिन आज भी वही पुरानी जमींदारी और सामन्तशाही का बहुत बड़ा घुणित सबूत हमारे सामने है जिस को समाप्त करने के लिए निश्चित कदम उठाने चाहिये ।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ जिस से हमारे क्रान्तिकारी मित्र शायद एभी नहीं करेंगे न मालूम ये किस डेमोक्रेसी के हामी हैं ? किस देश में पुलिस और हमारे समर मुखर्जी की तरह जूट मिली या दूसरे मजदूरों का मुकाबला ट्रेड यूनियन के मामले में, किया जाता है । अगर ये पुलिस और उन वर्ककरों का एक दूसरे का मुकाबले ट्रेड यूनियन के मामले में करते हैं, तो इन का डेमोक्रेसी में विश्वास नहीं है । पुलिस और दूसरे मजदूरों को डिफ्रेण्ट स्टैटस पर डील करना होगा, ऐसी मेरा मान्यता है । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उन को कोई आर्गनाइजेशन नहीं होना चाहिये । मैं यह मानता हूँ कि उन को प्रीवेन्सज को दूर करने के लिए कोई रास्ता होना चाहिये । लेकिन उन को जूट मिलों और दूसरे वर्कर्स की तरह से प्रदर्शन करना चाहिये, जो लोग इस तरह की बात कहते हैं उन की प्रजातन्त्र की भक्ति और देशभक्ति में मुझे संदेह होता है । मैं अपने मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आफन में सियासत न करे और इस मामले में पालिटिकल न करे । यह देश के लिए बहुत घातक होगा । इस में राजनीति निकालने का प्रयास न करे । इस में से राजनीति नहीं निकलेगी और अगर ऐसा किया गया तो देश खतरे में आ सकता है । बहुत उत्साह के साथ हमारे मित्र बात कह कर चले गये और लोग प्रसन्न हो गये । हमारे स्टीफन साहब ने जैसी कहावत है डेविल कोट्स... उसे क्या कहते हैं ।

एक माननीय सवस्य : दि स्क्रिपचर्स ।

श्री गौरी शंकर राय : उस को छोड़ क्रीजिए । क्या वे इतने सीरियस इस डिबेट के बारे में हैं, प्रजातन्त्र के लिए हैं ? वे उठ कर चले गये ।

श्री वसंत साठे (अकोला) : उन का फोन आया था ।

श्री गौरी शंकर राय : मेडम का फोन आया था । हमारे बहुगुना जी इसके मूर्तिमान रूप हैं । जब उत्तर प्रदेश में सरकार बदली थी कमलापति जी की और हवाई जहाज से बमबार्ड करने वाले जहाज राम नगर के ऊपर से उड़ रहे थे, इनको मालूम नहीं है । इस मामले में पहले भी हम सब एक थे और आज भी हम सब को एक होना चाहिये । मैं उस समय की बात इसलिए नहीं कहता हूँ कि अगर उस समय यह घटना हुई तो अब भी होनी चाहिये । ऐसी घटनाएँ देश के लिए बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण होती हैं । ऐसी नाजूक घटनाओं को हमें सौच समझ कर हल करना चाहिये, उनसे राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने का प्रयास नहीं करना चाहिये । इस के लिए मैं आप से भी निवेदन करूँगा और सरकार से भी निवेदन करूँगा ।

सरकार ने पुलिस वालों के लिए कुछ सुविधाओं को अनाउंस किया है । और भी जो उनके मामले हैं उनके बारे में भी सरकार को अनाउंस करना चाहिये । अभी हमारे मित्र जो बोल रहे थे वे यह तो बतला रहे थे कि उनको डिमाण्ड क्या है लेकिन इस आन्दोलन में जितने लोग गिरफ्तार हुए हैं, उनमें से किसी के बारे में न तो सी० पी० एम० के लोगों ने और न कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोगों ने कुछ भी नहीं कहा है । मैं मान्यवर उनके लिए अपनी आवाज उठाऊँगा । मान्यवर, पुलिसमैन में असन्तोष रहा है । लेकिन वह क्या इस तरह से, क्या इनके उकसाने से हल होगा ? उनको उकसाने में इन लोगों का हाथ रहा है । यह एक शर्मनाक बात है और हमकी निन्दा होनी चाहिये ।

मान्यवर, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ । आज सारी दुनिया में पापुलेशन बढ़ने के साथ साथ यह विचार पनप रहा है कि क्या बढ़ती हुई पापुलेशन को देखते हुए पुलिस के सारे नेशनल सेट अप को बदल दिया जाए ? मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इसको बिल्कुल बदल दिया जाए लेकिन यह विचार दूसरे देशों में चल रहा है । हमारी सरकार को भी यह देखना चाहिये कि इस बढ़ी हुई आबादी को चलाने का काम क्या पुलिस का वर्तमान ढांचा, पुलिस की सारी वर्तमान कार्यविधि, पुलिस का वर्तमान मैनुअल कर सकेगा ? यह केवल सरकार को ही नहीं बल्कि विरोध में बैठने वालों को भी सोचना चाहिये ।

मान्यवर ये लोग अनुशासन के नाम पर सरकार चलाते रहे । मैं इन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हमारे पुलिसमैन में, हमारी पैरामिलिट्री में अनुशासन नहीं रहना चाहिये ? अगर यह नहीं रहेगा तो देश का शासन कैसे चलेगा ? क्या हर जगह ट्रेड यूनियन का बिल्वा लगाने से ही क्रान्तिकारी व्यक्तित्व स्पष्ट होगा ? ऐसी बात नहीं है । उनके साथ और लोगों को भी दर्द है और सब से ज्यादा दर्द है । उन लोगों को तकलीफ में डालने से ही या उनको आपस में लड़ा देने से ही दर्द नहीं प्रकट होता है । हमें भी अपने कॉन्टेबल के साथ हमदर्दी है । लेकिन उनकी हमदर्दी में राजनीतिक रोटी सेकने का प्रयास बन्द किया जाना चाहिये ।

अन्त में मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी हाउसिंग की व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में जो आप ने किया है वह तो किया है लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में और भी करने की आवश्यकता है । आपने आडरली सिस्टम को अबालिश किया, यह एक स्वागत योग्य कदम है । यह अंग्रेजों का कोड़ था जिसको पिछले तीस साल तक हमने अपने सिर पर ढोया है । अब इसके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में सरकार को मजबूती दिखानी होगी । जहाँ कहीं से आपके पास खबर आये कि इसका मजबूती से पालन नहीं हो रहा है वहाँ इसको मजबूती के साथ इम्प्लीमेंट कराने की आवश्यकता है, नहीं तो देश में प्रजातन्त्र की जड़ हिस सकती है ।

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR
(Trivandrum): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir: The situation is very serious. And I agree with some friends who said that this should not be made a matter for political controversy between the parties, because never in the history of this country—not only after independence, but even before independence—had the entire instruments which are meant to maintain law and order broken down, as it has happened now.

Many friends were telling us that the police were drawn into action even earlier. Might be. But here, the speciality of this situation is that it is not only the police; the CRP, CISF and the entire police force throughout are involved. You may be suppressing it somewhere, and you may be utilizing the Army. But the fact remains that the entire police force is in distress. Now here who instigated these things? Some hon. Members here wanted to hit at CPI(M) and CPI. I objectively went into the question and found that it was the Police Commission that had instigated these things. Why do you forget that?

Here some people were arguing whether the armed forces should have the right to have an association with the police. If you see their report you will find that the right for association has been recommended very strongly by the police commission. That is one of their main demands. Then they have again recommended that they should be treated like skilled workers. Now they are treated like unskilled workers on par with class IV employees. The Commission wanted that their status and salary should be raised to the level of skilled workers. The second demand was regarding their interim increment of Rs 100 or Rs. 200 irrespective of the promotion chances. The Commission has agreed that many Constables will have to retire as Constables after putting in so many years of service. That is an-

other demand which the police has put forward.

The para-military forces are getting some subsidy for their food. The Police Commission has recommended that the same facility should be extended to them also. Then there was a demand for 8 hours work and weekly holidays. Everybody knows and especially the politicians should know that the policemen have to over work; they have to work for 24 hours. It is not only the number of issues on which their attention drawn has grown, but the Police Commission has reported that 8 hours work and weekly holidays should be enforced irrespective of the fact whether a particular Constable is working in CRP or CISF or any other place. Is it wrong on their part? Who are the members of the committee? You should remember that it was headed by Shri Dharm Vira who was a senior Cabinet Secretary. (Interruptions) May be a bureaucrat. Now the bureaucrats sitting over here cannot object to that.

The police officers who have made these recommendations are not the people who have no experience either in administration or in the working of the police; they are the people who have experience either in administration or in police affairs. They have made it known that these are the recommendations that they have made. When police men in Punjab started an agitation, the right thing the Punjab Government had done was to settle the issue. Other Governments had to follow suit. Now I ask the Central government and the Union Home Minister one question. When the question of bonus for railwaymen was discussed, they always say: what will be the repercussion in other departments? What answer to give to the P&T Department people if bonus is given to the railwaymen? Government could visualise that if certain facilities are given to certain sections, it will have its reaction in other sections. Cannot they understand that if the policemen are given

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair] certain facilities the CRP and the CISF will also demand them? Should they not attend to it? They did not do that.

So, if anybody has given instigation for the police to act, it was the police commission report and the recommendations that were made. Not one policeman has gone beyond the recommendations of the police commission on this issue.

Secondly, there was an agent provocateur as far as the CISF was concerned, that is, the I.G. of CISF. Just as Samar got a letter and read it, I got a letter from Tamilnadu and I sent it on to him. They were asked to select representatives and send them to Delhi with their charter of demands. When they came here, they were asked to sign on the dotted lines. They refused. Then they were arrested. What more provision one needs? What was the demand of CISF in Bokaro? I personally went there and tried to study what had happened. What was their first demand? I got this from the officers not the workers: I called the officers and asked them: what are their demands? Release our leaders who have gone to Delhi. You call them, ask them to sign on the dotted line, and you jail them when they refused. Who is to be disbanded? Is it the constables who went on strike or is it the officers? The Minister had neither the guts to be firm with them, nor had he the brains to take action against those officers who had created the situation ... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER. Please conclude.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I am winding up. When they went on agitation, the biggest mistake you committed was not to utilise civil authority to disarm the police. Tell me of one instance in the whole country of any policeman who was on strike taking to violence, though they disobeyed and protested. Is there any charge that any of their personnel or officers were attacked by them? It was the biggest blunder they commit-

ted, that instead of utilising civil authority they rushed for the Army in panic. When did they attack? At dead of night, 2 O'clock; they entered the premises and at 3.30 started firing at the gate. Look at the figures. How is it that the Home guards which were never engaged in this were surrounded. Read the newspaper reports on those pages. They marched upto the armoury, the site of the armoury. A number of them surrendered. But one fellow fired a shot and the Major died. There was machine gunning and indiscriminate firing. Who are the people who died? Most of them were those who surrendered. And then they tried to revolt. Then came the recoil guns on jeep. Since they are also the Military men, they knew what it means; they showed white flag.

If there is a revolt in a military camp, it is not only the constables that are punished. The first man to be action taken against are the officers who do not understand the mood of the constabulary; the officers who could not maintain the leadership. They are the first people who should be sacked. Have you done anything like that? You have not done it.

When you call Military, what is in the mind of the people? You are in need of the police to maintain law and order. When that gets paralysed, your alternative is to seek the aid of the military. If military is used to suppress internal disorders, then what will be the relationship between the military and the public. The public will look them as oppressors and not as protectors. It is very bad and very dangerous trend which should not be encouraged. I did not see the Home Minister here when we started the discussion. I saw the Prime Minister sitting here. I thought that Shri H. M. Patel had the sense of honour to submit his resignation.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Never.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): None of them will resign.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I am disappointed that he is still here.

We request him to surrender the post which he is holding.

Mr. Patel, the mere fact that your entire machinery, the instrument which you had used had been paralysed and is revolting against you; in the honour of the post you are holding, you will kindly resign.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT (Dum Dum): Mr. Deputy Speaker, this morning when our hon. friends opposite moved this adjournment motion, we on this side did not oppose that because it is our intention that a healthy and purposeful discussion is made on this very important issue. I do not for a moment want to underplay the gravity of the situation. But at the same time I emphatically refute the demand made by the opposition that the Home Minister should resign. I feel that this very grave and serious situation has been very quickly, very ably tackled with the minimum of bloodshed and to-day the situation has been made normal with the utmost speed. The Janata Party Government can be proud of the fact that after 75 years they were able to appoint a National Police Commission (the last one was in 1902). The Police Commission has submitted the Report ably and quickly. I would at the outset urge the Government to try to implement the more important and reasonable recommendations of the report as quickly as possible. The condition of the police force has come in for a lot of criticism because it is a legacy of the British imperialistic days when officers were mostly foreigners and the lower rungs of the police were natives and they were treated with the utmost contempt. So, this should have come much earlier. This should have come within a few years of independence. But anyhow, we are happy and proud that the Janata Government appointed this Police Commission which has made an effective report.

As I said, I do not want to minimise the gravity of the situation. Army finding the necessity of firing on security force is not at all a desirable situation. But at the same time, the way some members opposite have tried to over-emphasise this should be met. What is the magnitude of the so called revolt? Out of 58 battalions of the CRP, only 2 battalions were affected and a few companies in 2 other battalions were affected. The other 54 battalions out of the total of 58 were completely untouched by this revolt. If we see the CISF, out of 97 Central Government undertakings being guarded by the CISF, there were disturbances only in two places. In one place, of course, it was very serious and grave.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: What about the arrest of CRP men?

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: I am coming to that. My friend, Shri Vayalar Ravi, is concerned about the arrest of some CRP men. So was the hon. leader of the CPM, Shri Samar Mukherjee. If we have a disciplined, organised and trained force, which is a para-military force guarding the security of the country, they should always be in uniform, whenever they meet formally. Why is this clamour that they have been prosecuted because they were not wearing uniform. Why is this sympathy being shown? I can only come to the conclusion that if they came out without uniform, those friends of mine who are interested in infiltrating into that organisation would have put in their men when they came out without uniform. It was very appropriate for the authorities to take steps against them because of junior jawans and junior officers came to meet their seniors in formal meetings without uniform, that was not only insulting the officers concerned, but it was insulting the service itself. Therefore, very appropriate steps have been taken by arresting them.

[Shri Asoke Krishna Dutt]

Much has been said about the military being used. When a paramilitary force gets discontented, it is the duty of every Government to take steps which minimise their capacity to do mischief. The outgoing Leader of the Opposition, in his rather tame valedictory address, also mentioned that the army should have been called in quickly. What did the army do? The army was never used to replace the police or paramilitary force. The army was specifically brought with the purpose of disarming the discontented paramilitary force. The army normally protects the security of the country against foreign aggression. But if any paramilitary or organised force in the country gets discontented, it is the duty of the army to obey the orders of the Government to disarm it. The really serious incident occurred at Bokaro. I find that every hon. member in the opposition has overlooked the fact as to how things went in Bokaro. When the army went there, the company commander himself got up and shouted at the CISF calling upon them to desist from using force and to surrender their arms. But they took positions at strategic places from the top vulnerable position as though a foreign invader was invading. The Company Commander while he was talking, was shot then and there and killed immediately and two of his lieutenants who were standing by his side were also killed. The Company Commander gets killed. His two assistants get killed. What is it that my hon. friends are suggesting from the other side? 23 people have been killed. I am very sorry for that. But indisciplined and violent people ought to be dealt with firmly. Otherwise the organisation cannot last and the Government cannot function. We must remember that had the Army not taken the firm and ruthless action in Bokaro, this sort of situation would have spread all over the country. This firm and ruthless action in Bokaro created an impact

throughout the country. Because of that action, except in two deaths in the headquarters, there was no other death anywhere.

The hon. Leader of the Opposition— I do not know whether he is still the Leader of the Opposition or not— in his tame speech mentioned that his Government had appointed the Khosla Commission. He should have answered more firmly as to what did the Khosla Commission do. We never saw the report of the Khosla Commission. Its report was never published. And they know how much of that was implemented. During the Emergency, the Police were completely subdued.

The Marxist Communist are very much concerned about the Police. They used the police force to oppress the helpless Harijans in Marichhappi. The Communist Marxist often boast over here that in West Bengal there is not a single case of oppression against Harijans. If all the Harijans oppressed throughout the country are added together it will be found that more Harijans were oppressed in Marichhappi alone.

The Marxist Communists and the CPI along with them are very much concerned about the police force. I would urge upon the Government, particularly the Prime Minister and the Home Minister to take very serious note of this fact that these parties are trying to infiltrate into the police organisation. They do not believe in democracy. Sir, any person who believes in democracy knows that the Army the Police and para-military force should remain completely aloof from politics. But this is not the theory of the Marxist Communist. This is not the theory of the CPI. They do not believe in democracy. Their leaders starting from Nambodripad downwards are on record saying that they are infiltrating into the representative institutions with the intention of subverting them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have taken much more time. Please conclude now.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT:

What I am saying is that they have always been desirous of subverting democracy. That is the reason why they know it from the result of the last election, except for one big State and one small State, they have now almost a clean slate throughout the country. So, they are trying to infiltrate into the police force and this must be checked, must be challenged.

श्री उग्रसेन (देवरिया) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो प्रश्न आज सदन के समक्ष है और जिस को कामरेड समर मुखर्जी ने रखा है, इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है। मैं तो समझे सदन में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न पर, जो गंभीर परिस्थिति है, उस पर हम सब को एक साथ बैठ कर विचार करना चाहिये। अभी इंगल के सब लोग बोल रहे थे।... (व्यवधान)... मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि यह केवल शांति व्यवस्था का मामला नहीं है। अगर यह चीज बिगड़ती चली जाएगी, तो प्रागे चल कर यह बहुत गंभीर रूप धारण कर सकती है।

मैं एक बात यह और कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह आज का पाप नहीं है। यह तो 30 साल का पाप है, जिस को हम भोग रहे हैं। मैं आप को बताऊँ कि मैंने सन् 1952-53 में एक भाषण दिया था। मेरा भाषण देवरिया में हुआ था, जहाँ से मैं चुन कर आया हूँ। जब मैं भाषण दे रहा था, तो वहाँ पर पुलिस के लोग आ गये और उस समय के पुलिस कप्तान ने और उस समय की सरकार ने इनमाइटमेंट टू डिसेम्पकेशन एक्ट, गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया, 1921 कह कर मेरा चालान कर दिया। मैं, जैसा कि माननीय राज नारायण जी जानते हैं, 10 महीने तक मुकदमें में भिड़ता रहा और फिर मैंने एक दरखास्त दी कि मेरे ऊपर मुकदमा किस बात पर है। गेंदा सिंह जी ने पता लगाया कि वह कानून तो हमारी स्टेट पर लागू नहीं होता और वह तो प्रेजिडेंशियल प्रोविन्सेज में लागू है। तब 11 महीने के बाद मैं छूटा। फिर 1973 में क्या हुआ उत्तर प्रदेश में। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे गुरु श्री कमलापति लिपाठी को हटाने के लिए मुहतरमा ने कौज भेजी पुलिस वालों पर हमला करने के लिए। हम ने इस पर भाषण किया और श्री रामानन्द तिवारी ने भाषण किया, तो हमें डी० आई० आर० में पकड़ कर बन्द कर दिया। अगर हाई कोर्ट का जज न होता, तो मैं न छूटता। 5 महीने के बाद हम निकले। इसलिए मैं सब बावों की जानता हूँ और हम ने इन लोगों के लिए

संघर्ष किया है और इन के संघर्ष में भाग लिया है और मैं यह कहता हूँ कि आज जनता पार्टी में कोई ऐसा आदमी नहीं है जिसमें इन की मांगों के प्रति सहानुभूति न हो।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब इन का राज्य था, तो मैंने एसेम्बली में भाषण दिया था कि एक सिपाही को 29 रुपये मिलते हैं जब कि एक दारोगा के घोड़े को घास के लिए इनकी सरकार 65 रुपये देती थी। मैंने विधान सभा में कहा था कि आदमी घोड़े से तो दारोगा का घोड़ा ही अच्छा है, जिस की घास के लिए इतने रुपये मिलते हैं। इस पर भी दारोगा ने दरखास्त दे दी कि घोड़े की घास बहुत मंगी हो गई है, उस के खाने का दाना बहुत महंगा हो गया है, इसलिए उस के पैसे बढ़ाए जाएं और मोशलिस्टों के बहकावे में न आया जाए। इस पर घोड़े की घास और दाने के लिए 65 रुपये से बढ़ा कर 75 रुपये इन की सरकार ने कर दिया। माननीय राज नारायण जी जानते हैं कि क्या क्या जुल्म इन पर हुए हैं। इन को बैरकों में भेज दिया गया और मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पुलिस एक्ट को फेंक देना चाहिए। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारतीय संविधान 26 जनवरी को लागू हुआ और डा० अम्बेदकर की जब बम्बई में सभा हो रही थी, तो मैं भी उस में भाग लेने गया था। मैंने वहाँ पर उन से एक सवाल यह किया कि यह खर्चा जो आप बना रहे हो, क्या इस को सभी लोग लागू कर सकेंगे। उस वक्त उन्होंने यह कहा था कि देखो मि० सिंह, हमने तो यह लिख दिया है और तुम और जो प्रागे आने वाली जेनरेशन है, उस पर है कि वह इस को कैसे लागू करे। हमारे भारतीय नागरिकों के लिए जो संविधान है, उस में उन की सुरक्षा के लिए पंडितों ने पत्रे के पत्रे लिखे हुए हैं मगर सवाल उन को लागू करने का आता है। इसलिए मैं यह कहता हूँ कि आप सब बैठ कर समाझें कि उन की मांगें क्या हैं? क्या हम यह चाहेंगे या जनता पार्टी का कोई आदमी यह चाहेगा कि अफसरों के कुत्तों के रहने के लिए तो मकान हों, बिरला, टाटा, सूरजमल नागरमल, सिधानिया, बजाज, मजींटिया, खंतान, रंगटा आदि के कुत्ते तो रजाई में रहे और इन की मां को जाड़े में एक चादर भी न मिले। क्या पटेल साहब और दूसरे लोग ऐसा कहते हैं? मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि यह 30 साल का पाप है। 30 साल से लकड़ी जलना शुरू हुई लेकिन लकड़ी गीली थी, इसलिए वह टोक से जल नहीं पाई और आज जो पूरी आजादी मिल गई, हमारी सरकार ने पूरी आजादी दे दी, तो अब वह लकड़ी जल गई। मैं यह जरूर कहना हूँ कि उनको मांगों के प्रति हमारी सहानुभूति है। पुलिस कमिशन ने अभी उन के बारे में कुछ रिकमेंड किया है। अभी एक साहब कह रहे थे कि पंजाब में पुलिस एजीटेशन करने वाली थी, उन्होंने एजीटेशन किया ताकि उन्हें ज्यादा मिल जाए। बिहार में अभी आप ने हाथ सेका है। आज आप हमें पढ़ाना चाहते हैं। हम ने भी मार्क्स और एंजिल्स को पढ़ा है और हम जानते हैं कि क्रांतियां कैसे होती हैं। क्रांतियां कोई चीं चीं का मुरझा नहीं हैं। मैं आप को बताऊँ कि

[श्री उपसेन]

Left Communism and Infantile Desire
by Lenin.

लेनिन ने उस में लिखा है, कामरेड श्रीमती पार्वती
कृष्णन जरा ध्यान दीजिए—

“Those who eat fires breathe op-
portunism in the end.”

जो गर्मागर्म बातें करते हैं, वे अन्न में दरबारी
राजनीति का शिकार होते हैं। यह लेनिन ने कहा है।
मेरे कहने में घबराइये मत—

बहुत शोर मचाने थे पहलू में दिन का
जो चौरा तो कनराए खू भी न निकला।

मैंने भी पुलिस वालों के लिए मार खाई है। उत्तर
प्रदेश में मैं पुलिस वालों के लिए लड़ा हूँ। यह बात वहां
पुलिस का हर सिपाही जानता है। मैंने उन की बैरकों
में सभाएं की हैं। यह सब करने के बाद ही मैं यहां चुन
कर आया हूँ। आप हम को ज्यादा मत पढ़ाइये।

मुझे आज एक बात का बड़ा खतरा मालूम होता
है। जो नया नया मुसलमान होता है वह बेवक्त नमाज
पढ़ता है। आज मोतारिमा के ये अजीब दोस्त इस तरह
से क्रांति करना चाहते हैं। इस तरह से क्रांतियों नहीं
होती हैं। ये क्रांतियों कागजी क्रांतियों में बदल जाती
हैं।

जब हम में 1905 में क्रांति हुई तो लेनिन ने
कहा था कि अब आगे क्या करें। वह क्रांति पूरी नहीं थी
इसलिये 1917 में क्रांति हुई नाकि क्रांति का पीरियड
पूरा हो जाये। आप लोगों से मैं एक बात कहना चाहता
हूँ कि आप उन लोगों को मत उभाड़िये। आप कहते हैं
कि हम ने उन को मारा क्या आप भूल गये हैं कि आप ने
भी उन को मारा था और बुरी तरह से मारा था।
इसलिये मैं कामरेड मोतारिमा से कहना चाहता हूँ कि
आप इस आग में अपने हाथ मत सेकिये। नहीं तो बहुत
गड़बड़ हो जायेगी। इस आग से आप फायदा मन
उठाइये, इस में आप को कोई फायदा नहीं मिलेगा।

पुलिस की मांगों में हमारी पूरी सहानुभूति है।
लेकिन मैं गांधी, लोहिया और जयप्रकाश नारायण के
सिद्धान्तों में विश्वास करने वाला हूँ और जो भी इन
सिद्धान्तों में विश्वास करने वाला होगा वह यही कहेगा
कि बन्दूक ले कर मत उठियेगा। हमारे गुरू लोहिया
कहा करते थे कि गोली को इज्जत नहीं होती है, बोली
को इज्जत होती है। आप अगर डेमोक्रेसी में विश्वास
करते हैं तो एण्ड में ही विश्वास मन रखिये, मींस में
भी विश्वास रखिये। आज इस देश में जम्हूरियत है
और सी० आर० पी० और आर० पी० एफ० अगर अपनी
मांगें शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से रखती हैं तो मुझे कोई एतराज
नहीं है। लेकिन मुझे एतराज उन के 303 के उठाने पर
है। आप कागज में देखिये कि फौज को कब भेजा गया ?
फौज को आखिर में कब्जा करने के लिये भेजा गया था।
उत्तर प्रदेश में रोज कल्लेआम हो रहा है। श्री चन्द्रशेखर
सिंह कहेंगे कि किसी एम० पी० को एस० एस० पी० के

मानने खदेड़ कर मारा जाए, क्या यह वायलेस नहीं
है ? मैं कहता हूँ कि यह वायलेस है और आप इस से
दूर रहिये।

सरकार ने उन्हें मकान का भत्ता ज्यादा दिया,
वर्दी का भत्ता दिया। मैं यह नहीं कहना कि क्यों दिया ?
यह देना पड़ेगा। क्यों देना पड़ेगा ? क्योंकि इंडस्ट्रियल
वर्कर्स को ज्यादा बोनस चाहिये, बैंक के लोगों को ज्यादा
तनखाह चाहिये। क्या उन लोगों में भी युनियन की
लेक्चरवाजी का अमर नहीं पड़ेगा ? उन पर भी
अमर पड़ेगा। तो वह भी अपना हक मांगते हैं। वह भी
इन्मान है, आप उन को मांगों को पूरा कीजिये हमें कोई
एतराज नहीं है।

18 hrs.

अन्न में एक मुझाव देना चाहता हूँ, और एक बात
कहना चाहता हूँ। पूरे सदन में जिनती ताकत मुझ में
है, देश की 60 करोड़ जनता से कहना चाहता हूँ।
राजनीतिक दलों के नेताओं से कहना चाहता हूँ जरा
ध्यान दीजिये एशिया और यूरोप के नक्सों पर, फिलिपाइन्स
में ले कर अल्जीरिया तक हिन्दुस्तान ही अकेला देश है
जहां डेमोक्रेसी है, बाकी हर जगह तानाशाही है।
तो भगवान के नाम पर तानाशाही प्रवृत्तियों को प्रोत्साहन
न दीजिये। अगर आप प्रोत्साहन देंगे तो डेमोक्रेसी खत्म
हो जायेगी। गरीब गांधी, लोहिया और जय प्रकाश
जी का देश, जहां 1977 में चुनाव में जनतन्त्र का
इतना बड़ा प्रयोग हुआ है, उस का बरबाद न कीजिये।
अन्न में मेरा मुझाव है कि आप एक राउन्ड टेबल
कानफ्रेंस बुलाइये, ममर दादा को बुलाइये, माननीय
स्ट्रीफन को बुलाइये, आज वह नेता विरोधी दल हैं
कल अगर न भी रहें नेता विरोधी दल तो भी इन्हें बुलाइये,
चव्हाण जी को बुलाइये, माननीय राजनारायण जी को
बुलाइये, क्योंकि राजनारायण जी जिनका पुलिस के
लिये लड़ें हैं, बहुत कम लोग लड़ें होंगे, यह अच्छे मुझाव
देंगे, पुलिस के अधिकारियों को बुलाइये और फिर एक
नतीजे पर पहुंच कर हम को राष्ट्रीय समस्या ममस्र कर
इस को हल कीजिये।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो प्रस्ताव रखा है उस का मैं
विरोध करता हूँ, क्योंकि इस प्रस्ताव को लाने से आपका
कोई लाभ नहीं होगा।

श्री राज नारायण (रायबरेली) : श्रीमान्, मैं
बहुत ही दुःख के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ, अपने मित्र
उपसेन को सुनने के बाद, जिन्होंने डेमोक्रेसी की बात
कही, वह यह नहीं समझते हैं कि डेमोक्रेसी केवल एक
शब्द नहीं है। जब इन्मान की सोच, कथनी
और करनी में अन्तर होता है तो डेमोक्रेसी मर जाती है।
हरियाणा में अभी 40 एम० एल० ए० 15 दिन तक
इम्पोर्टेड गाड़ियों में बाहर घुमाये गये। यह डेमोक्रेसी
है ? पुलिस का विद्रोह सरकार करा रही है। यह सेना
का भी विद्रोह करायी, जब यह हरियाणा के एम०
एल० ए० को कहेगी डाक बंद कर के कि कोई
दूत रा भद्रभी मिलने आवे तो उस को मिलने न देना।
मैं 16, 17 तारीख को कलकत्ता में था। 12 हरियाणा
के एम० एल० ए० 5 इम्पोर्टेड गाड़ियों में कलकत्ता में

भारत दशान के लिये निकले। यह डेमोक्रेसी अगर यही डेमोक्रेसी है तो ऐ खुदा इम डेमोक्रेसी से हमें बचना है। अखबारों में बयान पढ़ा गया होगा, एक मज्जन लिखते हैं मुझे मेरी एम०एल०ए० वाइफ दे दो। एक आदमी गया लड़की को शादी के लिये मामान खरीदने, मामान को उठा लिया गया पुलिस की सहायता से। जब पुलिस से यह काम लिया जायगा तो निश्चिन रूप से पुलिस अनियंत्रित होगी। मैं माननीय उपसेन जी से कहना चाहता हूँ आप किसी पार्टी में हों? मैं जरा बता देना चाहता हूँ पता नही हमारे माथ 10, 15, 50, 100, कितने आदमी आये, मगर हमारी पार्टी का फिलहाल नाम होगा जनता पार्टी (एस), यानी जनता पार्टी (सैक्यूलर)। और जो जनता पार्टी कम्युनल हैं वह हम से दूर रहेंगे। (व्यवधान) वह कम्युनल है, आप सैक्यूलर में आओ। दे आर जनता (सी)—काम्युनल एंड बी आर जनता (एस)—सैक्यूलर। (व्यवधान)

श्रीमान्, मैं केवल बहुत थोड़ा समय लूंगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, : देखिये, आप का सिर्फ 6 मिनट बाकी रह गया है।

श्री राज नारायण : अफसोस यह है कि इस समय हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जो यहाँ नहीं हैं। मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि अपने अर्थ की जड़ में प्रधान मंत्री जी हैं। 'यह बेचारे जो घर मंत्री हैं, इन को ज्यादा कहिये मत, जब चाहें तब प्रधान मंत्री जी उन को हटा दें, धक्का देकर।

यह देखा जाय कि 23, 24 तक तो शांति थी, 22 को प्रधान मंत्री जी लौटकर जब आये तो घर मंत्री जी को जो पहने की पालिसी भी वह पालिसी बिल्कुल बदल गई। तब वह घमंड, अभिमान बोलने लगा और कहने लगा कि हम तो दबा देंगे, गोखी से भून देंगे। इस तरह के जजबान का इजहार होने लगा अफसरों की तरफ से। पुलिस आन्दोलन देखा नहीं है, पटेल साहब हम ने देखा है, हम गिरफ्तार भी हुए हैं।

मैं दो चिट्ठी पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ, अपनी चिट्ठी और श्री पटेल साहब की चिट्ठी। मैंने 1 जुलाई को श्री पटेल का चिट्ठी लिखी कि यह जो यहाँ पर दिल्ली में झड़ोदा कला में गोली चली है, उस में बहुत से लोग मरे हैं और जिन गांवों से लाख घसीट कर गई है, उन गांव के लोगों ने आकर मुझ को कहा है, हम को इजाजत दे दीजिये, जा कर देख लें क्योंकि वहाँ पर ज्यादातर लोग रायबरेली के हैं, हमारे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र के, इलाहबाद, बनारस, गाजीपुर और बलिया के हैं। तो उन लोगों को हम देखना चाहते हैं।

क्योंकि हथियार तो ले लिये गये थे, अब मैं मानवीय दृष्टिकोण पर आ रहा हूँ। यह चिट्ठी क्या लिखते हैं, पटेल जी।

प्रिय श्री राजनारायण, यद्यपि केन्द्रीय रिजर्व पुलिस के कुछ गुमराह कामिकों को हिरासत में लिया गया है, फिर भी केन्द्रीय रिजर्व पुलिस के प्राधिकारी यह सुनिश्चित कर रहे हैं कि इस लोगों के परिवारों

की देखभाल की जा रही है। वरिष्ठ अधिकारी कम्पस का दौरा कर रहे हैं, उन लोगों के परिवारों से मिल रहे हैं और उन की यदि कोई कठिनाइयाँ हैं, उन्हें दूर कर रहे हैं। इन परिस्थितियों में, मुझे आशा है आप मुझ से सहमत होंगे कि मौजूदा हालातों में किसी अनासक्त व्यक्ति द्वारा झड़ोदा कला स्थित केन्द्रीय रिजर्व पुलिस की बस्तियों का दौरा करना न तो जरूरी है और न ही वांछनीय है।

श्री उपसेन कहते हैं, हम जा कर देखें, और उन का घर मंत्री कहता है कि वांछनीय नहीं है, आवश्यक नहीं है। ईमानदारी के साथ, मैं चाहता हूँ कि असत्य बोलने से कोई फायदा नहीं, समस्या उत्पन्न होगी। पुलिस पर हथियारबन्द पुलिस, निहत्थी पुलिस पर हथियारबन्द पुलिस, हथियारबन्द पुलिस पर मिलटरी, और मिलटरी का विद्रोह होगा तो कौन आयेगा ?

एक माननीय सदस्य : आर० एम० एस०।

श्री राज नारायण : कौन आयेगा ? इसलिये घर मंत्री जी को सरदार पटेल के समय की आर०एस० एम० के बारे में जो रिपोर्ट है उस को पढ़ लेना चाहिये जिस में श्री बल्लभ भाई पटेल ने कहा था कि 6 लाख बालेस्टियर इन लोगों ने तैयार कर रखे हैं, इन की पूरी योजना थी कि गांधी जी को मारो, जवाहर लाल जी को मारो, उच्च नेताओं को मारो, अतंक पैदा करो और इस तरह से सिविल रिवोल्यूशन के जरिये ताकत अपने हाथ में लो। क्या उस बारे में कोई चिन्तन हो रहा है, सोच हो रहा है? क्या कोई सोच हो रही है? मैं दूँ और निश्चित मत का हूँ कि पुलिस, सी० आर० पी० और सी० आई० एम० एफ० के आन्दोलन का पूरा उत्तरदायित्व भारत की केन्द्रीय सरकार पर है, और उन में प्रमुख हथक प्रधान मंत्री का है।

जब पंजाब में पुलिस का आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ, तो केन्द्रीय सरकार बिल्कुल अचेताबस्था में सोई हुई थी। जब पंजाब सरकार ने उन की मांगों को मान लिया, तो ये लोग बोखला उठे और कहने लगे कि उन की मांगें क्यों मानी गईं, इस का असर दूसरी जगह भी होगा, जहाँ के लोग यह सोचेंगे कि अगर हम आन्दोलन नहीं करते, तो हमारी मांगें नहीं मानी जायेंगी।

पंजाब के बाद गुजरात और राजस्थान में आन्दोलन हुआ। इन राज्यों में तथा बिहार तमिलनाडु, आसाम और मध्य प्रदेश में भी मांगें रखी गईं। इसके बाद प्रश्न आया केन्द्र की पुलिस—सी० आर० पी०, सी० आई० ए० एफ० और बी० एस० एफ० का। गृह मंत्री ने वादा किया था कि सी० आर० पी० के जवानों के प्रतिनिधियों से 22 जून, 1979 को बातचीत होगी। उन लोगों को बचन दिया गया था कि स्ट्राफ कोसिल बनेगी और उस में उन लोगों के चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि रखे जायेंगे। उन्होंने अपने चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों के नाम भेजे। जब उन के प्रतिनिधि गये, तो उन को घंटा बता दिया गया और अपने चहते प्रतिनिधियों को रख कर कहा गया कि यही सब कुछ करोगे। जवानों के प्रतिनिधियों ने कहा है कि हम इस को नहीं मानेंगे।

[श्री राजनारायण]

बृह मंत्री जी ने स्पष्ट रूप से कहा था कि मजबूरियों और जरूरतों का उत्तर छः महीने के बाद मिलेगा। छः महीने कौन इन्तजार करेगा? अगर इन्तान मजबूरियों और जरूरतों से परेष्ठान है तो क्या वह छः महीने तक इन्तजार कर सकता है? उस के बाद अफसरों ने क्या कहा? अगर मुंह खोला, तो गोली से भून दिये जाओगे। एक तरफ तो घर मंत्री जी उन को बुलाते हैं कि अपने प्रतिनिधियों को कौंसिल में भेजो, और दूसरी तरफ जब वे जाते हैं, तो उनका तिरस्कार किया जाता है। यह बात सारे देश में बिजली की तरह फैल गई। कैसे फेली? डायरेक्टर जनरल, सेन 3 के इन्स्पेक्टर जनरल और विल्सी रोज के डी० आई० जी० ने धमकी दी कि अगर तुम लोगों ने मुंह खोला, तो गोली से भून दिये जाओगे। यही बात उल्लेख बनी। बासकेटबाल की टीम तथा रेडियो के मापरेटर द्वारा भेजे गये समाचार से सारे देश में मनसनी फैल गई। 23 जून को ट्रिबुट्टम, बोकारो, भुवनेश्वर और झरोदा कला इत्यादि में हड़ताल शुरू हुई।

एक बात में खुशी की बता दू कि सेना अब मचने हो रही है। इस समय सेना मंत्री यहाँ नहीं हैं। और न प्रधान मंत्री हैं, जिन के पास न तो कोई डायरेक्शन है और न कोई समन्वय की क्षमता है। वह चाहते हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री रहते हुए पीसफुल डेथ पाऊं। बस। दिस इज हिज मिशन। जब मारारजी भाई लौटे, तो मामला ज्यादा गड़बड़ हुआ। वास्तव में मारारजी भाई ही इस के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं। 110 कैजुएल्टीज हैं, जिन में 30 मरे हैं। अफसर कहते थे कि सेना की दो बटालियनों ने गोली चलाने से इन्कार कर दिया और कहा कि हम निहत्थे लोगों पर गोली नहीं चलायेंगे, हम देश की रक्षा के लिए हैं, पुलिस के जवान डंडा लेकर खड़े हैं, हम उन पर गोली नहीं चलायेंगे। क्या शर्म नहीं आती है? क्या चूल्हू भर पानी में डूब मरने की जगह नहीं है? सेना की दो बटालियनों ने कहा कि हम गोली नहीं चलायेंगे फिर तीसरी बटालियन को बुलाया गया। (व्यवधान)

दो तीन मिनट में वाइंड अप कर रहा हूँ।

तीसरी बटालियन आती है। उस समय भी वहाँ पर कोई बन्दूक लिए हुए नहीं था। केवल एक लाठी ले कर पहले पर खड़ा हुआ था। धाँय से गोली मारी जाती है और वह खत्म होता है। फिर दो जो छुड़ाने वाले थे उन को भी मारा गया। मां अपने बच्चे को ले कर सोई हुई थी, एक व्यक्ति सोया हुआ था, रेकनेस फायरिंग शुरू कर दी गई तीसरी बटालियन के द्वारा और तमाम मृत्यु हुई। टॉप पकड़ पकड़ कर उन को खींच लिया गया।

मैं आज उपसेन जी और अपने दूसरे साथियों से कहना चाहता हूँ जो कि जनता पार्टी (सी) कम्यूनल में है कि वे जरा सोचें, क्या गांधी ने यही कहा था? . . . (व्यवधान) . . . मैं यह भी कहता हूँ कि यह जो जनता पार्टी (एस) नाम हमारा है यह फिलहाल है, यह बदला भी जा सकता है। (एस) माने सेकुलर और सी (माने कम्यूनल) (व्यवधान) . . .

तो हमने जवानों को आपस में लड़ाने की नीति छोड़ी जाय। उन की मांगों को पूरा किया जाय। उन की कोई भी मांग ऐसी नहीं है जो पूरी न हो सके। उन के अंदर जो डिस्पैरिटीज हैं उन को खत्म किया जाय। डिस्पैरिटी जब तक रहेगी, घाज बर्दाश्त करेंगे, कल बर्दाश्त करेंगे, परसों बिस्फोट होगा। होली जलेंगी, चाहे घाज जले, चाहे कल जले, पर जलेंगी जरूर। इसलिये मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि सारी जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार की है। अगर तनिक भी शर्म हो तो और प्रधान मंत्री जी पीसफुल डेथ वीइंग दि प्राइम मिनिस्टर इतना ही न चाहते हों तो तुरन्त इस्तीफा दें।

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to participate in this Adjournment Motion. But, especially after the Hon. Member from Rae Bareilly, belonging to J(S), according to his classification—Janata (Secular)—I do not know how far I can go deep and touch his heart also. But this is a matter on which everybody has expressed concern.

Dr. Swami was very eloquent, but I do not understand how the proposal to discuss the subject is unpatriotic or 'not patriotic'. The very fact that we are seized of this matter or are taking interest in the matter is itself patriotic, according to us. If we bring certain matters to the notice of the Government, it is for them to correct them and act in a better fashion in future.

Since time is limited, I will generally discuss it in brief. The first thing is that it is a common factor in this country that students are agitated, workers are agitated, Kisans are agitated, politicians are agitated, everybody is agitated. But this agitation or its simmering or the current below the surface has to be brought to the notice of the Government earlier, by the Intelligence Department. I do not know what the Intelligence Department in this country is doing to give prior notice to the Home Minister or the Prime Minister—whoever it may be—to take appropriate action at the proper time.

Now, everybody is wise after the event, both from the side of the Opposition and from the side of the

Ruling Party. They are complacent and, from this side also, we are wise after the event. But it is common practice, as I have said, that everybody is agitated in this country. As you know, Police is State subject. But CRP is not so, BSF is not so. CISF is not so, and many omitted the question of RPF, which is also not so. Nobody brought it to the notice of the House also that they are poorly paid. Rs. 35/-, I am told, is the basic salary for an RPF man, which was fixed a hundred years back. Mr. Swami and others were very happy to mention the 'double seven' or the 1977 Commission and, according to Mr. Dutt, there was the 1975 Commission also. But we know what the Commissions are doing in this country. It is a question of their mind to implement it.

I expected from the ruling Party side,—when many Members raised the question in an agitated manner, in strong words and strong language which may not be palatable to them—to come forward and state in the House.... (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please maintain some order in the House. If you want to have a private discussion you can have it in the Lobby.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: Their seriousness or sincerity towards the CRP or BSF can be shown by their actions at least in this House. They can very well discuss this matter outside, whether they are going to gain in strength, whether they belong to J(C) or J(S). We are not concerned with that. We are concerned with the position of the people of this country. Take it from me. It is not a warning. I am not a big man with much experience to give a warning. Prof. Samar Guha referred to Mr. Saugata Roy as a 'new entrant'. Do not call the military for everything. That is a dangerous proposition. Tomorrow you may have to call the military to control your own people. They seem to take inspiration from the Cabinet. I charge you with this.

Before you preach discipline to these people, first you have the discipline. You do not have it. Some Ministers talk something else. You come and preach to this country to have discipline. You bring the military to control certain people. Tomorrow they may come here and control you. That is the danger. I am not predicting that. This is writ large. Many of us, without knowing it, are inviting it. We are very eloquent about it, about the future—that somebody may come and take over. Who is going to take over? It proves your inefficiency, the inefficiency of the I.B. Department or the people who control the IB Department. You are very good about getting information about the politicians' movements. Sometimes you miserably fail there also. You are able to get all unnecessary information, tapping the telephone, etc. But you were not able to understand the simmering feelings of these people earlier.

Every time whenever we raise a problem, we find the statistics of the past being given from that side; they say: 'In 1963 it was so, in 1967 it was so, in 1943 it was so; why do you question about 1977?' Then, what for are we all here? If you are going to refer to the past statistics and get satisfaction from that, then you lack sincerity. I would say that this question has to be discussed in three aspects. First, they failed to get the information earlier, or, if they had got the information earlier, they did not act in proper time. I am not going to question the numbers because they try to justify how it was a mutiny, how it was a civil war, how they invited the military to control the Steel City, Bokaro. But may I tell you that it is not only in Tamil Nadu but also in Maharashtra the Chief Minister as clever enough to understand the problem earlier and they acted earlier. For your information, in Tamil Nadu, we have provided 50 per cent of our policemen with accommodation. Mr. Sikandar

[Shri A. Bala Pajanor]

Bakht is here. He is not able to provide even ten percent with accommodation.

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy says that the policemen, the CRP, the BSF, and others are waiting for decisions, what benefits they are going to get. But so far, you have not stated the decisions. You are putting only pre-conditions. By this you are actually creating more problems.

I am happy to know from my friend that the matter in Trivandrum has been settled. I have yet to get the information. But I know what kind of a settlement it will be. It will be only transitory, temporary. You will not have come forward with a permanent settlement. Whenever you say that you are serious, only the language is serious, but the actions are not serious, because we see today that it is a very dangerous thing that is taking shape in this country. On this matter I am not asking the Home Minister to resign because it is not going to have any effect on this Government. I am not going to ask the Prime Minister to resign on this score. But if they are reasonable, if they are sensible, let them take note of this, not warning but cries from this side. We know pretty well that number are not going to count. If you say that this discussion is not patriotic, then what else this discussion in this House is for?

The Home Minister was answering that he required ten days' notice to call the Chief Ministers to discuss a matter of this type. At this time I want to tell him: do not, under any pretext, try to take the police under your list of subjects. You do not know what this Forty-Second Amendment in its entirety is, how they wanted CRP there. In the past, whenever you were not happy with the police in the State, you wanted to put in Central force there. Similarly if you were not happy with CRP, you tried to put another force there. This is the technique of the British. Many

of you are against the English system, against the English language, but you want to have the British system to rule this country for ever.

My hon. friend from the Rae Bareilly—he is not here—spoke about 'secular' and 'communal' I do not say that 'communalism' is going to crack or that 'secularism' is going to survive. That is a question for us to see. What the people want from us is entirely different. The people in this country really want sincerity from us, politicians. Many member here said that it is a question of certain political parties 'Interference. Will they on this side candidly say that they have not interfered in this matter? We have known some of you for some personal political gain also interfered in this matter. Let us not take one side and get out of it. Let us take this as a national issue and discuss it. Instead you try to blame this side and you call the entire opposition as against you. We are interested in your staying there for some more years and enjoying power. But that is not the question now. The question is how to serve the people. You speak a lot. We can also say that the start was given by JP. I am not going to say that at all. If the orders are not correct, don't obey—that is the call JP gave. How are you justified? Sir, it is time that we re-examine the entire system. Rightly or wrongly the Jana Sangh is not ruling any State but other Parties are ruling. CPM is ruling West Bengal. We are ruling Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra is ruled by a combination. Cong. (I) is ruling Andhra Pradesh. Karnataka Congress is there in Karnataka. Kerala is ruled by CPI. So every political party has some responsibility somewhere or other in this country. Some people who do not have any responsibility may do it for their own personal benefit. That is not the question now. The question now is: how far you are sincere. We are not concerned who is the Prime Minister. That is your family matter. Let one per-

son be the Prime Minister to-day and let another man be the Prime Minister tomorrow. We are not bothered about it. But create discipline by your example. Don't preach discipline to us. Patriotism and discipline cannot be preached. It has to be imbibed by you and you have to practise it which we very badly and miserably miss in the country and very often.

In this discussion, when we started how jocularly you were talking about it and how casually you are treating the matter. This is a matter where the Policemen and the CRP are watching us and that is why they say these politicians are dangerous fellows and they must be put an end to which they have called the military and that is what we are doing to-day. I do not say it is a warning. It is writ large on the walls. Take note of it. Let us not once again commit the mistake. A mistake has been committed. You admit it. Give a solution to the country. Place the problems and let us come to a conference table. Since it is a national issue we do not want to take sides on it. Am I asking the Home Minister to go on this issue—a small issue according to him? I do not ask the Prime Minister or the Cabinet to resign on this score. But come forward with your programme. Spell it out. Not the 20 point programme as in the past but a programme for the country which the Janata Party wants to implement, a programme on which we can discuss and this House can discuss so that the people are not asked to wait for 2 years or 2 1/2 years but it should be implemented in a matter of months. Such a kind of programme must come from you. Then only people like us will believe you. Then only people like us can support you.

With these words. I am not closing the subject. I am giving a beginning for the subject so that this country can rise and rise again, so that we can save this country from any authoritarian rule, from any military rule or from any undemocratic rule which is not good for us.

श्री रामजी बाल सुमन (फिरोजाबाद) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज एक अत्यधिक महात्वपूर्ण विषय इस सम्मानित सदन में विचार के लिए उपस्थित है लेकिन जिन लोगों के मैंने भाषण सुने, उन से एक ही निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि लोगों को राजनीतिक भाषण करने की आदत सी पड़ गई है भले ही वे अपने भाषण में यह कहे कि यह एक राष्ट्रीय मवाल है, भले ही यह कहे कि इस से हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की जिन्दगी सीधी जुड़ी हुई है लेकिन वह जो भाषण करते हैं, उस से एकही बात दिखाई देती है कि वे उस में राजनीति ले आते हैं। निश्चित रूप से यह मसला जो है यह अत्यधिक चिन्ता का मसला है लेकिन उधर से जो भाषण होते हैं, उन में सरकार ने अगर कोई अच्छा कार्य किया है तो उस की तारीफ करना वे अपना फर्ज नहीं समझते।

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि पुलिस प्रायोग 1902 में बना था और उस के बाद इस देश में पुलिस की जो समस्याएं थी, वे समस्याएं कोई नई नहीं हैं और आज जो विस्फोट हुआ है और आज जो कुछ भी हुआ है, वह उन पुरानी समस्याओं के कारण ही हुआ है। मैं यह तो समझ सकता हूँ कि इस में सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है लेकिन उस की बिन्याद में क्या है, यह भी देखना चाहिये। यह कोई नई चीज पैदा हो गई है ऐसी बात नहीं है। ऐसी बात भी नहीं है कि लोग इन के बारे में सोचते नहीं थे। पुलिस वालों की जो शिकायतें हैं, छोटे लोगों की जो शिकायतें हैं, वे दो तीन शिकायतें हैं। उन को बेतन कम मिलता है, उन को बर्दा नहीं मिलती है, उनकी आवास की समस्या है। दूसरे उन की यह शिकायत बनायी जाती है कि पुलिस के काम में राजनीतिक हस्तक्षेप होता है।

18.30 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

SHRI B. P. MANDAL (Madhe pura): Sir, the time is up.

MR. SPEAKER Just a minute.

Have I the permission of the House to extend the time of the House by one hour?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No. no.

MR. SPEAKER: May I plead with you that this is an important matter. There are many members who want to speak . . .

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Suman. I am very sorry. The House is not willing and so I call upon the Minister to reply.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI H. M. PATEL):
rose . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Pounani): Sir, this is an adjournment motion.

MR. SPEAKER: What am I to do? I have been pleading on your behalf. But they do not agree.

Mr. Suman, I am very sorry that the House refuses to extend the time. There is no other way. This is an adjournment motion. It cannot be extended. It cannot be continued tomorrow. Otherwise you would have an opportunity and there is no difficulty about it. I had pleaded with the Members but they did not agree.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, I rise on a point of order. The rule is very clear. At 18-30 what the Speaker decides is this. Without extending the time, you cannot allow the Minister to speak. Kindly see the rule.

MR. SPEAKER: Which rule are you relying upon?

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: It is about the adjournment motion—Rule 58 or 59.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: It is somewhere near Rule 58.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: 6-30 is over.

MR. SPEAKER: The Speaker may, if he is satisfied that there has been an adequate debate, put the question at 18-30 hours or, at such other hour not being less than two hours and thirty minutes from the time of the commencement of the discussion.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED (Lakshadweep): But, the Minister has to reply now. It is now beyond 18-30.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: How can he reply? It is now 18-30 hours.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order. My point of order is this. You just now read out the rule which says that 2½ hours is the duration for the adjournment motion. It means that at half past six you put the motion to vote if you want the motion to be over at 18-30. Otherwise, you should have called the Minister earlier so that the whole debate would have been over at half past six. But that has not taken place. So, my point of order is this.

The rule very clearly says that 2½ hours is the minimum. It does not say that you cannot extend beyond 2½ hours. For extending beyond 2½ hours I do not understand why the Chair thought it fit to ask for the consent of the House for extending the time of the House? The rule clearly says that 'unless the Speaker is satisfied that the debate is adequate' you cannot put the question. If you feel that the debate is adequate, then we will all sit down. But, if you feel that the debate is not adequate because all points of views have not been represented in the debate, then you should have asked us for extending the time. Of course, you yourself cannot give opportunities to all for speaking. I do not say that you allow X, Y or Z. After all the main consideration is that the debate is adequate or not. 18-30 hours is over. You cannot use the language of the rule and then stop there. You have only this alternative left . . .

MR. SPEAKER: I have not overruled the House.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: Let the Home Minister's reply not take place. You take the vote on this and let this be disposed of but if you want the debate to be continued on the basis that it is still an inade-

quate debate, then you should not have taken the consent of the House but should see to it that as many points of view as are available in this discussion are adequately represented. You may permit X, Y or Z to speak or not to speak. That is not the point. It is for you to use this discretion, and not for you to ask for the consent as to whether the House should extend the time or not. That is my point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: There are two compulsory matters according to the Directions—(1) reply by the Minister, and (2) the reply by the mover. Subject to that it is done. So far as time is concerned, the Speaker is not the master. The House is always in a position to do that. Whenever we want to extend the sitting of the House, such decisions are taken. The mover of the adjournment motion has the right to reply. In this matter I think there is no other procedure prescribed governing this right of reply. The general rule is that the right of reply applicable to the other motions is also held to be applicable to the adjournment motion. The Home Minister may, with the permission of the Speaker, speak whether previously he has spoken or not. And the mover has the right to reply. What I say is that there are two imperatives—firstly, the mover has the right to reply. The House has no right to take away this right. The House may restrict that in other respects. Therefore, I give a brief time to the Minister for reply and I shall allow the mover, Shri Samar Mukherjee, to have his right to reply and I will allow Mr. Mukerjee to make a brief reply. (Interruptions)

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): Sir, I want to raise a point of order under Rule 62. Rule 62 reads:

“The Speaker may, if he is satisfied that there has been adequate debate, put the question at 18.30 hours or at such other hour not

being less than two hours and thirty minutes from the commencement of the debate.”

So, it can be more. It is your discretion.

MR. SPEAKER: Not in the matter of time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this particular case I am sure your judicial conscious cannot be satisfied that adequate debate has taken place. We were stirred to such an extent that we rushed here to put in our adjournment motions. That was the extent to which we were agitated and we are not being allowed an opportunity to put our point of view. We should not be deprived of an opportunity to place our point of view before this House on such a very important issue on which we have come forward to table our adjournment motion. The debate has not been adequate. (Interruptions) I do not grudge that those members who had not put any adjournment motion were allowed to speak but my complaint is that we who rushed in with our adjournment motions have not been given the opportunity.

MR. SPEAKER: I am not in a position to say that the debate is not adequate but there is minority opinion and, as such, I appeal to the hon. Members to extend the debate by some more time.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No.

(Interruptions)

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: Sir, you cannot go by the majority opinion. The minority view must be heard. Please don't go by the strength of the majority. They say no when you ask for their opinion. What does it mean? This is not democracy. You please do not take majority opinion into account.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) Sir, I seek your permission to raise one point...

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: I tell my friends in the Janata Party. Don't be arrogant of your present majority. You have been there only for two years.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I am not able to hear anybody. What is the point of order?

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: How can the minority view be suppressed? How can you suppress the minority point of view?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, Rule 62 deals with closure of debate. It is specifically provided here that it is dependent upon your satisfaction—satisfaction about the adequacy of the debate. So, there is no question of taking the sense of the House for extending the time of the discussion. I request you to exercise your power of discretion. You have already said that you are not satisfied with the adequacy of the debate. It is your duty to protect the interests of the House and you must extend the time of the debate so that other hon. Members may participate in the discussion.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: My point of order is based on two grounds. As far as the question of the adequacy of the debate is concerned, you have expressed your opinion that more time must be given.

MR. SPEAKER: I said, minority view must be given...

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: In your judgement, the minority opinion has not been reflected. It means, there has not been adequate debate at all. That is your assessment. That is your judgement. When you come to this position, this stipulation of 18-30 hours does not apply at all. In your judge-

ment, the minority opinion has not been reflected in this debate. That is the position. So, there is no adequate debate at all. The stipulation regarding the adequacy of the debate should be maintained. Till the minority opinion is heard, the debate must not be concluded. Sir, This is my respectful submission.

MR. SPEAKER: I will continue the debate. Shri Suman, please be brief.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: (Cannanore) Today you are a democrat.

MR. SPEAKER: I will continue the debate. As soon as I consider it adequate I will close it. Mr. Suman, please go on.

श्री राम लाल जो सुमन : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि पुलिस आयोग 1902 में बना था और आज जो समस्याएं हैं, वह कोई नई समस्याएं नहीं हैं। इसमें पहले जो सत्ता में लोग थे, उनके सामने भी वह समस्याएं थी और अगर वह चाहते तो उन समस्याओं का समुचित समाधान कर सकते थे। हमारे देश में एक परम्परा है—लेस वर्क मोर पे और मोर वर्क लेस पे। यानी जो ज्यादा काम करता है, उस को कम तनख्वाह और जो कम काम करता है, उस को ज्यादा तनख्वाह मिलती है। यहाँ भी हालात ऐसी है।

1973 में जब पी० ए० सी० का रिबोल्ट हुआ तो मध्य प्रदेश के नौजवानों की जो काफ़ेस के बाद पी० ए० सी० के जो जवान जेल में बन्द थे, उनसे मुझे मुलाकात करने का मौका मिला। उनमें से एक बी० ए० पास लड़का था उसने बताया कि मैं कांस्टेबल हूँ, लेकिन मेरा बड़ा अधिकारी चाहता है कि मैं उसके बच्चों को पढ़ाऊँ, उसके घर के बरतन साफ करूँ, उसकी बीबी की साड़ियाँ साफ़ करूँ; मेरा मूल काम अपने बड़े अधिकारी की सेवा करना है, लेकिन मही मानों मेरा जो काम है, वह मुझसे नहीं कराना चाहता है।

पुलिस के छोटे लोगों में असंतोष है। जैसा कि मेरे पूर्व-वक्ताओं ने बताया है, आज मजदूरों को 400, 450 रुपये मिलते हैं। इस की तुलना में एक पुलिस कांस्टेबल को, जो उससे अधिक काम करता है, केवल 300 रुपये मिलें, इसका कोई औचित्य नहीं है।

राजनैतिक हस्तक्षेप की जो बात कही जाती है वह मुझे जचती नहीं है। आयरलीय प्रजाग मंत्री जी ने बार-बार कहा है कि एम० एम० ए० और एम० पी० जनता के प्रतिनिधि हैं, उनको प्रभावित न दे बखलवाजी नहीं करनी चाहिए। हम लोग तो पहले से सचेत हैं। अगर इनकी कही बुनियाद है, तो उन्होंने लोगों को यहा हो सकती है। पहले यह सम्भव था कि कोई मंडर या इन्वीनी करे, लेकिन किसी बड़े नेता के पीन करने पर या मिला खत्म कर दिया जाये। लेकिन अब तो कोई जायज बात भी नहीं मानता है। बनारस के आलमोय सदस्य, श्री चन्द्रशेखर सिंह, बं बरे में आप को जानकारी होगी। मध्य मंत्री की मीजदगी में एम० एम० पी० के कहने से एक इस्पैक्टर एम० पी० की पिटाई करता है और राजनैतिक हस्तक्षेप की बात कही जाती है। कहा है 'राजनैतिक हस्तक्षेप' जब कोई प्राधिकारी जायज बात मानने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं है, तो फिर राजनैतिक हस्तक्षेप कहा है ?

मैं समझता हूँ कि आई ए० एम० और आई० पी० एम० के अफसरों की बड़े राजनैतिक लोगों से स्पृद्धा है। वे कहते हैं कि इन बड़े नेताओं की कर्सी सिर्फ पांच साल के लिए है, जबकि हम तो यहा बने रहेंगे। हम लोग मेरे विचार में यह कहने से कोई प्रीजिय नही है कि जनता के लोग पुलिस के काम में हस्तक्षेप करने हैं, पुलिस पर उनका ख़ाब पडना है, जिसमें पुलिस का मनोबल टूटना है।

हमारे सामने के मित्र आज भी कुछ कह रहे हैं, उनके काम उनसे बिल्कुल उमट रहे हैं। श्री आर्ज फ़र्नेंडीज़ ने इस प्रश्न पर ज़ेल्बे की हठनाय करवाई कि बहा के मजदूरों को बालम मिलना चाहिए इन लोगों ने उस हठनाय का महय-महम कर दिया और आज उन्हीं में से कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि रेलवे वगैरहों को बोनम मिलना चाहिए, क्योंकि सरकार के सामने प्राथिक अर्थ है। मैं उन लोगों से मेरे, जो बोनस का समर्थन करते हैं।

सब को ज्ञात है कि पिछली सरकार के लोगों का नज़रिया सुननामाना के खिलाफ था, लेकिन आज वे लोग सब से पहले कहते हैं कि अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी का स्वरूप अल्प सङ्घक होना चाहिए। उं उन की मिसेज गांधी का बयान छपा कि पुलिस के लोगों के साथ अत्याय हा रहा है, उनकी मागे बहुत जायज हैं। मिसेज गांधी एक सन्धे समय तक सता म नहीं। पुलिसमैन वही हैं और उनकी समस्याये अ्यो भी न्यो हैं। लेकिन उनकी याद नहीं आया कि कास्टेबल भ्रमा मर रहा है, उनकी बीबी के पाय कपड़े नहीं, उनकी तन्बहाह पर्याग नही है, उनके आबाम की अ्यन्धा नहीं है, और बड़े प्राधिकारियों हा उनके पाय जो व्यवहार होता है, वह उलिन नहीं है।

यै सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि या तो लोगों की हम से अपेक्षाये ज्यादा है, या शाब्द प्रजासन पर पूरी तरह से पकड़ नहीं है, लेकिन यह तथ्य है कि आज किसानों, मजदूरों और विद्यार्थियों आदि सब की तरफ से "इनकलाज जिन्दाबाद" हो रहा है हमारी अर्थ भावत है कि हम समय पर प्राबन्धक कवम नहीं उठाते हैं, लेकिन जब स्थिति बिगड जाती है और आन्दोलन छिड़ जाता है, तब

हम कोई रास्ता ढूँढने का प्रयास करते हैं। प्राबन्धकता हम बात की है कि राउट घर में मजदूर, किसान, पुलिस प्राविजित किसी भी वगैरों की कोई समस्याये हैं, हम उचित समय पर उनके बारे में विचार करके कार्यवाही करे ताकि कोई ऐना बातावरण तैयार न हो, जिस में किसी आदमी को आन्दोलन करने के लिए बाध्य होना पडे।

आज की परिस्थिति बहुत गम्भीर है। सरकार को इस बारे में समय पर विचार करना चाहिए था पुलिस के छोटे लोगों की समस्याये कांटे नई समस्याये नहीं है—वे समस्याये पहले से चली आ रही है। आज उनका समुचित समाधान करने की प्राबन्धकता है। जिन उचित बातों को पिछली सरकार के लोग नहीं कर सके, इस सरकार की उन बातों का जहर करना चाहिए। लेकिन हम का किंचित मात्र भी धर्म यह नहीं है कि उन लोगों से यह एहसास न हा कि जिन जिम्मेदारियों का उन्हें निबडि करना चाहिए था उनका निबडि उन्होंने नहीं किया।

जहा तक राजनैतिक हस्तक्षेप के आरोप का मवाल है, अभी मैंने बनारस की घटना का जिक्र किया है। अलीगढ़ में हमारे छ एम० पी० गये, वहा पर बी० एम० और एम० एम० पी० ने उनके साथ निवेदननीय व्यवहार किया, अगर उन के बारे में कुछ नहीं हुआ है। इस बारे में हालत बडी खराब है।

जहा तक पुलिस के ठाटे लागों [और कास्टेबल का मवाल है, उनकी माग जायज है, उनके साथ न्याय हाता चाहिए। लेकिन बड़े प्राधिकारियों का व्यवहार अत्याधिक निवेदननीय है। बड़े नेताओं के साथ उनकी जो स्पृद्धा है, उसके बारे में नियक्षण लगना चाहिए।

SHRI G M BANATWALIA (Pon-nani). Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for asserting yourself in the matter of this debate which is of a very important nature. No one who has the interest of the nation at heart can fail to sit up at the shocking sight of the army firing upon the police force and the para-military forces

Sir, some have asked the Home Minister to resign others have asked the Prime Minister to tender his resignation and there are still some who do not advocate on these lines to ask for any resignation, but the fact remains that a Government which brings the nation to such a point of confrontation between the police force and the para-military force on the one hand and the army on the other, have no right to continue to

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hold the reins of Government. Look at the gravity of the situation. The common man had always been a bitter complainant against harassment by the police, but today after the police went on its agitation, the inhuman treatment that had been meted out to them has so stirred the common man that he today has a feeling of sympathy for the police and anger against the Government and the bureaucracy. I need not give a detailed account of the inhuman treatment that has been given to the policemen. The officers at many places beat up the constables. In Punjab, they dragged Sikh policemen by their hair and meted out to them inhuman treatment. Such was the shameful attitude taken by the authorities in this matter. The Punjab Government even decided to hold in camera trials in the jail to punish the agitators. This smacks of martial law administration. In Haryana, the Inspector-General of Police asked the arrested policemen to stand in rows facing each other and then each policeman was asked to slap the other. Such is the inhuman treatment to which the police force has been subjected to. Then, on the top of it comes the firing by the army on the police, the C.R.P. as also the Central Industrial Security Force.

Sir, the grievances and the problems of the police force are not unknown. Not less than 14 Commissions at an expenditure of nearly 15 crores of rupees of public money have from time to time gone into this issue and submitted their reports. Immediately after the First War of independence in 1857, the first Police Commission was appointed in 1860 or 1861. The Second Police Commission came in 1902 or 1903. Seventy-five years have passed since then. I quote an observation of this police commission of 1902. It observed:

"The police throughout the country is in a most unsatisfactory condition... that abuses are common everywhere, that this involves great

injury to the people and discredit to the Government, and that radical reforms are urgently required."

What was said in 1902 still holds good in the year 1979. As I said, the police problems are not such that they are not known. To put it very briefly in view of the short time at our disposal, I would say that the average policeman is miserably abused, poorly paid, subjected to humiliating living and working conditions, and is used as a bonded labourer to his superior under the 'Orderlie' system.

It is boasted that a National Police Commission was set up in November 1977, with the coming of the Janata Party into power. But this National Police Commission gave its interim report on the 7th February 1979, with an observation by its chairman that the situation required urgent steps. In spite of such an observation, the Home Minister, with a callous attitude, sat on the report for nearly 4 to 5 months. It was only after the agitation had started that copies of the report were rushed to the Chief Ministers—just 3 or 4 days before the conference of Chief Ministers.

I am constrained to say that but for the police agitation, this report would not have even been sent to the Chief Ministers for consideration. Even to-day, the report of the National Police Commission has not been published, and has not seen the light of the day. It is this callous attitude on the part of the Government that has to be taken into consideration.

Then there has been an unnecessary escalation of this issue. What did the Central Industrial Security Force want? It wanted only that some of its chosen representatives should be in a position to see the Government and place its demands. On the contrary, Government wanted some men, hand-picked by it, to do it and to sign on the dotted lines. This shows the attitude of the Government which needs to be condemned by everybody.

It is a matter of disgrace and shame, that even the Reserve_s of the Army had to be alerted, with the Army proceeding to deal with the police force and the para-military forces.

Some speakers referred to the present agitation by the police, the CRP, the Central Industrial Security Force and the RPF and said that they had risen in revolt—or in a mini-revolt. It is unjust to call it a revolt, or by any such name. It has been peaceful throughout. The escalation has been on the part of the Government. There has not been even a single shot fired by the policeman or by these CRP or CISF men. They never went on rampage. But having taken a bureaucratic stand and having escalated the whole issue by pressing the Army into the matter, the responsibility rests fairly and squarely on the Government.

I would end by saying that the agitation by the police is a tragedy, no doubt. But the national tragedy is greater. It is to be found in the double voice with which the members of the ruling party have been speaking—one voice in their Janata Parliamentary Party forum, one voice in their so-called Socialist conventions and others, and the other voice in this House. The national tragedy is greater. There is a feeling of complacency on the part of many in the ruling party. There is a patting on the back. But let us see this national situation in all its significance. The Army that had fired upon the para-military force_s has really done so with a great consequence to the police, to the para-military force and to the Army itself. (*Interruptions*).

19 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Home Minister. No, no. There is an adequate debate.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as far as I can see, the

hon. mover had concluded his speech by this sentence 'that the situation may get further worsened.' It may further worsen in what circumstances if we do not give in? The point both he and the subsequent speakers seem to forget is this: the police and the para-military force_s have to be dealt with in a totally different way; their problems have to be considered and examined in a totally different way from industrial labour or an industrial worker. These are uniformed forces. There has to be a certain amount of discipline which they have to observe; and there is also a certain discipline which the Government has also to observe in dealing with them. This is the first and the most important point which should be considered. It is assumed all the time as if it is this Government which has failed to consider police's grievances. On the contrary, as has been said repeatedly, it is this Government which realised that the police's problems and grievances had been neglected for a long time. And therefore one of the first things it did was to appoint a National Police Commission.

Shri Govindan Nair said, in fact, about instigation of the whole thing. In his very shrewd analysis, he said that the entire National Police Commission was responsible for all this trouble; it is the Police Commission which had caused this agitation. I don't think he is right, but, nevertheless, you can see the importance of the appointment of the National Police Commission. Their very appointment roused the hopes in the mind of the police that at long last their problems were going to be considered; and they were indeed considered. Now to say that the Police Commission had submitted its first report in February 1979 and the Government did nothing about it is not correct. I suppose the hon. Members in this House are so accustomed to seeing reports dealt with so expeditiously that if they are submitted today, everything is, of course, examined today completely and the orders are

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passed the very next day or perhaps one month later or two months later. But there are four months. How is it? Any stick is good enough to beat the Government.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Except the Shah Commission.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I think, Sir, one person I shall completely ignore today is Mr. Vasant Sathe, although he continues to be a Member of the House, an hon. Member of the House. They say that the Police commission's recommendations were neglected. Were they really? The very first announcement that was made was that the government accepts the recommendation regarding the formation of associations; they will be given the right to form associations. In fact the right to form associations had been given by an Act of Parliament of 1966; associations could be formed and it was for the government to give recognition. It is the state governments which had not been giving this recognition; except for two state governments this power which had been given to them had not been used. Nevertheless we announced, I announced that so far as the Government of India was concerned, it would see to it: the central police organisations and the Union territories police would be given the right to form associations subject to the conditions laid down by the National police commission; those conditions are also stated.

The second major grievance was the orderly system. About that also, I said that so far as the central government organisations and union territories are concerned, that would be abolished. Having announced so, I also further said that I shall use my good offices with the state governments to see that they also did both these things giving the right to form associations and abolishing the orderly system. A decision like...this takes sometime to give effect... (*An Hon. Member:* Any orders were given)

Yes. It takes time to give effect to the orders. We realise that the orderly system had come in, not just because people want to make use of orderlies, police people and others in an unreasonable way but because they had certain duties to perform. We also considered whether it would be advisable to find some alternative system, some method of rewarding, some method of compensating those officers who are deprived of orderlies so that they will also not feel aggrieved. So the orders need some working out; it takes a little time.

I said that the grievances were genuine, but simultaneously I also said that because the grievances were genuine it did not follow that the uniformed forces could do things which no uniformed forces should ever do. Having said that, I proceeded to say that all those grievances were examined. So far as the Central Government were concerned, the examination proceeded immediately. The decision of the central government here was that we would approach the state governments and we would have a meeting with the state governments after we had made a preliminary examination of the police commission's report. There are all manner of indications. One hon. Member pointed out that the national police commission had said that the constable's role and function had changed, that the quality of a person now recruited is better, he is a more educated person, the duties he has to perform were rather important. In view of all this, they said that they should be equated as skilled workers. Now, the implications of skilled workers are considerable. This needs to be examined. It does not mean that we disagree. But it also means that the impact of it on other things has to be examined before we put it to the State Governments. As it is, each State Government fixes its own scales of pay. This is done in accordance with its own financial resources. Today in some States the scales

of pay of police men are far lower than in certain other States. The variations are quite considerable. For us to say, yes, proceed to do something, would mean throwing impossible burden on some of the States.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please go on.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: This is so far as police are concerned. I am merely explaining how the Central Government has been acting.

First of all agitation started or the trouble started in Panjab State. It was triggered off. Although there was discontent on certain matters, there was no question of any one wanting to have recourse to agitation. But certain incidents occurred in Panjab where the constables on duty were treated in a manner which was most unbecoming of anybody. This annoyed and irritated them to such an extent that it certainly triggered off this agitation. This is unfortunate. This is one of their major grievances. In fact there has been a certain amount of this kind of thing where the public men, political workers and others do not take full advantage of their position and sometimes behave in a manner towards the police which is not satisfactory. This triggered it off.

The Panjab Government asked the Central Government here to give assistance in view of the agitation that has commenced. We sent them the B.S.F. and other battalions to assist them, to contain agitation and to maintain law and order. When this happened, within a few days, the Punjab Government immediately without any consultation with the Central Government, without considering what the reaction or what the impact of it might be on other State Governments, announced certain increases in salaries, which had been recommended by the Pay Commission

indeed, they went beyond the recommendation of the Pay Commission. But this had a peculiar effect. One effect was this. The effect was that the B.S.F. when it went there in order to help the State Government, the B.S.F. Man's own salary was Rs. 32 more than the Punjab Policeman had become Rs. 90 less after this. So, the B.S.F., naturally, I think it is psychologically understandable, the situation arose that they said we are called upon to assist in maintaining law and order, in helping the State Government, to do this and then the result of it is that the reward goes to policemen and we are neglected.

(Interruptions)

This is natural. I am not blaming anybody. I am explaining how certain developments took place.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Order please.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: As I said, I am merely recounting my analysis of the situation. It is in this way, nevertheless without realising that this might create trouble in these forces.

I said I must anticipate any agitation here. Immediately I called meetings of the Staff Councils, to which reference has been made. In the BSF, there has been a tradition of staff council: that is to say, where representatives of every rank would assemble and will come and meet the Home Minister, who would listen to their particular problem and consider what should be done. I said that similar staff councils might be organised in an *ad hoc* manner until such time as the associations are formed and proper representatives are elected by the other forces like CRP CISF and so on. This was done. From the 13th June till the 27th I met all these forces on different days. I listened to their particular problems and grievances. Each had different problems but some problems were com-

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mon. I said, I will see to it that at least on the major ones, decisions would be taken by the Government within a month or so. And indeed, within a month, I had announced decisions in regard to the BSF and the Indo-Tibetan Border Force. I said at the same time that in regard to CRP, their problems also had been examined, but orders will be passed as soon as everything became normal. When I said, "as soon as everything became normal", then they asked, why this condition? It seems to me very necessary that we should not act in such matters under compulsion. It has to be made quite clear that as soon as they return to normalcy, we will do so. So far as the CRP is concerned, what is the present position? There is complete normalcy; the only place where a certain amount of agitation still persisted was in Trivandrum. It is my information now that it has virtually come to an end. That being so, it will be only a matter of days before we take the decisions in regard to CRP also.

In regard to the CISF, the position is somewhat more difficult. (*Interruptions*). It is a force which is there to perform certain watch and ward duties in public sector enterprises. They are doing so in regard to 97 public sector enterprises. But this brings them in close touch with industrial workers and trade unions. Therefore, they get infected with this. (*Interruptions*). In fact, one of their first demands was, if I may say so... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: From the industry you get Rs. 700 or 800 per jawan but you are paying only Rs. 290 to a jawan. I sent telegrams to the Prime Minister. I sent telegrams to you. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI H. M. PATEL: One of their first demands was that the minimum pay that should be given to them is Rs. 650, which is perhaps the mini-

imum given to Bokaro steel workers. Obviously it is a kind of demand which is not one that can be seriously considered by the Government. Nevertheless, I am merely pointing this out to say that the problem in regard to CSIF is somewhat more difficult than the others. In the case of others, the problems have been solved, but in the case of CISF, it will take time to solve. But in the meantime, their agitation continues because of this reason that they are dissatisfied and their dissatisfactions is understandable because the people over whom they keep guard are paid bonus and so forth whereas they do not get bonus. Different enterprises given higher salaries to their men than they are getting. Therefore, all these problems are there which call for solution. But even with regard to the CISF I am merely saying.... (*Interruptions*) I do not know why the hon. Member is getting unnecessarily irritated.

MR. SPEAKER: Let us have a cooler debate. You have already made your point. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DHIRENDRA NATH BASU (*Katwa*): General Manekshaw has written a letter to the Prime Minister that the Army... (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: Interruption once is good.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): I have received no letter from him.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Who pays the salary of CISF? Does the public sector pay? If the public sector pays, then why should they not be paid the same salary as their workers are getting?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I know the hon. Member has such a poor understanding of economic problem, that it is really no need to answer him. In spite of everything, the vast majority of the Policemen, CRP and

CISF have remained loyal, disciplined and functioned satisfactorily. This is a matter of fact and this is important to bear in mind.

When my hon. friend, Mr. Saugata Roy said that the country is going to crash to disaster, I think he must be imagining, dreaming somewhere. The law and order situation in this country is not as they imagine it to be. There may certainly be problems but the situation has remained completely under control and at no time has it gone out of control. This, I think, is something which we must realise.

It is suggested by them that under no circumstances, the Army should be used. I would like to understand what exactly they mean by this. First of all, is the Army used in order to crush anything? Not at all. This is where Mr. Govindan Nair, I may tell you all your facts have been completely wrong.

SHRI M N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I have gone there. I have understood their problem. There your understanding is completely wrong.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I am saying this without any hesitation that all his facts that he has narrated are wrong.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You are wrong. Because you ruthlessly suppressed Bokaro men, that is why, it did not spread. You cannot speak in two voices. (Interruptions)

SHRI H. M. PATEL: The hon. gentleman has a loud voice and he can shout. Let me, however, tell you the facts. It is said that these men were all peaceful and that we had made no efforts to persuade them peacefully to settle this matter. In Delhi what happened? In Delhi the Commandant of an Army Unit asked these people: "Will you please realise that it will not help you to have recourse to force and please surrender." Not a bit of it they moved. This is actually the factual report. Sirens and bugles calls were 1460 LS—15

heard inside the Centre and CRP men opened fire from the area of quarter-guard and its adjoining buildings. The fire was returned by Army men. This is the point. First firing was done by the CRP men in Delhi. That is exactly the same thing that happened in the case of CISF. In CISF it was much worse. I have a report. (Interruptions) These hon. gentlemen wish to believe whatever they wish to believe but it is also desirable that sometimes they also believe facts.

These CISF men had posted themselves on the top of the administrative building and they had as we found later on, arranged sand bags; they had really prepared for a major fight. What did they do? How did they behave? The army had strict instruction... (Interruptions)

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Sir, on a point of order. My point of order is that the Minister speaks something which is factually wrong, because I was personally present that night at Bokaro... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: That is not a point of order. He may or may not be right; I do not know. But that is not a point of order.

SHRI A. K. ROY: My point is that when the Minister...

MR. SPEAKER: Whether the Minister is making a wrong statement is not a point of order. You are only wanting to make a speech. No, I cannot allow it.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: The Commandant again appealed to the men not to have recourse to violence and to yield without any fighting. In spite of that, the only response was to shoot him down. The Major was killed immediately. It is only thereafter that the army acted. What was found after that is an important point which the hon. Members should notice. When the armoury

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was subsequently seized, what did they find in it? They found any number of Molotov cocktails—they are bottles which are explosives—a large stock of broken glass and explosive materials like chemicals. This is something which indicates clearly that they meant to fight. Now my hon. friend protests. But he was the one to call for a major or complete bandh. But what happened? Not a single man responded and Bokharo functioned normally. The point is that the response was nil. What does this show? This shows that the workers in the steel factories, all of them knew exactly what had happened. He was saying that the Government had done something which was wrong or improper. I think I have explained everything.

To my mind, the Government has acted very properly; to my mind, the Government has also acted promptly in these matters; to my mind, all the grievances have been attended to expeditiously and promptly and in respect of all of them orders were issued as quickly as possible. But wherever the State Governments were involved, we have necessarily to consult them and see that they also agreed. We have to guide them, persuade them and request them to see that they take certain decisions promptly. I am glad to say that some State Governments have already taken decisions in these matters the others are also in the process of doing it.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Samar Mukherjee.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: The Minister has not explained . . .

MR. SPEAKER: Don't record.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: * * *

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): I have listened very carefully to the reply given by the Home Minister. I am totally in dis-

agreement with his assessment of the situation and the method which the Government has applied in the matter of tackling these problems:

He had to admit that their demands are just. If you are to admit that demands are just, you should have immediately attended to their demands, but this argument that those who are without uniform and the police who are with uniform cannot be treated similarly is wrong . . . (Interruptions). You have seen what is the result, Sir, you have to understand. I request all members of the Janata Party to listen very attentively because, Mr. Speaker, we have reached a stage when, if the present method is not changed, if the Government does not understand its main mistakes, the situation will worsen. That is unfortunately what our Minister has not understood.

Now, what is the present situation? If their economic demands are just and still they are not accepted on the other hand repression starts new demands have been added. So, many people have been arrested so many are in jail and so many companies have been disbanded. Now under these circumstances, what should be the primary demands from them? That all must be released. So, if the 'release' demands come to the forefront, Government's attitude will not be helpful and Government will again confront them with the army. Then what will be the situation? (Interruptions). You are allergic to this unfortunately. I am arguing that the Government is supporting the demands, but I am very much apprehensive that the step taken by the Government is leading to just opposite results. That is why I am telling them to consider that discontent is brewing, you cannot see their discontent which is brewing, unless it is bursting forth. You may be complacent, you may be satisfied that the situation is under control. Certainly by using the

army you can suppress any agitation if that is in isolation, but when they break out throughout the country, will the army be immune from that?

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): That is what you want:

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: We do not want that. We want that you should learn from that because already the army have expressed their discontent for being used in this way for suppressing this CRP and other people. This discontent that they have expressed in an informal way, It has come in the press because formally they cannot say because of army discipline. This is the lesson of history Mr. Prime Minister, that when the entire people are involved in discontent and mass agitation army cannot remain free because members of the army come from...

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I am very sorry that the hon. Member is inciting the army.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: No. Mr. Speaker, Sir this is totally misinterpreting and non-understanding the significance of the steps which they are taking. This is our warning. If you do not listen, you will face the consequences. You can suppress, we admit you can put us in jail in a future date because when MISA will be enacted, we know we will be the first men to be put into jail by this Janta Government because we defend the interests of the workers and employees and people and we are at the head of their movement. We are very conscious about this, but still we know that you are committed to fight against authoritarianism, you are committed to defend democracy. But this is not the method of defending democracy. Now, Mr. Speaker, the Home Minister has admitted, what our friend Dr. Balasubramaniam Swamy has told, is correct.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: I am a fully grown Subramaniam, I am not Balasubramniam.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Now, those who are recruited in the police or the army are educated men, graduates and matriculates. They are all coming to be recruited and the armed forces have been increased. So it is inevitable that these forces cannot remain immune from the general movement which is growing inside the country, from the currents in the country.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Fortunately, the army in this country is very responsible.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: That is why in the armed forces also, the urge for democracy is growing, that is why the demand is coming for the rights of representation, the recognition of their association. But what behaviour have they got? They were called on the 14th June in Delhi for negotiations but they were arrested, without negotiations.

MR. SPEAKER: You have mentioned that.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: The Minister did not understand the significance of that. That created a situation much worse. It is a breach of faith. So, people are for negotiations and they are being arrested. What is the argument? They should be in uniform. Only three or four men were without uniform and they also made the statement that when they started, they did not get the uniforms, and the proposal was made to the I.G. that he should discuss only with those who were in uniform that those who were not in uniform should not join in the discussion, but that was not allowed. The I.G. said either all should come in uniform, or nobody should come, and he would not talk. This is the attitude. And they were asked to sign a memorandum prepared by I.G.

MR. SPEAKER: You have mentioned all that

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: They were told to sign on the dotted line, and they refused.

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

When their demands are just, who is creating a law and order situation? You refuse to accept their demands. Then, the only way left to them is to start an agitation, and then you go on suppressing them. Who creates situation of law and order? It is not they, whose demands are very just. Because you refuse to accept their demands, they have no option but to take to the path which the workers are taking. So, when they take to demonstrations, the question of law and order is raised, and they are suppressed.

So, my last appeal to you is this. You try to close the chapter, you create a new atmosphere, so that peaceful negotiations can immediately be started, and for that release is the first condition. You release all those who have been arrested. Then, you take back into their jobs one by one all those who have been dismissed from service, or the others, there may be some time, but if they are assured that Government has taken a very sympathetic attitude to resolve the problem of their demands, then a favourable atmosphere will be created. Otherwise, the situation is bound to worsen. This is my warning.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: It was said that some persons were not allowed because they were not in uniform. This is correct, because they were actually men of the force, but whatever they had to represent they were allowed to represent and submit to me through my Private Secretary in my office, and it was conveyed to me. So, to say that they were not allowed to represent is not correct.

MR: SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do now adjourn
The Lok Sabha divided:

[19.43 hrs.

Division No. 1]

AYES

Alagesan, Shri O. V.

Alluri, Shri Subhash Chandra Bose

Austin, Dr. Henry

Badri Narayan, Shri A. R.

Bagri, Shri Mani Ram

Banatwalla, Shri G. M.

Basu, Shri Dhirendranath

Bhagat Ram, Shri

Bhattacharya, Shri Dinen

Bhattacharyya, Shri Shyamaprasanna

Bosu, Shri Jyotirmoy

Burande, Shri Gangadhar Appa

Chandrappan, Shri C. K.

Chatterjee, Shri Somnath

Chaudhuri, Shri Tridib

Chavan, Shri Yashwantrao

Das, Shri R. P.

Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas

Deo, Shri V. Kishore Chandra S.

Dhondge, Shri Keshavrao

Gode, Shri Santoshrao

Gopal, Shri K.

Goswami, Shrimati Bibha Ghosh

Halder, Shri Krishna Chandra

Jaffer Sharief, Shri C. K.

Jaiswal, Shri Anant Ram

Jawade, Shri Shridharrao Nathobaji

Jeyalakshmi, Shrimati V.

Kadam, Shri B. P.

Kidwai, Shrimati Mohsina

Kisku, Shri Jadunath

Kodiyañ. Shri P. K.

Kolur, Shri Rajshekhar

Krishnan, Shri G. Y.

Krishnan, Shrimati Parvathi

Kushwaha, Shri Ram Naresh

Lahanu Shidavakom, Shri

Lakshminarayanan, Shri M. R.

Mahata, Shri C. R.

Mallanna, Shri K.

Mathew, Shri George.

Modak, Shri Bijoy

Mukherjee, Shri Samar

Naidu, Shri P. Rajagopal

Nair, Shri M. N. Govindan

Patnaik, Shri Sivaji
 Poojray, Shri Janardhana
 Raj Narain, Shri
 Rajan, Shri K. A.
 Rao, Shri G. Mallikarjuna
 Rao, Shri Jalagam Kondala
 Rao, Shri M. Satyanarayan
 Rao, Shri Pattabhi Rama
 Rath, Shri Ramachandra
 Ravi, Shri Vayalar
 Reddi, Shri G. S.
 Reddy, Shri K. Brahmananda
 Roy, Shri A. K.
 Roy, Dr. Saradish
 Roy, Shri Saugata
 Saha, Shri A. K.
 Sani, Shri Manohar Lal
 Sanyal, Shri Sasankasekhar
 Sathe, Shri Vasant
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Sen, Shri Robin
 Shankaranand, Shri B.
 Stephen, Shri C. M.
 Subramaniam, Shri C.
 Sunna Sahib, Shri A.
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.
 Turkey, Shri Pius
 Tiwari, Shri Brij Bhushan
 Unnikrishnan, Shri K. P.
 Venkatasubbajah, Shri P.

NOES

Agrawal, Shri Satish
 Ahuja, Shri Subhash
 Amat, Shri D.
 Amin, Prof. R. K.
 Argal, Shri Chhabiram
 Bahuguna, Shri H. N.
 Bahuguna, Shrimati Kamala
 Balak Ram, Shri
 Balbir Singh, Chowdhry
 Baldev Prakash, Dr.
 Barakataki, Shrimati Renuka Devi

Bhadoria, Shri Arjun Singh
 Bharat Bhushan, Shri
 Birendra Prasad, Shri
 Borole, Shri Yashwant
 Brahm Perakash, Chaudhury
 Brij Raj Singh, Shri
 Chakravarty, Prof. Dilip
 Chand Ram, Shri
 Chandra Shekhar, Shri
 Chandravati, Shrimati
 Charan Singh, Shri
 Chaturbhuj, Shri
 Chaturvedi, Shri Shambhu Nath
 Chaudhary, Shri Motibhaj R.
 Chaudhry, Shri Ishwar
 Chauhan, Shri Nawab Singh
 Chavda, Shri K. S.
 Chowhan, Shri Bharat Singh
 Chunder, Dr. Pratap Chandra
 Danwe, Shri Pundalik Hari
 Dave, Shri Anant
 Dawn, Shri Raj Krishna
 Desai, Shri Morarji
 Deshmukh, Shri Ram Prasad
 Dharia, Shri Mohan
 Dhurve, Shri Shyamlal
 Digvijoy Narain Singh, Shri
 Durga Chand, Shri
 Dutt, Shri Asoke Krishna
 Fazlur Rahman, Shri
 Fernandes, Shri George
 Ganga Bhakt Singh, Shri
 Ganga Singh, Shri
 Gattani, Shri R. D.
 Ghosal, Shri Sudhir
 Goyal, Shri Krishna Kumar
 Guha, Prof. Samar
 Gulshan, Shri Dhanna Singh
 Gupta, Shri Kanwar Lal
 Harikesh Bahadur, Shri
 Hazari, Shri Ram Sewak
 Heera Bhai, Shri
 Hukam Ram, Shri
 Jagjivan Ram, Shri

Jain, Shri Kacharulal Hemraj
 Jain, Shri Kalyan
 Jain, Shri Nirmaḷ Chandra
 Joshi, Dr. Murli Manohar
 Kachwai, Shri Hukam Chand
 Kaldate, Dr. Bapu
 Kamath, Shri Hari Vishnu
 Kar, Shri Sarat
 Kaushik, Shri Purushottam
 Khan, Shri Ghulam Mohammad
 Khan, Shri Mohd. Shamsul Hasan
 Kishore Lal, Shri
 Kotrashetti, Shri A. K.
 Krishan Kant, Shri
 Kundu, Shri Samarendra
 Kureel, Shri Jwala Prasad
 Kureel, Shri R. L.
 Lalu Prasad, Shri
 Mahala, Shri K. L.
 Mahale, Shri Hari Shankar
 Mahi Laḷ, Shri
 Maiti, Shrimati Abha
 Malhotra, Shri Vijay Kumar
 Mandal, Shri B. P.
 Mandal, Shri Dhanik Lal
 Mangal Deo, Shri
 Mathur, Shri Jagdish Prasad
 Meerza, Shri Syed Kazim Ali
 Mehta, Shri Ajit Kumar
 Mehta, Shri Prasannbhai
 Mhalgi, Shri R. K.
 Miri, Shri Govind Ram
 Mishra, Shri Shyamnandan
 Mohd. Hayat Ali, Shri
 Munda, Shri Karia
 Murmu, Father Anthony
 Nahar, Shri Bijoy Singh
 Nathu Singh, Shri
 Nathwani, Shri Narendra P.
 Nayak, Shri Laxmi Narain
 Nayar, Dr. Sushila
 Negi, Shri T. S.
 Onkar, Singh, Shri

Pandey, Shri Ambika Prasad
 Pandeya, Dr. Laxminarayan
 Paraste, Shri Dalpat Singh
 Parmai Lal, Shri
 Parmar, Shri Natwarlal B.
 Paswan, Shri Ram Vilas
 Patel, Shri Dharmasinhbhai
 Patel, Shri H. M.
 Patel, Km. Maniben Vallabhbhai
 Patel, Shri Meetha Lal
 Patil, Shri S. D.
 Patnaik, Shri Biju
 Phirangi Prasad, Shri
 Pipil, Shri Mohan Lal
 Pradhan, Shri Gananath
 Pradhan, Shri Pabitra Mohan
 Raghavendra Singh, Shri
 Raghavji, Shri
 Rahi, Shri Ram Laḷ
 Rai, Shri Gauri Shankar
 Rai, Shri Narmada Prasad
 Rajda, Shri Ratansinh
 Rakesh, Shri R. N.
 Ram, Shri R. D.
 Ram Dhan, Shri
 Ram Gopal Singh, Chaudhury
 Ram Kinkar, Shri
 Ram Kishan, Shri
 Ram Sagar, Shri
 Ramachandran, Shri P.
 Ramdas Singh, Shri
 Ramji Singh, Dr.
 Ramjiwan Singh, Shri
 Ranjit Singh, Shri
 Rathor, Dr. Bhagwan Dass
 Rodrigues, Shri Rudolph
 Sahoo, Shri Ainthu
 Sai, Shri Larang
 Sai, Shri Narhari Prasad Sukhdeo
 Samantasinhera, Shri Padmacharan
 Sarangi, Shri R. P.
 Sarkar, Shri S. K.
 Satya Deo Singh, Shri

Shah, Shri Surath Bahadur
 Shakya, Shri Daya Ram
 Sharma, Shri Jagannath
 Sharma, Shri Rajendra Kumar
 Sharma, Shri Yagya Datt
 Shastri, Shri Bhanu Kumar
 Shastri, Shri Y. P.
 Shejwalkar, Shri N. K.
 Sheo Narain, Shri
 Sher Singh, Prof.
 Sheth, Shri Vinodbhai B.
 Shiv Sampati Ram, Shri
 Shrikrishna Singh, Shri
 Shukla, Shri Chimanbhai H.
 Shukla, Shri Madan Lal
 Sikander Bakht, Shri
 Singh, Dr. B. N.
 Singha, Shri Sachindralal
 Sinha, Shri C. M.
 Sinha, Shri H. L. P.
 Sinha, Shri M. P.
 Sinha, Shri Purnanarayan
 Somani, Shri Roop Lal
 Somani, Shri S. S.
 Suman, Shri Surendra Jha
 Suraj Bhan, Shri
 Surendra Bikram, Shri
 Swamy, Dr. Subramaniam
 Swatantra, Shri Jagannath Prasad
 Tan Singh, Shri
 Tej Pratap Singh, Shri
 Thakre, Shri Kushabhau
 Tripathi, Shri Madhav Prasad
 Ugrasen, Shri

Vaghela, Shri Shankersinhji
 Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari
 Varma, Shri Ravindra
 Verma, Shri Brij Lal
 Verma, Shri Phool Chand
 Verma, Shri R. L. P.
 Verma, Shri Raghunath Singh
 Verma, Shri Sukhdeo Prasad
 Yadav, Shri Hukmdeo Narain
 Yadav, Shri Jagdambji Prasad
 Yadav, Shri Narsingh
 Yadav, Shri Sharad
 Yadav, Shri Vinayak Prasad
 Yadav, Shri Roop Nath Singh
 Yadvendra Dutt, Shri
 Yuvraj, Shri
 Zulfiquarullah, Shri

MR. SPEAKER: Subject to correction, the result* of the division is : Ayes 75, Noes 192.

The motion was negatived.

19.45 hrs

LOKPAL BILL—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER: The House will now take up further discussion of the Lokpal Bill. Shri Y. P. Shastri.

श्री यमुना प्रसाद शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय

MR. SPEAKER: He may continue tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11 O' Clock tomorrow.

19.46 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the clock on Tuesday, July 10, 1979/Asadha 19, 1901 (Saka).

*The following Members also recorded their votes:

AYES : Shri Darur Pullaiah;

NOES : Shri Ramapati Singh.