

horse racing, my suggestion is that the huge rolling tracks wasted for horse racing in the big cities of the country be converted partially into parks and partially into sporting complexes. The racing staff can be absorbed into the sporting complexes, and the stadia and grounds built there can be used for other games, for which the gate sales will generate enough revenue for the State Governments. The parks, with trees planted, can become the green lungs for the congested cities. For instance, in a land-hungry city like Bombay, there is no justification for wasting such a huge expense as the Mahalaxmi race course in prime location. Without destroying the ecological balance of the cities, their heart-lung ratio, as the town planners call it, we must find a way to stop this criminally wasteful gambling on horse races. A ban on horse racing will invite blessings from the poor and middle class housewives whose families have been ruined over the years—all in the name of sports. Horse is a noble animal, but horse racing is not a noble game; it must be banned.

13.23 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1982-83—
Contd.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we take up further discussion of the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Shri Malika M.M.A. Khan.

श्री मलिक एस० एम० ए० खां (एटा) : मान्यवर, होम मिनिस्ट्री की ग्रांट्स पर डिस्कशन में हिस्सा लेते हुए अगर मैं अपने प्रान्त की दो अफसोसनाक घटनाओं देवली और सादूपुर का जिक्र न करूं तो बड़ी कमी रह जाएगी। इसमें शक नहीं कि ये बड़ी दुखद और तकलीफदेह घटनाएं घटी हैं। देवली में तकरीबन 28 हरीजनों का कत्लेआम किया गया और सादूपुर में ग्यारह का। मैं मुख्य मंत्री को बधाई

देता हूँ जिन्होंने यह कस्म खाई थी कि एक महीने के अन्दर अन्दर तो मुल्जिमों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया जाएगा और अगर ऐसा नहीं हुआ तो मैं इस्तीफा दे दूंगा। उनकी वह कस्म पूरी हुई। इनमें से कुछ तो पुलिस के साथ मुकाबले में मारे गए और बाकि सभी को राधे संतोषा वगैरह को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। लेकिन जिस तरीके से सियासी पार्टियां ऐसे अफसोसनाक वाक्यात को सियासी अखाड़ा बनाने की कौशिश करती हैं उनसे मुझे बड़ी तकलीफ और दुःख होता है। इन वाक्यात को ले कर पद यात्रायें की गईं। चाहे वे मेरी पार्टी की तरफ से की गईं हों या उधर से....

एक माननीय सदस्य : नहीं करनी चाहिये थी ?

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : जिस घटना में 24 ठाकुर मारे गए वहां पद यात्रा क्यों नहीं की गई क्या सरकार के ऊपर जान माल की हिफाजत की जिम्मेदारी एक वर्ग के लिए ही है, दूसरे वर्ग के लिए नहीं है ? क्या जमुनापुर के अन्दर जब ब्राह्मण मारे गये तो वहां पद यात्रा क्यों नहीं की ? जब जैथरे में ठाकुर मारे गये तो पद यात्रा क्यों नहीं की ? क्या आपकी नजर में इंसान इंसान बराबर नहीं हैं ? कमजोर वह है जिसकी जान ली जाती है चाहे वह किसी जाति का हो। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी के जमाने में 3 साल के अन्दर जो एक हजार आदमी कम्युनल राइट्स में मारे गये, 8 हजार जखमी हुए, 85 हजार घर बरबाद हुए, कितने ऐसे वाक्यात के दौरान पद यात्राएं हुईं ? एक नहीं ? जब आपकी सरकार थी तो 8 हरीजन फतेहपुर थाना हसनगंज में लोहारी गांव में डकैतों ने कत्ल कर दिए। आपने कितनी पद यात्रा

[श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां]

उस वक्त की ? इटावा में यादवपुर गांव में 3 बच्चों समेत 14 आदिमियों को कत्ल कर दिया, कितनी पद यात्रा की, बागपत में तो मैं स्वयं भुक्तभोगी हूं। जब 1977 में अपने कैम्पेन के लिए गया था तो इतना पथराव हुआ कि आज भी हड्डियां दुखती हैं, इतनी ईंटें मेरे ऊपर पड़ीं और मेरी एम्बेसडर गाड़ी खत्म कर दी गई। जो आज डेमोक्रेसी की बात करते हैं मैं उन्हीं के जमाने की बात बता रहा हूं। मुझको यह इजाजत नहीं दी गई कि मैं कैम्पेनिंग कर सकूं। कम से कम 500 आदिमियों ने घेरकर मेरे ऊपर और मेरे साथियों पर हजारों ईंटें बरसा दीं और मुझको ईंटें मार कर नीचे गिरा दिया और मेरी गाड़ी को तबाह और बरबाद कर दिया। आज वहां बैठकर आप डेमोक्रेसी की हत्या की बात करते हैं।

जहां तक एट्रोसिटीज का सवाल है, जब श्री बनारसी दास मुख्य मंत्री थे तो उन्होंने स्टेटमेंट दिया जो "पायनियर" अखबारों में छपा है :

I quote:

"The Chief Minister, Mr. Banarsi Das had announced a compensation of Rs. 5,000 each to the families of those harijans who had died recently in the alleged poll atrocities in Western U.P."

Sir, again I quote:

"The Chief Minister told newsmen here this evening that he knew of no regime in which there was no crimes but, now-a-days, even ordinary disputes over money matters, water and land were given political colour".

यह बात आपके चीफ मिनिस्टर ने कही। आज बड़े दुख का मौका है कि हमारे मुख्य मंत्री के भाई और उनके

भतीजे को डाकुओं ने मार दिया है। आज समय है कि उनके साथ हमदर्दी का इजहार किया जाये। उनकी मौत को हम सिधासी अखाड़ा बनायें, इससे ज्यादा बुरी और अफसोसनाक बात और कोई नहीं हो सकती। ला एण्ड आर्डर की बात उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में की जाती है, मैं तो बधाई देता हूं वहां के मुख्य मंत्री को कि ला एण्ड आर्डर को कंट्रोल करने की कोशिशों ने उनके भाई की जान ली। सभापति जी, आप भी उत्तर प्रदेश के हैं, आप जाते हैं, हाई कोर्ट का जज नहीं मारा गया, बल्कि मुख्य मंत्री, श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह के भाई और भतीजे को मारा गया। मुख्य मंत्री ने डाकुओं के खिलाफ जो मजबूत कदम उठाये उसके बदले की भावना से ऐसा हुआ है। आप कमीशन बैठायें, यही बात निकलेगी। इसीलिये उनके भाई और भतीजे को मारा गया एक प्लान्ड में वे हाई कोर्ट के जज को नहीं मारा गया, बल्कि मुख्य मंत्री के भाई और भतीजे को मारा गया है। और उसका कारण है कि इस एक साल के अन्दर मुख्य मंत्री ने डकैतों के खिलाफ जारी कैम्पेन में 22 डकैत गैंगों को खत्म कर दिया।

22 रजिस्टर्ड गैंग थे, जिन पर इनाम था। छवि राम जिसमें मारा गया, उसमें एक लाख का इनाम था। मेरी कांस्टी-टुएन्सी का महावीर मारा गया जिस पर बहुत बड़ा इनाम था। मैं पुलिस को बधाई देना चाहूंगा कि जिन्होंने बड़ी जवांमर्दी से इनका मुकाबला किया है और उत्तर प्रदेश में ला एण्ड आर्डर को संभालने के लिये पूरा प्रयास किया है।

यह बड़े जोर से कहा गया है कि फर्जी एन-काउन्टर किये गये। 116

पुलिस आफिसर उत्तर प्रदेश में इन एन-काउन्टरों में मारे गये। क्या अपने आप उन्होंने गोली मार ली? अगर फर्जी एन-काउन्टर करते तो 116 पुलिस आफिसर कैसे मारे जाते? छविराम जब मारा गया तो मेरी कांस्टाटुएन्सी के कृष्ण पाल पाण्डे ने अपनी जान की बाजी आहुति दे दी और वह मुकाबले में मारा गया। बजाय इसके कि तारीफ की जाये ये उसको फर्जी एन-काउन्टर कहते हैं। जो एपरीशियेट करने की बात है, उसको कम-से-कम तसलीम किया जाना चाहिये।

श्री डी० पी० यादव (मुंगेर) : छविराम ने आपको वोट दिया था या नहीं?

समापति महोदय : वह सीक्रेट होता है।

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : यह बात नहीं कि किसने वोट दिया किसने नहीं दिया। वह किसी का वोट था ही। आज जनतंत्र में हरेक को अधिकार है वोट देने का।

इस कैंपेन में 116 पुलिस आफिसरों ने अपनी जान की आहुति दे दी। पुलिस वालों ने हिम्मत की है, अपनी जान देने की, वरना इस तरह से कोई जान नहीं देता है कि अपने बच्चों को बेसहारा छोड़ जायें और अपने आप आग में कूद जायें। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने यह बड़ा भारी काम किया है। जो पुलिस आफिसर इन एन-काउन्टरों में मारे गये हैं, उनको जो तनख्वाहें मिलती हैं, मैं कहूंगा कि दूसरी सूबे की सरकारें भी इस तरह ध्यान दें, मैं इसलिये कोट कर रहा हूँ, बता रहा हूँ कि उनको जो मरते वक्त तनख्वाह मिलती थी, वही उनके रिटायर होने के टाइम तक

मिलती रहेगी इससे पुलिस वालों को हिम्मत मिलेगी और ला एण्ड आर्डर की पोजीशन में इम्प्रूवमेंट होगा। मैंने बताया है कि 16 गैंग मारे गये हैं। हमारे मुख्य मंत्री ने बोल्ट स्टैप लिया है। आज तक हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर कभी पुलिस के खिलाफ मर्डर के मुकदमें कायम नहीं हुए हैं, लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश में 4 सब-इन्स्पेक्टरों के खिलाफ 302 के मुकदमें कायम किये गये हैं। 14 के खिलाफ जांच हो रही है और इन्क्वायरी हो रही है। मुख्य मंत्री ने बात साफ अल्फाज में कहा है, कि आप अखबारों में भी पढ़ते होंगे कि जिनके खिलाफ इस किस्म का कम्प्लेंट होगी कि उन्होंने फर्जी मारा है, उनके खिलाफ साबित हो गया तो उन पर 302 का मुकदमा चलाया जायेगा। 14 की जांच हो रही है और 4 सब-इन्स्पेक्टरों के खिलाफ 302 के मुकदमें कायम किये गये हैं। आज तक हिन्दुस्तान में इस किस्म की मिसाल नहीं है।

मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि आज इस की वजह क्या है? जो पुलिस आफिसर इस तरह मारा जायेगा उसको उस समय जितनी तनख्वाह मिल रही होगी, है तक उसका पेंशन का टाइम पूरा नहीं हो जाता, उसकी फमिली को उसकी पूरी तनख्वाह दी जायेगी और जब उसका रिटायरमेंट का टाइम पूरा होगा तो जितनी पेंशन उसको मिलती, उतनी पेंशन उसकी बीवी को मिलती रहेगी। इसके अलावा हर सिपाही को 30,000 और और इन्स्पेक्टर व सब-इन्स्पेक्टर को 40,000 और हर गजेटिड आफिसर को 50,000 रुपये नकद मिलेगा।

कृष्ण पाल पाण्डे जो छविराम केस में मारा गया है, उसको तो एक लाख रुपया नकद मिला है। पुलिस फोर्स

[श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां]

की तरफ से, स्टेट के एम० एल० ए० और मिनिस्टर्स ने दिया है और 30,000 सरकार की तरफ से दिया गया है। अगर उसका कोई लड़का बालिग है और क्वालिफिकेशन पूरी करता है तो उसको बगैर किसी इम्तहान के सब-इन्स्पेक्टर बना दिया जायेगा। अगर लारी का परमिट उसकी बीवी चाहती है तो वह भी दिया जायेगा। जो मुमकिन फैसिलिटिज हो सकती हैं, दी जायेंगी। इससे पुलिस वालों को एहसास होता है कि ड्यूटी पूरी करते हुए अगर मारा भी गया तो पीछे जो अपने परिवार को छोड़कर जा रहा है, उसकी चिन्ता नहीं रहती है। उसकी चिन्ता खत्म हो जाती है और अपनी जान को हमारे सूबे के लोगों की हिफाजत के लिये झोकना उसने शुरू कर दिया है।

जहां तक ला एंड आर्डर का ताल्लुक है, अगर मैं गलती नहीं कर रहा हूं, तो हमारे यहां एक साल में टोटल 1,89,963 केसिज रजिस्टर हुए। 11 करोड़ की आबादी है उत्तर प्रदेश की। इस तरह एक लाख पर 171 केसिज रजिस्टर हुए। हरिजनों की आबादी हमारे प्रदेश में 2 करोड़ की है। उनके मुताबिक 4580 केसिज एक साल में रजिस्टर हुए, जिनमें से 715 ऐसे केसिज थे जो आपसी झगड़े के थे। हरिजनों के मुताबिक केसिज एक लाख पर 20 रजिस्टर हुए, जबकि जनरेल लोगों में एक लाख पर 171 केसिज रजिस्टर हुए। हमारी सरकार के जकान में हरिजनों के खिलाफ हुए वाक्यात के 4,580 केसिज रजिस्टर हुए, जबकि उन लोगों की सरकार के जमाने में 1978-79 में 5,057 केसिस रजिस्टर हुए। तो फिर ला एंड आर्डर हमारे जमाने में ठीक रहै या उन लोगों के जमाने में ठीक

था ? में सरकारी रिपोर्ट से क्वोट करता हूँ :—

The latest figures available with the Home Ministry show that out of the total of 12525 cases of atrocities perpetrated by the non-scheduled castes during 1978-79 in which sheduled caste members were victims, the largest number of 5057 cases were reported from U.P. alone.

बड़ा शोर है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में ला एंड आर्डर नहीं है, वहां की सरकार को बदल दो। और भी काम हैं, जो हमारे दोस्तों को करने चाहिए। आज एक साहब वाक आउट कर गए कि ठेलों की हड़ताल हो रही है। उन्हें यह भी खबर नहीं है कि ठेलों की हड़ताल खत्म हो गई है।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : वह सरकारी नौकरी की हड़ताल पर वाक आउट कर के गए हैं। मैं माननीय सदस्य को सुधार रहा हूं।

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : वह तो रिकार्ड पर है। आपने अच्छी बात कह दी। हमारे साथ सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने जरा सा इनजस्टिस किया है। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब की तवाज्जुह इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं कि जब सातवां फिनांस कमीशन मुकर्रर हुआ तो पुलिस के लिए मकानों का नैशनल एवेरेज 58.52 परसेंट था, जबकि उत्तर प्रदेश में वह 48.62 परसेंट था, मगर गलती से सातवें फिनांस कमीशन ने 62.48 परसेंट लिख दिया। इससे जो एंड उत्तर प्रदेश को मिलनी चाहिए, वह नहीं मिली और आलम यह हुआ कि वहां का एवेरेज 48.62 परसेंट से घटकर 38 परसेंट रह गया। मैं चाहूंगा कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब इसको करेक्ट कर लें। आठवां फिनांस कमीशन मुकर्रर होने वाला

है। इस लिए मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से दरखास्त करूंगा कि वह इस बारे में हमारी मदद करें, ताकि हमारे पुलिस के लोगों ने जो शानदार कारनामें दिए हैं, उनके लिए स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने जो हाउसिंग का इन्तजाम किया है, उसमें हमारा हिस्सा हमें मिल सके।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब की तबज्जुह इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि एक हरिसिंह आर्य ने, जो जवाहर गेट, गाजियाबाद, में रहते हैं, एक किताब लिखी है "सत्य की खोज" यह वतन दुश्मनी और देशद्रोहीपन की बदतरीन मिसाल है। इस किताब में उन्होंने मैजिस्ट्री कम्युनिटी, हिन्दू साहबान, को मुसलमान और ईसाइयों के खिलाफ भड़काया है। मैं उसके चन्द जुमले क्वोट करूंगा और जानना चाहूंगा कि होम मिनिस्ट्री ने मुल्क में इतनी खतरनाक किस्म की किताबें रायज करने की इजाजत कैसे दे दी है।

आज तक जांच करा कर उस किताब को जप्त करने और उस आदमी को बन्द करने का काम नहीं किया गया है। एन० एस० ए० ऐसे ही लोगों के लिए बनाया गया है। उस किताब में तौरात, अंजोल और कुरान शरफ पर निहायत बेहदगी से हमला किया गया है। मैं उसका एक मिसाल आपको देना चाहना हूँ। उसमें लिखा है :

"अल्लाह ही ने संसार साम्प्रदायिकता का ज़हर फैलाया है। अल्लाह ही संसार में सब से बड़ा फिरकापरस्त है। मुसलमान अल्लाह और कुरान पाक के हुक्म के मुताबिक कयामत तक फिरकेवाराना फसादात जार रखेंगे। मुसलमान पैदायशी गुण्डा होता है। वगैरह वगैरह।"

श्री वीर भद्र सिंह (मण्डी) : आप इस किताब को अहमियत क्यों दे रहे हैं ?

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : वह किताब देश में सकुलिट होती रहे, लोग उसको पढ़ते रहें, लोगों के दिमाग में प्वायजन आता रहे और हम उसको इम्पार्टेन्स न दें, उसको रोकने की कोशिश न करें कि ऐसा लिट्रेचर हिन्दुस्तान में छपने न पाए— यह कहां तक मुनासिब होगा ? वैसे ही क्या कम है ? अलीगढ़ में शुरू हो गया है, गुजरात में हो रहा है — यह बातें इस सेक्युलर कंट्री के लिए बहुत ही शर्मनाक हैं जिनको सुनकर हमारी गर्दनें नीचे आ जाती हैं। ऐसे लोगों को इस की इजाजत दे दी जाए, जो चाहें किताब में लिख दें, उसको बैन न किया जाए और उनको बाहर आजादी के साथ घूमने दिया जाए— मैं समझता हूँ यह नहीं हो सकता है।

दिल्ली में ऐलेक्शन हो जायें— इस बात को लेकर यहां पर बहुत कुछ कहा गया। जब इधर के लोग उधर बैठे हुए थे और उधर के लोग इधर बैठे हुए थे तब 1977 में आपने जनता की चुनी हुई असेम्बली को डिजाल्व कर दिया था और उसके बाद 1980 में इधर आने के बाद हमने भी वही किया। लेकिन आपने तो असेम्बली के साथ साथ जनता की चुनी हुई लोकल बाडीज, म्युनिसिपल बोर्ड, जिला परिषदों और कांफेरिणन्स को भी खत्म कर दिया था जिनका दोबारा आज तक चुनाव नहीं करा सके। क्या आपने जनता के अधिकार को नहीं छीना था ? कभी किसी चीज के दो स्टैंडर्ड नहीं हो सकते हैं।

मैं अब और ज्यादा न कह कर अपनी बात को खत्म कर रहा हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने जैसा एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चलाया है और जो गैंग्ज खत्म किए हैं, अब जो 1-2 गैंग्स रह गए हैं, मैं समझता हूँ वह भी जल्दी ही खत्म कर दिए जायेंगे। आपको बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया।

SHRI RAM JETH MALANI (Bombay North West): Mr. Chairman, Sir I just friend, Mr. Khan. Of course, he emarked upon the usual exercise of comparing the performance of the present Government with that Government which existed only for a couple of years in this country. Even so, I must endorse his view that the current state of affairs in Uttar Pradesh in so far as the law and order are concerned, ought to be a matter for national concern, rather than for party polemics. Sir, the tragic circumstances in which the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh has lost his brother, is not a matter over which any political party or any political leader in this country should gloat. At least speaking for myself and on behalf of my party, I say that I am prepared to extend not only a word of sympathy to the Chief Minister but also a word of appreciation. If there is any remissness, I am sure that the Chief Minister will take very adequate steps to meet the situation. I am further prepared to concede that Government are not always responsible for all crimes that might take place in the country. Any dacoity, any robbery, any rape, any act of corruption or any series of these acts do not necessarily mean that the Home Minister or the Minister in-charge must resign. A gang of dacoits may plan dacoities for a number of years, and often it is a matter of accident that in a particular year their activities come to the fore. Though I am an opponent, and a very strong opponent of this Government, I do not wish to lay my charges upon an insufficient basis as politicians usually do. But when the Government shows a state of insensitiveness to chaotic conditions prevailing in the country, when the Government sees with its eyes open that law is being violated and the Government does nothing, when the Government adopts an attitude of trying to push under the rug every situation, every clue about the commission of very serious offences, then surely the opposition would fail in its duty if it did not pinpoint the complicity of the Government. Therefore, without making the Government responsible for every crime that takes place in the country, I shall confine myself to those aspects of the Government actions and attitudes which re-

fect either its gross negligence in the matter of law enforcement or which reflects its complicity by shutting its eyes and suppressing crimes whenever crimes are brought to light.

Let us take for example the case of Mr. Singh and Mr. Appu which broke in Lok Sabha on the 5th March, 1982. Is it not admitted that the facts of that case were brought to the notice of the Home Ministry as far back as October, 1981? What the Home Ministry ultimately did when this matter came to light after journalists exposed it, why did the Home Ministry not have adequate sense and understanding of its own to take the same action in the matter when in October, 1981 the matter was brought to its attention? Is it a sufficient excuse for a Home Minister to tell us solemnly on the floor of this House that he was trying to use the reformative attitude from October, 1981 upto 5th March, 1982? If this was a correct attitude, then I would have expected the Minister for Home Affairs to stick to his moral guns and tell us even on the 5th March, 1982 on the floor of this House that he believed in the reformative approach and he would continue it despite all the criticism which emanated from any quarter on the floor of this House. If his policy was wrong and he was prepared to admit that his policy was wrong, to establish the moral responsibility of a Minister as the political head of his department, for anything that goes wrong, he ought to have resigned on that day. He should have said: 'Yes, I have tried the reformative approach; I find that the reformative approach was wrong, and, therefore, I shall tender my resignation.' In that case, he would have risen in my esteem. But the Minister cannot say, 'I was trying the reformative approach; I admit I was wrong now that you have brought things to light; I am going to change. I am going to dismiss the delinquent officers but myself remain in office. This is evidence, and conclusive evidence, that the Home Minister tried to conceal truth. He tried to push under the rule inconvenient facts and only when they saw the light of the day, not because of his desire, but because of other people, more vigilant in the matter of law enforcement, who brought

it to light, that he developed cold feet. Then he committed a further sin and that sin is the sin of moral cowardice. You should have struck to your moral grounds and resigned. Now, this very attitude is reflected in yet another incident to which I shall now draw the attention of the House, but I am sorry neither the Home Minister, nor the Minister of State for Home Affairs is present.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Laskar, Minister of State for Home Affairs is there in the House.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, on the 2nd of February this year, the Supreme Court delivered a judgment in what has come to be known as the 'Sancheta' racket from Bengal. In that Judgment, the Supreme Court pointed out that in the Sancheta scheme of fraud, in which at least eleven thousand depositors, poor men, who have deposited their life savings all less than Rs. 10,000/- each, have lost everything, senior officials and employees of the Indian Airlines are involved; Managers of the Nationalised Banks are involved; Officers of LIC are involved; Income-tax and Sales-tax employees are involved; Members of the Police force are involved; Accountant General's Office is involved. And, the Supreme Court said that they were sorry, that the proceedings have been taken by the West Bengal Government under a wrong section of a wrong law, and hoped that some adequate action will be taken. Sir, an LL.B. student, who has just read his Penal Code for the first time, would have told the Home Minister and would have told any Minister who is concerned with the enforcement of law and order that this whole scheme was a scheme of deception and fraud. It involved all the promoters of the scheme in serious offence under Section 420 of the Indian Penal Code, which is a cognizable Offence. Sir, no person can be believed to say that I am carrying on no business, yet when I told the depositors that I will go on giving you 48 per cent interest on any amount of money which you lend to me or you deposit with me he seriously intended to fulfil his promise. Ex-facie almost conclusively it is a case of fraud, because there is no business at least known to me which would

yields 100 per cent profit, so that after meeting the outgoings one would be in a position to give 48 per cent return to the investors.

Sir, I would have expected the Home Minister to have taken some action much earlier. But at least after the 2nd February, there is no excuse. The only excuse can be that the Home Minister is not interested in enforcing law and order; he is not interested in weeding out corruption; he is not interested in bringing to book highly placed offenders in this country.

The Sunday magazine of February March 1982 in terms has alleged that one of the persons who have deposited money in this concern is a Minister of the Union Cabinet. I do not easily believe these allegations when they are made. I hope the Members of the Union Cabinet are too honourable to indulge in this kind of a thing. But, Sir, when an allegation is made, I want to ask Giani Zail Singh, what steps has he taken since 2nd February to find out who are these depositors?

Sir, I want to read a passage from the Judgment of the Court.

It says:

"The document relating to the account in the fictitious name."

kindly see

"fictitious name of 'Apcar Ave Toon.'"

I have never heard a gentleman named 'Apcar Ave Toon'

"shows that a person alleged to bear that name was introduced to the Syndicate Bank in Calcutta, by the firm's partner Shambhu Prasad Mukherjee. The pass-book relating to the account shows the account was opened with a cash deposit of Rs. 28 lakhs. A total sum of Rs. 27 crores, 97 lakhs, 86 thousand and odd was deposited in that account until December 6, 1980, all deposits being in cash. Such cash deposits varied often between Rs. 50 to Rs. 80 lakhs at a time. The amount of nearly Rs. 28 crores was withdrawn

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

from the account steadily from November 11, 1980. The account was closed on December 13, 1980 that is week before the FIR was lodged on December 13, 1980. Some of the entries in the pass-book do not tally with the Bank's Ledger.

"These facts disclose a bizzare state of affairs." says the Supreme Court.

But it does not disclose a bizzare state of affairs to people who have become desensitised to breaches of law and order, to breaches of law in general and to crime and fraud in particular.

"A token capital of Rs. 7,000/- has begotten a wealth of crores of rupees within a span of five years. A bank account opened by the firm in a fictitious name had a sum of Rs. 28/- crores in it which was withdrawn within a week before the lodging of the F.I.R. Interest was supposed to be paid to the depositors at the incredible rate of 48 per cent. The firm had no ostensible source of income."

It was represented at the hearing before the Supreme Court by very eminent lawyers, including at least one who is a member of this august House—I don't blame lawyers for taking up anybody's case; it is a professional duty of the lawyers, but the lawyer went on record of the Supreme Court and told the Supreme Court—"you might take my admission that this firm is dealing only in black money."

I want to ask the Home Minister what he has done to discover the identity of this person who adopted the *nom de plume* of Apcar Ave Toon. Is the Home Minister prepared? I am prepared. I will give up my practice. I shall go and sit in the CBI office. Are the CBI prepared to investigate this case with my cooperation? I promise that I will unearth this gentleman Apcar Ave Toon; and I shall discover his identity and bring it to the notice of the House.

But, Sir, there is no real interest in discovering these frauds. There is no real interest, because higher-ups are in-

involved. You scratch this; and you will open a Pandora's Box, and what will come out of the Pandora's Box, our Home Minister is not prepared to encounter.

The judgement of Mr. Justice A. N. Sen records another startling fact, viz. that out of the funds of this concern, crores have passed in favour of political parties. The political party might be the ruling party; it may be my Party, the BJP. But I would have expected the Home Minister to get into action. But the Home Ministers moral fibre is paralyzed, totally paralyzed. He has no intention whatsoever of doing anything in the interests of law and morality.

Time and again we are told that these are all State subjects. These are not state subjects. Criminal law and criminal procedure are matters in the Concurrent List. They are assigned to the Home Ministry under Allocation of Business. Every time we talk of breach of law and order, we are told that it is a State subject.

My friend Dr. Subramaniam Swamy talked of allegations of rape against the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Once again, I am too much of a trained lawyer to easily accept this kind of allegation which is made against a person in high office. I insist on solid evidence; but when an allegation is made, it is solemnly made on oath, it is solemnly made in court records, and the Chief Minister goes out of his way, through his son, to get the gag orders against publication of these affidavits, why is it not a case in which the Police machinery must be moved—because the rule of law, we were told, means equality of the high and low before the ordinary courts of the country? Against another persons, the Police machinery would have immediately moved into motion. But why is it that in spite of the fact that the poor woman who threw herself in front of a train, whose two legs are gone, who today wears two wooden legs, when she made a statement, she was almost making a dying declaration—why should not that woman's case be investigated by the recognised law enforcement agencies of the Government

of India, manned by and headed by Gyani Zail Singh, the Home Minister?

This morning, the Deputy Speaker told us: 'Oh, this matter can only be discussed in the Legislative Assembly of Maharashtra' I repudiate this thesis. As Dr. Swamy said about rape, and rape in higher places—it may not be technical rape; it may be at least some sexual molestation of the young woman which compelled her to go and throw herself in front of a train—why does not the Gyani speak, why does he not converse with his own conscience? Why is he not perturbed and why do we close our eyes, and who do we allow public suspicious to grow? Let investigations take place; and investigations must go on.

14.00 hrs.

Only the other day another serious but similar incident happened. And they are becoming endemic. In Madhya Pradesh, the Collector of Sidhi district** his wife, i.e. the Collectors wife is the subject matter of obscene and verbal assaults. A criminal is caught. The criminal, Mr. Krishna Bahadur Singh is caught, arrested at the instance of the Collector of Sidhi; and the Chief Minister specially takes the trouble of travelling from** Again, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh may have an excuse and may have defence, but why allow a suspicion to grow; when a suspicion of this kind arises, it is publically mentioned, The Home Minister, like Caesar's wife, must be above board. He must order an investigation into all these kinds of scandals so that the truth is known one way or the other.

Today, in the Capital of our great country, the City of Delhi—I do not know whether the Home Minister's attention has been drawn to posters which have now been put on the walls of Delhi. I have got a photostat copy of this. I would like to place it on the Table of the House as part of the record of this House. Organisations calling themselves by the

grandiloquent name of 'Nagar Raksha Samiti and Brashta Char Virodi Morcha, organisations like those have now taken upon themselves the task of law enforcement; intimidation of the citizens and the press.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY (Buxar): I am on a point of order. The practice of this House is well known to you and to the hon. member also. Display of any poster or a mention of any poster, particularly display of it is not permitted. You will kindly recall that I had demonstrated posters. I just merely wanted to draw the attention of the House and by the then Chairman I was not permitted. Whatever I said was struck off the proceedings. Therefore I request you to give a ruling on this. The hon. member cannot be permitted to show any poster in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not demonstrating any poster or anything.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: He intends to lay it on the Table of the House. That will be examined whether it can be laid on the Table of the House or not. Only then it can be laid on the Table of the House.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: I wanted to place it on the Table of the House and I was not allowed to speak on it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, Mr. Tewary, it was prohibited to demonstrate it in the House. No demonstration is permitted in the House. But if an hon. member wants to place any document on the Table of the House, after examination, it can be allowed or it can be disallowed.

(Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: I request you to kindly go through the proceedings. I merely sought the permission to place it on the Table of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Anyhow, you have raised your point of order.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री हरीश रावत (अल्मोड़ा) : क्या माननीय सदस्य जे टेबल पर रखने की इजाजत पहले ली है और क्या स्पीकर को लिख कर दिया है ?

समापति महोदय : मैं ने कह दिया है कि देखा जाएगा। अगर वह डाकुमेंट.....

श्री हरीश रावत : अगर उठा कर वह दिखाते हैं तो क्या आप एलाउ करेंगे ?

समापति महोदय : अगर डाकुमेंट इस काबिल होगा कि उस को रखा जा सकता है तब इजाजत दी जाएगी। वगैर इजाजत के किसी को कोई इजाजत नहीं है। उसको एकजाभिन किया जाएगा।

Mr. Jethmalani, now you can continue your speech.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I do not wish to stir a hornet's nest. The Home Minister has got Intelligence Bureaus and various other organisations for collecting information at his disposal. All that I am asking is has he come to know about the activities of two organisations calling themselves Nagar Raksha Samiti and Brashta Char Virodi Morcha? Has he come to know about the men associated with them. Has he come to know that one of the Secretaries of the organisations is a man, who is a previous convict and he is required in murder cases? These organisations have now taken upon, themselves the task of enforcing law and order, which ought to be the function of the Home Ministry itself. The Home Minister has abdicated his functions to others just because these organisations happen to be connected with men whose big names I do not wish to mention on the Floor of this House. I want the Home Minister to make an enquiry about it; and I am sure, the Home Minister knows whom I am talking about. I hope the attention will be paid to these kinds of things.

The Report of the Home Ministry displays the same thing; it is a philosophy of benign neglect, as The Hindustan Times called it this morning which informs the

Home Ministry. It is surprising and this is the gravamen of my charge. You and all your supporters around you, all the time whenever any deficiency is pointer out, or any defect is pointed out, all that you do is, "Oh! those two years you were in power, you were equally bad, or probably you were worse". I would assume we were worse. Let us now confine ourselves to the duties of the Government in the year 1982. If today, you are unable to diagnose the disease you will not find the right prescription. Your report almost says, and it says so in the year of Deoli, in the year of Sadhopur massacres in Uttar Pradesh, in the face of anti-reservation riots in Gujarat, the murder of Lala Jagat Narain, the pro-Khalistan violence in Punjab, the report still speaks of law and order situation under control. I would have hoped that the Home Minister would have said that 'we are faced with the problem of unusual recrudescence of breakdown of law and order, the Government is now taking vigorous steps.' But if your diagnosis is that everything is under control, either you are trying to conceal the truth from the public, or you are trying only to beguile yourself and living in the world of illusion. You have no real interest in solving the country's problems.

Sir, my friends referred sarcastically to our references to democracy and the anti-democratic methods of the Government. But is it not that democracy is literally being treated like a joke. I am reminded of Mr. Will Rogers, that American author and humorist, who went to President Harding, and said "Mr. President, I want to tell you the latest jokes"—he was very fond of relating jokes. But President Harding told him, "Mr. Rogers, you do not have to tell me the jokes, because I have appointed all of them." I am not suggesting that the Home Minister is a joke, or that his Minister of State is a joke. But the manner in which democracy is being treated is a big joke. That is for sure. The Delhi Administration Act of 1966 in Section 3 declares in unmistakable terms that there shall be a Metropolitan Council for the State of Delhi, and the Home Minister has read this statute that 'there shall be a Metropolitan Council for Delhi only so long as Mr. Zail Singh wants it to exist'.

If Mr. Zail Singh thinks otherwise, the law is reduced to a dead letter and no part of that law can be enforced merely because the Home Ministry has so decided. And I want to give you another illustration of this insensitivity. The forty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution was passed as far back as 1978. But the forty-fourth Amendment has not been brought into force. The will of the Constituent Assembly is set at naught because the executive does not want to carry out what the Parliament in its Constituent capacity has ordained. Why because it was a Parliament which was dominated by Janata Party.

Recently, the Supreme Court, a Full Bench Constitutional Bench,—two Judges out of five—issued a mandamus against the Government ordering it to bring that law into force. Three Judges said that they could not issue a mandamus, but they all were unanimous that the Government is under a moral obligation to bring the Constitutional Amendment into force. Are you sensitive? Are you sensitive to what the judiciary told you? Two Judges ordered you and all the five Judges advised you. But none-the-less because it does not suit your interests, because it does not suit your authoritarian tendency, you will not bring this wholesome Constitutional Amendment into force. And that is the case of a Minister setting the Constitution at naught and frustrating the will of the constitutional body in this country. Take Garhwal, take Assam, take Kerala, take Haryana, take West Bengal, everywhere it is the same attitude. Democracy is good so long as it suits the Government, so long as it suits the ruling Party, but the moment there is an apprehension that the democratic will will be contrary to the requirements of the Government, democracy will be suppressed by all methods.

I do not wish to go into many things which have been earlier talked about in this House. But I want to ask, something about the West Bengal elections which ended up in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court Judges, three of them, were hearing the matter. The

counsel appearing on behalf of the Congress(I) Party and some other allied Parties those counsel went and presented a document to the Court, committing a grave contempt of Court, insulting the Court and almost stating to the Court that the Court was partial and biased and was unfit to do its judicial duty.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur): It was later withdrawn.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Later on they withdrew it. Later on they apologised for it. But I am not talking of what should have been done to those counsel. I want to know whether this statement initially made by the counsel was authorised by their clients, that is, the Government, whether the withdrawal and apology was ultimately directed by the Government or whether the counsel developed cold feet and were not prepared to face the consequences of the criminal act which they had committed. Lastly, if the counsel did something against your instruction or you found that they were wrong and you asked them to apologise to the court, have you thereafter taken any administrative measures against those counsel, so that at least they ought not to be representing the ruling party any longer before the courts of the country? This is the way to show submission to judicial supremacy. This is the way to show your concern with law enforcement, because the moment you denigrate the judiciary, that day with the same brush and with the same instrument you denigrate law enforcement because when the courts go down to that extent the power of the law goes down, because ultimately law is enforced, only by the courts.

The last subject I wish to deal with is the failure of this Government, failure of the Ministry of Home Affairs, in the matter of national integration, which is one of the subjects assigned to the Home Ministry. Go to Kanyakumari. Go to other places. Go to every nook and corner of India today. The sense of national identity and integration is breaking down. I do not wish to blame any

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

particular community. Not at all. But the fact that deep fissures are developing in our society is a matter which the Ministry can afford to ignore only at its peril and at the peril of the country. What has the Home Ministry done, what kind of sensitiveness does it show, what study has been made by the Home Ministry, to get at the causes of this growing disparity of interests, the growing conflict of interest, which ultimately leads to violence? It is a matter of shame that the followers of Christ, that Prince of Peace, indulged in violence in Kanyakumari. I am not saying that they are the aggressors. May be the other side is the aggressor. What has happened to Gandhi's teaching that our people go and kill innocent people? The Government of the day makes no attempt to study this phenomenon. The Government merely produces a document and says everything is in order, like those three proverbial monkeys, "I see no evil; I hear no evil; I speak no evil!" and the Home Ministry is satisfied?

Lastly, I come to the acute dissatisfaction of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. After all, it is true that the Janata Party was in power for only two years. But for long, long year since independence, you have been in power and yet, what is the state of affairs disclosed by your own reports? Your reports show that the scheduled castes people are unable to secure their due representation in any field of human endeavour and activity, except perhaps in Class of Government employees, where they secure it not because there is any decency in other classes, but because the other classes do not wish to take to those avocations which fall under Class IV. Therefore, without shedding crocodile tears for the scheduled castes, without making promises to them in our election manifesto's it is time that this kind of mal-representation, this kind of lack of proper representation, must be adequately met. The Mandal Commission

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I will conclude in a minute. Finally, I wish to

end up with this and I wish to draw the attention of the Home Minister, without giving details—I hope the Ministry of Home Affairs and Mr. Zail Singh are aware of a concern called the Continental Overseas Corporation of New York, USA; they are aware of a gentleman connected with this organisation called Maharaja Kumar Virendra Singh. I do not wish to go into details. The details will be gone into on some other occasion. I am only throwing the hint, because this is one more illustration of the utter paralysis of the Home Ministry and the leader of the Home Ministry in the matter of law enforcement, particularly in the matter of rooting out corruption from this country. I do not wish to say more. My time is over. May I only utter a word of anguish? I can only say:

Alas, Poor Country!

Where no one but the ignorant feel safe.

Where sighs and groans and shrieks that rend the air.

Are all unheard by men who dare not hear. This violent discord seems the modern tune.

Mr. Home Minister, you will have to do something much more drastic than wearing that red rose in your lapel and speaking to us a few bits of Urdu poetry. Some day Urdu poetry will begin to stink in the nostrils of decent people if you go on using it for the purpose of justifying your inadequacies and the inefficiency of your department.

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद (वाशिम) :
चेयरमैन साहब अभी श्री राम जेठमलानी की धुंआधार तकरीर के बाद मैं नह समझता कि मैं बहुत कुछ बोल पाऊंगा। पीपीअ

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल : क्यों ? आप भी अच्छी तकरीर करते हैं।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : मैं अभी कश्मीर से आया हूँ। मेरा गला खराब है। कल मैं यहाँ हाउस में नहीं था। किन्

साथियों ने किस विषय में बात की इसकी मुझे ज्यादा जानकारी नहीं है। लेकिन जब भी होम मिनिस्ट्री की डिमांड्स इस हाउस के सामने आती हैं तो अमूमन ला एंड आर्डर सिचुएशन कम्युनल रायट्स और डेकायटीज वर्गों की बातें कही जाती हैं। मैं होम मिनिस्ट्री के ऑफिसों में नहीं जाना चाहता। आज सुबह मैं पढ़ रहा था कि होम मिनिस्ट्री के ऑफिसों में कि जब जनता पार्टी की सरकार थी तब इतने रायट्स हुए थे और कांग्रेस की सरकार में इतने रायट्स हुए हैं।

इस में कोई शक नहीं कि पिछले दो वर्षों में कम्युनल रायट्स में कमी हुई है। और ला एण्ड आर्डर सिचुएशन भी बेहतर हुई है। इस के लिए मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब को बधाई देता हूँ। लेकिन हमें यह भी नहीं सोचना चाहिए कि कम्युनल रायट्स में कमी हुई तो यही सरकार के लिए काफी है। हिन्दुस्तान सारी दुनिया में पहला मुल्क है जिसे हम जन्नत कह सकते हैं। शायद इस से बढ़िया कोई जन्नत नहीं हो सकती। हम स्वर्ग की बात करते हैं लेकिन सारी दुनिया में यही एक ऐसा मुल्क है जहाँ हजारों जुवानों बोलने वाले लोग हैं; हर नराल के लोग हैं जहाँ जुवान और मजहब के साथ साथ मौसम भी बदलते हैं। एमे मुल्क की एकता और अखंडता सिर्फ भारत के लिए ही जरूरी नहीं है बल्कि वह सारे विश्व के लिए सारी दुनिया के लिए एक मिसाल होनी चाहिए।

इस लिए जो भी केन्द्रीय सरकार हो उस का यह फर्ज बनता है कि वह इस बात के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा कोशिश करे किला एंड आर्डर सिचुएशन बेहतर हो कम्युनल रायट्स और डेकायटीज कम हों। लेकिन मैं आज तक यह समझ नहीं पाया कि हमारे देश में इस तरह के जो वाकें गत होते हैं उन के पमे पर्दा क्या होता है उन को बैक ग्राउंड क्या होती है। इस की खोज किसी ने नहीं की।

कमीशन बनते हैं खत्म होते हैं और भुला दिए जाते हैं। सब से महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि इन कमीशनों की रिपोर्टों का इम्प्लेमेंटेशन किस तरह होता है।

कम्युनल रायट्स आज पहली डफा नहीं हुए हैं। वे हजारों साल से होते आए हैं— न सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान में बल्कि दूसरे देशों में भी होते आए हैं। लेकिन कौन सी वे ताकतें हैं कौन से वे ग्रुप्स हैं कौन सी वे शक्तियाँ हैं— जो लोगों को कम्युनल रायट्स करने पर मजबूर करती हैं? अगर लोग कहेंगे कि इस के लिए जिम्मेदार भारत के आम लोग हैं चाहे वे हिन्दू हों या मुसलमान, सिख या ईसाई हों, तो मैं इस से बिल्कुल मुक्तिफिक नहीं हूँ। मैं अपने इलैक्शन की बात बताता हूँ जनवरी, 1980 की, बल्कि दिसम्बर, 1979 की; जब मैं कश्मीर में से महाराष्ट्र चुनाव लड़ने के लिए गया तो मेरी कांस्टिटुएन्सी में तकरबन 35 प्रतिशत भाग मुस्लिम (हिन्दू) वोट थे लेकिन किसी एक वोटों ने भी यह नहीं पृछा कि आप हिन्दू हैं या मुसलमान। लेकिन जो लोग लीडरशिप की बात करते हैं, जो लोग राष्ट्र की दिशा देने की बात करते हैं, जो लोग लोगों को रास्ता दिखाने की बात करते हैं, वे वहाँ पर कहते थे कि यह कश्मीर का मुसलमान है और कश्मीर के मुसलमान सब पाकिस्तानी होते हैं। हमारे विरोधी दल के नेता जोकि उस समय सरकार में और जो हमारे बड़े नेता जेठमलानी साहब के साथ हैं, बाजपेयी साहब, वे भी हमारे कांस्टिटुएन्सी में आए थे और ऐसी तबरीरों की कि हम कश्मीर के मुसलमान हैं और तकरबन तबरीबन सभी कश्मीरी मुसलमान पाकिस्तानी होते हैं, इसलिये महाराष्ट्र के लोग मुझे कैसे वोट दें

श्री राम जेठमलानी : अगर बाजपेयी साहब ने ऐसा कहा तो थे पार्टी से रिजाइन करूँगा।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : मैंने मिला जुला बताया है ।

श्री राम जेठमलानी : फिर गये ना आप ।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : मैं अकेले बाजपेई साहब के लिये नहीं कहता, कई इस तरह की पार्टियां हैं, जो ऐसी बातें फैलाती हैं । इसलिये हमको इस बात को सोचना है और जो बीमारी है, उसको पकड़ना है । हमको देखना है कि ऐसे कौन से लोग हैं ? किसी भी पक्ष में ऐसे लोग हो सकते हैं । हमारी कांग्रेस में भी हो सकते हैं और लोक दल में भी हो सकते हैं । मैं अकेले जनसंघ की बात नहीं करूंगा । किसी भी पार्टी में ऐसे लोग हो सकते हैं और होते हैं । इसलिये हमको सबसे पहले उस लीडरशिप को पकड़ना है । सेक्युलरिज्म, सोशलिज्म और डेमोक्रेसी—यह तीन बुनियादी चीजें हैं जिन पर हमारी मर्कजी सरकार चलती है । इन बुनियादी उसूलों को चलाने के लिये, उन शक्तियों को—चाहे वह रूलिंग पार्टी में हो या रूलिंग पार्टी से बाहर हों, उनको खोज निकालना होगा ।

जहां तक ला एंड आर्डर की सिचुएशन की बात है, मैं पहले तो उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री को बधाई देता हूँ जिन्होंने इस बात का बीड़ा उठाया कि तमाम डकैतों को खत्म कर देंगे । लेकिन जहां तक डकैतों की बात है, केन्द्र में चाहे आज कांग्रेस की सरकार हो या पहले लोकल और जनता पार्टी की सरकार रही या इमर्जेंसी के जमाने की कांग्रेसी सरकार रही हो, क्या किसी भी सरकार ने कभी यह खोज निकालने की कोशिश की है कि यह डकैत बनते कब हैं ? उनके डकैत बनने की बुनियादी

वजह क्या है ? उनको इसके लिए इंस्पि-रेशन कहां से मिलता है ? यह किसी ने भी जानने की कोशिश नहीं की । यह डकैत कौन लोग हैं ? हम में से ही कुछ नागरिक ही डकैत हैं । अगर सरकार सच्ची नीयत से इनको खत्म करना चाहती है तो मैं समझता हूँ उसको बुनियादी बात को देखना चाहिए । जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ इसके लिए अगर कोई जिम्मेदार है तो वह है बम्बई की फिल्म इण्डस्ट्री । लेकिन किसी ने भी आज तक खोज नहीं की है । आज सबसे ज्यादा फिल्म वही चलती है जिसमें डकैती का सीन हो । उस फिल्म की सिल्वर-गोल्डन जुबली मनाई जायेगी । दूसरी तरफ एक साधारण फिल्म जो सोशलिज्म या डाउरी की प्रॉब्लम लेकर बनाई गई हो उसकी गोल्डन जुबली तो क्या, लोहे की जुबली भी नहीं होगी । मैं आपके सामने एक उदाहरण देता हूँ । यह 1973-74 की बात है । काश्मीर में जब जुगनू फिल्म आई तो काश्मीर में 35 डैकाइटिज हुईं । जितने असें वह फिल्म चली, चोरी करके दरवाजे पर जुगनू लिखकर चले जाते थे । इस तरह से छोटी-बड़ी 35 डैकाइटिज हुईं, क्योंकि उन दिनों वह फिल्म 2-3 सिनेमाघरों में लगातार चल रही थी ?

आप को मालूम है कि छबिराम मारा गया, वह कहां मारा गया ? एक गांव में गाने का प्रोग्राम चल रहा था और वह वहां गाना सुनने आया था और 12 लोग पकड़े गये । जिस तरह से फिल्म में दिखाया जाता है, दुल्हा-दुल्हन की शादी होती है, नाच गाना हीता है और डाकू वहां भेस बदल करा आते हैं और दुल्हन को उठा कर ले जाते हैं । मेरे कहने का मकसद है कि हमारे डाकुओं पर 99 परसेंट इन फिल्मों का असर पड़ता है । आज जो

इस तरह की नई-नई स्टोरीज निकल रही हैं, पैसा बनाने के लिए, होम मिनिस्ट्री को इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए।

इन डाकुओं में ऐसे लोग भी हैं जिन के साथ समाज में जुल्म होता है और सरकार उन को प्रोटेक्शन देने में असफल होती है, नाकामयाब होती है। किसी का भाई मारा जाता है, किसी के साथ समाज में कोई दुर्घटना होती है और सरकार उस को प्रोटेक्शन देने में नाकाम होती है तो वह डाकू बन जाता है और उस के मन में यह भावना पैदा होती है कि यह सरकार मुझ को प्रोटेक्शन देने में नाकाम हुई है, अब मैं खुद ही बदला लूंगा, उस के मन में बदले की भावना पैदा होती है। गृह मंत्रालय को इन बातों की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए — कि डेकाएट्स के पीछे भावना क्या है। जब तक हम बीमारी को नहीं पकड़ेंगे चाहे जितनी दवाइयां दीजिये, टेटरासाइक्लिन या दूसरे साइक्लिन के इंजेक्शन दीजिये उन से कोई इलाज होने वाला नहीं है, 10 को मारेंगे तो 100 और पैदा होंगे।

दो वर्ष पहले होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इस सदन में यह आश्वासन दिया था कि इस मुल्क में हर किस्म के, हर मजहब के लोग रहते हैं इस लिये जहां तक पुलिस का सवाल है, चूंकि पुलिस भी बाज-औकात मुल्क के अलग-अलग हिस्सों में अपने-अपने तरह के लोगों के साथ ट्रीटमेंट करती है इस लिए पुलिस में हर मजहब के लोगों को, हरिजन, मुसलमान, सिख, ईसाई जितने मजहब हैं सब के लोगों को भरती किया जायगा। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या इस में आगे कुछ काम हुआ है या खाली यह एक तजवीज थी?

उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के अन्दर जहा डेकाइटीज ज्यादा होती हैं, डेकाइटीज के साथ साथ यूनीवर्सिटीज और कालिजज में छोटे-बड़े और भी कई तरह के फितने होते हैं, छुरे घोंपे जाते हैं, गोलियां चलाई जाती हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी हिस्से के मुकाबले सब से ज्यादा उन-लाइसेंसड हथियार लोगों के पास हैं। क्या उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार या होम मिनिस्ट्री ने कभी इस बात की कोशिश की है या कोई स्पेशल इन्वेस्टिगेशन ब्यूरो बनाया है कि वहां बहुत ज्यादा छोटी-छोटी फैक्टरियां हैं जो हथियार बना कर सप्लाय करती हैं उन की जांच कर के, उन को पकड़ कर सजा दी जाए।

सभापति जी, सवाल यह नहीं है कि कम्पूनल राइट्स बन्द हों या ला-एण्ड-आर्डर सिचुएशन अच्छी हो, सवाल यह है कि जो भी इन मामलों में भाग लेते हैं उन को क्या सजा मिलती है—जनता इस बात को देखती है। अगर आप उन को कुछ देर के लिये जेल में रतते हैं, चाहे वह तिहाड़ जेल हो या कोई दूसरी जेल हो और वे जेल से भाग जायं तो उस का जनता पर कोई असर नहीं पड़ता है। लोग चाहते हैं कि जो भी आदमी यह ठहराया जाय कि उस ने बुरा काम किया है, उस को कितनी सजा मिलती है, इसका असर लोगों पर पड़ता है, उस को पकड़ कर बन्द कर देने का असर नहीं पड़ता है, सजा का असर पड़ता है, जहां तक कांग्रेस की सरकार का ताल्लुक है या हमारी प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व का ताल्लुक है, हम को बोट इस लिये भी ज्यादा मिले हैं कि हमारी सरकार सख्ती से, ज्यादा शिद्दत से काम ले और जो भी मुल्क के खिलाफ काम करते हैं, जो भी निगरानी और डिसिप्लीन को नेस्तोनाबूद करने की कोशिश करते हैं, उनको ज्यादा

[श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद]

से ज्यादा सजा मिले। लोग यह एक्सपेक्ट करते हैं कि इन्दिरा जी की सरकार में ऐसा हो। मुझे उमीद है कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब इस पर ध्यान देंगे।

जहां तक मंडल रिपोर्ट का ताल्लुक है। इसकी तजवीजों पर हमें ध्यान देना चाहिए। हमारे मुल्क में हर किस्म की कम्युनिटीज हैं। उनके बारे में इससे जो तजवीजें हैं उनको आगे बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए यह एक अच्छी बात होगी।

जहां तक हमारे मुल्क की नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन का ताल्लुक है हमारे बुर्जुग साथी श्री राम जेठमलानी जी अभी बोल रहे थे। मैं उनसे कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस के जमाने में इस मुल्क में जितना नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन हुआ उतना किसी वक्त में नहीं हुआ। पंडित नेहरू की हुकूमत में और मिसिज इन्दिरा गांधी की हुकूमत यह जितना मजबूत हुआ इसकी मिसाल हिन्दुस्तान में और नहीं मिल सकती। यह आगे और भी मजबूत होने वाला है।

नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन का खाली इतना मतलब नहीं है कि हम भाषण करें। सवाल यह है कि हकीकत में हम कहां तक नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन को मजबूत बनाने में कामयाब हुए हैं। आप कांग्रेस का वक्त देखिये। कश्मीर से कन्याकुमारी, सिक्किम से गुजरात तक कांग्रेस की सरकार 1977 तक रही। उस वक्त कांग्रेस की जो भी पालिसीज बनती थीं, मरकज की जो भी पालिसीज होती थीं वे तमाम राज्यों में चलती थीं। आज कांग्रेस ही ऐसी पार्टी है जिसमें हमारे जैल सिंह होम मिनिस्टर हैं, स्टीफन साहब भी मिनिस्टर हैं, मकवाना साहब और शंकरानन्द जी भी मिनिस्टर हैं। क्या मैं अपने बुर्जुग साथी से यह पूछूँ कि क्या कोई शेख मोहम्मद या या बशार

भी ईसमें हैं? केवल भार्षण कर देने से यह नहीं होता है। इसको हमें प्रेक्टिकल्ली करना है? हम इतना ही कहेंगे कि हम नेशनलिस्ट्स हैं, हम सेक्युलरिस्ट्स हैं। आप उनकी पार्टी में देखिये कि कितने ओहदेदार किस-किस नाम के हैं। कांग्रेस पार्टी आज मुल्क को नेशनल्ली, सोशल्ली, इकोनोमिकल्ली एक रख रही है। हिन्दुस्तान में आज हर मजहब के लोगों की हिफाजत की जाती है। ऐसी पार्टी हिन्दुस्तान में अभी तक पैदा नहीं हुई, मुझे नहीं मालूम कि आगे भी पैदा होगी या नहीं।

एक बात की ओर मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। जब भी कोई बात पार्लियामेंट में होती है तो यह कह दिया जाता है कि यह स्टेट्स का मसला है। मैं इस बात से इत्तिफाक नहीं करता। मैं समझता हूँ कि नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन की तरफ यह बड़ा स्टेप जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान की पार्लियामेंट सब से सुप्रीम है और हिन्दुस्तान के इस सुप्रीम इदारे की हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी हिस्से में जवाजियत होनी चाहिये। चाहे कश्मीर हो, केरल हो, त्रिपुरा हो या अण्डमान निकोबार हो, हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी हिस्से में अगर लोगों के साथ ज्यादाती होती है तो होम मिनिस्टर को यह हक होना चाहिये कि वह उस में इन्टरफियर करे। यह कहां की जवाजियत, कहां की डेमोक्रेसी की बात है कि त्रिपुरा के अन्दर तीन सौ लोगों को मारा जाए और यहां की सरकार यह कहे कि वहां अपोजीशन की गवर्नमेंट है, हनारे होम मिनिस्टर कुछ नहीं कर सकते। यह कहां की जवाजियत है कि वेस्ट बंगाल में वहां की सरकार में अपोजीशन पार्टी के लोगों का कत्लेआम हो और यहां की सरकार कुछ न कर सके? यहां कहां की जवाजियत है कि

किश्तवार के अन्दर 10 महीने से, एक साल से एजीटेशन चलता रहे और वहां गोली चले। वहां श्री वैकटसुब्बय्या जी जो कि इस वक्त हाउस में नहीं हैं वे और मैं इकट्ठे गए और उन के सामने सोडोमी के केस, जिन के साथ रेप हुआ उन को पेश किया गया लेकिन वहां के आई० जी० लोगों से क्या कहते हैं कि आज तुम्हारे सेक्टर के मिनिस्टर आये हैं, कल तुम्हें हमारे साथ निबटना है।

श्री पी० नामग्याल : (लद्दाख) : मेरी इत्तिला के मुताबिक वैकटसुब्बय्या जी के खिलाफ भी किश्तवार पुलिस ने दफा 144 के तहत केस रजिस्टर किया है। यह हालत है होम मिनिस्टर आफ इंडिया की भी वहां।

: شروی پی - نام گھال (لداخ)

شروی اطلاع کے مطابق ویلکٹسویہ جی کے خلاف بھی کشتوار پولیس نے دفعہ 144 کے تحت کیس رجسٹر کیا ہے۔ یہ حالت ہے ہوم منسٹر آف انڈیا کی بھی وہاں۔

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद : होम मिनिस्टर के वहां जाने के बाद यह फायदा हुआ है। कि जहां पहले सिर्फ मर्दों को गिरफ्तार किया गया था, बूढ़ों और बच्चों को किया गया था वहां उन के जाने के बाद हैली कोप्टर आता है और औरतों को भी सब को गिरफ्तार कर के ले जाता है। उनको भी बखशा नहीं जा रहा है। इतना ज्यादा असर होम मिनिस्टर का वहां हुआ है। दूसरा असर यह हुआ कि हमारे खिलाफ तो 144 के केस रजिस्टर करने ही थे लेकिन होम मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ भी दफा 144 का केस रजिस्टर किया और कहा गया कि वह लोगों में गए और इन्होंने उन के साथ बात की। मैं नहीं समझता कि वह 370 या 478 दफा का हवाला देने से हिन्दुस्तान की इंटेग्रेसी बनी रह सकती है।

अंदरूनी खुद मुख्तारी हर स्टेट की होनी चाहिये। लेकिन जहां भी ला एंड आर्डर की बात हो मरकजी हुकूमत को पूरे अख्त्यारात होने चाहियें कि वह काइमज को खत्म करने के लिए, मतभेद जो होते हैं, उन को खत्म करने के लिये कदम उठा सके। और इंटरवीन कर सके। जो कुछ भी जायज हो वह कर सके, ये अख्त्यारात उस को होने चाहियें।

लद्दाख में एक साल से एजीटेशन चल रही है। दो आदमी मारे गये हैं। उनका कोई भी मिनिस्टर वहां नहीं गया है। चीफ मिनिस्टर नहीं गया है। उत्तर प्रदेश में एक आदमी या दो आदमी मरते हैं, तो वहां मुख्य मंत्री वहां जाता है, ज्ञानी जो जाते हैं लेकिन हमारी स्टेट के अन्दर ऐसा कुछ नहीं होता है। कुछ साथी कहते हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री क्यों नहीं गयीं, उत्तर प्रदेश वगैरह। लेकिन जब किश्तवार में एक आदमी मरा, दर्जनों जखमी हुए, लद्दाख में दो मरे और दर्जनों जखमी हुए तो किश्तवार का मिनिस्टर जो लोकल एम० एल० ए० है वह तक वहां नहीं गया। लोकल एम० एल० ए० और जो मिनिस्टर भी है वह वहां एक साल से नहीं गया है। दिल्ली से होम मिनिस्टर भी गये हैं, लेकिन वह नहीं गया। लद्दाख के अन्दर लद्दाख का मिनिस्टर नहीं गया है। वहां का होम मिनिस्टर गया, चीफ मिनिस्टर गया? कोई नहीं गया। यहां से कोई होम मिनिस्टर जाएगा या कोई चीफ मिनिस्टर जाएगा तो कहेंगे, यह स्टेट सबजैक्ट है। यह कहां का स्टेट सबजैक्ट है?

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि किसी भी राज्य में करप्शन की बात हो तो होम मिनिस्टर को उस पर भ्रम ध्यान देना चाहिये। महाराष्ट्र के मुख्य मंत्र पर करप्शन का चार्ज लगा। पार्लियामेंट के सभी साथियों ने उसको

[श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद]

सुना भी और आवाज भी उठाई । लेकिन काश्मीर के अन्दर जो करेप्शन हो रही है — फिर बात आएगी 370 की कि यह काश्मीर का सबजक्ट है, स्टेट सबजक्ट है — उस पर कभी होम मिनिस्टर ने ध्यान नहीं दिया । प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि आप पेड़ लगायें । हमारी अपनी पार्टी की पांच नुकताती प्रोग्राम है जिसमें पहले नम्बर पर पेड़ लगाने की बात कही गई है । और लाखों - करोड़ों पेड़ लगाये भी जाते हैं लेकिन दूसरी तरफ शेख साहब और उनकी सरकार लाखों और करोड़ों पेड़ काटती जाती है । ऐसा क्यों किया जाता है और उसके एक्ज में कितना पैसा मिलता है , कितनी बिल्डिंग बनती हैं ? यह कहां तक उचित है ?

14. 37 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the chair]

मेरा डिस्ट्रिक्ट किस्तवार है । वहां पाडर माइंड है । हिन्दुस्तान नहीं बल्कि दुनिया का सबसे अच्छा नीलम, सैफायर वहां पैदा होता है । शेख साहब की सरकार वहां क्या करती है ? इस को वह अपनी पार्टी के एक साथी को, अपने वर्कर को दो लाख रुपयों पर देती है जबकि साल की आमदनी उससे होगी एक करोड़ की । अपनी पार्टी के साथ को वह दे देती है, लीज पर जो देता है दो लाख रुपया । दो लाख रुपये में एक छोटा सा अंगूठी के लिये टुकड़ा भी नहीं आता है । नीलम की तो बात ह: अलग रही । मुट्टी भर नीलम भी अगर वहां निकले, तो करोड़ों का होगा ।

तो दो लाख रू० में वहां के मुख्य मंत्री उस दौलत को बेच देते हैं । यह देश की जायदाद है, कि एक सूबे की जायदाद नहीं है । जो जंगलात हैं, उनकी दौलत एक सूबे की सरकार की नहीं है बल्कि सारे देश का खजाना है । वहां का नीलम हिन्दुस्तान का सरमाया है । उसको इस तरह से बेदर्री से खत्म नहीं करना चाहिये, ताकि आने वाली पीढ़ी के माथे पर दाग बन कर न रह जाये । गृह मंत्री जी को इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये । और जो वहां के मुख्य मंत्री के खिलाफ खुली किताब निकली है

“The Life of Sheikh Abdullah”—An Open Book by Shri Abid Hussain Khan.

उसको मैं सदन की टेबल पर रखता* हूं और उसकी तरफ होम मिनिस्ट्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूं इन शब्दों के साथ मैं होम मिनिस्ट्री की ग्रान्ट्स का समर्थन करता हूं ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It will be examined.

PRDF. K. K. TEWARY (Buxar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, Mr. Ram Jethmalani is a very senior member of this House and we all respect him. He has spoken about certain things which require a sort of consensus and reciprocity and we welcome it. But there are certain other issues which Mr. Ram Jethmalani has raised and many previous speakers have also raised them. I think it is time we face these issues squarely.

Democracy has been bandied around; the name of corruption has been used; agitations have been whipped up outside this House; the health of the system has been referred to—all these matters are very important—and when I speak on the Demands of Home Ministry, I think, it is

*The Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the paper was not treated as laid on the Table.

only appropriate that I refer to some of these issues, the stance taken by the Opposition parties and our stance, too.

We all admit that ours is a developing economy. It is a society which has been continuing since millennium. This society is in the process of a big change, a mighty change. Our emphasis, Mr. Ram Jethmalani would admit it, although grudgingly has never been on stability as such. We have always emphasized the factor of change. When such old societies, such ancient societies, which have remained vulnerable to plunder and exploitation and specially when they are sandwiched between the two giant systems on two sides, then they have to husband their resources and carve out a niche for themselves in international politics and bring about socio-economic change at home, to give meaning and content to the preferred objectives of our leaders and our Constitution framers.

In such a situation, Mr. Ram Jethmalani and many of my CPI friends who preceded me in their speeches referred to the changes. If you go into the dynamics of change, violence is a concomitant of change. Wherever such societies have undergone these mighty changes, violence has taken place. It is for this purpose, to eliminate the chances of violence, of communist violence or of communalist violence, that we wanted a system based on pluralist democracy participatory democracy, a system based on adult franchise, a system in which everybody will be assured of his share. About the democratic institutions to which a reference has been made, it is in the nature of things that the pace of growth of democratic institutions is a little slower and the credit for this goes to our party and our leaders, the vision of our leaders who gave us the system. The whole edifice of this system, right from the village level, the panchayat system at the block level to parliamentary democracy and to this august House, Parliament, the whole structure, the basic structure is the instrument and apparatus of ushering in the desired change maintaining the stability and at the same time enthusing the people to participate. That is how we wanted a social political mobilisation. But when there is discontent; the value aspiration and the value fulfilment are not given up,

they are reconciled; this is the success of democracy and democratic institutions in this country—and people in this country, those whom we are calling the wretched of this earth, the poorest of this earth, now they are up in arms, that is, in a non-violent manner. When I say that they are up in arms, their unity and their cohesion and their preparedness to demand their share in the national cake is admirable and it has been made possible only because democracy in this country has functioned successfully under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

It is at this point that the question of violence in a political system comes. I submitted earlier that ours is a vision of transformation, total transformation of this ancient society through peaceful means, in a democratic manner and through a socialist programme. Sometimes discontent and frustration arise because democratic institutions arouse the aspirations of the people. But this anger, this preness towards violence as a result of frustration has to be moderated, it has to be aggregated within or through legitimate channels of democracy and the role of the opposition parties becomes crucial. Mr. Jethmalani is a knowledgeable person. He will admit that the opposition is as necessary a component of this system as the ruling party. You cannot run away from your responsibility. Therefore, when you look at certain developments, why there is violence, why there is this atmosphere of uncertainty, all these factors are being whipped up. There is an attempt to play them up and to destabilise the system to embarrass the Government. Therefore, if you start, I take Mr. Jethmalani to 1967 because I want Mr. Jethmalani to ponder over it and my communist friends, the CPI and the CPM. What happened? Now, the political system over which Mrs. Indira Gandhi presides, the leader of the biggest party, the oldest party in this country, she has ruled this country for more than a decade and she has brought glory to this country. But who is responsible for upsetting and tilting the balance of national consensus? So long as Pandit Nehru was alive—many of my very very senior colleagues are here—the pandits of the political system say that our system was very

[Shri K. K. Tewary]

suitable. The system had the national consensus. Prof. Ranga is here and he will bear me out. Whenever there was an attack, the attack was against the programmes of the Congress Party. Barring the lunatic fringe, Nehru was never made the target of virulent tirades which were launched from time to time after 1967. Therefore, the parameters of the opposition parties are also defined, the ideological promiscuity is dangerous. If you mix up the ideologies, then it results in distortion of the system. In 1967 what happened? Mr. Jethmalani—I do not know if you were there in Jansangh. He is a new incarnation and he is a new arrival in the BJP. I do not know if he was there.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I have never been in Jansangh any time.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: I am happy.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Don't be happy. I am correcting your impression.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Remember the distortion, the monstrous distortion that was inducted into the political system of this country forgetting all the ideological parameters. Just to grab power in Mrs. Gandhi, became the target and 1967 brought about a ramshackle unity of all the Opposition parties in this country. The CPI the then Jansangh, now BJP, shook hands and the whole attempt was to remove Mrs. Gandhi and not to remove the Congress ideology. If ideology had been the target, then either the CPI ideology would have replaced it or the Jansangh ideology would have replaced it. When both came together, there was no ideology. Therefore, the ideology, the ideological considerations, were given a go-by and by sheer opportunism forgetting overriding national interests, the people came and joined hands. Of course, we lost in eight States and then the long period of instability, economic ruin, followed. I do not know if some of my Congress (U) friends were there. May be there around. Sir, it is a long story—the evolution of our history, after Independence. Economic issues for us, for the Congress Party, have been the *sumum bonum*—the be-all and end-all

of our dream, the dream of change. Sir, in 1969, there was a great split. We admit that. We brought and we preferred the split rather than to continue to be in power with a group of people who were opposed to all kinds of change. Therefore, it was precisely on economic reason, for a social change, that we split up and a group of people who were big leaders got a standing ovation both from the then Jansangh and the CPI and CPM when they broke away from us. Sir, this was repeated. Then, Mrs. Gandhi was again challenged in 1971. All these people got together and this combine was called the Grand Alliance, again another style of hotch-potch of reactionary elements, certain elements, got together. But, the people of this country knew Indira Gandhi. They gave them a crushing defeat; they went into hibernation, wilderness. Perhaps they subsisted on herbs and grass for many years. Again taking advantage of certain difficulties like Bangladesh war—you know, Sir, all such wars have concomitant consequences—petty saboteurs of this country because instant revolutionaries and they gave a call for total revolution. The total revolution was dangled before the people. The people were bamboozled and hoowinked and they came to power in 1977. This is known to all. I will not dwell upon it. We know that the system has been damaged. Here the moral fabric or moral value which Mr. Jethmalani was talking about was given a go-by somehow. Even the political morality had been undermined by sheer exigency of power or by sheer urge for power. This will go down in history and, ultimately, Mr. Jethmalani, you will be judged on what you have done. How much calculated damage you have wrecked upon this system. You have shaken this system. In this connection, I just refer to one or two points. You were again talking of political scenario.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Why don't you refer to Giani Zail Singh's contribution?

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Mr. Jethmalani is out of it and Mr. Giani Zail Singh is on firm ground and so he presides over this department. I am coming to you. You were talking of the health of the

country. You were talking of the health of the economy of the country and system and democracy. I am coming to that. You see the goings on around us. We are sorry for you. We are in preponderant majority. One component of the system is complete. We would have been happier if you had been in a position to sustain and provide your constructive role in running or working out the system and in solving the problems which are historic problems, the problems released by historic forces in this country. But what is happening? You see there is a sort of circus—political circus—going on and I caution you that this is doing much damage to you and ultimately by this unity talk, meetings which are going on, the moral values that you were talking of are being undermined. This matter you must bear in mind. Then I come to brass-tucks and I think Mr. Jethmalani would not mind it. I wish some CPI(M) members were also present in the House. All kinds of third rate slogans are being raised about democracy and its being in danger but I would like you to review their role. Mr. Jethmalani will shut his nostrils to the Urdu couplets recited by Gianiji as being stinking but I would also like to quote an Urdu couplet:

इन्कलाबे गर्दिशे दौरां को देखिए,

मंजिन उन्हे मिल; जो शराके सफर न थे।

Sir, so far as democracy in this country is concerned, I am talking of both of you. I am talking of the so-called progressive parties and also the reactionaries. A very senior member from CPI(M) was trying to paint a phantasmagoric, frightening and horrifying picture of a ghost coming and smothering and scuttling democracy in this country. Would you permit me in all fairness to remind them of their role in the evolution of democratic institutions and the very attainment of freedom in this country? You are talking of the fissiparous forces. You are talking of the forces of casteism and communalism. We are trying to tackle them but the self-appointed progenitors, sponsors and profagnists of democracy must ponder over this problem instead of throwing stones on others. Those who live in glass houses do not throw stones on others.

Sir, am talking of Bhatinda resolution of the then CPI of 1943. They talked of India as a country consisting of sub-nationalities and the central thesis or philosophy of the then CPI was that each nationality had its distinct identity and it was free to secede from India. This was their love for democracy! Should you also be reminded of 1942? What did you do in 1942? When Indian people were engaged in a massive struggle to throw off the yoke of colonialism you were shaking hands with the Britishers and calling the great Indian leaders—to whom you sometime also refer—as Imperialist agents or running dogs of Imperialism. This was your role!

Now, I come to Jethmalani's parts. Fortunately, he was not there. His party was also not there. But the source of their life, the source to whip up revivalism and to bring the forces of obscurintism and orthodoxy and put them and muster them around the central thesis of Hindu chauvinism or revivalism of Hindu chauvinism was the RSS. Then when you talk of democracy being in danger then we must scrutinise the role of those people. Devils will not be able to quote scriptures and get away with it. I challenge Mr. Jethmalani to prove whether even half a dozen RSS volunteers, the lathi-wielding volunteers and those who say they will fight atom bomb with lathis, did they court arrest in 1942? Did they go to jail—and you are talking as if you are the paragons of democratic values? Sir, if permitted to quote I have here with me a cutting from a Paper pertaining to 1942 signed by Mr. S. Hasan, Magistrate (Second Class) Agra. Mr. Jethmalani's good leader, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was in jail. By mistake perhaps he was caught. He was accused of 'incendiari- nism'. Accused of being a revolutionary, this was a wrong term to be used against him! Now, what happened? He was arrested.

15 hrs.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: You have destroyed your own thesis in two minutes.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Mr. Vajpayee was caught. He was sent to jail. I would

[Shri K. K. Tewari]

like to quote what the Magistrate has said. This is from the record:

My name: Atal Behari

Father's name: Gauri Shankar

My caste: Brahman, Age: 20 years.

Occupation: Student, Gwalior College.

My Address: Bateshwar, P.S. Bah,

Distt: Agra:

This is regarding Bateshwar conspiracy case. And, Mr. Vajpayee was administered this advice by the Second Class Magistrate, Agra. I quote:

"I have explained to Atal Behari son of Gauri Shankar that he is not bound to make a confession and that if he does so, any confession he may make may be used as evidence against him. I believe that this confession was voluntarily made. It was taken in my presence and hearing and was read out to Atal Behari who made it. It was admitted by him to be correct and it contains a full and true account of the statement made by him."

Now, Sir, the statement of Mr. Vajpayee is very interesting, very revealing, indeed! This shows how they serve democracy, how they serve the patriots of the country. Sir, they claim to be the sole repositories of patriotism, of nationhood, in the country. What did Mr. Vajpayee say? The statement was made in Urdu. The English version is with me here; it runs like this. I quote:

He said this about one of his colleagues who was arrested and sent to jail:

"On 27th August, 1942, *Alha* was being held..."

—*Alha* is a song sung in Northern India—

"...in Bateshwar Basar. At about 2 P.M., Kakua *alias* Lila Dhar and Mahuan came to the 'Alha' and delivered a speech and persuaded the people to break the forest laws. Two hundred people went to the Forest Office and I, along with my brother, followed the crowd and reached Bateshwar Forest Office. I and my brother stayed below and all other people went upstairs. I

do not know the name of any other person, except Mahuan and Kakua, who were there."

श्री चतुर्भुज (झालावाड़) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या मैं प्राइमनिस्टर के खिलाफ 30-40 साल पहले के दस्तावेज रखूँ तो आप रखने देंगे ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI JAI PAL SINGH KASHYAP (Aonla): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, will you allow us to make reference to several documents against the Prime Minister also? (Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Sir, this is how they have been serving the cause of democracy! Mr. Deputy-Speaker, you may say, I should not read it. But you have been reading documents, Mr. Jethmalani. You raised the Maharashtra question; you read from the documents about the Maharashtra Chief Minister; I have spoken on the same lines; everything has been done; I have also done. Then, what about corruption and moral values, Sir? I am ashamed to quote the statement of opposition leaders against each other. What are the types of moral values they are committed to uphold? This is what they say about their own erstwhile friends and colleagues. I will read out what Mr. Swamy says about Vajpayee. He says:

"Well, psychologically he is a very insecure person. Like most other politicians of his age group (mid-50s), he loves a good fling in the forbidden areas..."

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Do you believe Mr. Vajpayee or Mr. Swamy?

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: He says: 'he loves a good fling in the forbidden areas...' Now, Sir, what follows it? It is unutterable and I will not say it. This is how they have been serving the cause of moral values.

SHRI HARISH KUMAR GANGWAR: (Pilibhit): What is your own value? What you say is not relevant. You are not speaking on the Home Ministry's Demands.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What is the main thing you want? Come to that point.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: They have talked about corruption; by all means,...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Do you like the good things of life or not?

(Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Mr. Jethmalani, I know it...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Tewary this is a document which is 40 years old. You have been keeping it very well, I must say. I must admit that. You said whatever was said by Mr. Vajpayee when he was 20 years old. Now he is 62 years old. Many changes might have happened in him.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JAI PAL SINGH KASHYAP: At 20 he was a minor. He was not entitled to vote.

(Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH KUMAR GANGWAR: There are so many persons in Congress-I also like this.* If their names are mentioned, then he will have to keep mum. (Interruptions).

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Mr. Jethmalani, we all are against corruption. We have been doing things against corruption. But the whole tragedy is that those who are condemned, so long as they are with us they are corrupt; but the moment they join hands with you, they become your leaders. Now, Mr. Biju Patnaik, have you forgotten Khanna Committee's Report? Have you forgotten the Grover Committee Report against Mr. Urs? They are the chief negotiators for alternative to Congress-I and to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. How can you root out corruption? You need their co-operation. (Interruptions). In 1977, it was a problem of choosing the lesser of the two evils.

AN HON. MEMBER: The bigger evils have gone to your side. (Interruptions).

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: We chose the lesser of the two evils.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Sir, we need a bold step on the part of the Opposition Parties. I had expected that these people—some of them at least—who have idealism, who have zeal to come forward and demand investigation or a High Power Committee or at least placing on the Table of the House, the famous Vaidyalingam Report which is still gathering dust in the archives. Do you remember the then Government headed by Mr. Morarji Desai and the then Home Minister and the way you brought down their Government, where were the values? The Prime Minister's son was being accused by no less a person than the then Home Minister as being thoroughly corrupt and the then Prime Minister accused the Home Minister's wife, of all persons, to be corrupt and then an enquiry was instituted and all the charges were upheld. (Interruptions).

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: We would request you not to go into the history of sons of the Prime Ministers. Otherwise, it would create a lot of embarrassing situations. (Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Mr. Jethmalani, I think it is too much for you to digest.

Then another point. I would like to mention is this. I am not speaking with any malice. My intention is not to have some mileage out of it or to get some political advantage. But I am talking about the health of the country as to how it must be rejuvenated with the active cooperation of the ruling party and the Opposition.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: The solution is to have Prime Ministers who have no sons.

AN HON. MEMBER: A bachelor.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: My party is the only qualified party.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He wants his leader to become the Prime Minister.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Sir, here is a very interesting and a very significant point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister. This is about the security of the country. He is the Home Minister of India. The C.B.I., the Intelligence Bureau and other agencies are functioning under him and for years allegations have been levelled by people in this country. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI D. P. YADAV: Mr. Jethmalani wants Brahmachari Prime Minister

MR. Deputy-SPEAKER: Now, Mr. Tewary is dealing with a very serious subject.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I have not said that. I am against all Brahmacharies of any kind.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Sir, this concerns the security of the country. Therefore, I would like even the Opposition Members to be more interested in paying heed to this because allegations have been levelled. I do not believe in these allegations I am not levelling any allegations against anybody. I am merely bringing this to the notice of this House. Here is an extract from a very famous book which has been written by Scott Reid, the then High Commissioner of Canada to India—The Envoy of Nehru. In 1950, when arming of Pakistan was started, about the internal security of India, this man who stayed in Delhi at that time wrote this book. Now, the book has recently come out. He described and I quote:

“The military agreement between the US and Pakistan has isolated India. It would not be able to build up its armaments to match the increase in Pakistan's defence, because the US had seen to it that India would not receive other essential imports from Western countries. These developments would

weaken the Congress Party and strengthen the Jana Sangh, some of whose Members were prepared to support a military agreement with the US. The objective of the US was thus to put India in a position where it had no recourse but to make a military agreement with the US and the source of a mass army for the West in the third world.”

Sir, this concerns the security of India and this comes from an authentic source. This is about the CIA machinations. I would not go into it. There are volumes on it. Sir, I had raised this matter in this House and had called for a probe. Mr. Swamy, a friend of ours, with whom we share the seat in the House, was called a CIA agent by no less a person than Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Now, where are we going?

On the top of it here is a revelation. It is a very serious thing, which was published in the *Indian Observer* published from Delhi on 15th November, 1981. I am not alleging anything. I am merely bringing this to the notice of the House. In a long article, it mentioned top political leaders and Members of the civil service of the country as being CIA agents, as being on the pay-roll of the CIA. And it mentions specific names of the American Officers, who met which leader, where and when—date, meeting place, everything has been mentioned. Name of Shri Vajpayee is on the top. Fernandes is there, Jagat Mehta is there, Shri V. Shankar is there, Shri S. V. Trivedi, the Deputy Director of Intelligence during 1972, names of all these persons are there.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He has taken responsibility. He has given notice in writing.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Sir, Mr. Jethmalani's paper has been sent for examination. I will also put it on the Table. You examine it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Yes, it will be examined.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-East): How was Jethmalani's name left out of that list?

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Fortunately, Jethmalani is much too the cleverer for them to catch.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now come to the Home Ministry's Demands. There are many Members from your Party to speak. They will find fault with me. Conclude now.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: I think I must not repeat which has already been said here. I will cover only the new grounds which are more attractive. All old grounds have been traversed by the Hon. Members in the House.

Then, Sir, a lot of things have been said. Sir, I saw Shri Jethmalani going into gyrations of anger in the House, almost endangering his health about the Antulay Affair, about the presence of smugglers in the country. Of course, all agree the economy of the country is being ruined by smugglers and this very House has admitted a privilege motion against some newspapers in the country. An hon. Member, who belongs to BJP has brought a privilege motion against some journalists for misquoting him about a smuggler of London, Mr. Nirmal Sethia. It was alleged—and if you permit, I can read out from his statement in the newspaper which he had given; here is the newspaper report; this is a very serious matter; it is a breach of privilege of this House—

“Smugglers contribute to Antulay's trusts:

Mr. Satish Agarwal, BJP, MP and former Minister of State for Finance, has in a letter to the Finance Minister Mr. R. Venkataraman, said that anti-social elements with foreign connections had contributed to certain trusts created by Mr. A. R. Antulay.

Mr. Agarwal claimed that one Mr. Nirmal Sethia, whose name figured in the revenue intelligence files had contributed Rs. 5 crores etc. etc.”.

This Nirmal Sethia, how close he was to him. Excuse me, when I modify a statement by Shakespeare:

“Opposition, thy name is hypocrisy”.

Now, under the garb of privileges you are operating and promoting such forces? Here are a series of letters.

One Mr. Junjhunwala, Mr. Bishwanath Jhunjhunwala, who is dead now, happened to be a Member of the House. He wrote a letter to Mr. Satish Agarwal about Nirmal Sethia...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That will take more time.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: The letter is dated 25th April, 1978. It reads:

“Reference our talks in Delhi regarding Mr. Sethia of London. I am attaching herewith a letter which is self-explanatory. I know Mr. Sethia since last 25 years and I do not think he is an desirable person. I would be grateful if you would personally look into the matter so that this gentleman who comes from a respectable family may not be unnecessarily harassed in future. I am coming to Delhi on the 23rd morning to attend Kanwarlalji's daughter's marriage, when I will have the pleasure to meet you and I do hope that by that time you will be familiar with the matter.”.

25th April, he writes to Mr. Agarwal.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: There are a lot of people whom we all consider respectable until evidence turns up that they are not. What are you trying to read?

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: The evidence has gone against.

On April 29, Mr. Satish Agarwal—in all fairness—writes to Mr. Jhunjhunwala saying:

“I have received your letter of 25th April regarding Shri Sethia of London. I am getting the matter examined. I

[Shri K. K. Tewary]

look forward to meet you in Delhi on 25th May, etc.”

Then what follows? It is very revealing. Mr. Sethia's letter comes to Mr. Agarwal. The letter is dated 2nd May, 1978, when Mr. Aggarwal was Finance Minister. Mr. Sathia's letter is a long letter. I am reading one line only. He writes about his father.

“I understand it, during his stay in India, he had some problems with the Customs and ...”

—he writes about his father—

“they filed various proceedings against M/s. Sethia Mercantile (Pvt.) Ltd., and its Directors. Although I was a minor, I was still for reasons unknown to me made a director of the company.”

“I have no inheritance from my late father's Estate, etc. etc...”

“I had no idea whatsoever as to the nature of M/s. Sethia Mercantile (Pvt.) Ltd.'s affairs and was never involved in the activities of the Company as these were all being looked after by my father. If, occasionally I was asked to sign some paper, I did so in good faith.”

He was not being allowed to come to India. So in the last line he made it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The last line of the last letter. Then conclude.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: “I am totally innocent and I wish to put an end to this unnecessary aggravation. Your assistance in solving this problem would be highly appreciated and I would be very grateful to you.”

Then Mr. Agarwal's Secretary acknowledge the letter; and what follows is the most important thing. Mr. Agarwal writes the last letter to Jhunjunwala giving pardon and release to Mr. Sethia, who

is now being described as the biggest smuggler on the Earth. Mr. Agarwal writes to Jhunjunwala on 26th August, 1978:

“Please refer to your letter dated 25-4-1978 concerning Shri Sethia. I have got the matter looked into. It had been reported that the Collectors of Customs have been addressed suitably”—

—mark the word 'suitably'—

“in the matter. I hope such incidents would not recur.”

That is, Sethia will not be checked at the Customs; And Sethia was a free bird with golden wings. He will be flying around in this country. This is the state of affairs.

And about Mr. Jethmalani, I do not allege anything. He is here. He is a gentleman. I would not call him a gentleman at large. But he is a gentlemen who goes around the globe. He is a man who is highly paid as an Advocate. I am told whenever he goes abroad—there are other friends also—particularly to Canada and U.K., whenever he goes, there is one Mr. Sethia, who is an uncle of this notorious Sethia. He is always the best of Mr. Jethmalani. And a lot of drama was raised here, sir...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: On a point of explanation, Sir. I don't know the uncle of Mr. Sethia, but I know this Sethia, and I know him very well. I defended his two brother-in-law in the famous Amravati murder case. They were my clients. I appeared for them. And those are the clients whom Mr. Antulay ultimately released on parole hundred times and he advised them that you give up Mr. Jethmalani, because “he will expose me even in respect of his own clients.” So, they engaged ultimately Mr. Bhardwaj, an Advocate Selected by Mrs. Gandhi. I know that. He has been elevated to the Rajya Sabha. If you

want to go into all this buck, you will hear so much of it. I know this Sethia very well.

You will hear so much of it. I know Mr. Sethia very well.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: I have heard all this from you Mr. Jethmalani. I know how you punched on me in the meeting of the Consultative Committee on External Affairs Ministry, when the famous case of Galadharis came up—how your leader was unmasked, how he was exposed....

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Your leader has been unmasked. Unfortunately you people don't look at it. I don't want to speak because the matter is *sub judice* before the court.

(Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: You know, Sir, that we are the ruling party.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I don't know all these things.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: We have infinite capacity to absorb attacks, if necessary. We have been doing it. All kinds of vilest possible things have been said about us. This House has been brought into disrepute. Pamphlets have been thrown. This is how democracy is being maintained by them.

I come to violence at the fag-end of my speech.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have to conclude.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: I want to refer to only one point. I have my hon. friends, they CPM people and the CPI people. I don't want to quarrel with them. Their flirtations with Mr. Jethmalani are well known. They were attacking authoritarianism.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: CPI is flirting with your Prime Minister.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: I suppose some of you are familiar with the expressions and terminology of Marxism. They talk of authoritarianism; they also talk of democracy. Which brand of democracy? Is it the democracy of a corrupt coterie which is called the Central Committee? It is called Democratic Centrism. Do they want democracy of that type?

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI (Contai): *rose*.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think it is not on a personal explanation. He is talking about ideology. Mr. Tewary, I suppose you are not talking about any CPI members. (Interruptions)

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI: They have violated democracy. They are not holding elections in Assam, Garhwal and Delhi. In Assam and other places, they are committing atrocities. (Interruptions)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: Mr. Jethmalani was waxing eloquent. I know he has got a lot of lung power. He was talking about Kerala. Mr. Jethmalani this is the paradox of Indian politics; you will have to understand what this paradox is.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: The paradox is: the cheaper the politician, the dearer does he cost the nation.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: You are costing the nation so much; you are costing your party so much. You ask them, in Kerala.

Now another friend has come. He was sitting here—Congress(S) the remnant of that description. They were talking of a national alternative. They were talking at Delhi; and what happened way back in Kerala? The rampaging mobs, the toughs of CPM were unleashed and let loose; on the other side, the thugs of RSS were there. It was a confrontation and the situation went out of hand. Hundreds were affected. I have got the whole newspaper cuttings. I would not go into details. But hundreds of people were killed, on both sides. You ask CPM and RSS. (Interruptions)

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI: Speak about the dissolution of Kerala Assembly on the eve of the Rajya Sabha elections. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: They were killing each other. People took a sigh of relief. I can tell you—again they will start protesting, if I give you inside information. All parties have dissensions; and CPM Government in Kerala broke because of differences between Balanandan and Nayanar. In West Bengal politics, there are differences between the Chief Minister and the ruling party chief there—because they had promised so much.

Mr. Balanandan is an honourable Member of this House. They were demanding—Promod Das Gupta and others. They were demanding so much; and the Chief Minister was not in a position to fulfil it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI: You were doing horse-trading there.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: They broke. So, people took a sigh of relief. It is the basic principle of democracy that as the single largest group, when a Government has to be formed. The largest group is called upon to form the Government. We have formed the Government and faced the House; and then we have gone in for democratic elections. If democratic elections are going to be held, you participate. If you are supported by people, if you get elected, you will run the Government. There is no quarrel with you.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Every party is a democratic socialist party.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: In West Bengal, irrespective of party level, we are all proud of the recent political history of West Bengal. West Bengal has been the cradle of our cultural renaissance. Now right from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Vivekanand, it gave the impetus to political against imperialism for freedom; and see what it has been brought to; University campuses, college campuses where the Principals are killed by studenty who be-

long to a particular political party. Everywhere, the law and order has broken down. (*Interruptions*) They were talking about Delhi. Of course, law and order is a matter which has to be tackled very carefully and very competently. Nobody wants to break law and order. We all want law and order to be there. When we are talking of Delhi, of course, in Delh some bank robbery had taken place. (*Interruptions*) I am reading out a list of dacoities which had been committed in West Bengal banks. Fifty per cent of the bank robbery had taken place in Calcutta, in West Bengal. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Durgapur): How many times have you changed the party? (*Interruptions*)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: In the United Bank of India, it was committed on 27-4-1981, and Rs. 74,481 and gold ornaments worth Rs. 15 lakhs were looted. Then in the Mallabhum Gramin Bank, it was committed on 29-4-81 and Rs. 72,271 and gold ornaments (878 grams) were looted; in the United Industrial Bank Ltd., it was committed on 29-5-81 and Rs. 1,25,000| were looted; in the Dena Bank, it was committed on 4-6-81 and Rs. 1,92,000| were looted and so on. I can quote 20 examples. You tell me what is wrong about it? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER: Twenty five Congress-I persons murdred themselves because they had faction fightings: they had killed their own people.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: If you take the health of West Bengal into account, it is a tottering government; it is a collapsing government. Their only main stay in the office, their only hope is tenuously linked to a large number of bogus votes which they have smuggled into the voters lists. (*Interruptions*) That is the only thing that can bring them to power.

Therefore, with these words, I commend the Demands for Grants and support them and also support the Home Minister because he has shown exemplary courage. So much has been made of V. K. Singh.

He met the fate that he deserved. But there are norms. I am talking of a normative situation. Do not forget it. This will happen if you are in power and this is already happening. Appu has been mentioned. He has been lionised as the greatest of the great of all times. He might have sent letters. I do not know. Allegations might be true or might not be true. That calls for an enquiry. But, the way Mr. Apu has been leaking out classified papers to the Opposition leaders and to the national Press, it is a shame for the bureaucracy in the country. Therefore, when V. K. Singh has been dismissed—he has been dismissed, our Government did it, we took the decision and you hailed the decision—now this man is also guilty. He has leaked out the official secrets and in all newspapers and magazines you see everywhere all these things being flashed across the pages and he is getting this publicity. Therefore, I demand action, an inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Appu, as to why and how these letters have been leaked out into the Press.

With these words I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Harish Kumar Gangwar.

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार (पीलीभीत):
उपाध्यक्ष जी, गृह मंत्री जी को हम इतना प्यार करते हैं कि अपनी पत्नियों के नाम भी गृह मंत्री रख देते हैं। मैं होऊँ या कोई और सदस्य हों, घर में सभी अपनी पत्नियों को होम मिनिस्टर कहा करते हैं। इसलिए हमारा जो सबसे प्यारा मिनिस्टर होता है उसको होम मिनिस्टर कहते हैं। जैसे हमारे घरों में बहुत सी तकलीफें होती हैं, बहुत सी कठिनाइयाँ पैदा होती हैं तो बीवी से कहते हैं कि इनको सुधार लो, ऐसे ही जब हमारे होम मिनिस्टर कुछ गलतियाँ करें या गलतियाँ करते हुए लगे तो हमारा फर्ज है कि हम उनको समझायें। इसलिए होम-मिनिस्टर यह न समझें कि हम उन्हें प्यार नहीं करते हैं।

अभी यहां तिवारी जी जो बातें कर रहे थे वह होम मिनिस्ट्री पर कम बोले। पता नहीं उनका होम मिनिस्ट्री कैसी है, शायद उसी हिसाब से वे बातें करते होंगे। हाँ, इतना मुझे जरूर लगा कि इन में और मोहम्मद आरिफ खां में होड़ लग गई थी। उन्होंने तो असत्य बातें कह कर और जोर जोर से तर्कहीन बातें उठाकर मिनिस्ट्री पा ली और उसी प्रकार अब अनर्गल प्रलाप द्वारा तिवारी जी भी मिनिस्ट्री पाना चाहते हैं—ऐसा मुझे लगता है। (व्यवधान)

15.32 hrs.

[SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI in the Chair]

मेरे सामने मिनिस्ट्री आफ होम अफेयर्स, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की यह रिपोर्ट है जिसके पेज 4 पर साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की स्थिति के बारे में लिखा है। यह आपकी ही कलम से लिखी गई है। आपने जिनको साम्प्रदायिक दंगा माना उनको कम्पेयर करना शुरू कर दिया 1977 से 1978 से और 1979 से क्योंकि जनता शासन से आपको जरूर कम्पेयर करना है। 1977, 1978 और 1979 में (तीनों सालों में), जो साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए उनकी संख्या थी 722। उनमें आपकी रिपोर्ट के हिसाब से 407 व्यक्ति मारे गये और 5354 व्यक्ति इन्जर्ड हुए। आप पेज 4 पर तीनों का टोटल कर के देख लीजिए। अब आप अपने रेजीम को भी देख लीजिए। यह 1980 और 1981 दो सालों की फीगर्स हैं। 1980 में 427 दंगे हुए, 375 आदमी मारे और 2838 घायल हुए। 1981 में 319 दंगे हुए 196 आदमी मारे गए और 2613 आदमी घायल हुए। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि जहां जनता पार्टी के तीन साल के रेजीम में 722 दंगे हुए वहां आपके जमाने में केवल दो सालों

[श्री: हरीश कुमार गंगवार]

में ही 746 दंगे हो गए। आप इसको जोड़ लीजिए और अगर मैं गलत कह रहा हूँ तो मुझे करेक्ट कर दीजिए। दूसरे यह कि जनता पार्टी के 77, 78 और 79 के शासन काल में 407 आदमी दंगों में मरे जबकि आपके 1980-81 में 571 मरे। यह आपने अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है, मैंने नहीं लिखा है। तीसरे घायलों की संख्या जनता पार्टी तीन वर्षों के शासन में 5354 थी, जब कि आप के दो साल के शासन में 5451 है।

मैं इसमें कोई दोष नहीं देना चाहता हूँ—लेकिन कभी-कभी आप आंकड़ों को कम्पेयर करना शुरू कर देते हैं, आपकी आदत पड़ गई है कि जनता पार्टी के जमाने से कम्पेयर करें, तो जनता पार्टी के लोग नालायक रहे होंगे, इसी लिए जनता ने उनको निकाल दिया लेकिन आपको तो अच्छा समझकर गद्दी पर बैठाया गया, आप तो उसको कम्पेयर मत कीजिए, खुद को अच्छा बनाने की कोशिश कीजिये, वरना यह जनता किसी को बक्शने वाली नहीं है, आप खुशी से बहुत फूले न रहें, 1977 में जैसे आपको आपकी लीडर समेत नीचे उतार दिया था और जैसे बाद में जनता पार्टी को नीचे उतार दिया था, वैसे ही अगले चुनाव में आपको फिर उतार फेंकेगी, इसमें कोई शकोशुब्हा नहीं है।

आप अपना पक्ष मजबूत करने के लिए तरह-तरह की बातें करते हैं। कहते हैं केरल में दंगे हो रहे हैं, पश्चिमी बंगाल में दंगे हो रहे हैं, असम में दंगे हो रहे हैं, लोग मारे जा रहे हैं, झगड़े हो रहे हैं। मैं आप से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ, श्रीमानजी, उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार के वफादारी की कस्म लेते ही मुरादाबाद

में एक हजार से ऊपर मुसलमानों को पी० ए० सी० ने मार दिया, आपने उन अफसरों के खिलाफ क्या कार्यवाही की? एक हजार मुसलमान यू० पी० के मुरादाबाद में गोलियों से भुनवा दिये गये।...

एक मानन्य सदस्य : क्या हुआ था ?

श्री: हरीश कुमार गंगवार : आपको पता नहीं है, तो खामोश रहिये या थोड़ा विजिलेंट रहिये।

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—वे 1000 आदमी जो वहाँ पर ईद की नमाज अदा करने गये थे, उनका दोष सिर्फ इतना था कि सूअर उधर से जा रहा था, उन्होंने पी० ए० सी० के सिपाही से कहा कि हम लोग ईद की नमाज अदा कर रहे हैं, पाक साफ कपड़े पहने हैं, यह गन्दे करेगा। सिपाही कहता है यह हमारा काम नहीं है। निरीह आदमियों को मार देना उस का काम है। अगर वह उस सूअर को हटा देते तो इतना बड़ा हादशा क्यों होता? जो हो गया सो हो गया। चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब ने उस वक्त भी अपने इस्तीफे की घोषणा कर दी थी, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में यह पहला राजपूत है जो अपनी बात से मुकर जाता है, वरना राजपूत बात से मुकरा नहीं करते इस्तीफा नहीं दिया। उसके बाद फिर कहा कि डाकुओं को नहीं मारूंगा तो इस्तीफा दे दूंगा, सब डाकू नहीं मरे, फिर भी इस्तीफा नहीं दिया। मैं उनके इस्तीफे की परवाह नहीं करता, ऐसे इस्तीफे तो वह देते ही रहते हैं, लेकिन मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ—क्या आप साम्प्रदायिक दंगों की जड़ में गये थे? क्या आपने मुरादाबाद में पी० ए० सी० ने जो अत्याचार किया, हजारों मुसलमानों को मार दिया, उनकी सम्पत्ति लूट ली, उनमें किसी अफसर को आपने कोई पनि-

शमेंट दी, चाहे वह पी०ए०-सी० का हो, डी० एम० हो या एस० पी० हो या कोई और पुलिस अफसर हो ? क्या उनकी कोई कोताही थी या नहीं थी ? क्या इसका कोई सर्वेक्षण आपने कराया यदि करवाया तो क्या दण्ड दिया, खाली ट्रांसफर कर देना कोई पनिशमेंट नहीं है ।

हमें यह भी बतलाएं सन् 1980 में जब आप ने सत्ता सम्भाली, जामा-मस्जिद के पास दंगे हुए, साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हुए और उनकी खबर 7 दिन पहले आपको होम मिनिस्ट्री को बाकायदा दी गई, आप ने कौन से स्टेप्स उन दंगों को रोकने के लिए उठाये और बार-बार कहे जाने पर भी जब कोई कदम नहीं उठाया और दंगे हो गये तो उस समय के पुलिस अफसरों को कौन सी सजा दी ? आप हमें अपने जवाब में बतलाएं । मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ— अगर आप सख्त कार्यवाही नहीं करेंगे तो ये दंगे होते रहेंगे और आज आप जैल सिंह जी हैं, कल कोई और मिनिस्टर आ कर बंठ जाए, उससे भी ये दंगे खत्म होने वाले नहीं हैं, रुकने वाले नहीं हैं । इन आंकड़ों से एक बात जाहिर होती है कि उन तीन सालों में साम्प्रदायिक दंगों से जानो-माल का नुकसान कम हुआ है । यह हमें मानना पड़ेगा कि उन्होंने प्रिवेन्टिव मेजर्स ले लिये थे और आप के प्रिवेन्टिव मेजर्स न लेने से जानों का ज्यादा नुकसान हुआ और ज्यादा घायल हुए ।

मैं नहीं चाहता कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हों और आप भी नहीं चाहते हैं कि ये हों क्योंकि देश की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई में आपने हिस्सा लिया है और आप भी यह चाहते हैं कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगे न हों । लेकिन इन साम्प्रदायिक दंगों को खत्म करने के लिए कौन से कदम आपने लिए, कौन-से उपायों को कार्यान्वित किया ?

आपको सरकार में सवा दो साल हो गये । कब तक आप इस पर विचार करते रहेंगे ? क्या आप मेरे सुझाव को मानेंगे कि जहां कहीं भी साम्प्रदायिक दंगा हो, वहां के बारे में अगर आपकी लोकल इन्टेलीजेंस, प्रावि-शियल सी०आई०डी० आपको खबर नहीं दे, वहां का कोई अफसर आपको खबर नहीं दे तो उसके खिलाफ आपको जरूर कदम उठाने चाहिए । उनको नौकरी से बरखास्त करें या उन को कोई और सजा दे यह आप पर निर्भर है । लेकिन उनको सजा जरूर दे दाकि आगे के लिए अफसर और आपके विभाग चौकन्ने रहें ।

आज क्या होता है ? मुरादाबाद में आपकी पी० ए० सी० ने इतने मुसलमानों को मार दिया । बरेली में, पीलीभीत में, शाहजहांपुर में, आपके पुलिस वालों ने यह कह कर कि हिन्दु मुसलमान दंगा भड़का रहे हैं मुसलमानों को मार दिया । रात-रात आपके पुलिस वाले कहते फिरें ।

सभापति महोदय : अब समाप्त भी कीजिए ।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : तिवारी जी ने कितना समय लिया था ?

सभापति महोदय : आपको 12 मिनट हो गये हैं ।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : मैंने यह सोचा कि शायद मेरी बात आपको बुरी लग रही हो क्योंकि अच्छी बात देर तक सुनी जाती है ।

सभापति महोदय : चेन्नर को कोई बात बुरी नहीं लगती ।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : मैं कह रहा था कि क्या आप यह कदम उठाइयेगा कि वहां के कलेक्टर एस० पी०, डी० एस० पी०, सी० आई० डी० पुलिस

[श्री हरिश कुमार गंगवार]

को सजा दीजिए। अगर कहीं कोई साम्प्रदायिक दंगा हो जाता है तो उसको खत्म करने के लिए यह बहुत जरूरी चीज है।

दूसरे मेरा सुझाव यह है कि आप वहां पर सामुहिक जुमने की व्यवस्था करें।

तीसरे मेरा सुझाव यह है कि अगर नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन काउंसिल की बात करनी है तो आप ऐसी शांति-कमेटियां बनायें, हर जिले में बनायें जो सातवें दिन या पन्द्रहवें दिन जिला लेवल पर मीटिंग करते रहें जिस से कि हर चीज सामने आती रहे।

इसी से आपके ये दंगे रुक सकते हैं। पुलिस वालों से दंगे करवाने से, बरेली, पीलीभीत और शाहजहांपुर में दंगे करवाकर लोगों का मेसेबकर कराने से दंगे नहीं रुकेंगे।

श्रीमन् मैं उन बातों को दोहराना नहीं चाहता जो कि सदन में कही जा चुकी हैं। लेकिन यह निर्विवाद रूप से सिद्ध हो गया है कि आपकी नीति यह है कि चुनाव वहां कराओ जहां से आप जीत कर आ सकें। जहां से आपके जीतने की संभावना न हो वहां चुनाव न कराओ। गढ़वाल, पश्चिम बंगाल, केरल, असम में जहां, जीत कर आने की संभावना नहीं है, वहां चुनाव न कराये जाएं। दिल्ली तो इसका सब से बड़ा उदाहरण है। यह बात निर्विवाद रूप से सिद्ध हो चुकी है कि जहां जहां पर रूलिंग पार्टी की सरकार बन सके वहां दल बदल करा कर भी बनायी जाए। अगर कहीं एक भी मेम्बर अपोजिशन में ज्यादा हो तो वहां पर असेम्बली भंग कर दो। गवर्नर जो आप का है, वह सिर्फ आपकी

डायरेक्शन में चलता है वह आप का एक कर्मचारी है, विवेकहीन है, अपने विवेक से काम नहीं ले सकता है। वह बुद्धि रखते हुए भी बुद्धि से काम नहीं ले सकता है। कम से कम आप उनको कुछ अख्तियारात तो दें या जैसा आप चाहें वैसा वे करते रहें, क्या वे वैसा ही करते रहे जैसा प्रकाश मेहरोत्रा ने किया है, जैसा केरल में किया है या और जगह किया है? यही से सभी निर्देश आप उनको देते हैं। इन सब झगड़ों की जड़ में आप को जाना होगा। जड़ है दल बदल। मैं शेख अब्दुल्ला साहब को धन्यवाद देता हूँ—उन के साथ किसी बात में हमारा कोई मतभेद हो सकता है—और साथ ही साथ वहां की विधान सभा को भी देता हूँ कि उन्होंने दल बदल विधेयक वहां बना दिया है। आप को ऐसा विधेयक लाने में क्या परेशानी है? जनता पार्टी ने नहीं लाया यह आप रोज कहते हैं। क्या पांच साल तक इसी तरह से कहते रहेंगे? उन्होंने गलत काम किया तो आप भी गलत काम करते रहेंगे? उन्हीं के पद चिन्हों पर चलते रहेंगे? ऐसा विधेयक आप ने बनाया तो आया राम गया राम का मसला हल हो जाएगा, न केरल में लोग इधर से उधर जाएंगे और न बिहार और यू.पी० में। आपकी समस्या बहुत कुछ हल हो जाएगी। शायद आप चाहते हैं कि जब तक आप को फायदा हो रहा है, इस प्रवृत्ति पर रोक क्यों लगाई जाए। यह बात नहीं होनी चाहिए।

अब मैं राजनीतिक हत्याओं की तरफ इशारा करना चाहता हूँ। जत्थेदार संतोख सिंह की हत्या हुई, लाला जगत नारायण की हुई, पचासों राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ताओं की हुई। यह तो आप मानेंगे कि पिछले दो सालों से राजनीतिक हत्याओं का बड़ा जोर हो गया है। आपका जो मायका है पंजाब वहां कितने जोर से मूवमेंट चल रहा है इसको आप देखें। बम फेंक कर सैकड़ों आदमियों को मार दिया गया है। आप की रिपोर्ट में है कि बम फटने से बहुत से आदमी मारे

गए। गोलियों से लोग मारे गए। आप के और दरबारा सिंह जी के बीच का झगड़ा है फिर चाहे उस को आप खालिस्तान मूवमेंट कह लें या बमबाजी कह लें। कृपया अपने बीच के झगड़े को खत्म करें। कृपया एक हो जाएं। आप हम सब को एक होने की सलाह देते हैं। कम से कम आप दोनों तो एक हो ही सकते हैं।

डकैतियों की यह हालत है कि बैंक, पोस्ट आफिस, रेलें लूटी जा रही हैं। हम अगर कहते थे कि मिंडर साहब को हटाओ, दिल्ली में वह बड़ा जूनियर आदमी है तो आप कहते थे नहीं हटायेंगे। जत्थेदार संतोख सिंह को हत्या हुई तो आप ने उस को सीधे हरियाणा भेज दिया। हमारी बात सही थी या नहीं? हम कहते थे कि अंतुले साहब को हटाओ तो आप ने नहीं हटाया। लेकिन जब हाईकोर्ट के जज ने कह दिया तो आप ने हटा दिया। जब हम कहते थे तो आप का जवाब होता था कि विरोधी पक्ष के लोग हमारे काम में बाधा डालते हैं। चूंकि वह बहुत प्यारे थे इसलिए आपने उन को एक सर्वशक्तिमान कार्पोरेशन का चेयरमैन बना दिया। हम कहें तो गलत, आप कहें तो सही, यह कहाँ का तर्क है?

जेलों को आप लें। उत्तर प्रदेश में हालत यह है कि कांस्टेबल को वार्डर से ज्यादा तनखाह मिलती है। कांस्टेबल खाली पकड़ कर लाता है लेकिन जो यह देखता है कि जेल से वह भागने न पाए, उस की वह रक्षा करता है, उस को उस से कम तनखाह मिलती है। असिस्टेंट जेलर को कानूनगो से भी कम तनखाह मिलती है। इन सब बातों की आप को जांच करनी चाहिये।

इस पर धब्बा, उस पर धब्बा, इसने स्मॉलिंग किया है, उस ने स्मॉलजर्ज का साथ दिया है, ऐसी बहुत सी बातें कही गई हैं। लेकिन मैं केवल मारुति लिमिटेड पर जो गुप्ता कमीशन की रिपोर्ट है और जो लाइब्रेरी में

रखा है उसका ही जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ। उस पर आप ने कोई व्यू नहीं लिया। आप उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को पढ़ लीजिये और उस पर कार्यवाही चालू करा दीजिये तो सारे के सारे स्कैंडल उस के आगे ढक जायेंगे और वही सामने उभर कर आयेगा। जिस में पक्षपात, भ्रष्टाचार और नियमों की अवहेलना और दबाव का इस से बड़ा उदाहरण हिन्दुस्तान में और कोई नहीं हो सकता।

“लहर लहर पर कगारों की नजर टेढ़ी है,
कली सुमन पर बहारों की नजर टेढ़ी है।
कैसे पहुंचेगी यह डोली पिया के देश
भोली दुलहन पर कहारों की नजर टेढ़ी है।
खुलस देख कर रहबर की दिलनवाजी का,
दुआयें मांग रहा हूँ राहजन के लिये।

श्री चन्द्र पाल शंभूजी : (हाथरस) :
सभापति महोदय, गृह मंत्रालय की मांगों का मैं सन्तर्भन करता हूँ। जब से इस देश की बागडोर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में आयी है, जब से लोक प्रिय सरकार बनी है, इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था में सुधार हुआ है विदेशी मुद्रा अर्जित करने प्रतिशत बढ़ है और विदेशों में हमारे सम्बन्ध मजबूत हुए हैं और मधुर हुए हैं। खाद्यान्न के मामले में आत्म निर्भर हुए हैं और किसानों को उनकी उपज का उचित मूल्य दिलाना हमारी सरकार की विशेष उपलब्धि है। कहने का मतलब यह है कि जनता शासन में इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था जो चरमराकर गिर पड़ी थी उसको पुनः उठाकर आगे बढ़ाकर हमारी सरकार ने जो बेमिसाल कायम की है उसके लिये मैं सरकार और अपनी नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को धन्यवाद दिये बगैर नहीं रहूंगा।

विरोध पक्ष के लोगों की बात मैं कल से सुन रहा हूँ। ऐसा चश्मा लगा

[श्री चन्द्र पाल शैलानः]

कर बैठे हैं कि सरकार की उपलब्धियों पर उन्होंने कोई प्रकाश नहीं डाला है, और उन्हीं बातों को उजागर किया जो न तो जनहित में है और न देशहित में है। ला एण्ड आर्डर पर उनको ज्यादा परेशानी है। मेरा आरोप है कि आज विरोधी दल के लोग इस देश में वह स्थिति पैदा कर रहे हैं जो उन्होंने 1975 और 1976 में की थी। विद्यार्थियों के आन्दोलन को भड़काया, मजदूरों के आन्दोलनों को भड़काया, फौज में विद्रोह करने की चेष्टा की गई, पुलिस को भड़काया, वही स्थिति आज इस देश में पैदा कर रहे हैं। विरोधी पक्ष के लोग जो उनको नहीं करना चाहिये, वही कर रहे हैं।

केरल और असम में जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ है इसके लिये सरकार गृह मंत्री को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ की परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए बड़ी सूझ-बूझ का उन्होंने परिचय दिया है। विरोध पक्ष का काम विरोध करना है और करना भी चाहिए। लेकिन जो निर्माण के काम हैं उनमें उनको सरकार की नीतियों के साथ सहयोग करके चलना चाहिए। ला एण्ड आर्डर की स्थिति के संबंध में उन्होंने सरकार को दोषी ठहराया है और कहा है कि इसके लिए कांग्रेस सरकार जिम्मेदार है। यहाँ पर जातीयता और साम्प्रदायिकता के दंगों की बातें हुई हैं। मैं अलीगढ़ का रहने वाला हूँ, मैं विरोधी दल के लोगों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जनता शासन में ठीक एक वर्ष तक अलीगढ़ कर्फ्यू के अन्धकार में क्यों डूबा रहा? जो लोग रोज मेहनत करके खाना खाते हैं, रोज कुआँ खोद कर पानी पीते हैं, वह लोग अलीगढ़ छोड़-छोड़कर दूसरी जगह चले गये। वहाँ के रिकशा चलाने

वाले, मजदूरी करने वाले, इमारतें बनाने वाले मेहनत करने वाले वहाँ से चले गये। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये साम्प्रदायिक दंगे अभी भी समाप्त नहीं हुए हैं। जात-पात के दंगे अभी भी समाप्त नहीं हुए हैं। लेकिन हमारी सरकार और हमारा नेतृत्व आज सक्षम है, वह इस काबिल है कि जहाँ पर इस तरह के दंगे होते हैं, आग भड़काई जाती है, उन पर तुरन्त काबू पा लेती है।

अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति पर होने वाले जुल्म और अत्याचारों के बारे में हमारा विरोध-पक्ष, ऐसा महसूस होता है कि बहुत दुखी और परेशान हैं। इस मुल्क में जातीयता, ऊँच-नीच और छोटे बड़े की भावना एक अर्थ से चली आ रही है, लेकिन मेरा आरोप है कि इस मुल्क में 1977 से पहले जातीयता के नाम पर कभी-कभी ही दंगे हुआ करते थे कभी-कभी हरिजनों पर अत्याचार हुआ करते थे, छुट-पुट घटनाएँ हुआ करती थीं लेकिन हरिजनों की सामूहिक हत्या करना, घर जलाना, उन्हें बेघर करना, उनकी स्त्रियों को नंगा करना, यह सब जनता के शासन से ही शुरू हुआ है और यह अभी भी चला आ रहा है। इस बारे में मैं चन्द मुझाव देना चाहता हूँ।

मैं जानी जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस मुल्क में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोगों का बहुत बड़ी संख्या है, वह इस देश की आबादी का बहुत बड़ा अंग है। मैं यह कहे बिना नहीं रह सकता कि इस देश के निर्माण में, आगे बढ़ाने में, श्रम-शक्ति देने में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोगों का बहुत बड़ा हाथ योगदान रहा है। स्वयं मैं एक शोषित समाज से आता हूँ। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप इनकी

समस्याओं को बड़े गौर से देखें। मैं पहले बार इस पार्लियामेंट में सन् 1971 में आया था और तभी से बराबर यह मांग दोहराता आ रहा हूँ कि जब इस देश में पशु-पालन, मुर्गीपालन, मछली-पालन और सूअर पालन के लिए अलग-अलग मंत्रालय हो सकते हैं तो देश के शिडयूल्ड कास्ट और शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब्ज की इतनी समस्याएँ होती हुए भी उनके लिए अलग मंत्रालय क्यों नहीं बनाया जाता है? मेरा निवेदन है कि इन लोगों की समस्याओं को देखते हुए सन् 1971 से चली आ रही मेरी मांग को ध्यान में रखते हुए शीघ्र ही एक अलग मंत्रालय इसके लिए स्थापित करने की कोशिश करें।

आज 35 साल की आजादी के बाद भी शिडयूल्ड कास्ट और शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोगों का रिजर्वेशन, जो कि संविधान की एक देन है, कांग्रेस सरकार की एक देन है, वह अभी तक पूरा नहीं हुआ है क्लास - I और क्लास - II की नौकरियों में नाम-मात्र के लिए रिजर्वेशन है। मेरा निवेदन है कि संविधान की धारा 335 में जो व्यवस्था है कि सूटे-बिल कैंडीडेट नहीं मिलते हैं, इसमें आप संशोधन करें। जब इस देश का संविधान शिडयूल्ड कास्ट के व्यक्ति बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर बना सकते हैं इस देश की महार रैजीमेंट के लोग विदेशी हमले के वक्त अपना शौर्य दिखा सकते हैं, बहादुरी दिखा सकते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इन नौकरियों के लिये भी उपयुक्त लोग आज देश में मौजूद हैं।

जब यहाँ देहली कांड की बहस हुई थी, उस वक्त भी मैंने कहा था इसकी व्यापक जांच कराइये। इस देश में जो विदेशी एजेन्सीज काम कर रही हैं, जातीयता और साम्प्रदायिकता में विश्वास करने

वाले जो लोग हैं, जो पार्टियाँ हैं उनका इन दंगों और हरिजनों के सामूहिक कत्लेआम में कोई हाथ तो नहीं है? ऐसे लोगों की जांच कराइये।

16.00 hrs.

शिडयूल्ड कास्ट और शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए उन्हें उद्योग-धंधे खोलने के लिए सहायता दी जाए, उन्हें तरह-तरह के लाइसेंस और परमिट दिए जाएँ और उनके पढ़े-लिखे बच्चों को सब प्रकार की आवश्यक सुविधाएँ दी जाएँ।

इस देश में जातिवाद का उन्मूलन तभी हो सकता है, जब सरकार अंतर्जातीय विवाहों को प्रोत्साहन दे। जो लोग अंतर्जातीय विवाह करें सरकार उन्हें नौकरियों और उद्योग-धंधों में प्रेफरेंस दे।

इस देश में ऐसे बहुत से मन्दिर हैं, जहाँ करोड़ों और अरबों रुपयों का चढ़ावा चढ़ता है। मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार वहाँ पर अपने अधिकारियों को बिठाए और वहाँ पर जो चढ़ावा आता है, उसको सरकारी खजाने में जमा करे और उसको शिडयूल्ड कास्ट और शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के वेलफेयर, कल्याण, पर खर्च करे।

हमारी नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, ने जो नया बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम दिया है, उसके अन्तर्गत इस देश के दबे, पिछड़े, दलित, शोषित लोगों के उत्थान के लिए, उन्हें आगे बढ़ाने के लिए कई कार्यक्रम रखे गए हैं। उसके लिए मैं उन्हें पुनः बधाई देता हूँ। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि इस नये-बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम को कार्यान्वित करने से समाज के दलित, शोषित सर्वहारा वर्ग की स्थिति में जल्दी सुधार होगा।

SHRI ERA ANBARASU (Chengalpatu): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had an opportunity of listening to the speeches of some of the eminent, specially, the Opposition party leaders. But I find, they were only highlighting the law and order situation in those States where the Congress party is ruling. They have failed to point out the law and order situation prevailing in other States specially in Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. I consider, their arguments were one-sided and they were not fair in advancing their arguments to bring out the actual position of law and order problems in the country.

I am very particular about the law and order situation prevailing in Tamil Nadu. I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister to the statistics during the time of Congress rule specially when Kamraj was the Chief Minister. If you go through the statistics, it will be shocking to know that in the past few years murders, dacoities, robberies, riotings, thefts, etc. have increased manifold. Till 1975, that is, during the Congress regime, the number of murders was 907, dacoities 21, robberies 170, riotings 3018 and thereafter, the present situation, in Tamil Nadu is really very shocking. The number of crimes committed during 1979 in Madras city alone was 2,173.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How does it come within the Home Ministry Demands?

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: It comes under "law and order". I got the particulars only from the Home Ministry. I would like to point out another set of statistics which shows how the law and order problem has affected—Tamil Nadu. The No. of murders 19,654—this is according to the report in the 1st quarter of 1980. In the report of the fourth quarter of 1979 ending 31.12.79 it comes to 18,056. So actually it is a very alarming situation and there is no law or order in Tamil Nadu. Virtually it is a Police State. I can cite a number of instances as to how Tamil Nadu is being ruled not by the representatives of the people but by the Police.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do you want to confine your entire speech to Tamil Nadu—I do not think.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: Only for a few minutes I will talk about Tamil Nadu. Referring to the law and order in Tamil Nadu I would like to go to the other aspects of Home Ministry also.

The politics of violence and murder has become the order of the day in Tamil Nadu. A series of communal clashes have taken place. You might have observed in the daily columns of papers communal incidents in Kanyakumari, Ramanathapuram, North Arcot District, Kaveripakkam Tirupattur, villupuram, and Meenakshipuram which led to a mass conversion from Hinduism to Islam. It is a very alarming situation and it is really a danger to be poor in Tamil Nadu. Only the poor people are the victims of the Police, especially the Harijans and the weaker sections of the society.

I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister to the Paul Commission report which was leaked out by the former Chief Minister, Dr. Kalaigarn Karunanidhi. Just because he was able to bring out the anomalies of the administration, his house was raided, he was attacked, his son-in-law, a respectable member of the Rajya Sabha was arrested and his entire family was brutally attacked by the Police. That is the condition and treatment given even to VIPs. Then you just imagine what will be the fate of others.

All the telephones are being tapped. I would like to bring to the attention of the Home Minister. There is one DIG, Police in Tamil Nadu.** He is tutored and trained..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Starting from DIG, you will go to SP and then DSP and so on.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: I will not go. This particular instance I wanted to bring to the notice of the Home Minister. Telephones of MPs and MLAs are being tapped. He is tutored in this way that even the Home Minister's telephone will be tapped one day. This is the modus

**Not recorded.

operandi they are adopting and this is the treatment we are given in Tamil Nadu.

I would like to point out another incident. Mr Muthukumaran an hon. Member of this House, when he went to Madras, was attacked. There was a big gathering in Madras at the Meenambakkam airport to receive the great actor Sivaji Ganesan when he returned to Madras after becoming a Member of Parliament. When he went there, the Police brutally attacked the people who were there to receive him, opened fire and lathicharged and a number of people were attacked and they sustained injuries. This is the treatment given to VIPs.

I would like to bring to the hon. Home Minister's notice the incident where a minor Harijan girl at Madurantakam in my constituency was raped and killed. She was rather hanged to death in the AIADMK MLA's office. But for my intervention it would have been suppressed. When I approached the hon. Prime Minister, she was kind enough to immediately grant Rs. 5000 to the bereaved family. That cheque was presented by our hon. Home Minister. He knows this. If it had not been brought to public, the murder case would have been suppressed.

I received a letter from the Home Minister recently that the Government of Tamilnadu have taken a decision that the death of Gnana Soundari was one of suicide. It is a shame. Whatever may be the party, be it the Congress, the AIADMK or DMK, we should hang our heads in shame when such an incident is taking place in our country every now and then. That is why I request the Home Minister once again to issue an order to take up the case by the CBI. This should be probed. Something should be done to do justice to the victim.

Again I bring to the notice of this House about the death of one Subramania Pillai, an official, an appraiser at Thiruchunkodu. He was, after all, an official. He went to examine the jewels in the Temple. But the AADMK people in the form of trustees murdered him. But, for the intervention of the ex-Chief Minister,

Kalaingar Karunanidhi, the same fate would have been met in this case too. still it is under investigation. This is what is going on in Tamilnadu. My humble submission would be that this case also be immediately referred to the CBI for investigation. One more minute and I shall conclude.

In Tamil Nadu, a few people, particularly, the members belonging to the AIADMK are so presumptuous to think that they are the sole custodians of the interests of Tamil language and Tamil people.

The AIADMK people, especially, the Minister Shri Kalimuthu in the Tamilnadu Ministry pointed out that the Congress Party was not for Tamilians. They do not do anything for the development of Tamil language. I want to say that no less a person than those in the AIADMK. We in the Congress Party, are for the people of Tamilnadu. In fact, our Prime Minister has recently constituted a Committee under the leadership of Shri Kamalapati Tripathi to go into the works of Subramania Bharati and to translate his works.

*The fact that Annai (mother Indira Gandhi, our hon. Prime Minister, has not only dedicated herself to the good of Tamilnadu but also of the entire country which must be made known to the entire world. The solemn assurance of our late lamented Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru that Hindi will not be imposed on non-Hindi speaking people should be re-emphasised. Only the Congress party can do that. To that effect the Constitution should be amended and it can be done only by our Congress Party. That is why I have shifted from English to Tamil.

We should ensure that our Party is for the Tamil people.

*Before the commencement of this session of Lok Sabha, the MPs. from Opposition Branches were vociferously demanding an assurance from our Prime Minister and also from other Minister that there would be no change in the form of Government in our country... Why not? Why should they coerce her or

[Shri Era Ankarasu]

make an undue influence on our Prime Minister to make such a statement. The times are changing; when the system is not suitable to our country, let us come forward with a different system which will be given to the people of India, which is not for any single individual.

*When thousands and crores of people are living below the poverty line and when they are on the verge of extinction due to hunger and starvation, if we cannot eradicate the scourge of poverty, what is the use of democratic form of Government? You should ponder over this problem... Democracy has become a mockery, especially, in the hands of the unscrupulous political parties in the Opposition... Till yesterday, elections in Kerala were the cry of a few people. The dissolution of Kerala Assembly was the recurring demand of the same people. But after the actual dissolution of Kerala Assembly, the very same people are condemning that action. With such people committed to play a double role, how can democracy take deep roots in the country? In fact, democracy has become a play thing in the hands of these people. Whatever be the system of the Government, it must be for the good of the people. Let it be a Presidential form of government or any form of government. If it is good for the country why should we not switch over. After all nobody can take away India and run away to Russia or America. Elections will be there. If people want let us have any form of Government. Why should you be afraid? People are behind Mrs. Indira Gandhi whereas you have not been able to unite together.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: Sir, to conclude I would like to stress about Mandal Commission report. Mandal Commission has submitted its report. Government is more particular about protecting the interests of the minorities but who will come forward to protect the interests of majorities in Tamil Nadu like Vaniakula-

kshatrias. Mukkalathores, Barbers, Fishermen, etc. These communities live below poverty line. There is nobody to look after their interests. All their struggle before the Government of AIDMK has gone to the winds. Unfortunately** has become the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The word is to be expunged from the record.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU: I am talking of Mandal Commission. These Opposition parties want to politicise this issue and take advantage of delay in laying the Mandal report on the Table of the House. We should lay and implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission report. I am told on 5th of next month there is going to be a big rally by Vaniakulakshatrias who are agitating for their rights. Therefore, before the Opposition parties take advantage of this thing I would request the Home Minister to lay the Report on the Table of the House and implement its recommendations.

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to welcome the Report submitted by the hon. Home Minister which contains many facts. The Report has been prepared without any bias. Even when they have given the details they have frankly admitted the shortcomings also. Therefore, Sir, as a responsible member of this House I welcome this Report.

Sir, as far as law and order is concerned my previous speaker has stated many things about Tamil Nadu but, Sir, law and order is being dealt with both by the Centre and the States. Both have got equal responsibility. Unfortunately in our polity—particularly in federal polity—particularly in federal polity—we have not been allowed to discuss about the incidents which are taking place in various States. Some of our friends have stated that the Home Ministry is not functioning. I would like to appeal to them and say this: The function of the Home Ministry should not be taken as a

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

function on party basis. It is not so. The function of the Home Ministry is to look after the society as a whole, the country as a whole. Some of our friends have said that it is anti-people, it is anti-workers, it is anti-working class movement and so on and so forth. Sir, one should not take out a particular compartment of this Ministry and from that point of view, one should not proceed to complain that the functioning of the entire Ministry is anti-people and all that. That should not be the attitude. Sir, there may be some shortcomings here and there in some particular areas. As responsible Members of Parliament we must give our concrete suggestions how these shortcomings can be removed in the future. As Members of Parliament of this House, it is our duty to give such suggestions as we think fit.

So far as the North Eastern Region of the country is concerned, I appreciate the move of the Home Minister in having earmarked more than Rs. 340 crores in the 6th Five-Year Plan for the development of this particular area. There are many irrigation projects, many hydel projects, and many provisions made for building roads and other development works. Considerable amounts have been allotted. I would like to appeal, at the same time, to the Home Minister, that the feeling of the Assamese people should be respected. Some sort of fear is there in the minds of the people of Assam that in the near future or in the course of 10 or 15 years Assamese may become minority in their own State. In those conditions, the Government of India should try to remove the fears and apprehensions in their minds.

There is another point which our friends should appreciate about the functioning of the Home Ministry. We the opposition Members are there in the Consultative Committee. Even otherwise, opposition leaders have been invited by the Prime Minister and Home Minister from time to time for discussion; we have been consulted by the Government; we also give some suggestions. We the leaders know how much pains the Government

took to solve the Assam issue. We all know that. What did the students and other organisations in Assam do? When something was done, when some settlement was about to be arrived at, what did they do? They just presented some other memorandum demanding more and more, increasing their demands, and this thing put hurdle in the way of an amicable settlement.

Regarding the demand of Khalistan, I must congratulate the Home Minister for having nipped it in the bud. Now it has been shelved once for all. But there are some persons, some associates, who have to be dealt with.

Another important problem is about Mizoram. Laldanga of course has been allowed to travel; but I must request the Government to take them, to arrest them and take proper steps in these matters. The demand of the MNF party has not been accepted by the Government. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, our friends have stated about the situation in the two States, Kerala and Assam. Both the States have been brought under the President's rule. The President's rule has been imposed in Kerala not because the Central Government wanted to impose the President's rule. The Kerala Government had fallen. Actually, the fall was invited by themselves. They disintegrated and they quarrelled each other. One Member of the United Front Government left the party and so automatically they had to go out of office. Sir, they said that the Government there was continuing because of the Speaker's casting vote. That was the argument advanced by our friends. Again, one hon. Member defected from the ruling party and joined the opposition party. Now, the Opposition party's strength became 71 and they demanded that they should be allowed to form the Government. Now, if the Opposition party is allowed in the name of United Left Front with the CPI(M) leadership, even then this Government would have survived by the casting vote of the Speaker.

AN HON. MEMBER: How?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dandapani, you don't reply to their queries.

SHRI C. T. DANDAPANI: They have not tolerance when they feel inconvenienced. (Interruptions). Mr. Karunakaran, then then Chief Minister of Kerala, advised the Governor that the Assembly may be dissolved. Accordingly, that has been done by the Governor. The same was the case with the Assam Government. There, when the Janata Party was in power with the support of CPI and CPI (M) the Government fell because the CPI and the CPI(M) withdrew their support. Then the Janata Government in Assam had to go out of office. Again the Congress-I Party formed the Government there with the support of CPI and other like-minded parties. Timur became the Chief Minister. But again the CPI and other parties withdrew their support and the Government fell. Now, the CPI and the CPI(M) parties wanted to form Government there. But is there any guarantee that other parties will not withdraw, their support in the future? So, taking all these things into consideration, it was thought that here was no other way except to impose the President's rule in Assam. That is why the Central Government intervened in this matter and they recommended imposition of President's rule there.

Then our friends have said about the quarrels amongst themselves in those States where the President's rule has been imposed.

Now on the question whether Article 356 can be used or not, I would say many political parties here admit that they want the existence of Article 356 in the Constitution. When you want a particular Article on the Constitution, how can we prevent a Government not to enforce that particular law? Therefore, there is no argument at all that the Central Government is purposely using Article 356.

Another important matter about this subject is component programme for Harijans. Of course, the money for this programme has not been properly utilised. I would request the Hon. Minister to

have a monitoring system whether those amounts earmarked for this particular purpose are utilised properly or not.

As one of the Hon. Member has said here and we know particularly in Tamil Nadu, Harijans have been harassed. They are being subjected to atrocities in many places. Their conditions have not been improved. An analysis in a paper which I would read reveals this:

"Social atrocities against the Harijans in the villages were on the increase. The police always ignore the complaints is preferred by the victims at the behest of the landlords. Harijans are not allowed to draw water from the wells used by the high Caste Hindus. Abject poverty and unemployment and social deprivation has led to the frustration and discontentment among the farm labourers."

This is the condition in Tamil Nadu.

According to the Union Home Ministry's study the rural neglect is at its worst in Tamil Nadu. This has been stated in a Monograph on Civil and Human Rights of Agricultural Labourers in the State. According to the authors of the Monograph, Mr. K. Manoharan a writer and a Shastri and Mr. Ramachandran, a journalist, the study says that the bonded labour is widely practised and the indebted farm workers have been pledging their teen-aged sons and daughters with the landlords. This is the condition in Tamil Nadu. But, as they said, the police do not take any action when they make complaint. That also has been stated in another analysis which I would like to quote:

"It is becoming a dangerous business to a poor man in Tamil Nadu where most Police crimes are perpetrated against the life and dignity of the poorer sections of the population. Tamil Nadu is the only State in the Indian Union, where you can be charge-sheeted for sedition, where you talk of the overthrow of the police and the landlords. It is not even necessary to say these words, for the police will tell the Magistrate that they were stating

this; that this constituted treason and sedition; and the victim will be refused bail. Neither the first Information Report, nor the post mortem reports are public documents."

This is the condition in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, I request the Hon. Minister to go into the details of the activities of the Police Department as well as the sufferings of the Harijans.

I am thankful to the Home Minister for having constituted the Ray Commission of Inquiry under the Commission of Inquiry Act. Ray Commission was constituted by the Central Government, because the Kerala Government, the Marxist Government and the AIADMK Government in Tamil Nadu colluded with each other. They squandered several crores of rupees, particularly the public exchequer for their political purposes. This we know Sir. The CPM Fund raiser in Kerala was also arrested in this case. We gave a Memorandum to the Prime Minister saying that in addition to the Spirit Scandal, two more scandals were there, of which one related to the Blending and Bottling case. That is an important case. We said that the terms of reference should be extended to include the Blending and Bottling case, in which many malpractices and corrupt practices have taken place. That also should be covered by the Ray Commission. When our Prime Minister wrote a letter to the State Government and wanted their comments, immediately the State Government appointed another Commission, so that the Centre need not and could not intervene in this matter.

In the same way, Indian-made foreign liquor licences have been given to many, by getting several crores of rupees for their party funds. When we stated all this, the Home Ministry wrote to the State Government. I would like to request the Centre that the Ray Commission's terms of reference should be extended to cover two important points.

There is a news item which has not been published in Delhi. It has been published in 'Indian Express.' (*Interruptions*)

Why are the CPI friends disturbing? I will recommend to MGR to give more to them. If their share is not sufficient, I can tell him.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will MGR accept your recommendation?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: In their case, he will accept.

A former I.G. of Police who was formerly working in the Cabinet Secretariat at the Centre gave an affidavit before the Ramamurthi Commission stating: "My nephew gave Rs. 10.5 lakhs to the brother of***(*Interruptions*)—elder brother; he has got only one brother—to get a licence in Madras city. After taking the money—then it was brought to the notice of the Chief Minister also—the licence was not issued. When the matter was brought before the former I.G., he went to the Chief Minister and demanded the money; the money was not returned.**"

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't give the name (*Interruptions*)**

AN HON. MEMBER: Are all these allegations made after giving prior notice? (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dhandapani is concluding. Allow him to continue. The name should not be recorded.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: He filed an affidavit before the Ramamurthi Commission. The Commission has been constituted by M. G. Ramachandran himself.

This news item appeared in 'Indian Express' to-day. It may appear tomorrow in Delhi. Even the former I.G. of Police has exposed the corrupt practices of the Tamil Nadu Government. So, I

***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**Not recorded.

[Prof. C. T. Dhandapani]

would request the Government to take note of this matter.

Another important matter: Our Mr. Niren Ghosh has spoken about the unity of the Opposition. CPM is ready to seek the support of BJP also, to overthrow this Government; and they want to have a coalition Government again. The country has seen a coalition Government in 1977. (*Interruptions*) In 1977, they have seen it. They want one more coalition Government at the Centre. I don't think that the people of this country will be foolish enough to accept it—like the one in Kerala. Therefore, I would like to quote Mr. James Callaghan. Mr. James Callaghan said about the coalition government. "A coalition Government is like a mule. It has no pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity." So, our friends are in the process of searching a mule again to instal somewhere else. Therefore, this kind of effort certainly will not help this country.

Before I conclude, I would like to say something about one important matter. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Sarkaria Commission!

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: I will tell you about two commissions (*Interruptions*). If you allow me, I can say about many commissions. (*Interruptions*) One commission was constituted by CPM against CPI, that is called 'A. N. Mulla Commission. Another commission was constituted by CPI against CPM; that is called 'Velu Pillai Commission.' Its contents are like this. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): When CPI and CPM merge, these commissions will also be merged.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: The findings are like this: that** got Rs. 50 lakhs from the trade of rice and she gave them to ** for the party purpose. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. RUP CHAND PAL (Hooghly): I am on a point of order. Some very baseless and motivated (*Interruptions*)

SHRI C. T. DANDAPANI: I take the responsibility. I am ready to prove it. (*Interruptions*) I take the responsibility.

A. N. Mulla Commission Report and Velu Pillai Commission Report are available in the Parliament Library. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. RUP CHAND PAL: Serious allegations against a person** are made and the name is associated with** who was a respected member of this House. As you know, there was a **Trust. A Trust and a Memorial were started with the help of every section of this House in the memory of **. Now, such an allegation is being made which is an aspersion on the memory of that great leader who was a member of this House as also Minister of Kerala, who is a very respected person in our country. If any such allegation is to be made, then prior notice will have to be given with all the documents.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): Another commission can be constituted. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is mentioning about the commissions.

PROF. RUP CHAND PAL: For the benefit of the members, the remarks should be expunged. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI: I am on a point of order. No, he has mentioned the name of** (*Interruptions*)

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Everything is given in the reports. I take the responsibility. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. NEELALHITHADASAN NADAR (Trivandrum): Have you gone through the reports? *(Interruptions)* Have you got copies of the reports? *(Interruptions)*

PROF. RUP CHAND PAL: These are baseless allegations and should be expunged. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI A. NEELALHITHADASAN NADAR: Where is the report? There is no report. *(Interruptions)*

PROF. RUP CHAND PAL: I want to know whether you are going to expunge these remarks or not. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: You take your seat first.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You take your seat. When I said I shall go through the record, why do you not hear me, Mr. Giri? You are not hearing me.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You take your seat. You are not hearing. I shall go through the proceedings. Mr. Dhandapani you conclude your speech.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: That is there in the report.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASON NADAR: On which page? On which page of the report is it there? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Is he to be educated by us?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall go through the records, Mr. Nadar. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: This is the height of ignorance!

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall go through the records. What has been said, I shall see to it. Mr. Dhandapani, please continue. Minister will intervene after that.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: I request Mr. Dhandapani not to close the name of** with anybody else's *(Interruptions)* I ask him to withdraw it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have already said, I shall go through the records.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: What shall I do? What can I do? It is in the report. I have referred to it. It is not my fault.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You kindly conclude.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Before I conclude, I would like to say that as other friends have stated here, of course, this country is multi-lingual. The country has different cultures. No doubt about it, but there must be a cementing force in this country. My friends have stated about the communal riots, particularly in Tamil Nadu and Kanyakumari district. The Kanyakumari District riots took place because of the R.S.S. menace and their activities in Kanyakumari.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE: (Rajapur): This he can run away with; no B.J.P. man is here.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Though it is a law and order problem, the matter pertains to the minority section. I would request the Home Ministry to send a special team to assess the situation and to protect the interests of the minority community. By saying this, I conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Minister of State.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR): Sir, I am grateful to all those hon. Members who have so far participated in this debate on the Demand of the Home Ministry. I

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

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have found that so far 17 hon. Members have participated. You will realise that it is difficult, although we have noted all the good suggestions that the hon. Members have put forth, to give a reply within the short time. I have noted all the points. Therefore, I will only deal with the few specific points and I am thankful to my friend Shri Dhandapani—he has made two very important points, one is about our North-Eastern region, and secondly he has talked about Assam and Kerala. So far as the imposition of the President's Rule in Kerala and Assam is concerned, I have nothing else to say because he himself has explained very well that because there was no other alternative but to do so, President's rule was imposed in those two States, Kerala and Assam.

So far as the North-Eastern region is concerned, as has mentioned and as other hon. Members have also very rightly mentioned, this area of ours, the North-Eastern part of our country is a beautiful part of our country, no doubt, but there is also trouble there. It is also a fact. And it is also a fact that the North-Eastern part has been disturbed for quite a long time. At the same time, I would remind the House through you that due to the vision and leadership of our leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, peace is now being maintained in this area. With the signing of the Shillong Agreement in 1975, in Nagaland there is at least some maintenance of peace and no trouble is there.

So far as Mizoram is concerned, every effort has been made by the Government to arrive at an agreement through discussions. It is unfortunate that the MNF have persisted in their intransigence. Since we found that under the cover of talks, the MNF were continuing in their efforts to build up their strength and with their secessionist activities, no useful purpose could have been served in continuing the talks. MNF and their allied bodies have since been declared unlawful. The Government is determined to see that anti-national elements are not allowed to question the integrity of the country or to disturb the peace and be impediments in the development of the area. Exactly for these reasons, MNF have been declared

unlawful, just to bring peace to these areas and I am glad to say that after MNF had been declared unlawful, peace has been prevailing there. We have certain reports that MNF are also trying to activate themselves, but we have taken sufficient precautions and we have geared up our intelligence in those areas and also our security forces are active to maintain peace in that region.

Manipur has seen large scale violence since 1978. As a result of the vigorous combined operations by the security forces, the leadership and the bulk of the rank and file of the extremist elements have been killed or apprehended. So, the situation in Manipur also is under control at the moment.

So far as Assam is concerned, Government have all along been anxious to find a satisfactory solution and have spared no efforts in this direction. If an amicable solution has not been possible up till now, it is not because the Centre is not making efforts towards an amicable solution in Assam. As the House knows, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister have had meetings with opposition leaders and have consulted them. It is also known to the House that two rounds of combined meetings of the representatives of the Government, leaders of opposition and agitation leaders have taken place. The next round is scheduled to be held in Delhi on 7th April, 1982. So, serious and sincere efforts have been made by the Central Government to come to an amicable settlement of this problem and we are continuing with our efforts. We hope through these discussions, there will be some solution of this problem.

The areas in the north-east are sensitive and continue to be so as a small number of misguided youth have been indulging in anti-national activities. The people, by and large, have been remaining peaceful and have been directing their energy to attain higher goals of development and prosperity. The Government on their part have been trying to tackle the problems with utmost restraint. Our resources, energy and efforts have been directed to

create infrastructure for development in the region and to see that the pace of development is stepped up to enable the people to not only to make up the beeway but also to enable them to take a lead on the path of development. Hon. members are aware that we have taken special care to develop infrastructure in those north-eastern areas. I can cite one or two examples of the efforts we are making to develop the North-Eastern region. The development of the north-east is receiving the utmost attention on the part of the Central Government. We are all aware of the fact that due to delayed opening up of these remote and hilly tracts the north-east as a whole lagged behind the rest of the country in infrastructural facilities. It is with this end in view that the North Eastern Council was set up in 1971. Uptil now, we have spent over Rs. 150 crores for the development of this region through the North Eastern Council. During the Sixth Five Year Plan the approved outlay for the North Eastern region is Rs. 340 crores. In order to oversee the speedy implementation of all these schemes a Committee of Ministers has been set up to decide things on the spot. This Committee has already met five times.

The aggregate outlay of the States/Union territories in the Sixth Five Year Plan amounts to Rs. 2387 crores which is a step up of 159 per cent over and above the Fifth Plan outlay for 1974—79. With regard to per capita outlays the investment in the North Eastern region is Rs. 1393 as compared to Rs. 872 as national average for the Sixth Five Year Plan. Even in the Fifth Plan period outlays and expenditure figures in the North-East have been far above the national average. Approximately Rs. 200 crores is being spent during the Sixth Plan by the Ministry of Railways for extending broad-gauge lines to Gauhati and Dibrugarh and laying of six new railway lines. I am narrating all this just to tell that we are anxious to develop the North Eastern region which was lagging behind for so long due to historical and geographical reasons. But the pace of development naturally depends upon the maintenance of peace there. If it

remains disturbed, all this development process cannot go on. Basically our effort should be to maintain peace in this region.

Mr. Dhandapani also spoke about communal situation and national integration. I would not like to give any figures. But the communal situation in 1981 showed an overall improvement over 1980. Both in the matter of number of incidents as well as number of deaths the figures for 1981 are less. There is however, no room for taking things for granted. The Government is constantly maintaining vigilance on this front. You will be glad to know that the recent Holi festival has passed off peacefully and I hope that 1982 will show a further improvement.

Mr. Dhandapani has also mentioned about recent clashes in Tamil Nadu. It has caused concern to all of us. The only thing that I would like to say is that the projection of extremist views in any religion is bad. This is what is creating problems. Common disputes like routes of religious processions, playing of loudspeakers and installation of deities or religious flags or crosses, etc. should be resolved amicably amongst the people settling there. After the new Government assumed power in 1980, detailed guidelines running into 93 points covering administrative and other measures to contain communal tension were circulated to various State Governments. Because of this, we are able to contain this disease in society.

17 hrs.

Government is raising three peace-keeping battalions on the Central Reserve Police for handling communal riots and post-riot rehabilitation measures.

The National Integration Council has been revived and its Committees on Education and Communal and Caste Harmony have met. The Standing Committee is to meet shortly. National integration is a steady and continuous effort. It has to be realised. It cannot be achieved overnight. It is a dear ideal and a symbol our secular fight for freedom and of

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the secular history stretching behind it. The State Governments have been requested to evaluate all their activities with a view to promoting national integration.

Mention has also been made about the modernisation of the State police force so that they are able to maintain peace throughout the country. For this purpose, Government have revived the scheme of modernisation of the State police and has decided to invest Rs. 100 crores over a period of ten years from 1980-81.

There has been a lot of criticism of the Essential Services Maintenance Act. Members should appreciate that this is only an enabling Act and the sole intention of the Government is to ensure that the common man is not held to ransom by a mischievous few. It is never the intention of the Government that it should be used everywhere. Outside Assam it has been used only once, in connection with the Electricity Board Engineers' strike in Maharashtra. In no other State has it been utilized. This proves the intention of the Government.

Coming to the National Security Act, the Supreme Court has upheld its constitutional validity and, based on some observations by the Court, we had to issue a notification, specifying the essential services. Its purpose is only to let the potential mischief-mongers to know what services are essential. It is not of our own volition that such a notification was issued. Even during the 19th January *Bandh*, only 47 persons were detained, which shows the restraint exercised by the detaining authorities. The intention of the Government is that the detaining authority should make more effective use of the Act to deal anti-social elements, like boot-leggers, men of the under-world, people who incite communal riots and such other people.

Besides these, one of the other important matters which most of the members raised in this House is the problem of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. It

is quite natural for all of us to show our anxiety about the problems faced by this section of our society, who constitute a large proportion of the population of our country. Government is giving the highest priority in dealing with the section of the population and in improving their social status and economic conditions by adopting various measures since we achieved our independence. I can only say that all these measures we have taken so far and the accelerated programmes that we have initiated now have begun to show results. But, still, there is much more to be done in this field. In this regard, I will mention some of the measures we have taken to accelerate the programme of upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Our Prime Minister herself wrote to the various Chief Ministers on March 20, 1980 conveying the deep concern of the Government of India about the problems of scheduled castes|Scheduled tribes and the high priority attached to the task of their rapid socio-economic development. In the new 20-point programme, which has been announced, Point No. 7 is to "accelerate programme for the development of scheduled castes and tribes". The benefits from schemes and programmes covered by a number of Points under the new 20-point programme can be channelised to the scheduled castes and tribes. Our hon. Home Minister has also written to all the concerned Chief Ministers emphasising the need for efficient implementation of the special component plan for scheduled castes in the context of the new 20-point programme.

To achieve this, a comprehensive integrated strategy has been adopted in the Sixth Plan for the economic and other developments of the scheduled castes. The main strategies that we have adopted are:

- (a) special component plans of the States and the Central Ministries;
- (b) special Central assistance to the special component plans of the States; and
- (c) Scheduled Castes Development Corporations of the States.

The overall objective under the Special Component Plan is to assist the scheduled castes families to substantially improve their income. (*Interruptions.*) In addition, the provisions of the basic service and facilities and of access to opportunities for social and educational development are also to be brought into the Special Component Plans.

The outlays in the Special Component Plans earmarked by the States from the respective State Plans rose to about Rs. 630 crores in 1981-82 from Rs. 528 crores in 1980-81. So, this Special Component Plan is now gearing up and we hope that the various States under the guidelines provided by us would improve their performance and the benefits would go to the scheduled castes.

About the Special Central Assistance to the State Component Plans, the Special Central Assistance has helped in motivating the State Governments to put in larger outlays from their respective State Plans into their respective Special Component Plans. Against an allocation of Rs. 600 crores Special Central Assistance to the Special Component Plans during the Sixth Five Year Plan period, Rs. 100 crores was released during 1980-81. The total provision for such Assistance is Rs. 110 crores for 1981-82 and Rs. 120 crores for 1982-83. Gradually, this is being increased because the States should also have their own capacity, to utilise this amount.

Then, the third point is about the Scheduled Castes Development Corporations of the States. Under this, the Scheduled Castes Development Corporations in the States are envisaged to interface between scheduled castes families and financial institutions in respect of bankable schemes and economic development. The amounts released for this purpose by the Government of India increased substantially from Rs. 50 lakhs in 1978-79 to Rs. 12.24 crores in 1979-80, and to about Rs. 13 crores in 1980-81.

A provision of Rs. 13.25 crores has been provided in 1981-82 and Rs. 13.50 crores in 1982-83. The basic idea about these Scheduled Castes Development Corporations is that they will help individual

members of the Scheduled Caste families to get help from the banks. That is how we are helping the different State Governments.

We are laying more emphasis on educational|economic upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people. I would like to give certain figures to show our anxiety in this regard. For academic year 1980-81, the rates of scholarships as well as income ceiling for eligibility for the award of post-matric scholarships to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students have been revised upward. As against the Central Assistance of Rs. 10.76 crores released during 1980-81 for this scheme, a sum of Rs. 27 crores has been provided in 1981-82. So, the amount is being gradually increased.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): How much for students? How much was last year and how much is it now?

SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR: These figures I have to collect and supply. From the increased amount, it is very clear that the number of scholarships has increased tremendously.

We want to attack the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes so that socially and economically also they become competent to compete with other sections of people in Society.

Exactly in the same way the Government is also trying the tribal problems through the Tribal Sub-Plan approach which was launched in the Fifth Plan, in 1974-75. In the Fifth Plan only Rs. 1000 crores were invested in 16 States and 2 Union Territories under the Tribal Sub Plan approach. It is expected that the investment during the Sixth Plan period, 1980—85, will increase four-fold, that is, between Rs. 4000 crores to Rs. 5000 crores in 17 States and 2 Union Territories. The Tribal Sub-Plan now covers about 75 per cent of Scheduled Tribes in 17 States and 2 Union Territories.

The new 20-point programme lays particular emphasis in regard to acceleration of programme for Scheduled Tribes and

[Shri Nihar Ranjan Laskar]

also to have a monitoring cell. That is also what some hon. Members were referring to. In the Home Ministry, we are setting up a monitoring cell so that they can monitor all these programmes to see how they are going on in various States.

The hon. Members have also made a mention about the representation of SC/ST in various governmental posts and there also they showed anxiety that a proper representation was not there. We are trying our best to see that this gap which is there is filled up. It is our constant effort in this regard and the things are improving. The hon. Members will also be interested to know that the recent trends show that in the IAS, the IPS and some other Central Services, all the vacancies reserved for SC/ST are being filled up by candidates belonging to these communities. It is so definitely because of the constant efforts made by the Government and the things are improving.

Before I conclude, I would like to say that while the activities for the all-round advancement of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been accelerated, the Government are not complacent. We are conscious of the need to continuously step up the effort and it is in this spirit that we are addressing ourselves to this great task.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): While I stand to participate in the debate and discussions on the demands of the Home Ministry, I do so with great anguish and deep anxiety on the worsening law and order situation and the increasing number of communal riots, killings, loot and arson in different parts of the country. I feel that this is not the feeling of myself alone but all right-thinking persons who have got love for their own country. All of them feel deeply disturbed at the prevailing situation in the country.

In the report of the Home Ministry, which is before us it has been said that the situation is improving. Here, in the beginning of the report it is said that the

overall law and order situation in the country during the year remains under control. The same feeling has been expressed just now by our Minister of State for Home Affairs. But I am afraid really the situation is just the opposite.

Actually, 1980 was the worst year. But 1982, as thing shape and as per the situation that exists in the country, I am afraid, is going to be the worst year. Here the Home Ministry has given the following figures. I do not want to mention about 1977, 1978 and 1979. In 1980 the Home Ministry confessed that there has been 427 riots in which 375 persons have been killed and 2838 persons injured. This has been worst year even as per the admission of the Home Ministry. They say that there has been a slight improvement. As far as 1980 is concerned, we can well understand that there has been one riot every day in this country. It is really very serious. In 1981 there were 319 riots in which 196 persons were killed and 2613 persons injured. If we just take this year, are just in the month of March. What has happened in February and what has happened in March is all before you. We have had the Communal riots at Puri, at Sholapur and at Baramati, etc. What is the protection the minorities are getting there? I must be very frank to tell you that on the 31st January our local Secretary of the Poona City Muslim league had informed the Police Commissioner, that the situation in Puna was going to be worse. Again my colleague, Mr Banatwala who is not only Secretary of the Indian Muslim League but also the President of the Maharashtra State Muslim League informed the Government of Maharashtra on the 1st February that the situation was worse and steps have to be taken to arrest the worsening situation... What happened? Nothing was done...

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nijamabad): Sir, how does he know of things that are still to come?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Sir, those who were there in the area, we can understand the situation. Mr. Ahmed Baig, our Secretary was in Puna.

Mr. Banatwala was also at Bombay, Any sensible person can understand and smell the tension that was building up, and if Mr. Reddy cannot understand, I cannot help it. The Government has a big intelligence organisation. They spend Rs. 30 crores on it and if they cannot have that information of the situation and find out what is happening in the country, what is the use? The other day I was talking to the Prime Minister after the Moradabad riots in September, 1980. She was very frank and she admitted that our intelligence is weak. If the intelligence is weak, then who is responsible? Is the minority responsible; Or is the Government responsible? Sir, the harijans are suffering. 960 murders have taken place in 1980-81. The situation is still worsened. More and more such incidents have taken place this year.

As far as Pune, Baramati and Sholapur are concerned. I have to point out that Government has given full freedom to the mischief-makers to have their hey-day. What is happening in our country? Every sensible man can understand that. All the communal forces are coming together under the umbrella of Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Patitabhan; R.S.S. and BJP. Hindu Maha Sabha all of them are there. All these forces are combined together in the name of Viswa Hindu Parishad. It is said that these are the repercussions to what happened in Meenakshipuram last year. You must understand that in Meenakshipuram, the harijans, the scheduled castes, were suppressed for decades; they were humiliated for decades. For dignity and equity, they embraced the Islam. We welcome them. It is their right, Constitutional right to embrace Islam, if they desire to do so without any outside pressure or coercion. What is wrong with that? Why create such disturbances throughout the length and breadth of the country and instigate on this issue? That is my question which has to be answered. They all also talk about foreign money. (Interruptions) Look at the communal riots that took place in Pune, Baramati and Sholapur. The Communal elements there talked about foreign money to

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instigate people. Even the Government machinery talks about the foreign money; the Central Ministers and the States Ministers also talk about it. This is really unfortunate. A few lakhs might have come for the mosques and Madrassa but not a pie for conversions. This I assert, it is very clear from the quotation which I have got here with me from the Regional Director for Scheduled Castes. He very clearly says:

“Neither foreign money nor coercion was used. It is this propaganda which has taken a toll because of the indifference to react by the Government”.

Therefore, this is the situation that is existing today. You must curb this communal and malicious campaign going on here. It is actually affecting the minorities in this country. This should be curbed by Government. But instead of curbing such activities permission is given by Government for taking out procession. Then follow the catastrophe. There is no doubt about this. One has to understand all this the planning and the works operandi of these communal element.

Coming to Kanyakumari, though I do not want to go into details, Mr. Dhandapani has in detail explained the situation existing in Tamil Nadu. The matter will be sub-judice if I speak in detail about Kanyakumari riots because of the judicial enquiry that has been ordered. One thing must be very clear. The riots were started against the Christians at the start and then turned out against the Muslims also. Not only the schools were attacked but the churches were also attacked. That is the situation there. In Kanyakumari—I am sorry to say so—the Vivekanand Memorial has become a centre of R.S.S. activities. The Central Government should know about it. A team of representatives from the Centre should be sent there to make enquiries and to find out the facts. Let the facts come out to show whether I am correct or not and also to help the government to take preventive steps.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Sir, one more thing. This matter of Kanyakumari riot has been discussed in the Rajya Sabha and the hon. Minister Mr. Venkatasubbaiah in reply to Calling Attention said and I quote:

"The clashes between communal and religious groups in Kanyakumari were symptoms of a deeper malady and extremist and communal elements were trying to arouse the people to create such situations."

The Minister admits that the malady is there. Let us ask, therefore, what has the Government done against this malady? Has the Government tried to know the *modus operandi* of such mischief mongers. The communal riots should not be brushed away by saying that it is a law and order problem. The minorities are the special responsibility of the Centre and, therefore, I say when there were symptoms of a deeper malady what did the Government do to understand their *modus operandi* and give the minorities the protection that they deserve. Let me point one example.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Sir, I will take one minute more. In Moradabad the communal riot took place in 1980. The enquiry commission was appointed in 1981 and the enquiry is still going on although nearly two years have elapsed since the incident took place. Sir, Government must act swiftly and effectively so that the situation does not go worse. But the government unfortunately acts slowly. Sir, this the position as far as riots are concerned.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have to conclude now.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Sir, I have got with me the issue of Sunday 14—20 March, 1982. An article here brings out clearly the behaviour of communal elements at Poona I quote:

"So here, ladies and gentlemen, is the story of the incidents (not very violent) that took place before and dur-

ing the fortnight-long campaign organised by the newly 'surgent Vishwa-Hindu Parishad', an organisation whose proclaimed role is the task that Mahatma Gandhi set for himself, but whose managers (hiding behind the portrait of Gandhi) really belong to the school which produced Nathuram Godse."

Further on it says:

"But then he also gave me some literature about the Parishad and its present activities. Among this was a booklet entitled "Conversions! A mortal Danger". Perhaps understandably, there is no information in the booklet detailing who the printer or the publisher of the book might be. And it is here that some of the reformist fervour gets lost in the viciousness of the attack on Muslims and Christians who (along with the third point of the unholy trinity, the communists) are made out to be the biggest dangers to the integrity of the country and the future of Hinduism."

Thus, you can see, Sir Christians and Muslims are made out to be the biggest dangers to the integrity of the country and the future of Hinduism. This is how they malign the minorities and vitiate the atmosphere.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: Sir, just one more point about Kerala and Assam and I will finish. I welcome dissolution of the Assembly in Kerala because there was no alternative and we never wanted existence of casting vote Government. No doubt Speaker has the right to exercise his casting vote. This is a constitutional obligation and that for in favour of *status quo*. Still we never wanted a casting vote Government; we never wanted that horse-trading should go on. This horse trading was started by the highest front as everybody knows.

There is only one more point regarding Assam: Government is carrying on negotiations. Well and good. But one thing must be borne in mind. Government should not sacrifice the interests of regional and linguistic minorities when they

arrive at any solution. The agitationists I hope will have a sober and balanced attitude and will not play into the hands of reactionary forces and forces of secession. When you arrive at a settlement, the settlement is to be based on certain basic principles which should be adhered to. You always talk of basic principles. There are constitutional provisions, relevant laws, national commitments, international agreements and humanitarian considerations. These are the basic factors on the basis of which the Assam issue has to be settled. Much is said about detection and deportation. What is the use of detection at all? I cannot understand. It is just an exercise in futility, if I may put it that way. If deportation is not possible, what can detection do? How can detection help us in the matter? No country is prepared to take any person back. What is the use of detection then? The only way out is this that we must have 1971 as the cut-off year. In no other way could this issue be solved.

Sir, the Minister was very eloquent that the Scheduled Castes have been given so much representation in services and so on. May I know what Government have done for the poor Muslim minority to provide representation in the IAS, IPS and IFS? They are only 3 per cent. Muslim in these services against their population of 12 per cent in the country. This is the situation. Take the Central Services: Out of 9900 clerks in the Central Secretariat Service, there are only 21 Muslims. This is a very distressing picture, indeed. I hope the hon. Home Minister will take more urgent steps to check and remedy the communal situation, to curb the activities of the reactionary, militant, morbid communal elements and communal forces so that justice is done to the minorities in the country.

One last word. I would appeal to Government for the implementation of the Jamshedpur report on communal riots where the culprits have been pinpointed and see that justice is done to the victims, particularly, the minorities inclu-

ding Muslims. With these words I conclude.

SHRI CHINTAMANI JENA (Balasore): Sir,, I rise to support the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

I would like to refer to some of the remarks of some of our friends from the opposition side who were very bitterly charging the present Government for the deterioration in the law and order situation. I would humbly submit this: if we look back to the years 1975, 1976 and 1977, when there was emergency in the country we find that the law and order situation then was quite good and according to our satisfaction. After the Janata party rule came what happened? The Janata party Government released all the unsocial elements in the various States, without any condition, without awarding any punishment for them. This has created a feeling of great enthusiasm among these anti-social and unsocial elements in the country and these elements indulged in various types of disturbances and unsocial activities.

The most important aspect is the upliftment of the down-trodden people of the country. Our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, has evolved various schemes in order to improve the socio-economic conditions of various down-trodden people and the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister to the fact that the SC and ST population in the States like Orissa and Madhya Pradesh is much more than they are in other States. Though the State Governments in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh are trying to uplift the condition of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people, it is not possible for them to do much with their meagre resources. Therefore, I would request the Home Minister and the Government to give substantial Central assistance for the education of the children belonging to SC and ST. One such scheme I would like to bring to the notice of the Government is that the Scheduled Caste girls are provided with hostels on 50:50 basis. But it is a Centrally sponsored scheme which

[Shri Chintamani Jena]

should be applicable to both boys and girls of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. Similarly cent per cent of subsidy should be allowed for the schemes which will benefit all nomadic and semi-nomadic and de-notified communities belonging to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribes. The share of the expenditure for pre-matric stipend on matching basis for SC and ST in the State of Orissa should be met by the Centre.

Sir, there are drop-outs of SC and ST children at the primary level. It is about 90 per cent. The State Government have decided to construct one hostel in each Gram Panchayat of Sub-Plan areas. There are about 1209 Panchayats in Sub-Plan areas in the State of Orissa and each Panchayat will have one hostel for which they will require a substantial amount of money. It is beyond the capacity of the State Government to construct these hostels. So, I would request that the Government of India should come forward to bear the expenditure for the construction of these hostels in the Sub-Plan areas. I am very grateful to our Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi who is showing keen interest for the cause of the freedom fighters of the country. Most of the freedom fighters are in a very distress condition. They have sacrificed everything of their lives for the freedom of our country. Therefore pension should be sanctioned in their favour or in the name of their family members. That should be done with utmost sincerity, because we see here that some kind of bottlenecks are created on account of which sanctions for the grant of pension are not issued. For the sanction of pension, whenever necessary information is sought from the State Government, it is not coming forth. I would therefore request the hon. Minister kindly to look into this.

Sir, the Mandal Commission Report has already been received. It is understood that there are some lacunae and some communities have been left out. They are not being included in the list. I am referring to one community. In the list "Kandara" community is included whereas

Kunduma community is not included, though "Kuduma" community stands on the same footing of "Kandara" community. So this should be looked into.

Regarding communal disturbances, I would like to submit that where there are communal disturbances or two or three sections of the people live, there should be peace committees consisting of both the sections so that they will sit as Panchayats or some such type of organisation twice a month or every month to look to the problems and difficulties facing them. They should settle the matter in the Committee so that communal disturbances are not there.

Before concluding Sir, I would request that while we are talking about the law and order situation, we should also think that when the population is rising day by day, more and more law and order problems are coming up. So we should also increase the police force in accordance with the increase in population.

With this I wholeheartedly support the demands brought by our Home Minister.

SHRI K. PRADHANI (Nawrangpur):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the demands for grants under the Home Ministry.

Sir, I begin with police and public security. Police is the custodian of life and property and guardian of law and order. In a democratic country, police acts as a balance between the rights and the needs of the people of the country. The British police is treated as one of the least unpopular police in the world and it is also famous for its efficiency. But Sir, one who wears the uniform even in England also quite often gets assaulted. It is reported that about 800 police people are assaulted every month in Britain. And in metropolitan cities it is even worse. In 1975, the figure was 2999 and in the year 1977 it rose to 4030. So also in a democratic country like India, the duties of a police

officer have become very arduous and risky often leading to the confrontation with the criminals and the law breakers. So according to the necessity the National Police Commission has given certain very good recommendations to improve the functioning of the Police in India. One of the recommendations is that there should be good remuneration to the Constables so as to recruit qualified candidates, give them good training and give them accommodation etc.

But, Sir this is not sufficient to improve the functioning of the force unless there is a proper authority to oversee the performance of the Police. In England, an Act was passed in 1976 to have a non-official and non-police Board to oversee the functioning of the police in Britain. Sir, it is quite necessary in our country also. Ours is the biggest democracy in the world. Therefore, it is very necessary to have an authority like this to oversee the performance of the police in India.

Then I come to the tribal development in India. I being a tribal Member of Parliament, congratulate the Prime Minister. After the change of Government in 1980, the Tribal Development has got an impetus. She has retrieved tribal development from the stagnation it suffered during the Janata regime. But there are certain disturbing trends. Land and forests were the main and basic features which nourished the tribals in the olden days—and till now. But gradually, during the last 200 years, non-tribals are intruding into the tribal areas; and legally and illegally, honestly and dishonestly as also scrupulously and unscrupulously they are snatching away the land of the tribals; and the tribals are becoming destitutes. There are regulations in the States to stop this alienation of land from tribals to non-tribals. But they are not being applied in right earnest.

The tribals depend on forests for their livelihood—food, fodder, timber and fuel. We cannot imagine the sentiments of tribals in respect of forests—against what is going on in Bastar. The Bastar people are very peaceful and docile. Now they have started preventing trucks from going out, with loads of timber. They now say that

they want a Union Territory for Bastar. They have lost confidence in the State Government, because they have not got any response from the State Government for their demands.

You know about the Jharkhand affairs and their demand for a Jharkhand State. This demand has been there since long. Some divisive, disintegrating forces, taking advantage of these tribal peoples feelings, are creating trouble. We are opposed to it. Still, I request Government to study the sentiments of the tribal people in depth, and take necessary steps to nip the mischief in the bud.

I now come to the Central assistance for tribal development. Our Prime Minister initiated the sub-plan during the 5th Plan period. She has given stress the accelerating the tribal development programme. A huge amount has been envisaged to the 6th Plan period, but only Rs. 470 crores have been allotted as Central assistance for tribal development. It is a very meagre amount. It cannot satisfy the needs of the tribal people who are stricken with deep-rooted poverty. The working Group which was directed to report on this, has recommended Rs. 1,000 crores.

A mid-term appraisal is now under consideration. So, I request the Minister to see that at least Rs. 700 crores are allotted for tribal development.

I now come to the nodal Ministry, viz., the Home Ministry. In a note in a recent Government notification, it has been stated that the Home Ministry is the nodal Ministry to formulate the policy for tribal development, for coordinating with different Ministries and also with the State Governments. This Ministry has also been entrusted with the development of Scheduled Castes. So, a Division under the Ministry is quite insufficient to cope with this heavy burden relating to SCs and STs. I would urge upon the Ministry to create a Department under it to coordinate with all these Ministries. It is a long-standing demand; I repeat and reiterate it.

Under the Constitution, Government of India is entrusted with this work of econo-

[Shri K. Pradhani]

mic development of SCs and STs. There is silence about the States. Most probably, that is the reason why sometimes the States are very much lagging behind, even though Government of India is also forcing them to do something or the other. That is why I would suggest about it; and there has been a proposal to include this item in the Concurrent List in the Seventh Schedule so that the responsibility may be fixed with the States to do this job in a better way. I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

श्री गोदिल प्रसाद अनुरागी (बिलासपुर) : सभापति जी, मैं गृह विभाग की मांगों का समर्थन करते हुए बोल रहा हूँ। मैं गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान पुलिस विभाग के रवैये की तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

गृह मंत्री जी आप के पुलिस कर्मचारी चोर को शासन और शाह को चोर बनाते हैं। कभी किसी के यहां चोरी होती है तो जो आदमी चोर रहता है उस के ऊपर कार्यवाही न कर के जो भला आदमी रहता है उस के ऊपर कार्यवाही करते हैं।

अराजकता फैलाना पुलिस विभाग का काम है। जिस गांव में शांति है उस गांव में अशांति फैलाना पुलिस विभाग का काम है। जहां पर मर्डर केस नहीं होता वहां मर्डर केस करा देना पुलिस का परम कर्तव्य है। हम कैसे आशा करें कि पुलिस विभाग एक बहुत अच्छा विभाग है। इस को जनता का संरक्षण करना चाहिए। परन्तु यह भक्षण करता है। किसी भी गांव में वहां के साहूकार से मिल कर जुआ खिलवाते हैं और उस से नाल लेते हैं। यह पुलिस विभाग का काम है।

मैं आप से आग्रह करूंगा कि आप अपने विभाग को कड़े से कड़े निर्देश दीजिये ताकि हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री जो भारतवर्ष

में सुधार के काम करना चाहती हैं जो कि पिछले ढाई सालों में तहस नहस हो गए थे। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री भारतवर्ष को बनाने के लिये दिन में 18 से 20 घंटे तक काम करती हैं। आप भी बहुत जोरों से काम करते हैं। परन्तु जो आप के पुलिस विभाग के कर्मचारी हैं वे देश को आगे बढ़ाने में बाधा खड़ी करते हैं। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि आप सख्ती के साथ पुलिस कर्मचारियों के खिलाफ एक्शन लें।

मैं आप के माध्यम से गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान अस्पृश्यता निवारण की तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। आपने अस्पृश्यता निवारण के लिए कानून बनाये हैं इस के लिए धन्यवाद। पर अस्पृश्यता निवारण में हमारे ब्राह्मण लोग, ठाकुर, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य हरिजनों के साथ छुआछूत मानते हैं। एक और जो आदिवासी देहात में रहते हैं उन से हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि वे हरिजनों के लिए सब कुछ करें पर जो हमारे आदिवासी हैं वे तो ब्राह्मणों से भी ज्यादा हरिजनों से छुआछूत मानते हैं। हरिजन करें तो क्या करें? इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा सुझाव है कि जितने हमारे जन प्रतिनिधि यहां आते हैं, चुनाव जीत कर आते हैं उन से मेरा आग्रह है कि जब आप अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र में जाएं तो हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के बीच जो कटुता है, मतभेद है, उस को अवश्य दूर करें। यही मेरा जन प्रतिनिधियों से निवेदन है।

सभापति महोदय, हरिजनों की रक्षा के लिये हरिजन थानों की स्थापना की गई है, लेकिन वहां भी बड़े लोगों का ही पक्ष लिया जाता है और हरिजनों को सता कर बड़े लोगों से सांठगांठ करके अपना उल्लू सीधा किया जाता है। इस तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

एक और महत्वपूर्ण विषय की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

आज हरिजन भाइयों की लाखों एकड़ जमीन साहुकार लोम पटवारी से मिलकर और रिश्वत देकर हड़प करके बैठे हैं। इसके लिये आपने ऋण परिव्राण अधिनियम, 1969 बनाया है, जिसके अन्तर्गत हरिजनों की 11 साल तक और आदिवासियों की 15 साल तक, जितनी जमीनों की रजिस्ट्रीज हुई हैं, उनको निरस्त करने का प्रावधान है। लेकिन अगर इस अवधि को आजादी के समय तक बढ़ा दिया जाए, तो मुझे विश्वास है कि हरिजन-आदिवासी भाइयों की लाखों एकड़ जमीन उनको वापिस मिल सकती है।

इसी प्रकार हमारे छत्तीसगढ़ के मजदूर भाई बहुत तादाद में यहाँ पर रोजों रोटी के लिये आते हैं और पंजाब तथा हरियाणा में उनको रख लिया जाता है। इस पर बैन लगना चाहिये और मजदूरों को उनके ही क्षेत्र में सहायता कार्य खोल कर रहने के लिये प्रयत्नसाहित करना चाहिये। अगर राहत कार्य खोले जायें, तो हम उन मजदूरों को वापिस ले जा सकते हैं।

सभापति जी, केसतरां कांड की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। वह एक बड़ा ही हृदयविदारक कांड था। मैं इस कांड के सिलसिले में जानकारी हासिल करने के लिये तीन दिन तक वहाँ रहा और लोगों से इस बारे में पूछताछ

की। वहाँ से मुझे जानकारी मिली कि रावत लोग रात को हरिजनों के खेतों को चरवाते थे। इसके लिये गंगा और जमुना ने विरोध किया। इसी प्रकार जुमनि के रूप में वसूल की गई, सार्वजनिक राशि जो उनके पास जमा थी, उस राशि को भी स्कूल निर्माण के लिये उनसे मांगा गया। एक बैल जो दो हजार रुपये में गंगा पिता केदार ने उनको बेचा था, उस पैसे को भी रावत लोगों ने नहीं दिया। इस पर जब गंगा और जमुना ने जुबान खोली तो उसका परिणाम क्या हुआ, यह आप सब जानते हैं।

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TWENTY-EIGHT REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-
TARY AFFAIRS AND WORKS AND
HOUSING (SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN
SINGH): Sir, I beg to present the Twen-
ty-Eighth Report of the Business Advi-
sory Committee.

Sir, the Committee has also recommend-
ed that the House may sit on Saturday, the
27th March, 1982, to conduct Govern-
ment Busines.

18.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Wednesday, March 24,
1982/Chaitra 3, 1904 (Saka)*