

[Shri Annasahib Shinde]

the Table a copy of the Tripura Food-grains Movement Control (No. 2) Amendment Order, 1967, published in Notification No. GSR 959 in Gazette of India dated the 21st June 1967, under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-880/67].

12.50 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1967-68—  
Contd.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—Contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now take up further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs. We have taken 2 hours and 20 minutes up till now and 8 hours and 10 minutes still remain. May I request Shri Bakar Ali Mirza to continue his speech. He has already taken 5 minutes yesterday.

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza** (Secunderabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Home Ministry has got a difficult task to perform for our country is difficult to administer. We have a complex society with our many social patterns and linguistic and regional groups.

12.51 hrs.

[SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK in the Chair].

Added to that there is the question of an external threat which is further complicated by the possibility of an alignment between some inner groups in this country and some external agencies, whether it may be on the basis of religion, ideology or economic grouping. To add to all this we have got the further complicated question of gherao. Gherao has been described by some Members opposite as an intensive form of picketing. I submit that if anybody takes and considers this question seriously, he will detect a Chinese touch in that movement and that it is really a peaceful form of guerilla warfare.

Shri Ramamurti said the other day that it is only an agrarian problem and that there were 300 other gheraos then why all this importance to it. If this is only an agrarian problem as he said—also about the Mizos—it is also a political problem. I concede that the question of the Mizos and the Nagas could have been settled some time back if we had given them the Scottish pattern, but the fact remains that, whether it is an agrarian question or a political question, we are dealing with the Home Ministry and it has become a law and order question; therefore, the Home Ministry has to deal with it.

If gherao is what Shri Ramamurti claims it to be, a simple matter, how is it that five Cabinet Ministers visited that place to solve an unimportant issue? I ask: Is there any case in the whole history of the world where five Cabinet Ministers have gone out to see and discover and to make a public appeal about a question which is considered to be unimportant, a normal thing, which could be easily solved by having some land reforms and so on? It is a problem which the Home Ministry has to deal with. I hope, the Home Minister will listen.

**Mr. Chairman:** The Home Minister should please pay heed to what the hon. Member is saying.

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** Thank you very much. Kindly listen.

The Home Minister has got a difficult task. On the one side, he has to look at the law and order as also about internal security; on the other side, he has to guard and guarantee individual liberty. Here are two opposite things that he has to satisfy and that is the difficulty. For the one you require more and more power to deal with the situation; for the other you require curtailment of power, restraint in the use of power, so that individual liberty is guaranteed. Having this difficult thing to do, I say—

and I congratulate the Home Ministry—that it has come out fairly well. Though there have been all these problems, there is not in the country the consciousness of curtailment of liberty though in actual fact there is a lot of curtailment of liberty. That is an important point which I would like the Members opposite to consider. This he has achieved. It is no use bringing one case here and another case there to beat down the Government. The very fact that elections were conducted peacefully and the freedom of speech was allowed is itself a proof that the Home Ministry has been functioning fairly well. Otherwise, so many hon. Members opposite would not have seen the face of this House.

How is it that all this was possible? It was only because in the Cabinet there are people who are still under the influence of Gandhi and that peaceful mental outlook has helped them not to use the extra-ordinary type of power which is given to them. But, unfortunately, this influence of Gandhi is fast fading out not only here but all round. I ask the Home Minister, when you have taken all these powers, what guarantee there is that some other party or group which comes into power, which has not so many scruples, will not really use them for the curtailment of our freedom and completely destroy the democracy itself. Therefore, to take all these powers is all right but the future is really dismal.

12.57 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

This is a real danger. The very fact that there has been an amendment of D.I.R. Rules and there is Rule 3A which does not allow the States to act without the approval of the Government of India indicates that they are conscious of that risk. That risk is there. There is no reluctance in giving powers to the Home Minister but we are concerned with the use of the

weapons. The Preventive Detention Act and the D.I.R. are, I submit, like hydrogen bombs in civil affairs. It is said that the situation is extra-ordinary and so extra-ordinary powers are required. So say the advocates of the hydrogen bombs. We have to see whether we can shed these powers. I request the Home Minister to kindly pay some attention to what I say. Can we shed these powers without curtailing our liberty?

Before going further, I would like to say that the physical power alone has not saved either Indonesia or Ghana from a revolution. The power that they had was much bigger than we have given to the Government of India. So, to rely on power, whether it is police power or any kind of physical power, is to lean on a weak staff.

Then, there is the question of China and Pakistan. That is the real reason for these extra-ordinary powers that are asked by the Government of India. As regards their aggression, there is the army and the aggression can be contained by the army. There remains the question of infiltration and that is really the danger which occupies the mind of the Home Ministry. The infiltration can be either by some people coming in just for the sake of sabotage or some people coming in for the sake of spreading their ideologies and their ideas. The first can be dealt with effectively by police action. But there too, the emphasis is being laid on the Preventive Detention Act and the D.I.R. The attention has shifted from Intelligence which is much more vital. Are we not aware that infiltrators from Pakistan came as far as Srinagar?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch.

13 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled, after Lunch at Four Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1967-68—  
Contd.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—contd.

**Shri Bakar Ali Mirza:** I was dealing with infiltration from Pakistan and China. I have submitted that, as far as physical infiltration goes, persons come for sabotage and there is a need for timely intelligence and information. I have also submitted that the intelligence service has not proved upto the mark neither in the case of infiltration of Pakistanis in Kashmir nor in finding out the use of foreign money in elections or the activities of the CIA. Sometimes we get information from foreign sources earlier than we do in our own country. Therefore, this branch requires to be strengthened.

There is another type of infiltration which tries to gather people round a particular idea, whether it be the communal idea or the Chinese brand of communism. I submit that an idea can be countered only by another idea, and it is only ideas that can penetrate through the physical barriers and walls that men build. I would like to know from the Home Minister whether he has paid some attention to this aspect of the question which is also a matter not only of defence but of security.

Take, for instance, infiltration from Pakistan. We are trying to solve it by having a belt, because there is a suggestion to create a belt. We are always thinking in physical terms. How can you have an idea, for example nationalism, meeting the idea of communalism, if you discriminate between Indian Muslims and Pak Hindus? You have to decide once and for all that India and Pakistan are two countries and everyone on this

side of the border is part of a solid mass of people who will act unitedly. Therefore, I suggest that the frontiers should be closed not only for the mullas but also for the pandits. Let us have more trust on the people on this side so that they can act as a united people and as a united force. My hon. friends from the Jan Sangh may say that this is a risky affair, and we cannot trust people, and we cannot endanger the security of the country because there are communal groups and so on in this country. But I would like to ask how the other question relating to the other minorities has been handled. Are my hon. friends satisfied with the treatment that this subject has received?

Now, take the question of linguistic minorities. How is it that the border problem between two States remains unsettled and unsolved for years? How can you explain away Shivsena? Is not that also a problem of minorities? Is it not a fact that we have not succeeded in solving it, and if we say we have succeeded, then is it not a fact that we have not succeeded enough? I am glad that Shri Y. B. Chavan is here, because I have selected his State so that I can speak very bluntly, and I am sure the matter will receive his attention. Take, for example, Shivaji. Shivaji is a national hero. But they have reduced him to a provincial hero, first of the Maharashtrians and then of the Maharattas. Gandhiji has been given a secondary place, who is a symbol of unity and a symbol of our freedom. If you unconsciously create these ideas, you create divisions and build up divisions and these divisions lead to weakness.

Similarly, take the question of Chinese communism. You have to face this idea with another idea, namely the idea of democratic socialism. But this idea should be strong and vital and inspiring. We have not done anything about land reforms. We have not reduced the gap between the rich and the poor; on the other hand, this gap has been growing. How can

we inspire people when we see rajas and maharajas feeling at home in this socialistic pattern? I do not see in them a zeal of a new convert but I see only the comfort of a traveller who has returned to his house after travel. So, if we want to have an idea, we must have some faith in our own ideas. Let it be a mission; let it be a strong and vital and inspiring mission. If we do that, I am sure we shall be doing a greater service than by making use of the Preventive Detention Act and the DIR.

Then, again, take the question of Centre-State relations. The same division is going on further afield. Why should there be any change or revision in this relationship? The non-Congress Government has to see that there is no discrimination made on the ground that it is a non-Congress government. That is all. Unless we think of the country as a whole, unless we strengthen the Centre and think of the country as one unit, we cannot succeed against these world forces. Therefore, my appeal to the Home Minister is that the threat from external sources is not so great as there is from weaknesses within, and I would like him to discard these physical weapons and try more to deal with this psychological side of it.

I will take just one minute. The last thing I have to say is about administrative reforms. There is a reforms department built in the ministry itself. They have study groups, and later on they appointed the Administrative Reforms Commission. These groups study, and their recommendations are accepted, but I read in the report a very honest declaration, and I appreciate it. It says at page 14 that "in most cases there has been complete or almost complete implementation, but in some cases the implementation is only partial and this is disappointing." This Administrative Reforms Commission has been there because there is a great demand for this Ombudsman, and the Commis-

sion has taken particular care to submit an interim report. They took six months to write that report. Eight months are over since then, and the States have not yet formed their opinion about that report. What will happen? It will go to the next session, and in the next session it may or may not come. The Bill will be introduced probably in 1968, and then probably in the Gandhian Centenary year we might have this Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt. Therefore, I request him, as far as possible, to speed up, to see if he cannot bring the Bill this very session. There is talk of corruption everywhere, every day. Why not have this Ombudsman and be done with it? Whenever cases of a Minister or Secretary come, throw the files before this Ombudsman, and let the country, Parliament and all legislators be satisfied that justice is done, that there is no corruption in the country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am seeing your watchful eye is glaring at me. Therefore I sit down with this submission that these ideas that I have submitted may be taken in the spirit in which they have been submitted.

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi** (Cuddalore): I rise to support the cut motions sponsored by the members of the opposition and to criticise the demands made by the hon. Home Minister on the ground, firstly, that after 20 years of Congress administration in India, the legacy left by the Congress administration is corruption, and nothing but corruption.

A perusal of the Central Bureau of Investigation report reveals that in almost all the States, in all ranks of life, there is corruption. In 1966, 9,700 public servants were involved; out of them 1,398 were gazetted servants, 6,812 were non-gazetted servants, and 868 were public servants. This is only a negligible portion which has been brought to light. A considerable portion has not been brought to light.



[Shri V. Krishnamoorthi]

When the Britishers left, there was not so much of corruption. What was the reason for such an increasing rate of corruption? It shows the inefficiency, the incompetence and all sorts of things of the past governments.

This is only corruption regarding government servants, but what about political corruption? Chief Ministers are involved, former Chief Ministers. The CBI report is still pending with the Home Minister. The Government of India has not taken any initiative, any step to prosecute former Chief Ministers, Mr. Patnaik and others. So, the Government is responsible, the Congress Government is responsible for the increasing rate of corruption, and none else. I charge this Government that they have not taken adequate steps to curtail the increasing rate of corruption.

I shall now refer to the Defence of India rules. The hon. Home Minister gives an assurance and makes a statement in this House. Should he not stick to that statement? Suddenly he changes his stand. First he says that from the 1st of July, there will not be the Defence of India rules; he will be removing them. But after sometimes he changes his mind and says that he would not do so. Why should he break that assurance? Was there any sudden invasion by China or Pakistan? This shows that the Government is not competent to run the country without such measures as this or the Preventive Detention Act. I was told by some friends that the Defence of India Rules are kept because of Sheikh Abdullah. If these rules are relaxed, the Government will have to release him. What is the background for the detention of Sheikh Abdullah for such a long period of fourteen years? What harm has he done? This is supposed to be a democratic country where justice exists. If Sheikh Abdullah has done anything wrong to the security of India, there is section 124 IPC; they could have prosecuted him. But they do not have any material; that is the pity. It does not mat-

ter whether the law affects five crores or fifty crores. The Fundamental Rights guaranteed in the Constitution are for each and every single individual. Every citizen has got these rights; so has Sheikh Abdullah. What has he done? Why cannot they bring him to book if he had done anything wrong? When he was released, I am told that he made a statement in the course of an address in Delhi on 10th of February 1965 before he went abroad: "We may have differences among ourselves but after all India is the homeland of us all and if, God forbid, India ceases to be India and goes down, how can others be safe? We have to look at that problem from that angle." This is what he is reported to have said in this capital city. Afterwards he was arrested for the flimsy reason that he carried on anti-India propaganda and that he shook hands with Chou En-Lai and that he was taken over by the Pakistanis. These are the grounds for which he was detained. The late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri talking to the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive on April 2nd, 1965 that while abroad Sheikh Abdullah had said nothing new. He is telling the same thing. But he is not tried. He is put behind the bars. I ask the Home Minister to look into the matter and release him. We can solve the problem. It is not so difficult. If there is some problem, it can be solved by releasing him. He may be allowed to speak to his followers and he may be allowed to study the present position. A conference may be called in Delhi under the Prime Minister to which Sheikh Abdullah as well as other political parties which are predominant in Kashmir may be invited. Efforts must be made to solve this problem. The continuance of the Defence of India Rules is not at all justified.

My next point is about the prohibition policy. The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri Shukla, made a statement some three or four days back that the Committee

has made a unanimous recommendation that prohibition must be implemented in all the States. But I am surprised to know, that just like so many languages in India, there are so many different policies. Even in the States where the Congress party is administering, they are having differences of opinion. What is it? The Minister was saying that most of the State Chief Ministers are agreeing to implement the prohibition policy for the welfare of the poor people and the working class people, whether it is for their good or bad; but they must certainly be compensated. He also categorically said that the Government contemplated to give 50 per cent income derived by way of scrapping this prohibition. And most of the States have not at all agreed to it. I say, you are all talking about Gandhian principles. We are ashamed to see that you are talking about Gandhian principles. We in Madras the DMK government have decided to continue the prohibition policy in spite of the Congress Ministries in various States who want to scrap it. You say you are going to compensate 50 per cent. You give us 50 per cent for that. We do not want even 100 per cent. You give 50 per cent. We were getting Rs. 24 crores previously; now we are implementing the prohibition policy in accordance with the directions of the Central Government. Are we not entitled to have Rs. 12 crores? You give us Rs. 12 crores, and then the rest of the States will follow in our footsteps.

So, the Central Government has no categorical policy, uniform policy, consistent policy, correct policy in regard to prohibition. (*Interruption*). There are so many friends from Kerala, just like so many from Kerala have friendship with many in Madras. I cannot stop them. It is a social evil.

My next point is about the media of examination for the Union Public Service Commission. This Government has not at all a uniform policy. They are changing very often. Some-

time back, the Congress Working Committee resolved that they want to implement this examination policy by having all the 14 or 15 languages mentioned in the Constitution, to create a Babel State in India. What for? When we say that the *status quo* may be maintained, they do not agree. A candidate passing through Tamil medium cannot go and serve in any other part of India; and a UP, IAS man cannot serve in any other part of India, having passed the examination through the medium of Hindi only. Why not have English as the medium of examination in the UPSC? Is it not sufficient to have a uniform examination standard throughout the country?

**An hon. Member:** All the languages are allowed now.

**Shri V. Krishnamoorthi:** Thank you. I am told that the Union Public Service Commission has decided to have the examination only in some principal languages. What are the principal languages? Are the principal languages only those which satisfy the whims and fancies of the Home Minister? If they want to have these examinations in our languages, let them have all the 14 or 15 languages mentioned in the Constitution. Otherwise, we must have English only as the medium of examination. We demand that.

My next point is about the State-Centre relationship. It is a pity that after the general elections, the Home Ministry here, the Government of India here, is treating the non-Congress States and their administration with doubt; the Government of India treats them as suspects. It is really a sorry picture. I will give you examples. Soon after we got elected, several files have been removed from Madras to Delhi. Some were destroyed and some were flown here. The defeated man, Mr. Bhakthavatsalam, despatched all those files to Delhi. When the people have voted us to power, are we not entitled to

[Shri V. Krishnamoorthi]

see those files and take action against those people? Is this the way of treating non-Congress administrations? They are not your servants, but your partners and friends. You are treating them as servants and you think you can implement article 256 and dismiss them according to your whims and fancies. This sort of attitude on the part of the Central Government will not do any good for the unity of the country. Today there are about half a dozen non-congress States. If the Central Government continues this sort of policy towards them, their number will soon increase to more than 10 and then the Central Government will be ours, not yours. The States will then be dictating terms to you. We are not at all going to bother about the Centre afterwards, if you treat us like this. Today you are hatching a big conspiracy to see that the non-Congress Governments are somehow or other thrown out. Today you are conspiring to go into West Bengal. Tomorrow you may go to Kerala and next day you may come to Madras. I warn you, your intentions will be defeated. Now the non-Congress people are in a majority in India. The people who voted for Congress are much less than those who voted for non-Congress parties. If you do anything in West Bengal, all the non-Congress administrations all over India will unite together. So, you must take immediate steps to withdraw whatever you do under article 256 or any other thing. You must treat the non-Congress administrations as your friends and partners, not as enemies or suspects.

The Treasury Benches here are accusing the Madras Government saying, if they have promised one measure of rice for one rupee, it is not our problem. Is it a sin to give one measure for a rupee? Is it a sin to fulfil the promise made to the voters? When the Congress administration took over from the British in 1948,

we got 3 measures of rice for a rupee. Now one measure costs Rs. 3 or even Rs. 4 in some places. It is because of you; we are not responsible for that. The growers and workers are not responsible. You were having the key of the central administration. Is it a sin if we give one measure for a rupee? Of course, we are quite new and we may require some temporary adjustment, accommodation or loan. Is it not fair on the part of the Central Government to see that such a thing is done? On the contrary, our Morarjibhai who sticks very much to principles and nothing more nor less, refuses to help. If the Central Government wants money, they can print notes or borrow from foreign countries. But what can the State Governments do? I appeal to the Government, if they want to make a coordinated approach, let them hire those printing machines to the State Governments for some time, so that we can also print notes. You must safeguard the non-Congress administrations. You are not at all accommodating or helping the Madras Government.

Lastly, I am coming to the language question, which is controversial so far as some of my friends are concerned. But I am not going to irritate them now. When the Congress Government make an assurance, they must stick to it; otherwise, they should not make an assurance. After having made an assurance, they are now not in a mood to implement it at all. I will remind the House that this is an assurance which was made in 1965 in the President's Address which says:

"We wish to state categorically that the assurances given by the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and re-affirmed by our Prime Minister will be carried out without qualification and reservation. This is essential for the unity of the country....While Hindi is the official language of the Union, English will continue to be an

associate official language. This will continue as long as non-Hindi-speaking people require it."

So, the option is left to us. Though it has been repeated many times and time is going on, they are not coming forward with a Bill. I do not know what is the reason for it. Even though this demand has been incorporated in the President's Address, even though the Prime Minister has made a categorical assurance that the necessary amendment will be brought forward in the Official Language Bill, though not in the Constitution as we have sought, nothing has been brought forward so far. I am told that some interested people, I do not know whether it is from this side or that side, are securing signatures for scrapping or blocking the introduction of such a Bill.

It is the English language that has brought us together. Only after the advent of the British in India the entire country was united. Let us not disintegrate it. We are for integration and not for disintegration. Let our needs be fulfilled. We are not at all against implementing the Official Language Bill by the North Indian States. But, as far as the southern States are concerned, as far as West Bengal and Gujarat are concerned, we want that there must be another link language, which must be recognised as the official language. But the Central Government are not implementing it. I am told that the hon. Deputy Prime Minister is behind this signature campaign... (interruptions). If that is so, I do not know what is going to happen in the future. Since the Central Government have made a solemn assurance, if they are unable to bring forward a Bill to implement that assurance they must resign... (interruptions). It is up to the Deputy Prime Minister to refuse it. What I am saying is that if the Government is unable to implement the solemn assurance made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, if the Government is unable to bring forward a

Bill which incorporates the solemn assurances made on the floor of the House, the Government must immediately quit. They should not create such a situation in the House in which the passage of such a Bill will be blocked. It is really surprising that the implementation of that assurance is being postponed from year to year. If they have a will, there is a way. I charge this Government that it has no desire or intention to settle or set right any dispute which exists.

With these words, I appeal to the hon. Home Minister to kindly bring forward the Bill. I am told that he has circulated it to the various States. I do not know why he should circulate it to all the States. It is necessary to circulate it only to those States where the people are affected by this Bill. What is the necessity to circulate it to all the States? The Bill incorporating the solemn assurances of the Prime Minister need be sent only to the Chief Ministers of the concerned States and not to all the States. By circulating this Bill to all the States the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are inviting opposition to the Bill, are inviting the blocking of the Bill, so that they can go on depriving the rights of the people who are very much affected by it.

With these words, I oppose all the Demands and support the cut motions moved by hon. Members.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** (Rai-ganj): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while supporting the Demands of the Home Ministry, the first point to which I shall invite the attention of the Home Minister is that the greatest problem that waits solution for him is the maintenance of the integrity of India. This problem has been agitating us since independence. One of the greatest administrators that India has produced, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, worked out a solution to the satisfaction of all which has worked up

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till now. In fact, there are occasions in Indian history when integrity has suffered because of unworthy sons India has produced; but even then great administrators did arise and undid the mischief that these unworthy sons committed.

The question of national integration is before us very pointedly but even more important than the question of national integrity is the question of maintaining the integrity of India. That should deserve the undivided attention of the hon. Home Minister because if the integrity of India suffers national integration loses reality in itself.

**Shri D. C. Sharma** (Gurdaspur): They have divided Punjab into four parts.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**: That should be the point to be borne in mind by the hon. Home Minister all the time. In fact, there is a saying...

**An Hon. Member**: In Bengali.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**: In Sanskrit.

“मित्रं व्यसनं—सम्प्राप्तं स्वस्थानं परपीडितं ।

घन्यास्ते ये न पश्यन्ति देशभंगं कुलक्षयं ॥”

Blessed are those who do not see their own dear ones in distress; blessed are those who do not see their own land under the occupation or tyranny of others; blessed are those who do not see the breaking up of their country and blessed are those who do not see the destruction of their race.

श्री श्री० श्री० डांग (बम्बई—महाराष्ट्र)  
दक्षिण): “आततायिनम् हन्यात्” ।

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**: To this unfortunate generation all these have befallen but even then from the speeches that I heard in this House I feel that the lesson has not been learnt and we shall have to suffer for some time more. But even in this difficulty the hon. Home Minister

must maintain his leadership not only as a minister but I want to stress that he must maintain his leadership as a leader and a reconstructor. That is the tradition set by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

It is here that the Home Ministry has a part to play and it is with this point of view that the SRC decided that there should be no small units in India. In fact, what the SRC did was that it abolished many small units and merged them in larger units. That was the SRC's point. But what is happening after years of SRC's recommendations? I believe, we have not followed the line indicated by the SRC. We have deviated from the lines indicated by the States' Re-organisation Commission in the formation of smaller units the first of which came in the form of Nagaland. When the late Prime Minister accepted it, he did it with an apology. It was in this House that we opposed firstly the outlandish name given to that area and we opposed secondly placing Nagaland under the External Affairs Ministry. But he pleaded that the Nagas wanted those particular things and if they were satisfied we should not object. We accommodated him there. But even after that this tendency of going into smaller units is growing and the latest is in the matter of Assam. I submit to the hon. Minister for his consideration whether there should not be a line drawn where this tendency has to be checked and has to be brought to an end so that smaller units do not come into existence further leading to what the S.R.C. had objected to.

Why should not there be the pride of accepting or realising the whole of India as motherland? But I feel, the way they talk, some of our friends have forgotten the motherland known as India. Everyone wants a small piece of territory for himself; a small group wants a territory for itself. Nobody is satisfied with India as the motherland.

“आसिन्धु सिन्धु-पर्यन्ता एषा भारत भूमिका”

“This land extending from Sindhu to the ocean”.

“एषा सागर पर्यन्ता हिमवद्-विन्ध्य-कुण्डला”

“This land extending on both sides to the seas with Himalayas and Vindhyas hanging as pendants in her ears.”

That is the way our forefathers used to treat our motherland India. We people have deviated from that and we are trying to break up India in smaller units each claiming a separate existence. That is not consistent with the entity of India as a whole. That is the way the some people talk.

When I see this tendency, it causes me depression and at times I feel whether there is not a tendency to go back to the eighteenth century of Indian history. Some of our friends there speak of so many things. The knowledge comes to them but wisdom lingers. That is the difficulty with them. There should be a personality in Indian history, in Indian politics, which should be able to put a stop to it and to check this tendency to bring in fissiparous motives or fissiparous tendencies in India. (Interruption). That happened in Indian history more than once; it happened in modern history also. There was Chanakya who came to north India and there was Madhvacharya who came to south India. My friends coming from south take pride in south. Do they remember the name of Madhvacharya who brought integration of the entire south into one kingdom? No, Sir. (Interruption). They know only the D.M.K. and nothing more. That is the difficulty with them. (Interruption).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No more interruption, Mr. Banerjee.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** It is no good trying to check him because that is the habit. There are some persons for whom there is a Sanskrit saying:

“शिशुत्वं सर्वकाले”

Mr. Banerjee belongs to that type. What is the good of trying to check him? Rather take what is said as:

“अमृतं बाल-भाषितं”

I shall now refer to the Home Ministry's Report. This Report is a too much matter-of-fact Report which could have given some more details at least for this border problem, the 2,500 miles border of India and Pakistan. This should have been dealt with in more details and with greater attention. The question of Pakistan has been raised by some of the hon. Members. But, I say, Indo-Pakistan relationship can never be based on the feeling that the two countries are entirely foreign to each other. This relationship must always be regarded 'Sui generis' a class, by itself and in that way it has to be considered and tackled. I believe that, if the Home Minister proceeds in that way, some understanding may be brought about between India and Pakistan. But, while I say so, I draw his attention again to the border because I come from a constituency which has almost the entire eastern border with Pakistan and in the border things happen which are very distressing to the people. Under the new administration there has been set up, they have set up a “Gana Committees” along the borders. There is nothing that the committees do not do. I request the Home Minister to tell his staff to find out what is happening in the border under the administration of the so-called “Gana Committees” set up by the constituent parties that go to form the new Government in West Bengal. (Interruptions).

Border security forces have been constituted. But the border security forces should be looked after more carefully, particularly in choosing the commandants. Some of these commandants are not doing their work in the way that they should do, and unless they do that, the borders are very

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unsafe. Almost the entire land on the border is left uncultivated. If one of the sub-divisions known as Islampur is checked, it will be found that the border lands are left uncultivated not only making it unsafe for the people to stay but also causing loss on account of failure of cultivation. The people find it unsafe to approach the border or cultivate there or stay there for looking after the crops. In one of my speeches I have requested the Home Minister to see that the border security staff who are posted there are not allowed to stay for a very long time, so that they may not come in contact with undesirable influences which would make them deviate from their duty and not fulfil the object for which they have been put there.

I should also make some reference to the official machinery. If the Home Minister refers to one of the previous Home Ministry's reports, the older reports, he will find a chapter or section where the conduct of the officials in discharging their duties is reviewed and even references made to various subversive activities of the officials. Today there was a reference as to what happened in the last elections. I shall not go into that, but it is within my knowledge that attempts have been made to influence the elections from the side of the officials in one way or the other. (Interruptions).

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon): In both ways.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I do not want to provoke him, but let him understand what I mean.

This should be checked and it should be found out how the official machinery did work during the time of elections.

An hon. Member: The past three elections?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: All the elections. Why only the past three elections?

One particular feature of the working of the official machinery strikes me, and the Home Minister will excuse me if I draw his attention to it. How is it that officials who retire from government service at once become very stringent critics of Government? The mentality that they disclose after retirement, after having spent years of their life in working out the official policy makes me feel apprehensive about the entire officialdom. Is this the mentality with which they have worked all through their official career? If that is the mentality with which they work, then what would be the condition of Government and what would be the condition of the office and the official work? That point should be considered, and it should be found out why it does happen that officials going out at once become critics of Government. We have examples of that inside this House and also outside.

An hon. Member: What about ex-Ambassadors?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: My hon. friend is referring to Ambassadors. Ambassadors are politicians. In fact, I had taken up this question with Prime Minister Nehru, and I had asked him, 'How is it, Panditji, that the persons whose political career you had helped to build up go against you after having acquired their positions and after gaining all that you have had to give?' He said 'I do not know, but what you say is correct.' He admitted the correctness of my statement but he did not know how it happened.

Shri Sezhiyan (Kumbakonam): That was why he did not give a position to my hon. friend. Otherwise, he might also have gone against him later on. (Interruptions).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Sezhiyan need not follow Shri S. M. Banerjee.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee** (Kanpur): He is a papa. He has called me a child.

**Shri Sezhiyan**: I am following Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**: I do not grudge if my hon. friends accept the compliments that I pay to Shri S. M. Banerjee.

The administrative machinery has to be looked after properly. There is a great complaint that it works in laxity. In fact, there have been complaints about the working of the DIR, and there have been cases of excesses in the working of the DIR. But the strangest part of the whole thing is this. While committing the excesses, they told the people that these excesses had been committed as advised by Government. When I approached the people and told them that these had not been permitted by Government, the counter-question that the people put to me was this: 'Why does the government retain such people who disown the government itself and bring it into disrepute before the people?'. To that question I could give no answer, and it remains with the Home Minister to find out an answer.

My hon. friends have been agitating for long, and lest I disappoint them I must refer to the question of Naxalbari also. I do not want to disappoint them because they have been agitating over it. Last time when I spoke about this matter, the picture was hazy. Now, the picture is clear. What I stated last time has proved true, in fact, more than true in every aspect. This morning, there was a charge against the Food Minister that he had not sent enough food to West Bengal. But friends of my friends here have looted rice and paddy from Naxalbari and are sending them over to Nepal.

**Shri D. C. Sharma**: And China also.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**: My charge against the Government is...

**Shri Sreekantan Nair**: The border is closed.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**:... that they do not check the border; my charge against the Government is that they have abdicated their functions by allowing this to continue. This should stop, and this should be looked after. What my friends forget is that in Naxalbari they have taken up a bomb in their hand which will explode in their own hand; they have raised ghosts which they are unable to exercise now; they are trying their best, but the ghosts are not listening to what they say, and some time they will break their own neck, and that time I believe is fast approaching.

The latest slogan about Naxalbari as it is found now is:

"नखालबाड़ी तेमार नाम, भारतेर बियतनाम"

"Naxalbari, thy name is the Viet Nam of India". My friends know in their own hearts that that is what is happening. The central fact is that the situation is beyond control, it is beyond the control of the State Government. I do not know if any other government is functioning there, but there is no attempt to control.

The latest report that I find in the papers is this, that the helpless people have now organised resistance themselves. One SSP worker, Sampat Roy, has organised people to resist these looters and tyrannisers.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Burdwan): A very good sign.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**: This Sampat Roy, I happen to know, is a chronic TB patient. He was in the Kurseong TB hospital during the elections he could not work. The fact that even such a young man had to come forward to resist shows the desperation of the situation.

I believe I should say only one sentence about Mr. Ramamurti's speech



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that I had the good fortune to hear yesterday. He has an advantage that I do not have. With us ordinary people, ordinary mortals, our conclusions come after the reasons. With Mr. Ramamurti, the conclusions come first, and the reasons come afterwards, and there is no relationship with facts. As my friend from Tripura dismissed him with only one sentence, that everything he has stated about Tripura is untrue, similarly I say that all that he has stated about West Bengal is untrue.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Coming after a good debate on the extension of the emergency, and coming after the events of Tihar Jail yesterday, and the food questions, very little remains to be added now in the indictment that can be placed against the Home Ministry. Therefore, without going into too many details, I want to point out for the consideration of the ruling party, and the Home Minister who is one of the leading lights of the party, to take a view of the overall situation in the country, and try to find out if he, with his programme, that is, if the ruling party with its programme can really find a way out of the crisis without putting the country into conditions of anarchy that seem to be developing here and there, and without taking recourse to that one single instrument over which he presides, that is the use of police force, that is the apparatus of violence in the country, to suppress the demands of the people. That is what I want them to consider, and therefore he would excuse me, or the party would excuse me, if I draw their attention to certain general features.

15 hrs.

After getting power from the hands of the British, not that many things were corrected immediately, but they did try to do certain economic development, try to settle certain problems, and take the country forward accord-

ing to their own lights. In those very days when prices were rising, when profits were rising, in 1949 the profit rate of the textile industry was 600 per cent, but it was all excused at that time because it was immediately after independence, and so they had to be given time. Agreed. Even then at that time we told them: gentlemen, you are following the road of capitalist development, and it will lead to its own logic, if you do not, from the very beginning, be careful about it. Their answer to us was: we are developing a welfare State. What is the welfare State? To hold the scales between the exploiter and the exploited, to hold the scales between the landlord and the peasant, the worker and the capitalist and so on, so that all the classes would go forward on the path of development as proposed by them. Certain development took place. They got the credit; we do not deny that credit. In the Five Year Plans, they established the steel plants and engineering plants and they tried to develop the heavy industries. The programme for the abolition of landlordism was there; some compensation was given to them and some rights were taken away and some lands were given to the peasants and some tenancy rights were given. At the same time things were not developing as we intended and it did not bring benefits to the lowest classes of people. But then another development was taking place with their idea of holding the scales even ultimately in this process the power of the entrenched classes came to assert itself and the law of the capitalist development, of which we told them, did overwhelm them. But they asked us: do you not trust our *bona fides*? Do you not know that we fought the British and we intend to do good to the country? We said: all right; we give you the trust but we should point out to you that the workers are being exploited and wealth is concentrating and this is going to behead democracy in this country. Then, they replied: you are exaggerating; certain profits

should be there. Well, profits should be there, six per cent or nine per cent, or ten per cent. But what about one thousand per cent? Then they say that it was an exceptional case; the others are all normal. After all these developments, the third Plan more or less crashed. The Fourth Plan is nowhere and the whole country is in the grip of a crisis and the crisis is now breaking out in several forms in all directions. Having now seen that it is breaking out in all directions, they are losing their direction and think of utilising the only arm left with them, the arm of the police, state violence against the people who want to protest. That seems to be the main function of the Home Ministry. They have developed the bourgeoisie to such an extent that now the workers and the normal people are not prepared to stand it. When they protest they point out this bari and that bari and somebody's statement somewhere or some violence somewhere else. Please do not sidetrack the country. I do not want to describe all its details. All the Members are learned enough. They were decrying our statement when we said that property was concentrating. They say that property is developing on the principle of trust as Mahatma Gandhi said. But the biggest trustee according to Hazare report, happened to be the Birla House. The biggest trustee of the people's wealth started with Birla House and there are 75 monopoly houses. They are the source of all corruption in this country. That has resulted in misery to the people. What could we do now except protest and lead strike struggles? All the tripartite conventions are violated. Even the joint consultative council which functions under him is not allowed to discuss the Gajendragadkar report. All the conventions that developed, all the legislations are violated. Under such conditions, please tell us what we should do? Just suffer, be patient and die? We refuse to do that. In order to avoid certain strikes and struggles which need not be launched, people took to the smaller method,

simple method of gherao. They made such a hullabaloo about it as if gherao is so injurious to the whole country. Gherao had an advantage.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** Gherao involves personal violence. You should not suppress facts.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Sir, I have in my statement always said that the majority of gheraos have been without violence. In one or two places if there was any violence, I am prepared to call it off in that place and censure the people concerned. I have said that. But they launched a sort of crusade against the gheraos. Well, Sir, I say that gheraos will be curtailed and general strikes will start. Why? Because you are not giving us any solution; not that we are enamoured of it. They are inevitable in the field of industrial relations; the concentration of wealth is forcing the worker to act in order to exercise and defend his own rights and when he defends that the Home Ministry steps in and says, "We know nothing except law and order." If law and order is to buttress the development of monopoly, then the violation of that law and order is the sacred duty of the working class and the people. Law and order, if it stands on the side of the power of the exploiting class, then the other class has the sacred duty and right to violate that law and order, and establish their law and justice, the law of the right to live, the right to work and the right to have a decent order in the country. You have violated the simple law written in the directive principles of State policy: that you will have an adequate right to living; this is the fundamental policy of the Government, the right given in the Constitution. Give us the right to work. But all those directive principles are violated. When they are violated, and when the workers protest, has not a worker the right to protest? You guarantee the directive principles. Give the worker the tripartite convention which gua-

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ranteed a minimum living wage in 1957. But until 1967, every Wage Board has violated it. What is the Home Ministry going to do? Will they arrest the Birlas for violating this "law and order" as recommended in the Constitution, the rights and the directive principles of State policy? Will you carry out this State policy? Will these mill-owners be permitted to violate this. When the workers protest, then alone the law and order comes in. Therefore, in the field of industrial relations, there is no other way for the working class to protect its right to live, adequate living, minimum living standards—the contractor beating the workers and raping the women of the working class—all this cannot be stopped except by gheraoing, a great revolutionary concept of the working class, and that revolt is springing up. Instead of meeting the demands of the working class, you are trying to set in motion bigger forces of violence. That is my submission. Please do not do that. Already the protest has come in the form of defeat of the Congress in certain States. In certain States, the defeat is leading to the assertion of the rights of the masses by the Governments that have come to power as in West Bengal or in Kerala or in Bihar.

Just consider the attitude of these gentlemen: their programme is for a classless society but in which the Birlas will rule; it is still there in the Congress programme—a classless society, a society based on love and non-violence. But the highest violence is practised privately in the industrial field, in the agrarian field, by the Jotedars and landlords. Don't you know by your own experience? You have got the peasants down below. You do not dare to protect them; when they take the lathi in hand, as against the landlord's lathi, the Home Minister sends a gun; and if they take the gun, then as against that, you send a whole battalion; if the battalion fails,

you send the army; if the army is not effective, then call in the Americans!

The police revolted in Delhi the other day. What was the remedy? You send in the armed police. If the armed police revolted, you call in the army. If the army is not enough, then you call in the Americans! Is it the logic? It should not be the logic. I request you that it should not be the logic, because that logic will not lead to a solution of the problems; it will not lead to the retention of your power in this country. It would ultimately lead to the destruction of such monopoly power which is leaning itself on the big monopolists and the landlords.

Therefore, a grand democratic revolution is bound to come through an upsurge in this country, unless the ruling party decides to resolve the crisis by democratic methods and by not using superior violence. That is my general proposition which I am putting before you. Therefore, the solution is not either a change of this rule or that rule, or a change of this Minister or that Minister. The change required is not that. Even if you overthrow the West Bengal Government which is there today, you will not succeed in solving the problem. Even if you have a Congress ministry there, it will not solve the problem. There is a Congress ministry in Madhya Pradesh, which cannot even solve the tribal problem in Bastar, where there is no Pakistan border, no Nepal border, no Chinese agent functioning. The Maharaja was shot, because the tribals and the Maharaja at least in one exceptional case agreed together, unlike in other places. You are talking of Naxalbari. But what, is the explanation for Bastar?

For many years we were together in prison. Now we are on the opposite side and we want to overthrow your rule. True. But we cannot forget that we have been together for sometime. I am wondering how you can be beg-

guiled by all these machinations of Birlas and other monopolists into taking a course which is not able to solve the crisis at all. Naxalbari is not the main problem. It is merely a manifestation, partly correct, partly incorrect. Naxalbari is an agrarian revolt. It is not my reading; I have got proof of saner people to show that this is purely an economic problem. It is in many areas an agrarian problem not being resolved, tenants thrown out of the land, workers deprived of their dues, rent not reduced from 75 per cent to 25 per cent or 16 per cent as Maharashtra and some other States have done. All this crying evil is finding expression in peasant unrest and peasant revolt and peasants saying, "If the jotedar throws me out, I will go back and sit." A clash is inevitable. In such a clash, should you be on the side of the jotedar? My friend there talked about one Sampath, who is a T.B. patient. He did not say about his profession. TB patient is not a profession.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** He is a young man, who has been a social worker all through his life.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Some jotedars are being armed secretly by handing over police guns to them to shoot the peasants rising in revolt. Taking advantage of some differences in the opposition parties, I am told some jotedars are clothing themselves with the name of SSP and coming forward as "heroic" defenders against violence and what not!

Does not the Home Minister know that throughout history, in America, England and everywhere, mine-owners have always kept armed gangs to suppress the miners from resorting to strikes, agitations and so on? It is a law of history. It is happening in Bihar, UP and Bengal and other places. I make this assertion on behalf of my party: So long as you permit the mine-owners to keep gangs armed with weapons to suppress the miners, the miners will exercise their right to

resist that with the same weapons everywhere whatever the cost. We cannot help it, because the law does not help us; the law helps the mine-owners, the law helps the land-owners, the factory-owners; but the law never goes to the aid of the workers and peasants. This is the position.

There is only one solitary case in the history of the Congress when law was sought to be used in favour of the workers, and the circumstances then were peculiar. When Messrs. Harvey & Company wanted to use black legs—Shri Rajagopalachari was the Chief Minister and Shri V. V. Giri was the Labour Minister—Shri V. V. Giri said: I will not allow the black legs to be used by Harvey and Company; if they try to do so. I shall apply section 144 and shall send police to the gates of the mills to throw away the black legs. Shri Rajagopalachari agreed to it. So, for the first time in the history law was used in favour of the workers, and that was the last time in history.

The Home Ministry is the key Ministry. Finance is the expropriator of my money and Home is an instrument for terrorising me if I protest against my expropriation. These are the two great pillars of this raj of the monopolists and the landlords. What are they going to do to change the picture? If they cannot do it and if the people revolt, what is to be done?

There is such a hullabaloo about the princes. There is a talk of their privy purses being curtailed and some congressmen are said to be repentant of that resolution.

**An hon. Member:** Really?

**Shri S. A. Dange:** I do not know. Perhaps, they are going to be cut but some of them are repentant. Now, what is this question of privy purse? The big maharajas have got millions of pounds of investments in England and America, like Jaipur and others,

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Do they require to be given free electricity and water when a poor peasant in Rajasthan cannot get water and electricity, and to be given Rs. 67 lakhs and not Rs. 67 thousand? And now the revolutionary proposal brought in is that this supply of water and electricity will be stopped. It is revolutionary. Then? They will be reimbursed the sum paid by them henceforth. That means the water and electricity will cease to be free; it will be supplied with cost and the cost of it will also be paid to them by Government. What is revolutionary in it?

Why are you trembling against the prices? It is an order which is extinct, which should have been extinct and which ought to be extinct. It is said it will be violation of a solemn covenant. We have another covenant, a solemn promise, written in the Constitution, that the State will secure adequate means of living to every citizen. This is being violated completely. But the other solemn promise of the parasitic gang being paid crores of money out of the peoples' money is solemnly kept. For what? So that they should not go on the side of the British. They were brought by the British once and now they were brought by the Congress Government. They are out to join whichever party or government pays them. There may be certain good exceptions here and there. I do not say that all of them are bad. I know, for instance, that there was a maharaja who befriended the terrorists in France and met the cost of living of that woman revolutionary who stayed in France. I know that one maharaja of Baroda did it, not the present one. There are certain maharajas who gave shelter to the rebellious peasant leaders in Maharashtra when they had taken to armed revolt against the British. There are certain small princes there who did it; I know that. If you say that they should be given some compensation, yes, I am for it. If you say that for their anti-British service they should

be given Rs. 5,000 a month, please do it; I agree with you. But these fellows who say "no" unless you pay them, who will go to any side which pays, who were bought as traitors by the British, why should those traitors be paid? Let them go wherever they want. Instead of that, why bring in solemn promises? You have violated the solemn promises given to the workers, solemn promises given to the students, solemn promises given to the peasants, solemn promises given to the tenants about adequate right to work, right to live, right to housing and so on. Now, this gentry which wanted to sell India or jeopardise the interests and independence of India—you bought them and you paid them very well; you rightly bought them—are they of use any more? Are we not historically developing an independent Indian society? My hon. friend there was quoting some Sanskrit proverb. Is it not true, does he not know that, that in Indian history land was never a private property, that the Jaimini Sutras said that the king cannot give a grant of land to anybody.

न भूमिः स्यात् सर्वधारणत्वात्

that bhumi shall not be an object of gift.

श्री चपलाकान्त भट्टाचार्य : वृष्ठांश-  
वृत्तेरपि धर्म एषः

Shri S. A. Dange: That is later on. Jaimini Sutra was written before that— वृष्ठांश वृत्तेरपि धर्म एषः because law when Dushyanta came in and wanted to run away with Shakuntala. He is quoting wrong things. Jaimini Sutra is one thousand years older than that. There the quotation is:—

"न भूमिः स्यात् सर्वसाधारणत्वात्"

Shri D. C. Sharma: Shri Dange is a pandit; let him give up Marxism.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Now, what can I do? This pandit does not know that Marx was the greatest pandit and that in the second volume of Capital on circulation he quoted Manusmriti how villages were organised by tens groups and how revenue was distributed. Please, Mr. Professor, read marx again. Let me enlighten him. Excuse me, I do not call him ignorant, but let me enlighten him. When he died, poor Marx was studying Sanskrit and Arabic in order to know the true history of the Asiatic continent.

So, what I was saying was that Indian society is historically developing. Once land was not private property. Then it became private property. Then came the landlords. Then came the princes. Now we are in a capitalist society wherein landlordism has no place. A capitalist at least establishes a factory, at least supervises something, at least produces something. What is the prince doing excepting producing scandals by the score? The highest productivity of scandals in that sphere is well known right from the case of maharaja "A" who had to pay L5 lakhs in England to hush up a scandal up to the present times. Are they any more necessary for the developing of Indian society? 592 conventions are a black spot on the democratic Constitution of this country which guarantees fundamental rights and adequate living rights but which are never translated into practice. Are these conventions consonant with our line of development and the perspective of the India we want to have?

Therefore my submission to the Home Minister again is, please carry out the desolution even if it was a snap resolution. Carry it out in a snap without giving them time to think how to overthrow you; otherwise, they will conspire and overthrow you by joining the others. Therefore, a snap resolution on a given point should be carried out in a snap without allowing the enemy to wake up and overthrow you. There-

fore, what I would suggest to the Home Minister is, please take this question seriously and do not pursue this conspiracy of overthrowing the West Bengal Government, shouting about gheraos and Naxalbaris. That is not going to solve the crisis; maybe, you may be able to overthrow the West Bengal Government but that is not going to solve the problem of Naxalbari.

As to utilising the Peking Radio, one knows very well that Mao Tse-tung is a senile gentleman. One knows very well that the philosophy he is preaching is no philosophy. He has converted himself into a prophet and produced a red book. With sword in one hand and the book in the other he is trying to imitate some prophet and thereby trying to unite his own people whom he could not unite on the basis of Marxism, Leninism and Communism. He could not translate those theories into practice. The whole economic line there has gone wrong. Bonus is cut; wages of workers have gone down; there is a terrible crisis and the whole thing is covered by putting ten million young good little boys who do not know the history or economics, who are very well revolutionary, who know Mao Tse-tung as a great name because it is that one single man who gave the correct line for revolution in China. Now he has become a prophet and has produced a book.

And what is the line? It is: China for Chinese, he for himself and let the world go to hell. A disruption of revolutions in every country, where the fight is winning, is the result of China's policy of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. This is the result. They disrupted Indonesia and many other revolutions by calling for "revolutions." If you call for a revolution at the wrong minute it helps the counter-revolution.

There is no necessity for an armed revolution in West Bengal today at all. To describe the ordinary peasant

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revolt as a sort of an uprising to establish liberated areas on the Peking Radio is just to help Shri Chavan, the Home Minister, and the Congress to suppress that thing with greater violence. Therefore he is very glad with that broadcast on the Peking Radio; in fact, they want more such broadcasts so that they can create a hullabaloo in the country that it is not an agrarian problem, that it is not a problem of tenants, that this is a problem of China coming and starting trouble in Naxalbari. This is all because Peking Radio has said so. Should we take it so seriously like that and convert a simple agrarian dispute into a sort of rebellion and try to send army and all that?

We certainly stand for the defence of the peasants' interests in West Bengal. Our party has passed a resolution that we are going to defend the peasants against the jotedars' offensive. We certainly do not agree with all those Peking broadcasts because they are disruptive of the democratic revolution. We know it. The number of compliments that Peking Radio gives to our party is well known. We certainly will not be supporting anything which they are proposing. But we do support the struggle of Naxalbari peasants. It is not because of Peking Radio; it is not because they are taking to arms. The arms cannot be taken up by anybody or by everybody at any time or at every time. If at all they are necessary, there are conditions for it and there are times for it. There is no such situation in India. Therefore, we are proposing a democratic method of a democratic revolution being carried out in the interest of the workers and the peasants.

We certainly admit our desire to overthrow your misrule. There is no doubt about that. But that does not mean that they should take advantage of Peking Radio broadcasts and let loose a whole soldiery and let loose a whole battalion of gangsters and of

jotedars. Even they should not think that the solution is to send armed forces and start shooting.

You send food there. It is already admitted, that though 15,000 tonnes were promised, you send 10,000 tonnes. There is a shortage of 5,000 tonnes. How will the stomach of those who are short of these 5,000 tonnes be filled? Those who do not get food, what will they do? Will they not get angry? Will they not pick up a stone or a lathi? Will they not beat somebody who starts preaching them non-violence, peace and truth and that the Government is doing everything for them. Can't you see that they are going to lose temper? Therefore, I plead with you that if we do not get out of this crisis that is enveloping the whole country and its economy, we are going to land ourselves in the hands of Americans. They are already dictating their terms. The fertiliser plant they supplied is broken junk; they gave you second-hand machinery. They have already laid a wrong line between Haldia and Barauni. Mr. Asoka Mehta has been pleading for them and these people have run away saying, "We have done our job; we have taken our money. That is all." This is what is happening. Why is it happening? It is because there is no vigilance. Why is there no vigilance; it is because you are blinded by the big monopolists. When the big rich come to the Ministry, even the big Minister gets up from his seat. But when a worker comes to the Ministry, he asks his chaprasi as to what is his name and why he has come. There is this class differentiation. May be, Mr. Chavan may be more polite and he is polite. Yesterday, he gave a nice, suave speech. But I can tell him that he cannot solve the crisis of 75 monopolies by his suave manner of speech. They will hear him and say, "Gentleman, we are not going to give you our black money unless and until we get our terms, unless and until you

suppress the workers by whatever means you can."

My submission, therefore, is this. The Home Ministry is on the side of the monopolists. Will they give up that? The Home Ministry is on the side of the landlords who after the abolition of landlordism are surviving in a very strong and good way. The Home Ministry says that it is on the side of the workers but behaves as on the side of the capitalists. That is quite clear. I can give you a thousand instances, in coal mines, in oil, in textile industry, everywhere, to show that they are with them. He knows it, he belongs to Bombay and he goes there and sees it. See the fraud of the United Mills where a man ran away with Rs. 96 lakhs and you could not touch his hair. You can only catch a sub-inspector for selling a railway ticket of Rs. 5 for Rs. 7—and say, corruption caught—and put more security force, public sector security force, Central Secretariat security force, everywhere security force, and finally a security force against security force. This is the contradiction in which you will be drowned.

What I submit is that unless he changes his class character, unless he comes definitely on the side of the workers and the peasants and gives up this upbringing those who are working against that policy, unless he agrees to help the people to fulfil their ambitions and unless he ceases utilising this fantastic Peking radio, which is disruptive of revolutionary movement, we cannot support the grants being given to the Home Ministry to continue its career any more.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Mr. Hem Raj.

**Shri Hem Raj rose—**

**Shrimati Nirlep Kaur also rose—**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am definitely giving her an opportunity later. I have called Mr. Hem Raj.

**Shri Sheo Narain (Basti):** Whose name is first on the list?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He may resume his seat. I have called Mr. Hem Raj. I am giving her an opportunity later.

Mr. Hem Raj.

श्री हेम राज (कांगड़ा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया। मैं अपने होम मिनिस्टर साहब को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस होम मिनिस्ट्री के जितने भी पंचोंदा से पंचोंदा मुआमलात आये निहायत ही अच्छी तरह से निभाया है और देश में ऐसा वायमण्डल रूढ़ किया है जिससे कि आगे के लिये यहाँ का इन्तजाम अच्छी तरह से चल सके।

अभी मुझ से पहले कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के जो बहुत अच्छे वक्ता हैं उन्होंने कहा कि इस देश में आज जो सरकार है वह सिर्फ सरामायेदारों की सरकार है, जागीरदारों की सरकार है। लेकिन साथ ही उन्होंने इस बात का माना कि जिस वक्त धाजादी आई, उस के बाद से इस देश में काफी से ज्यादा तरक्की हुई है और वह तरक्की हमारे संविधान में जो डाइरेक्टिव प्रिन्सिपल हैं, जो फण्डामेंटल राइट्स हैं, उन में जो प्रापर्टी राइट्स थे, उन के मुतालिक काफी से ज्यादा तरमी में संविधान में हम ने कर के की हैं, ख़ास तौर से जागीरदारी को यहाँ से उठाया गया। इस के मुतालिक ज़िन्ने भी राइट्स थे, वे सब किमान लोगों को दिये गये। बिहार में इन काम को किया गया, यू० पी० में किया गया। फिर भी हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई कहते हैं कि वे चीजें यहाँ पर नहीं की गई—मैं समझता हूँ कि पीले को पीला ही दिखाई देता है। उन का अभी तक ये बातें दिखाई नहीं देती हैं। कांग्रेस गवर्नमेन्ट ने बहुत सारी चीजों को गरीबों के हक में किया है। प्रापर्टी राइट्स के दुरूक गरीबों को दिये



## [श्री हेमराज]

हैं। यहां तक ही नहीं इस से आगे जा कर जितने भी यहां पर मोनोपोलीज के सवाल आये, उसी तरह से उन की जो मोनोपोलीज थीं उन को खत्म करने के लिये हमारी सरकार ने काफी से ज्यादा इकदामात लिये।

15.33 hrs.

[SHRI MANOHARAN in the Chair]

मैं बहुत ज्यादा इस तरफ नहीं जाना चाहता। मैं चूँकि यूनियन टैरिटरी से आता हूँ इसलिये इस वक्त यूनियन टैरिटरीज का मामला ही होम मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। हमारे संविधान में दो किस्म की रियासते हैं—एक को स्टेट्स कह लीजिये और दूसरी को यूनियन टैरिटरीज। जहां तक स्टेट्स का ताल्लुक है, उन को बहुत सारे हुकूक हासिल हैं, लेकिन जहां तक यूनियन टैरिटरीज का ताल्लुक है—कुछ यूनियन टैरिटरीज को आपने असेम्बलीज दी हैं, लेकिन बहुत सारी टैरिटरीज को कोई असेम्बली नहीं दी है। जिनको आपने असेम्बलीज दी है, वहां आज क्या हालत है, वह मैं आपके सामने अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। जितनी भी यूनियन टैरिटरीज हैं, उन का एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव कंट्रोल आज उन के पास नहीं है। मिसाल के तौर पर हिमाचल प्रदेश, मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा को लीजिये, इन में असेम्बलीज हैं। आज वहां जितने भी बिल पास होते हैं, चाहे लेंड रेवेन्यू बिल हों, या फाइनेंस बिल हों, वे तब तक पास नहीं हो सकते, जब तक कि यहां से प्रीन सिगनल न दिया जाय, जब तक सैन्डल गवर्नमेन्ट उन के लिये इजाजत नहीं देती, तब तक वे पास नहीं हो सकते।

यह तो हुआ लेजिस्लेटिव के बारे में। यहीं हालत एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव साइड की है। जितनी भी यूनियन टैरिटरीज हैं, उन का

एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव कंट्रोल उन के पास नहीं है। जितनी भी वहां पर सर्विसज हैं, वे सब आपने अपने अण्डर में रखी हैं वहां पर मिनिस्ट्री मौजूद है, असेम्बली मौजूद है लेकिन उन का कोई कंट्रोल आई० सी० एस०, आई० पी० एस०, पी० सी० एस० अफसरों पर नहीं है, जिसका नतीजा क्या होता है? एक तरफ आप अपनी रिपोर्ट में इस बात को मानते हैं कि हिमाचल प्रदेश मणिपुर, त्रिपुरा बार्डर स्टेट्स हैं, यहां की इकानमी बहुत पीछे है, लेकिन जो आफिसज आप वहां पर भेजते हैं उन के ऊपर वहां की मिनिस्ट्री का कंट्रोल नहीं है, जिसका नतीजा यह होता है कि वहां के डेवलपमेन्ट के प्लान्स आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते।

आपने ये जो कैंडर बनाया है—पी० सी० एस० का—दिल्ली और हिमाचल को मिलाकर, इस में हिमाचल के लोगों को मौका नहीं मिल पाता है, सारी यूनियन-वर्सटीज यहां पर हैं, यहां के लोगों को हिमाचल के मुकाबले ज्यादा सुविधायाँ हैं, जिसकी वजह से हिमाचल के ग्रेजुएट का यहां के ग्रेजुएट से मुकाबला करना नामुमकिन हो जाता है इस लिये मैं यह समझता हूँ कि दिल्ली और हिमाचल का जो पी० सी० एस० का कैंडर आपने बनाया है, यह बन्द होना चाहिये हिमाचल के लिये जुदा कैंडर होना चाहिये। इस की कुछ वजूहात हैं—दिल्ली और हिमाचल के लिये जो एक्जामिनेशन्स होते हैं, वे यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के अण्डर होते हैं और कमीशन का इन एक्जामिनेशन्स के लिये, फस्ट एण्ड सैकण्ड क्लास ग्रेड के लिये जो कैंडिडेट होता है, वह वही होता है जो आई० ए० एस० के लिए होता है, जब कि दूसरी स्टेट्स में उन के पी० सी० एस० के एक्जामिनेशन के लिये उनकी अपनी स्टेट पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन का करीकुलम जुदा होता है और उन इम्तिहानों में जो लोग पास होते हैं, उन को वहां रखा जाता है। आम तौर पर यह होता है

कि वहाँ के इलाके के लोग उस में शामिल होते हैं और वे कामयाब होते हैं, जब कि कमिशन के इम्तिहान में हिमाचल के लोगों को कोई चान्स नहीं मिल पाता है। अब तक का यह रिकार्ड है कि फस्ट और सैकण्ड ग्रेड में हिमाचल के लोग बहुत कम आये हैं। इस वक्त क्लास वन में दिल्ली के 1353 आफिसर्ज हैं और क्लास 2 में 2243 आफिसर्ज हैं, जबकि हिमाचल के क्लास 1 में 29 और क्लास 2 में 53 आफिसर्ज हैं। इस लिये मैं यह समझता हूँ कि यह जा आपका ज्वाइन्ट कैंडिडेट है यह बन्द होना चाहिये।

इसके बाद आपके यहाँ व्यूरोक्रैटिज्म जेशन बहुत चलता है। होम मिनिस्ट्री में क्या होता है जाँ प्रापोजल्ज वहाँ से चलती हैं, वे यहाँ पर आकर रुक जाती हैं। अभी पिछले दिनों हिमाचल में कुछ बाहर के इलाके शामिल हुए, उन में कुछ टैक्सेशन लगे हुए थे जो हिमाचल में नहीं थे, उन सब को एक जैसा करने के लिये आपके पास प्रपोजल्ज आई, आज आज महीने हो चुके हैं इन 8 महीनों में, टैक्शन प्रपोजल्ज इक्वलाइज नहीं हो सकी है क्योंकि आप की होम मिनिस्ट्री से ग्रीन सिगनल नहीं मिलता है और इस तरह से वहाँ पर काम नहीं चलता है।

इस के बाद जो अफसर लोग हैं उन का अगर तबादला करना हो, उन की नियुक्ति करनी हो तो उन के पास पावर नहीं है। मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस का एक वाहिद हल यही है जैसे कि बहुत दिनों से वहाँ पर एक डिमांड चल रही है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश जो कि पहले एक छोटा सा एरिया था और 13 लाख की आबादी थी उस का एरिया 11000 मुरब्बा मील का होता था लेकिन आज तो उस का एरिया भी दुगना हो गया और उस की आबादी भी दुगनी हो गयी है और वह अब 28 लाख के करीब है, हिमाचल प्रदेश की लेजिस्लेटिव असेम्बली

की भी मांग चल रही है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश को यूनियन टैरीटरी से निकाल कर एक फुल स्टेट का दर्जा दे दिया जाय, इस डिमांड को मंजूर कर लिया जाय और उसे एक फुल स्टेट का दर्जा दे दिया जाय।

हिमाचल प्रदेश में काफी से ज्यादा जराये भोजूद हैं और वह अपने पैरों पर पूरी तौर से खड़ा हो सकता है। उस में जो हमारी वाटर पावर है उस से ही उस को इतनी अधिक आमदनी हो सकती है कि वह अपने पैरों पर आप खड़ा हो सके। यहाँ के जो रिसोर्सेज हैं, नेचुरल रिसोर्सेज हैं, यहाँ के जो जंगलात हैं उन से भी उन को काफी से ज्यादा आमदनी हो सकती है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि अब वह वक्त आ गया है और मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वह हिमाचल प्रदेश को एक फुल स्टेट का दर्जा दें।

इस के साथ साथ मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस के लिए कांस्टीट्यूशन में तबदीली करने की जरूरत पड़े तो कर लेनी चाहिए क्योंकि हमारे हिन्दुस्तान का जो कांस्टीट्यूशन है उस में ऐसा कोई प्रावजन नहीं है कि कोई यूनियन टैरीटरी अगर खास एक मोके पर आकर काफी से ज्यादा आगे बढ़ जाती है और उस में अपने आप को रैल्फ सर्फिसण्ट बनाने के लिए काफी जराये भोजूद हैं तो उस को एक फुल स्टेट का दर्जा दे दिया जाय। वहाँ की जो असेम्बली है उस की भी यह डिमांड है और वहाँ की जो पब्लिक है उस की भी डिमांड है इसलिए अब वक्त आ गया है जब डिमांड को मद्देनजर रखते हुए, लोगों के जो जज्बात हैं उन की कद्र करते हुए वहाँ पर एक फुल स्टेट का दर्जा दे दिया जाय।

आज वहाँ पर क्या हालत है? वहाँ की मिनिस्ट्री ने अगर 25 लाख से ऊपर का कोई खर्च करना हो तो उस के लिए उन्हें

[श्री हेमराज]

सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से इजाजत लेनी पड़ती है। उस के लिए उन्हें सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का एड-मिनिस्ट्रेटिव एप्रूवल लेना पड़ता है और फाइनेंशियल एप्रूवल लेना पड़ता है। उस के लिए यहां आकर इजाजत लेनी पड़ती है। उस से भी सारे उन के काम में एक बाधा पड़ती है। इसलिए यह बड़ी जरूरी बात है कि यह सारे का मारा जो मामला है इस के ऊपर दुबारा गौर किया जाय और हिमाचल प्रदेश को एक फुल स्टेट का दर्जा दिया जाय।

इस के साथ में एक अर्ज यह करना चाहता था कि आज यूनियन टैरीटरी होने की वजह से एक बात यह हो गयी है कि हमारा जो डिबीजन ऑफ एसेट्स है उस में हमें पूरे तौर से चूने नहीं मिल पाई हैं। पंजाब के रिप्रार्गनाइजेशन एक्ट के अन्दर यह प्रा-विजन था कि जो जायदाद जिस इलाके के अन्दर बांटे है वह उस इलाके को मिलनी चाहिए थी लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारी जो ज़मीने की जायदादें हैं वह आप ने पंजाब को भी दे दीं और हरियाणा को भी दे दीं। यही नहीं किया है बल्कि उस के साथ साथ जो जायदादें हिमाचल प्रदेश में बांटे थीं चाहे वह जोधेन्द्रनगर का पावरहाउस था चाहे भाखड़ा डेम था या पोंग डेम था, उन पर आज सारा कंट्रोल यूनियन टैरीटरी के पास नहीं रहा बल्कि वहां जामेन्द्र नगर का कंट्रोल आप ने पंजाब के हवाले कर दिया। 132 किलोवाट की जो साइन चल रही है और वह बांटे हिमाचल प्रदेश में है लेकिन उस पर कंट्रोल पंजाब का है। इसी के साथ साथ भाखड़ा डेम और पोंग डेम हालांकि वह हिमाचल प्रदेश में स्थित हैं लेकिन उन पर हिमाचल का कोई कंट्रोल नहीं है। मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह सारी की सारी आपत्तियां इसलिए आई हैं कि उस का दर्जा यूनियन टैरीटरी का है और इस कारण उनको वह बहुत सी दिक्कत पेश आ रही हैं। इसलिए मैं

आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे आप जिस लिहाज से देखें हर लिहाज से आप का जो यहां पर रेड टेपिज्म है वह स्टेट को चलने नहीं देगा। उस में जो जराय डेवलपमेंट करने के है वे सारे के सारे रुके पड़े रहेंगे। इसलिए मेरी आप से अर्ज है कि इन सारी बातों को मद्दे-नज़र रखते हुए अब वक्त आ गया है जब आप हिमाचल प्रदेश को एक फुल स्टेट का दर्जा दें। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप का धन्यवाद करता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

श्री रबा राय (पूरी) : सभापति महोदय, मैं गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय के निरन्तर-धीन बजट अनुदानों का विरोध करना चाहता हूँ। मैं इस अवसर पर कुछ बुनियादी बातों की ओर इस सदन का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। असल में घर मंत्री या गृह मंत्री जो कहाते हैं तो उस से अभिप्राय क्या होता है? सभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान हमारा घर है और इस घर को सन्हालने में, प्रजा लोगों की रक्षा करने में और उन को अच्छा खाना, पानी देने के बारे में इस गृह मंत्रालय ने क्या काम किया है? इस के बारे में हमें आज चर्चा करनी है। जब पिछले 20 वर्ष की कांग्रेस सरकार की या गृह मंत्रालय की चर्चा हमारे सामने आती है तो हमें बरबस एक कहावत याद आ जाती है कि जब रोम जल रहा था तो नारो राजा वंशीवादन कर रहे थे। उस नीरो राजा की वंशीवादन की बात याद आ जाती है। इसी तरह आज मालूम होता है कि हिन्दुस्तान जल रहा है, हिन्दुस्तानियों की आत्मा जल रही है और चव्हाण साहब उस नीरो राजा की तरह वंशी वादन कर रहे हैं। इसलिए आज हम लोगों को देखना है कि हिन्दुस्तान जो बंटवारे के बाद आजाद हुआ और आजादी के बाद, सभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि इस सरकार ने कुछ बुनियादी व मौलिक

वातों पर सोचा नहीं है जिसके कि चले एक बड़ी भूल हो गयी है हमारे नेता लोगों की ओर देश के जो सरकारी मंत्री पिछले 20 सालों से रहे हैं उन लोगों की। दरअसल ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के इस देश से जाने के बाद एक नये मिरे में जैसे एक आजाद व सभ्य राष्ट्र को चलना चाहिए वसा नहीं हुआ। जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ उस के बाद जो बड़े बड़े नीकरशाह लोग थे, आई० सी० एस० अफसरान थे और उन में श्री गिरजा शंकर बाजपेयी का नाम लेना चाहता हूँ, आप को सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि वह गिरजा शंकर बाजपेयी जिन्होंने कि ब्रिटिश शासनकाल में अनेकों पाप व भारत-वासियों पर अत्याचार किये थे। जिन्होंने कि ब्रिटिश शासनकाल के दौरान अमरीका जाकर जबकि सन् 42 का आन्दोलन चल रहा था, महात्मा गांधी की पत्नी श्रीमती कस्तूरबा जी अहमद नगर किले में जंदा थीं, उनकी पहलू पर मृत्यु हो गयी थी तो यही गिरजा-शंकर बाजपेयी अमरीका में जाकर कस्तूरबा गांधी की मृत्यु के अचित्य का प्रचार कर रहे थे। भारत की आजादी प्राप्ति के बाद उनका विदेश मंत्रालय में सेक्रेटरी जनरल बनाया गया इसी तरह श्री चंद्रलाल त्रिवेदी जोकि अमस्त 42 की क्रांति के नेता लोगों पर लाल किले में कैसे उन पर अत्याचार किया जायेगा इस के लिए वह शास्त्राय के स्वाहकार थे यही चंद्र लाल त्रिवेदी आजादी प्राप्ति के बाद सरकार द्वारा उच्च पदों पर आसीन किये गये। गिरजाशंकर बाजपेयी और चंद्रलाल त्रिवेदी सरोखे आदमी जिन्होंने कि आजादी मिलने के रास्ते में रोड़े अटकिये और भारत के विरुद्ध ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट का साथ दिया उन्हें स्वाधीन भारत में इस सरकार द्वारा उच्च पदों पर बैठाया गया कांग्रेस सरकार की इस तरह की पालिसी के कारण जनअसंतोष फैल हो गयी है इसलिये यह शुरू से ही सारे का सारा मामला गड़बड़ गया है।

यह जो रपट गृह मंत्रालय को मिली है उस में इस लोक सेवा आयोग जोकि प्रशासनिक सेवाओं के लिए जिम्मेदार है उस के बारे में जिक्र है। आप जानते हैं कि आज क्या हो गया है, सरकार, जनता और अक्सर इन तीनों में कैसा रिश्ता अभी है अभी देश की जो जनता है यह डरी हुई है और वह सरकारी अफसरान की ज्यादतियों को झेल रही है और इसी तरह जो पुलिस है वह जनता के ऊपर अत्याचार कर रही है और जो कांग्रेस बल्ल है उन के ऊपर सुपरिन्टेंडेंट अत्याचार करते हैं।

तो जनता सरकार अभिमुख हो गई है और सरकार नीकर अभिमुख हो गई है। इस तरह की जो सेवाएँ चल रही हैं उन में सरकार को फरवाह नहीं है कि प्रजा के सोम कैसे रहते हैं, कैसे अपनी जिन्दगी बिताते हैं। यह जो सेवाएँ हैं इन की कुल संख्या, केन्द्री सरकार और राज्य सरकारों के कुल नीकरों को मिला कर, लगभग एक करोड़ है। आप को सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि उन के बारे में जो सरकारी नियम बने हैं, सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट सर्विस एंड कंडक्ट रूल्स, 1955 हैं, वह संविधान के विरुद्ध हैं। बेप्रजातन्त्र के विरुद्ध हैं। देश के एक करोड़ नीकर सरकार के मातहत काम करते हैं और जैसे जैसे राष्ट्रीयकरण बढ़ता जायेगा वैसे वैसे उन लोगों की तलाश बढ़ती जायेगी। इन एक करोड़ लोगों को युलाम रखने की साजिश इन गवर्नमेंट सर्विस एंड कंडक्ट रूल्स के जरिये से हो रही है। आप को यह जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि सर्कुलर 4 में लिखा हुआ है कि :

"No Government servant shall be a member of or otherwise be associated with any political party or any organisation which takes part in politics, nor shall he take part in or subscribe to or assist in any other manner in any political movement or activity."

इस में जो कहा गया है वह बहुत खतरनाक चीज है। उस में कहते हैं कि :

[श्री रबी राय]

"It shall be the duty of every Government servant to endeavour to prevent any member of his family from taking part in, or subscribing to or assisting in any manner any movement or activity which is, or tends directly or indirectly, to be subversive of the Government as by law established; where the Government servant is unable to prevent the member of his family from taking part in or subscribing to or in any other manner assisting in any such movement, or activity, he shall make a report to that effect to Government."

श्री चव्हाण चाहते हैं कि हर एक परिवार खुफियागिरी करे। अगर परिवार से पत्नी नौकरी करती है सरकार की और पति राजनीति में काम करता है तो चव्हाण साहब चाहते हैं कि पत्नी उन को इस की रिपोर्ट दे। हमारी सरकार बनने के बाद, संविधान बनने के बाद, प्रजातन्त्र राज्य में ऐसा नियम नहीं होना चाहिये। असल में मेरी यह मांग है कि जो सरकारी नौकर लोग हैं, सेना और हाथियारबन्द पुलिस को छोड़ कर, उन को पूरे राजनीतिक अधिकार दिये जायें, समाजवाद के मुताबिक आप को करोड़ों लोगों को इस तरह से गुलाम बनाने का अधिकार नहीं है। इस में जो आप के कंडक्ट क्लस हैं उन का कोई मतलब नहीं रहता है। यह बहुत खतरनाक चीज है। सरकार चाहती है कि ऐसा न हो कि सरकारी लोगों में एक राष्ट्रीय भावना पैदा हो और वह राष्ट्रीय एकता पैदा करने के लिये कोई काम करें। यह चीज प्रजातन्त्र के खिलाफ है, संविधान के खिलाफ है और उस की कोई जरूरत यहां पर नहीं है। इस से सरकारी नौकरों को गुलाम बनाया जा रहा है। इस लिये जो गवर्नमेंट सर्विस एण्ड कंडक्ट क्लस हैं उन को तत्काल खत्म किया जाये।

के बाद सवाल आता है सरकारी

भाषा का। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूं कि चव्हाण साहब और उन के दल के लोग महात्मा गांधी की शिक्षा को भूल गये हैं, गांधी जी को भूल गये। चव्हाण साहब गांधी जी की बात पढ़ना नहीं चाहते हैं। उन के स्वयम् के पब्लिकेशनस डिपार्टमेंट की छपी हुई किताब है जिस में महात्मा गांधी का काशी विश्वविद्यालय का 1916 का भाषण छपा है। गांधी जी ने काशी विश्वविद्यालय में 1916 में दीक्षांत भाषण दिया था। आप को सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि हालांकि उस समय गांधी जी स्वयम् ब्रिटिश सरकार के भक्त थे लेकिन उन के भाषण के बीच में सभी राजे महाराजे उठ कर चले गये थे। वह भाषण इतना कड़वा था कि वह उठ कर चले गये थे। महात्मा गांधी ने भाषा के बारे में जो कुछ कहा था वह मैं आप की सेवा में रखना चाहता हूं। आज जो खेर रिपोर्ट के जरिये से अंग्रेजी को बढ़ाने की साजिश हो रही है, जिस अंग्रेजी को 1 प्रतिशत लोग केवल जानते हैं उस को 99 सैकड़ा लोगों पर थोपा जा रहा है। आज नौकरशाह, मंत्री लोग और सेठ लोग इस काम को कर रहे हैं जो कि अंग्रेजी के कारण ही देश का शासन कर रहे हैं। इस लिये मैं अंग्रेजी के खिलाफ हूं। मैं अंग्रेजी के खिलाफ इस लिये नहीं हूं कि वह विदेशी भाषा है। यह हिन्दुस्तान में सामन्ती भाषा है, इस लिये मैं गांधी जी के शब्दों को पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं।

"Our language is the reflection of ourselves and if you tell me that our languages are too poor to express the best thought, then I say that the sooner we are wiped out of existence, the better for us. Is there a man who dreams that English can ever become the national language of India? (Cries of 'Never'). Why this handicap on the nation? Just consider for one moment what an unequal race our lads have to run with every English lad. I had the privilege of a close conversation with some

Poona professors. They assured me that every Indian youth, because he reached his knowledge through English language, lost at least six precious years of his life."

मैं डा० सुशीला नायर को बतलाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि वह गांधी जी के साथ रह चुकी हैं। जो पालिसी अंग्रेजी को चलाने की ब्रिटिश सरकार की थी, कांग्रेस दल भी उसी पालिसी को चला रहा है। सरकार अंग्रेजी को चलाने के लिये अनुदान दे रही है, रुपया दे रही है। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की आत्मा को नष्ट करने के लिये कांग्रेस दल जिम्मेदार है और यह कांग्रेस दल अंग्रेजी परस्त पार्टी है। यह अंग्रेजी को कायम रख रही है जिस प्रकार से मैकाले सोचा करता था कि इस देश को अंग्रेजी भाषा और सिर्फ क्लर्क और किरानी धर्मो। आज अंग्रेजी के कारण ही यह हो रहा है कि हमारे कारखाने और हमारी कृषि सब खत्म हो रही है। इस लिये अंग्रेजी को तत्काल खत्म करना चाहिये।

आज कल साजिश चल रही है हमारे संविधान को परिवर्तित करने की ताकि अंग्रेजी को हिन्दुस्तान पर लाद दिया जाये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह का बिल इस संबंध में आने वाला है वह इस सदन में न आये। मुझ को लगता है कि शायद इस लोग सभा के जरिये से अंग्रेजी खत्म नहीं हो पायेगी। इस लिये एक जन आन्दोलन के जरिये, लोक सभा के अन्दर और लोक सभा के बाहर, अंग्रेजी को खत्म किया जाय और अंग्रेजी को शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाने का जो कुचक्र चल रहा है उस को खत्म किया जाये।

15.57 hrs.

[SHRI MANOHARAN in the Chair]

श्री त्रिगुण सेन की तरफ से, उन के शिक्षा मंत्री बनने के बाद, उन की तरफ से प्रयास चल रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो 15 मातृ भाषायें हैं उन को शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाया जाय। मैं केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्रालय पर एक

इल्जाम लगाना चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्रालय श्री त्रिगुण सेन की तरफ से जो प्रयास चल रहा है मात्र भाषा को चलाने का उस को खत्म करने की कोशिश कर रहा है। मैं श्री त्रिगुण सेन साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ, जो कि काशी विश्व-विद्यालय के उपकुलपति रह चुके हैं, कि जब वह वहाँ के कुलपति थे और वहाँ आ रहे थे तो उन्होंने एक वचन दिया था कि अगर वह छः महीने के अन्दर मातृ भाषा को नहीं ला पायेंगे तो मंत्रिमण्डल से इस्तीफा दे देंगे। आज उन को यह चेलेंज है कि आज जो हिन्दुस्तान के बच्चे हैं, जो विद्यार्थी हैं उन की मातृ भाषा करीब करीब खत्म हो रही है, उन की आत्मा को नष्ट किया जा रहा है। इस की ओर वह ध्यान दें।

मैं बिहार सरकार की वहाँ पर एक अच्छे काम के लिये प्रशंसा करना चाहता हूँ। सिर्फ एक सरकार है बिहार की जिस ने अंग्रेजी को प्रायः खत्म कर दिया है, जो विद्यार्थी मैट्रिकुलेशन परीक्षा में सिर्फ अंग्रेजी में फेल हो गये हैं, दूसरे विषयों में, जैसे गणित है, इतिहास है पास हो गये हैं, उन को पास समझा जायेगा ऐसा निर्णय किया है। बिहार सरकार ने यह जो निर्णय किया है वह सराहनीय है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री त्रिगुण सेन जो अंग्रेजी के स्थान पर मातृ भाषा को लाना चाहते हैं उन के रास्ते में रोड़ा नहीं अटकाया जाना चाहिये। हमें लगता है कि गृह मंत्रालय ऐसा करने जा रहा है।

अभी अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस पार्टी में एक प्रस्ताव पास हुआ है कि राजाओं के प्रीवी पर्सन को खत्म किया जाये। अखबारों में निकला था कि श्री चव्हाण भी प्रतिनिधियों में जा कर बैठे थे। उनकी राय क्या थी, किसी को मालूम नहीं। मैं आप के जरिये से उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ। कि क्या वह अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का जो प्रस्ताव है उस कार्यन्वित करने के लिये तैयार हैं?

क्योंकि पहले कांग्रेस कमेटी का सहकारी खेती का पास हुआ, फिर राइस मिलों को

[श्री रबी राय]

लेने के लिए प्रस्ताव पास हुआ। उस के दो दिनों के बाद उस समय के सभी कांग्रेस मुख्य मंत्रियों ने कहा कि राइस मिलें नहीं ले पायेंगे। तो इन के किसी वचन का कोई ठिकना नहीं है। आज यह कांग्रेस वाले रजबाड़ों और दूसरे राजाओं को एक तरफ साथ लेना चाह रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ उनका प्रिवी पर्स खत्म करना चाहते हैं। यह दो दिमाग से काम करने वाले हैं। इन को एक दिमाग से काम करना चाहिए। आज चव्हाण साहब को एक चैलेंज है कि जो अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का प्रस्ताव है उस को वह कार्यान्वित करें।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** His time is up. He should conclude now.

**श्री रबी राय :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप मुझे पांच सात मिनट और दे दीजिए।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If he takes more time, it will have to be deducted from the time that another member of his party gets. If he is the only Member, well, I have no objection to his taking the full time.

16 hrs.

**श्री रबी राय :** पांच सात मिनट आप उस में से काट दीजिएगा।

यह जो राजाओं का प्रिवी पर्स खत्म करने की बात है इस को इन्हें कार्यान्वित करना चाहिए। मैं इस संबंध में आप को एक और दिलचस्प बात सुनाना चाहता हूँ। काशी विश्वविद्यालय में 1916 में जब कि पं० मदन मोहन मालवीय भी मौजूद थे और वहाँ उस समय सभी राजे महाराजे भी गए थे, उस समय उस सभा में गांधी जी के शब्द थे, और गांधी जी के ये वाक्य उन को बड़े कड़वे लगे थे, यह इस कितना से मैं चौहान साहब के लिए पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ :

"But what did we witness in the great pandal in which the

foundation ceremony was performed by the Viceroy? Certainly a most gorgeous show, an exhibition of jewellery which made a splendid feast for the eyes of the greatest jeweller who chose to come from Paris. I compare with the richly bedecked nobleman the millions of the poor. I compare with the richly bedecked nobleman the millions of the poor. And I feel like saying to these noblemen, 'There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewellery and hold it in trust for your countrymen in India'

यह गांधी जी के वाक्य हैं। चव्हाण साहब प्रिवी पर्स को खत्म करने जायेंगे तो उस से कुछ प्रेरणा मिलेगी।

अब अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप का एक ताजी बात बताना चाहता हूँ। एक भ्रष्टाचार की बात। पूना म्युनिमिपल कारपोरेशन का जो बस चलाने का निगम है उस के मैनेजर जी० डी० दे-आई और वर्क्स मैनेजर हैं बंगर साहब उन के खिलाफ भ्रष्टाचार का आरोप आया है। जानता हूँ कि चव्हाण साहब का जो गृह विभाग है उस के द्वारा जांच हुई थी और जांच के बाद वह इन लोगों के खिलाफ मुकदमा चलाने की कोशिश कर रहे थे। लेकिन महाराष्ट्र की सरकार और पूना कारपोरेशन के अधिकारी लोग उस में झड़का डाल रहे हैं। जो स्टेयर पार्टीस उन को दिए गए थे उन्हें काले बाजार में उस के मैनेजर देसाई साहब और वार्स मैनेजर बेचने का काम कर रहे हैं। तो इस तरह की जांच को फौरन करना चाहिए और यह जो अधिकारी हैं देसाई साहब और वर्क्स मैनेजर उन के खिलाफ मुकदमा चलाया जाना चाहिए।

अभी बहस हो रही थी तो यह कहा जा रहा था कि डांगे साहब नक्सलवाड़ी के बारे

में कुछ कहेंगे। कुछ एस० एस० पी० के बारे में उन्होंने कहा। आप जानते हैं कि आसनसोल में हमारी यूनियन चल रही है। वहाँ दूसरी यूनियन भी चल रही है और सैफ्ट कम्युनिस्टों की यूनियन भी चल रही है। साम्यवादियों की तरफ से जो विरोधी हैं उन को खत्म करने के लिए टेरेरिज्म चला और उस में हमारे कार्यकर्ता आ साहब को मार डाला गया। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ जो कत्ल और गुण्डागर्दी इस तरह की चल रही है यह ठीक नहीं है। सैफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट्स जो है उन की जो यूनियन है उन के खिलाफ यह आरोप है कि यह सब कार्य यह कर रहे हैं। मैं टांगे साहब को कहना चाहता हूँ कि राजनीति में इस तरह की गुण्डागर्दी और टेरेरिज्म के जरिए किसी को खत्म करना यह सम्भना की चीज नहीं है। इसी तरह नक्सलवादी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। आज चव्हाण साहब को बड़ी बिल्ला है नक्सलवादी की।

अगर वहाँ पर अतुल्य घोष मुख्य मंत्री होते तो उस की इतनी चिन्ता नहीं होती न अखबारों में उस की इतनी चर्चा होती जितनी कि आज नक्सलवादी के बारे में हो रही है : नक्सलवादी में एक तां मन्थाल लोग हैं और दूसरे राजवंशी ट्राइबल के लोग हैं। मन्थाल लोगों की तादाद ज्यादा है। मन्थाल लोग वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों के नेतृत्व में हैं और यह लोग बाकी लोगों को खत्म करने के लिए इस तरह में टेरेरिज्म के काम कर रहा चाहते हैं। जो जेल दार का कहा जाता है उस में जो दो एकड़ तीन एकड़ वाले हैं उन को भी यह समझते हैं कि यह भी शोषक है इन को भी खत्म करो तो यह कोई अच्छी चीज नहीं है। आज संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी हिन्दुस्तान में गरीब लोगों के लिए दूसरी पार्टियों के मुकाबिले में ज्यादा हिमायत कर रही है। यह जो नक्सलवादी में गुण्डागर्दी हो रही है, यह बर्दाश्त करने वाली चीज नहीं है। हम इस को बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन इस का मतलब यह नहीं कि चव्हाण साहब इस में हाथ डालें।

वह इस को अजय मुखर्जी और बंगाल में जो मिनिस्ट्री है उस पर छोड़ें, वह इस काम को करेंगे। इन चन्द शब्दों के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक बुनियाद ठीक नहीं होती है तब तक गृह मन्त्रालय ठीक नहीं होगा।

**Shrimati Nirlep Kaur (Sangrur):**

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my policy cut motion refers to the failure of the Government to merge Chandigarh and other Punjabi-speaking areas with the Punjab. Unfortunately, we are far too quick to give opinions and decisions on issues and matters of others. But, on our own issues, no matter how urgent they are, all we get is perpetual indecision, delay or an appeal. This policy is making our internal position weaker every day. The present stalemate in keeping Chandigarh in a state of animated suspension can only make a bad position worse. The financial responsibility in respect of Chandigarh devolves now on the Centre which is already over-extended financially. With the Centre taking over; it has incurred a heavy burden on the Exchequer. The Central Government has other matters, which require precedence such as agriculture, food and defence, and finances are limited. The Centre will be relieved of this additional burden by returning Chandigarh to its rightful administrators at an early date.

Chandigarh has taken the place of Lahore in the minds and hearts and the plans of the Punjabis. In the loss of Lahore, the Punjabi-speaking people lost their Secretariat, High Court, Legislative Chamber and other Government buildings; a large number of well-established institutions like the Punjab University and professional and technical colleges were suddenly uprooted. The large commercial centres of Anarkali where Punjabis had invested a large amount was also lost. In short, the Punjabi-speaking people lost every aspect of academic, social, cultural, literary and commercial activities with Lahore.



**Shri Randhir Singh (Rohtak):** That was lost to us also.

**Shrimati Nirlep Kaur:** The displaced persons of the East had capitals like Calcutta and Dacca to fall back on, but the people of Punjab had to build from the ground all over again.

For six years the refugees drifted to Delhi and other cities all over India as they had no anchorages left. Finally the site for Chandigarh was selected keeping all due considerations required for a capital. Members of the Punjabi community irrespective of religion or creed gathered to build Punjab and the new capital of Chandigarh. Out of 11,486 plots sold to private owners in Chandigarh, only 1,457 were held by persons from the Hindi region of the erstwhile Punjab State which area now constitutes the Haryana State. Presuming all the sold plots have been built up, the percentage works out to 12.69. In other words, out of the entire built up property of Chandigarh, barely 12.69 per cent is owned by the people of Haryana origin and 87.31 per cent is owned by persons who hail from Punjabi speaking area. Obviously, considered from the important point of building property owned in the city, Haryana's claim on Chandigarh will be found to be thoroughly unjustifiable. It was presumed that Chandigarh was and would continue to be the capital of Punjab and consequently good road links and communications with our border outposts were built which is vital specially under present circumstances and all the District headquarters of the Punjab State are connected with roads. The only road connecting Haryana to link their District headquarters to Chandigarh through the Morni Hills is not reasonably possible. All the villages which were uprooted to build Chandigarh and its present surrounding villages are Punjabi speaking. No amount of nationalisation or hair-splitting can change the fact that Chandigarh was in its origin a Punjabi speaking area. The whole background testified to one fact that this was meant to be nerve

centre and heart beat of the new resurgent Punjab.

The tenacious monster of communalism which had taken the lives of 10 lakhs of people during partition once again reared its ugly head. It emerged stronger than all the sacrifice, misery and bloodshed, with the holocaust caused by communal riots at the time of partition. It took full command when the State was to be divided on a linguistic basis as in the rest of the country. The 1961 census was thoroughly under the influence of communalism. Unfortunately, quite wrongly and against considerations of fair play and justice, the doctored figures of the 1961 Census were sought to be taken into consideration by the Boundary Commission appointed by the Central Government. Apart from this misleading background the Commission committed a number of obvious errors. I have now no time to canvass them here. Even Pandit Nehru, the then Prime Minister made an official statement conceding that 1961 census of linguistic figures were undependable and incorrect and will have to be amended. Sant Fateh Singh was also able to perceive this and urged us on to a greater Hindu-Sikh unity. I might also mention that apart from the deliberately false returns in respect of the mother tongue by those whose spoken language is obviously Punjabi, the position is also distorted by the presence of a floating population represented by a large influx of Army and Air Force personnel and by a large number of labourers who hail from Rajasthan and Kashmir and will not make Chandigarh their home.

The Central Government, fortunately, appreciated the obviously erroneous premise of the majority of the members of the Boundary Commission. I will pay this tribute to the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, that she had the courage to realise this obvious mistake made by the majority of the Boundary Commission. But the Central Government did not have the courage to proceed

to the only logical and fair conclusion, namely, that Chandigarh had emerged from the dreams and the hopes and the unremitting toil of the Punjabi speaking people irrespective of community or creed.

**Shri Randhir Singh:** Now it belongs to Haryana.

**Shrimati Nirlep Kaur:** It appears from what I have heard in Parliament that Pakistan is again rattling the Sabre. Punjab is a border State and all these injustices, politically inspired communal disturbances and long pending decisions are not helping the morale of the Punjabi speaking people. We must remember that now-a-days wars are fought with populations and not by armies alone as we saw last time when we had conflict with Pakistan. The minds and the energies of the people of Punjab should be free from continuous internal troubles so that they build themselves up against the constant threat of our neighbour.

If against all facts and truth, political and communal pressures are allowed to weigh, a terrible bitterness will be created in the minds of the Punjabis. It will not only be a wanton injury which they certainly have not deserved, but a poor return for the blood and sweat which went into the making of Chandigarh and the courage with which the Punjabis always defend and build their homeland and the country. I appeal to the Government, and particularly to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to see that Chandigarh is given its rightful place as the Capital of Punjab.

**Shri Randhir Singh:** No. It should go to Haryana.

**Shri D. N. Singh (Muzaffarpur):** While discussing the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Home Affairs, we have to take into account the changes that have occurred in the political map of India as a  
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result of the last General Elections. The last General Elections resulted in the formation of United Front Governments in some of the States consisting of political parties having diametrically opposed views and political philosophies. The only thing that is common between them is the desire to be in office and the fear of the Congress. This is evident the way controversy is going on regarding the formation, policies and programmes and the personnel of the various United Front Governments. In this connection, I would like to read a few lines from the comments that appeared in the official organ of the Left Communist Party, *People's Democracy*, on the 25th June, 1967, on the functioning of the United Front Government in West Bengal. I quote:

"If the Government could adopt a correct attitude to these People's Committees, toiling people's class organisations and the various popular movements that are spreading throughout the State, there would be little cause for concern. But unfortunately that is not the situation. The various parties composing the Government are taking various attitudes. Particularly objectionable are the roles played by the SSP and the PSP. Their leaders are often taking anti-people attitudes. A local leader of the SSP in the Ranigunj area met with his end while leading a goonda attack upon the coal-field workers. The PSP is opposing the formation and functioning of People's Committees in different districts...."

**An hon. Member:** He is reading out.

**Shri D. N. Singh:** I am reading out a question.

**Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli):** Generally quotations are read less.

**Shri D. N. Singh:** Do not be impatient.

[Shri D. N. Singh]

"Moreover, the class bases of the various parties composing the Government being various, they take various attitudes to vital matters like procurement, gheraos, etc. It cannot be denied that the procurement policy pursued by the United Front Government has failed miserably due to the softness shown to the jotedars and other vested interests."

In the whole comment, there is not a word of condemnation regarding the death of the SSP worker and then a clear confession that the procurement policy of the West Bengal Government has failed miserably.

Another point that is frequently raised in this House as well as outside in the name of federalism and democracy is that the Home Minister and the Central Government are interfering with the day-to-day administration of the State. There is no denying the fact that ours is a federal Constitution, but unlike the United States, here the balance is heavily tilted in favour of the Centre, and this, the framers of our Constitution deliberately and rightly did to keep in check the fissiparous tendencies inherent in the Indian situation which had led to disruption of the unity of our country in the past. Then again, the founding fathers of our Constitution were also conscious of the fact that the enemies of democracy take advantage of those very rights and privileges, which democracy confers on them, to undermine the basis of democracy. Therefore, they provided the Central authority with sufficient powers, Constitutional powers, to protect the constitutional order from unconstitutionally initiated changes and for the maintenance of a climate which is necessary for the nation's stability, well-being, sustained growth and rapid forward movement. To say the least, there are certain political parties, there are certain political forces in this country—nobody will deny that—who do not have any faith in

our democratic ways, ideas. And they want to utilise the United Front Government that is functioning for their narrow partisan and political gains. Therefore, the Home Minister is perfectly within his right to see to it that the democratic institution is not put to a severe strain or that its functioning is not undermined. Therefore, when the cry is raised of undue interference by the Home Minister, I do not think that it is justified. What is he to do when there is lawlessness in Bengal?

**Shri Ganesh Ghosh** (Calcutta South): Interfere.

**Shri D. N. Singh**: Not interfere.

**Shri Ganesh Ghosh**: Then what else?

**Shri D. N. Singh**: What is he to do when there is a sense of lawlessness in Bengal? Only the other day, a Member of the Congress Party was belaboured; he was badly beaten and humiliated. He has written a letter to the secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament. That has been published in today's papers and it is there for anybody to read; and anyone can see, from that the way in which he was treated and the way things are happening in Bengal. Is that manifestation of popular anger?

**Shri Ganesh Ghosh**: Read Shri Asoke Sen's editorial on this in the *Basumati* of Saturday last.

**Shri D. N. Singh**: I shall read it. The hon. Member may kindly send it on to me.

**Shri Ganesh Ghosh**: It is available here.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya**: My hon. friends from the other side have become votaries of Shri Asoke Sen now.

**Shri Ganesh Ghosh**: My hon. friends opposite have become votaries of America.

**Shri D. N. Singh:** When we are discussing the general political climate in the country, we must take into account two words of very recent origin, and they are *pathrao* and *gherao*. *Patharao* was used very much and effectively by some of my hon. friends opposite at the time of the last general elections and that paid them rich dividends. After the elections, this problem of *gherao* is there.

In my State of Bihar, the problem of *gherao* is not confined only to labour disputes, but it has spread far and wide. A vice-chancellor and a treasurer of a university had to resign because they were *gheraoed* by the students. And for what were they *gheraoed*? They were *gheraoed* for extending the date of the examinations.

**Shri Ranga (Srikakulam):** What is *Pathrao*? We do not know it.

**Shri D. N. Singh:** He may ask the gentleman behind him.

**Shri Ranga:** We do not know what what it means.

**Shri D. N. Singh:** Then, again, the Chief Minister and the PWD Minister of my State had to return from a district headquarters without fulfilling their engagements because they were in danger of being *gheraoed* by the students. The other day, the people mobbed and *gheraoed* a railway train and forcibly released five or six passengers who had been arrested by the railway authorities for ticketless travelling. Now, God knows what is going to happen. Still, we are told that *gherao* is nothing but the anger and grievance of the people.

Another point to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is regarding Naxalbari. Much has been said in this House about it, and the people have discussed it a lot. I do not want to say anything myself. I should only like to read out a few lines from the resolution of the executive committee of the West Bengal Unit of the PSP, and this is what the resolution says:—

"The championing of the Naxalbari revolt by Peking Radio has once more exposed the hollowness of the plea of the Marxist Communists as to the agrarian character of the revolt at Naxalbari. The revolt has been engineered by the Marxist Communists to create a situation of subversion through-out the State with the ultimate objective of seizure of power by the Marxist Communists, aided and abetted by China."

Not only that. The other day a Minister of the West Bengal Government was addressing a meeting which was disturbed. Thereafter he issued a statement in which he stated: "if lawlessness was allowed to continue, democracy would be in peril; it seemed that people had no guarantee of their life and property."

The other day there was a news item published in the *Hindustan Times*. I would bring that also to the notice of the House:

"June 30—Delhi University Vice-Chancellor has received hundreds of letters from parents in West Bengal urging seats for their wards. Dr. B. N. Ganguli told this correspondent the letters showed the parents' concern at the political situation in the State.. The annual examination there has been postponed to September because some students created trouble on the examination day. Dr. Ganguli said that already many students of West Bengal were going to other universities and Delhi University, being in the Capital, attracted them."

This is the situation in West Bengal. If the Home Minister goes and says something and cautions the West Bengal Government, then he is charged with undue interference in the day to day administration of the State. I think the Home Minister will be failing in his duty if he does not bring to the notice of the State Government the serious law-and-order situation that has developed there.

[Shri D. N. Singh]

The other point to which I would like to draw the attention of this House is the way in which some of the leaders of the constituent units of the various United Front governments are levelling charges against the civil servants particularly belonging to the all-India cadre. They are levelling charges of disloyalty, subversion and sabotage. It will be a sad day for the country if the permanent civil service is made a target of political controversy and attack. The very fact that the Constitution provided for the establishment of an all-India cadre is the proof that the founding fathers wanted to have a body of permanent executive sufficiently detached in its political orientation, capable of discharging their duty and responsibility free from provincial, regional and other denominational considerations and bias. For any successful functioning of democracy the permanent civil servants should be sufficiently independent to be capable of offering to its political superiors detailed, matter of fact assessment of the measures which the Government is proposing. If they fail to deal with the problem from a united central point of view and are subjected to witch-hunting and are demoralised, that will be indeed a sad day for our country and for our democracy.

Then, the Home Minister is also being charged with going back on his words regarding the emergency. We have seen what is happening. Even today there was a question in this House regarding the intrusion of Pakistani troops on our borders. There is the Peking broadcast, Pakistani broadcast, urging the people of India especially in the border areas, to rise in rebellion. Here, one thing that I would like to bring to the notice of this House is that Peking Radio in its broadcast has said that the foundation for this Naxalbari rebellion was laid in 1965 when the Communist Party distributed arms to the peasants. That is what the Peking broadcast says. (Interruptions). That is in the papers. You see the Patriot.

(Interruptions) Please hear me. Have some patience.

Shri Nambiar: Do not believe that. Believe me.

Shri D. N. Singh: I believe you, but the very fact that you have expelled 12 or 13 members from your party shows that you are not able to control them.

16.30 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri Nambiar: How can we control Peking Radio.

Shri D. N. Singh: I am not charging you, I am charging those friends of yours whom you are unable to control. I have not yet lost hope of you (Interruptions). The Home Minister wanted to lift the emergency in most areas; he wanted the emergency to continue in some border areas. He wanted the co-operation of the Opposition but that was not forthcoming. What was he to do? He had to continue it.... (Interruptions.) He can also become a member of the Bhim club. I have not lost hopes. So, the charge that he had gone back on his word is not correct. Government is not keen to continue the emergency. But what can the Home Minister do in the present disturbed conditions in view of the attitude of China and Pakistan. He has got to be alert because the Constitution enjoins on him to see to it that the integrity of the country is maintained. With these words I support the demands relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs. I thank you for giving me an opportunity.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): Sir, Mr. Chavan is not here .. (Interruptions.)

एक माननीय सदस्य : छोटे भाई तो हैं ?

श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी : छोटे भाई हैं तो उन को मैं बड़ी किताब प्रेजेंट करता हूँ।

These are the demands for grants of the Home Ministry on the basis of which the discussion is to take place. There is a table of contents in the first page. There are matters inside and it says a particular item is on pages 346-349. But when you actually go through the book, you will find that the last page is 301. That is the material that has been distributed. That shows the care that the Home Ministry and the host of other officials take.

Before I go into other matters, I want to refer to two or three small matters. During the Home Ministry's debate last year, I had pointed out that whereas we gave the full report of the CBI about their activities, there was no mention either in the CBI report or in the Ministry's annual report about the work of the central intelligence service. We spend lakhs of rupees and much can be said against these services. Last time I pointed out that there was no co-ordination between the different intelligence services that function at different levels. I made a charge that when the Mizo trouble started, although the information was sent from the field long before the real trouble started, some official here had no time to look into the papers and therefore the Minister did not know anything about it. There is no co-ordination. But on the basis of the report of this central intelligence the entire administrative apparatus functions. If it reports that some particular official at some time, say, during his student days was connected with some political activity—although he had subsequently ceased all connections with it—he is immediately removed from the service without even giving him time for explanation. On the basis of that report these things go on. We want to know really how far the central intelligence service has been functioning and how far it has been helpful to what they say in this report 'preserve without even giving him time for country and keeping society orderly'.

Before coming to other topics, I would like to know from the Home Minister, even in regard to this CBI Report—what is this particular case. They have stated that "out of the 709 cases pending investigation at the end of the year, 231 were more than six months old, including 41 cases of 1965 and one of 1964". Regarding the cases of 1964, they make particular mention that "in the old case of 1964, investigation had actually been completed but it had to remain pending further disposal on account of the circumstances beyond the control of the Central Investigation Bureau, Special Police Establishment." I would like to know what are those particular circumstances and why it has not been finalised as yet.

At the same time, the Home Ministry has introduced during the course of the last year a new force called the Border Security Force for which they claim in this report that by bringing this new force into action, they have been able to prevent much of the border incidents with the co-operation of the State police, etc. Let us remember that this functioning of the dual authority near the border would bring calamity to this country. It had happened when the Kutch trouble was there. If the Defence Ministry had been asked much earlier to intervene, probably we would have avoided that conflict altogether. But the Home Ministry wanted to show up; they even did not inform the Defence Ministry. We were called into a conference here, with the Prime Minister. The then Commander-in-Chief told us that there was no question of blaming the Defence, because we were not informed or called upon to come there." Therefore, what I would suggest is this. If after all, a Border Security Force is needed—it is needed no doubt—then, it should have been placed at the disposal of the Defence Forces. Let it function in the armed forces. Let their functions be defined; may be, their functions may have only limited scope and they may function in a limited area. But, at the same time, it is necessary to see that

[Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedy]

we do not create a dual authority, and let the enemy take advantage of it. In Mizo land and in Nagaland wherever these troubles are taking place, it is on account of the failure of our intelligence service and the security force.

I would like to put this simple question before the Home Minister without going into any details. Let him satisfy the House whether the primary task entrusted to this Ministry is being achieved with success and to his satisfaction. Here, I would just read out from the first paragraph of the Annual Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs. It says:

"The Ministry of Home Affairs covers a broad spectrum of administrative activity having an important bearing on the nation's stability and well-being and on the maintenance of a climate which is necessary for the country's sustained growth and rapid forward movement. The preservation of internal security of the country and keeping the society orderly;..."

What are our achievements? If after 20 years of freedom, taking into account how far through the administrative machinery of this country, we have not been able to create that climate for a real, healthy, democratic growth, then, there is no need of a Home Ministry, I would say.

What do we find today? I know the Congressmen on that side are very much exercised over the emergence of new forces in some States. The monolith has broken. United Fronts have come into being. A few years ago whatever the Congress High Command or the Central Government ordered, that would be carried out automatically. That is not the position now. The States have their own rights under the Constitution. They must be allowed full freedom to exercise their right under a federal Constitution. If we want to encroach

upon the rights of the States, naturally there will be tension and clash. In a multi-party country, we have to put up these United Fronts. Unless they act in such a manner as to subvert the Constitution or their actions go against the very fundamentals of our democratic functioning, there should be no interference. I think friends here who are advocating central intervention off and on just because something has happened are doing a great disservice to democracy. We are lamenting over Naxalbari. I agree with Mr. Dange that Naxalbari is not the problem. In 1948, Telangana was there. You must go into the root cause of the problem. It is not only Naxalbari. In West Bengal itself, a political worker was murdered in broad day light and for 24 days even normal police machinery did not work. Nobody was arrested. FIR was there, still nobody touched the culprits.

The root cause of all these things is our administrative machinery is so bureaucratic and wooden that it does not really cater to the needs of the situation. As I pointed out yesterday, even during British regime, we did not hear these things. It is not by taking recourse to emergency legislation that you can really prevent such things happening. It is really a disgrace that in spite of the fact that there has been an almost unanimous demand from all sections that emergency should be revoked, this Government again chose to continue it. Probably Mr. Chavan has established a record in the whole world. Here is an emergency Home Minister functioning in this country for years to come. Their only plea is that in border areas, the situation is very difficult. This Parliament is prepared to help you at any time a border clash occurs. The House agreed to the Defence of India Rules unanimously. Even before emergency, the Kashmir and Nagaland problems were there. How did you tackle them? You cannot curb the fundamental rights of the citizens of this country for all times to



come. This is no freedom at all. Let us know what are the elements that are creating disturbances, what are the tendencies that are getting an upper-hand in this country. The real threat to democracy is not the number of political parties, is not the formation of United Fronts; the real threat to democracy today is the elements of violence, the elements who sabotage, elements who do not owe loyalty to this country. These elements are active in our country today; nobody can deny that. We know that at one time the country was threatened with disintegration; you amended the Constitution; you provided oath for every member of the Legislative Assembly and Member of Parliament. You said that they must take the oath that they stand for the integrity of this country. You banned secessionist movement. You got all help from this Parliament for that purpose.

Now, let us try to understand the position. Let us not blame this party or that party. Shri Dange has made no secret of what he feels. He feels that this Home Minister is not the Home Minister for democratic development; this Home Minister is for monopolists and capitalists; this Home Minister uses his whole machinery against the workers, peasants and exploited classes. In order to remove that, if the exploited classes raise their hands, if they have their weapons against them, he sees nothing wrong in that. That is his philosophy and he openly advocates it.

There is no question of blaming this party or that party. I want to warn the Home Minister. You have seen what has happened in Calcutta just day before yesterday. There was a meeting organised to express our anger against the Chinese. What happened? Those who organised demonstrations outside the meeting, to break up the meeting—I have nothing to say against them—the slogans they shouted in the streets of Calcutta, the former capital of this country, are “Chinese way is our way; Naxalbari is the only way”. When such slogans

are shouted, I do not know whether the CPI (Left) or Marxists would own them or not. They have already expelled some persons in Naxalbari. But the type of action that is perpetrated there, that is indulged in by these elements, that has not been condemned by anybody.

So, the main thing is we must do some fundamental thinking, if we really want that the democratic machinery of this country should not be sabotaged and that we went to give freedom to everybody according to our Constitution. We have provided in our Constitution the freedom of speech and the right to form associations. So, we must permit them to continue in this country but, at the same time, let us think what sort of machinery and what sort of law we should provide in this country so that those elements believing in violence, those elements having loyalty not to the motherland but to some other country, they would not have the opportunity to subvert the very basis of our democratic growth. I would like the Home Minister to apply his mind very seriously to this question. Unless we do that, unless we create public opinion against such elements, it is no good detaining some persons. You issued a White Paper and you detained certain Left Communists in Kerala. But what happened? That did not help you in any way. So, I would say that in this country you should create public opinion through the machinery of the Government so as not to give room for elements like this which stand in the way of the progress of this country. This is one aspect.

I have many things to say, but since I have limited time I do not want to go into the details. But I would be failing in my duty if I do not refer to another aspect, and that is the administrative machinery. First, I will take corruption.



[Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedy]

Everybody here in this House and even the political parties agree that so far as corruption is concerned, whether in the administrative sphere or in the political sphere, it should be eradicated. We have been talking about it and committees are appointed. A committee was appointed, the Santhanam Committee, and certain recommendations were made by the Committee. They accepted all or many of them. Even in this report they say that they have accepted 108 or 111 recommendations of the Committee but the most essential part of it has not been accepted.

We see what has happening. They refuse to listen to reason. Now the Ayyangar Commission report has come and what state of things, involving lakhs of rupees, has been revealed. They may say Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad is in the Opposition. But, mind you, these were done when he was a Congress Prime Minister in Jammu and Kashmir. You did not do anything. This Government, the Central Government, refuses to appoint any commission whatsoever and that commission probably would not have been appointed if Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad had not gone into the Opposition. When it was appointed we see what sort of things are revealed.

So also in respect of many other States. When complaints are made here, they say the Prime Minister must satisfy himself or herself first that a *prima facie* case is there. Who is the Prime Minister to decide? She is after all a party boss; she will try to protect and as a result the country will suffer.

Then, the ARC Report is there. The Lokpal and the Lok Ayukta were to be appointed. Government said that they would accept that. When are they going to do that? All these matters should be referred to them. They do not do that. They are delaying this matter.

It is a good thing that the Administrative Reforms Commission has been established. It is scrutinising every aspect of the administration but even now I hear that external affairs, defence and railways are excluded from the scrutiny of the Administrative Reforms Commission. I do not know why. These three departments and ministries are not to be scrutinised by the Administrative Reforms Commission. That means, they do not want any reform in these three ministries probably. It is really something surprising. The Administrative Reforms Commission, which has appointed study teams to go into the details of every aspect of the administration, should be entrusted with this task also so that Parliament knows what is the defect in our administration and how we can remedy it to suit the purposes of our democracy.

Now I want to refer to only one thing; friends have referred to it. Biju Patnaik is left to you.

Mr. Speaker: Leave it to him now.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I do not raise that now because, as you know, there are already some charges brought against him which will be enquired by a Commission. I do not go into that. Nowadays you must have observed that I do not raise any questions against Biju Patnaik.

एक मामलीय सबस्य : बीजू पटनायक पर कांग्रेस हाई कमान्ड विचार करे।

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: The only thing that I want to say lastly is about the question of privy purses and privileges. I really welcome this resolution that has been passed by the AICC and I would like to see whether those who have passed the resolution really are able to get it implemented through the machinery of this government. When this question was first raised in the Constituent Assembly, the Praja Socialist Party, which was

then the Socialist Party, suggested that we should not have any privileged classes, but if at all you think that because of some agreement or assurance you want to give privy purses to certain rulers give them privy purses all right but make it an office of profit. If a Government servant getting Rs. 100 has no right to representation in the Parliament and Assemblies—it becomes an office of profit—on what logic do you give this right to hundreds of people who are a parasitic class as has been stated? Therefore, it is right time that we ask them to give up privy purses. They are trying to hold a conference. Let them hold a conference. If the ex-rulers really want to take part in politics, as they are taking now, let them come forward and join politics in as many numbers as they like but, at the same time, let them also voluntarily give up their privy purses. Let us also amend the Constitution.

**Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda (Cachar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs, I deem it my duty to bring to the notice of the Government and the House the law and order situation in my constituency.

The State of Assam suffers from transport bottleneck and we are today faced with greatest danger of being cut off from the rest of India. The situation in Naga Hills, Mizo Hills District and the present political situation in Assam, augmented by unrest in terai area of West Bengal is becoming a cause of great concern for us, living in the border district of the border State of Assam.

I represent a constituency in Assam comprising of the Mizo Hills District and a part of the District of Cachar. The extremist insurrection in the Mizo Hills District has drawn attention to the ailments of the 8,134 sq. miles district which forms a part of the constituency I represent. The threat to law and order, the armed revolt, has to be and is faced milita-

rily. The aggravated symptom necessitating police measures should not blind us to the main disease which is after all the cumulative effect of a number of factors against the background of neglect and backwardness.

We must in all humility hold ourselves responsible for our failure to construct roads and bridges and to open the dead river like Kaladan for the partition affected backward hills for speedy economic development on the one hand and also for our failure to build bridges of emotional integration on the psychological plane. In two decades of our freedom, we have not yet succeeded in building one all-weather road for covering the important areas of this district bordering unfriendly Pakistan. The question of border roads has not come to our mind. This lamentable lack of transport and communication is now responsible for retarding our anti-insurgency measures. Two-thirds of the Mizo Hills District have to be supplied with foodgrains and essential commodities from air and even then the supply is far below the requirements and the sufferings of the loyal population have increased.

Take, for instance, Chakmas inhabiting Dimagiri, Chamgta, Marpara, Barapansuri and other areas whose population is about 37,000 have been suffering badly from inadequate supply as a result of last year's disturbances and raids in Chakma villages by Mizo National Front rebels, killing about 155 of them and they fled away abandoning their 'jhums'. If they are helped even during this time of the year to plant their 'jhums' with all available Government help, the food situation there will improve by the end of this year. At present, they are in a miserable state and I have reports of starvation deaths amongst them. I would urge upon the Government to make all available help to the Chakmas so that they can cultivate their land this year. Such is the food position but it is most unfortunate that during the implementation of the

[Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda]

"operation security" more than 75 per cent of rice and paddy were allowed to fall into the hands of the rebels or face destruction.

Now in this 'operation security' grouping of a section of villages to the exclusion of others, has made the latter villages worst victims of the rebel on slaughts. In order to avoid recurrence of these onslaughts, those villages which have been excluded, such as, Tipaimukh locality, under Pawi-Lakher Regional Council, and such other areas should immediately be brought under 'security zone'.

17 hrs.

I have now to refer to an unfortunate affairs which is endangering the emotional integration and national unity. It must be admitted in fairness that, in the task of quelling an armed uprising, some amount of marginally indiscriminate action might appear unavoidable under certain circumstances. But utmost care must be taken and the security forces must be placed under the real control of the civil authorities to prevent such unfortunate incidents. I am one of those who are full of admiration for the gallantry and sacrifice of our officers and jawans. In March, 1966, the security forces first entered the Mizo district and the rebels fled away to jungle hide-outs leaving those loyal Mizos. But some of these loyal Mizos, though they needed to be treated with sympathy and friendliness, were subjected to humiliation and assault. This naturally created an unwarranted atmosphere and reacted in the minds of the non-hostile population.

It must be our earnest endeavour to punish the guilty and stop recurrence of such deeds endangering the image of our country. Our endeavour should be to reclaim the hitherto misguided Mizo youngsters and prevent collusion of the local rebels with unfriendly foreign countries. I would urge upon the Government to employ sufficient

number of security forces to keep a constant vigilance on the borders. To ensure speedy restoration of peace and tranquility, we must strengthen the autonomous Mizo District Council and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council by affording all assistance to loyal leadership. The chakmas in Dimagiri-Chaungta-Marpara area should also get their autonomous organ of local power without further loss of time. A beginning in this regard should be made by posting more civil officers, preferably of the Indian Administrative Service, to man the new administrative posts. The aspirations of the Pawis, Lakher, and Hmars should be sympathetically tackled.

Now I refer to the law and order question of the other part of my constituency—a part of Cachar district. The region comprising of Cachar, North Cachar Hills District, Mizo District, Tripura and a part of Manipur State is vitally important and still suffers from backwardness owing to chronic neglect. Dependence on uncertain hill section, i.e., Badarpur-Lumding section of the N.F. Rly. and the fair weather road via Shillong, i.e., Badarpur-Jawai-Shillong Road with the rest of the country, has made the region vulnerable on economic and other planes. The people of this zone expected that the Government of India would keep in mind the region's special needs and make the necessary transport and communication arrangements for this region. But nothing has been done so far. The result is that not only the district of Cachar but the entire region has to depend on this uncertain hill section of the N.F. Railway.

During the monsoon last year the said hill section became inoperative due to floods and damages in the tunnels. Even though it was pointed out times without number that proper repairs should be undertaken, I am afraid still we are in the same uncertain position. We are apprehending that if the floods recur this year, we might be cut off and the law and

order situation may deteriorate in this region.

The border defence position of the district of Cachar is such that in the last monsoon, some Pakistanis, backed by the Pakistan Border Police, made a daring dacoity with murder in village Gumra under Kaligora Police Station. There was no security police force to protect the villages in the border. During the rainy season, the water levels leave no demarcation in the border areas and no river security force is there to protect those areas. I would urge upon Government to employ river security force in the border areas which come under water.

The people of Cachar, in the border villages, have to suffer from the Mizo rebels onslaughts and depredations. Our people living in the borders either of East Pakistan or of the Mizo District need to be looked properly. Transport difficulties have affected the prices of essential commodities, resulting in discontent in the minds of the people of Cachar.

Educated unemployment, surplus tea labour unemployment are burning problems, and the economy is at the lowest ebb. The district of Cachar is surrounded by hills and unfriendly Pakistan. Its economy is shattered, and transport and communication is difficult. It needs special attention from the Government of India for reasons of security.

While this is the situation in Cachar, there is the talk of reorganisation of the State of Assam. The people of Cachar are not for the disintegration of the State, but we feel that every section of the people must get their proper share in the development of their aspirations. As such, the people of Cachar demand that the district of Cachar should be an independent federating unit, having equal status and authority but not subordinate to any other federating unit. In any variation, the people of Cachar will not accept anything other than an autonomous district under the Government of India.

With these words, I support the Demands of the Home Ministry.

**Mr. Speaker:** There are a number of Unattached Members. I would like to give one or two of them a chance. But they should make their speeches very short; then only it will be possible for me to call at least one or two from among them. Apart from the Progressive Group and the other three groups formed with Independent Members, there are some Members who are Unattached. They get about 15 minutes' time. So, I would like to call one or two friends from the Unattached group. I would like them to take only about five to seven minutes each so that at least two Members may be called. First, I would call Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait. Then, Shri Shinkre will get a chance.

**Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait (Kozhikode):** I am beholden to you for the opportunity that has been given to me to speak on the Demands of the Home Ministry. Needless to say, the Home Ministry is one of the very important and key Ministries of the Government on whose proper working depends the internal peace and contentment of the people, so very essential to meet the external dangers from any foreign power and from any quarter.

I am afraid I will be able to deal only with very few matters because of the very little time at my disposal. I hope that you, Sir, and the House will bear with me for some time.

Sir, the question of the official language is an issue which affects the very vital interests of our country and the well-being of the people of our country. In the interest of the indispensable unity and integrity of the country, I would very earnestly plead for the unambiguous continuance of English as at least an associate official language, if not the official language itself, of our country for a long time to come.

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

I know that some of my friends may not agree with me. But this is only on emotional grounds. On deep thinking you will agree that what I say is based on sound reasoning and deep sincerity. Secondly, Sir, Hindi is made the official language, then, a short period of time, the people having that language as their mother-tongue will inevitably come to have an ascendancy in the governance of the country which the people speaking other languages would not tolerate. Every man with a little common sense will understand that, in the vast generality of cases, those who do not have Hindi as their mother tongue, cannot become so proficient and efficient in Hindi as those having any other language as their mother tongue. This will logically lead to a situation when Hindi people will have a superiority over others and others will have to occupy an inferior position not only in the matter of Government employment, but also in the society. This discrimination will give rise to heart burnings and people adversely affected will naturally fight against such an inferior position. This, I am afraid, will jeopardise the unity and integrity of the country, which has to be upheld at any cost. Sir, I would therefore fervently urge that all the mother tongues of the country should be left untouched and English should be made the official language of the country. This alone will provide equal advantage or disadvantages to all people of country alike. If this is not possible then English should continue as the associate official language, together with Hindi, until the time the people of the country realise and recognise the real nature of the attachment of various linguistic groups to their mother tongue.

Sir, while speaking of the mother tongue one cannot forget the injustice that has been done to the Urdu language persistently for last 20 years. Representations have been made to the Government at different times and petitions have been submitted to

the President with lakhs and lakhs of signatures unparalleled in the matter of bulk, in the history of any part of the world. You are aware that Urdu is a language spoken by crores and crores of people in various parts of the country. It is highly developed and beautiful language born and bred in our country. It has got a volume of literature that can stand favourable comparison with any literature of not only any developed language of our own country but of the whole world.

Sir, this injustice and this inequity must stop and therefore I demand that must immediately be taken by the authorities to declare Urdu as a regional language in the States of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Andhra. The Urdu speaking people have suffered long enough and I implore the Government to take immediate steps to remove this undeserved suffering.

Sir, Now coming to the Emergency and Defence of India rules measures most hated by the people of the country whose life has been recently extended by the so-called democratic Government of the country have no legal moral or political sanctions. These measures were designed as a medicine for a certain definite situation which arose in 1962. But the Government of our country having fed upon this medicine for unduly long time has developed a taste for it and is mistaking it for the daily food. The Government is today reluctant to give up the powers they have under DIR. This reluctance only shows the scant regard they have for the fundamental rights of the people guaranteed by our constitution. The Government wants to have the emergency to continue to meet the situation in certain areas in the country. No doubt the ordinary laws of the country which also includes the much debated Preventive Detention act is sufficient for any human Government to deal with any situation in normal times. Therefore the Government I feel Sir, has no justification whatsoever for the con-

tinuance of Emergency and DIR any further. It must be scrapped forthwith.

Sir, I am myself ashamed to mention how arbitrarily this D.I.R. has been used against peaceful and loyal citizens of the country for last so many years. Thousands of Muslims from one corner of the country to the other, were put behind the bars for months together during Indo-Pak. war in 1967 without any iota of charge against them on ground of false and cooked up complaints and on unfounded suspicions. These people having lost their jobs and business are undergoing hardships even today for which Government alone is responsible.

Sir, If the Government claims not to have misused the DIR let it come forward and appoint a Committee to go into all the cases of incarceration they have resorted to so far under DIR so that the people may regain the sense of security which has been so badly shaken.

Sir, the very outstanding example of arbitrary and unjust use of Emergency measures by the Government is of depriving of the freedom of Shaik Abdulla the great and respected leader of Kashmir for such a long time. He has been in prison for about 14 years now which is against all principles of Justice and fair play. The Government has utterly failed to prepare any case against him so far after his present detention since 1965. If we do not set him free now it will appear to the world that the Government is afraid of some thing which it does not want the world to know. I would very much want that our Government and our country should not present any such image in the eyes of the world.

Therefore, Sir, I would urge immediate action by the Government on the petition submitted by 125 Hon. members of both the Houses of the Parliament belonging to all parties in which they say "Considerations of democracy and civil liberty demand

that Shaik Abdulla should either be released forthwith or brought to trial on a specific charge or charges without delay". I only hope Government will muster courage to do so.

Sir, going through the Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs it is strange to find the Government derives some satisfaction from the fact that communal incidents came down to 133 in 1966 as compared to 173 in 1965. This is still really very alarming and serious situation. 133 communal clashes in a year means and works out to an average of 1 incident every 3 days in a year. When the situation still continues to be so grave and serious one cannot understand how the Government derives any satisfaction. The report speaks of the precautionary measures. But of what use are the precautionary measures that do not completely stop communal clashes and present a clean State. I cannot remain without expressing my deep sorrow and serious disappointment at the working of the Intelligence Department which cannot smell the incidents in advance. I only wish that our intelligence is made more efficient for the sake of the protection of the life, honour and property of the citizens of the country.

Sir, It has been urged upon the Government times out of number, that whenever such communal incidents, communal clashes and communal killings take place, to immediately institute judicial enquiry, publish the findings of such enquiries, rehabilitate the victims and publish the report of such rehabilitation work.

But Sir, to my regret and amazement I have to say that never once it has been done. Not a single Judicial Enquiry has been instituted and no rehabilitation report has been published so far in any communal clash for last 20 years not even at the time of the great holocaust of 1964 in Calcutta, Jamshedpur and Rurekela. I find Judicial enquiries take place in all other cases of violence be it food

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

riots in West Bengal or language riots in East Punjab. I welcome all this also, I am also happy that the Home Minister has only yesterday agreed to institute a Judicial enquiry in the case of violence at the Tihar Jail of Delhi, which was only just and fair. But Sir, I have completely failed to understand this reluctance on the part of Government and this discrimination against the muslim minority of not conceding their just legitimate demand to institute Judicial Enquiry to find out culprits when communal clashes take place. In the name of Justice and secularism which they always profess I demand an explanation from the Government in this regard. The Government should come out with a straight and reasonable answer. Sir, These are some of very important matters to which I have referred. In case these facts are not seriously looked into and in case these demands are not considered sympathetically all our talk of democracy, socialism, and secularism will only be a farce and people will lose all their faith in these high principles of Socialistic pattern, democracy and secularism under which our friends over there always take shelter.

श्री शिकरे (पंजिम): माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, कहावत है कि जब डोल और नगाड़े बजाये जाते हैं तब टिमकी की टीन टीन सुनाई नहीं आती। जब यहाँ इस हाउस में केरल के नगाड़े और बंगाल के डोल बजाये जाते हैं तब गोम्रा की किन किन कौन सुने, अध्यक्ष जी, मुझे यही कहना है कि पिछले कई सप्ताह पहले गृह मंत्री जी ने एक बयान दिया था कि 'जहाँ तक गोम्रा की समस्याओं के बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार का प्रश्न आता है वहाँ तक यह समस्या खत्म हो गई है। लेकिन मैं गृह मंत्री जी से बड़ी नम्रता से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक गोम्रा में उस के मराठी स्कूलों में 85 हजार विद्यार्थी मराठी माध्यम से शिक्षा पाते रहेंगे तब तक गोम्रा की

समस्या खत्म नहीं होगी। जब तक गोम्रा का दर्जा केन्द्र शासित रहेगा, यूनियन टेरिटरी का रहेगा, तब तक गोम्रा की समस्या कभी भी खत्म नहीं होगी। जब तक गोम्रा के माध्यमिक स्कूलों में 8 हजार से ज्यादा विद्यार्थी मराठी माध्यम से शिक्षा लेते हैं तब तक, वह समस्या कभी भी खत्म नहीं होगी। और एक बात मैं बताना चाहता हूँ जब तक गोम्रा में जो पाठियाँ हैं युनाइटेड गोम्रन्स और महाराष्ट्रवादी गोमन्तक पार्टी और गोम्रा के बारे में जो उन के विचार हैं वह न बदल जायें तब तक यह समस्या रहेगी। उन के विचार बदल जाय तो यह समस्या फिर वापस आ जायगी और उस टाइम में मुझे बोलने का मौका जरूर मिलेगा। मेरा जो कटमोशन है इस बारे में वह मैं गृह-मंत्री जी के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

"Need to place before Parliament a comprehensive report regarding Union Poll held in Goa, Daman and Diu."

इस सदन में मुझसे बार-बार सवाल पूछा जाता है कि गोम्रा में वह चमत्कार कैसे हुआ ? पहले गोम्रा ने हां कहा, पीछे नां कहा और आखिर में हां कहा। यह कैसे हुआ ? इसीलिए मैं गृह मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि गोम्रा में जो जनता का ओपिनियन पोल हुआ उस की रिपोर्ट द्वाँ रखे, क्योंकि उन लोगों को मालूम होना चाहिए कि गोम्रा में क्या हुआ ओपिनियन पोल के समय ?

इस के बाद मैं एक प्रश्न और यहाँ रखना चाहता हूँ। गोम्रा की जो यूनियन टेरिटरी है उस में गोम्रा है डामन है और ड्यू है। मैं समझता हूँ कि सदन के बहुत से सदस्यों ने गोम्रा डामन और ड्यू को सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान के मॅप में देखा है। गोम्रा डामन से बहुत दूर है करीब करीब 500 मील दूर है और ड्यू 700 मील दूर है और इतनी दूर दूर के प्रदेश एक यूनियन टेरिटरी में रखना, मैं

समझता हूँ कि यह एक स्वदेशी साम्राज्य-वाद है, देशी कालोनिअलिज्म है। गोआ में हम लोग यूनिन टेरीटरी में हैं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप को मालूम होगा कि गोआ कोई आदिम जमात का प्रदेश नहीं, कोई बेकवर्ड प्रदेश नहीं। ओपिनियन पोल के समय गोआ के सामने केवल दो ही पर्याय रखे गए। एक यूनिन टेरीटरी और दूसरा इन्टी-ब्रेशन आक्र गोआ इनटू महाराष्ट्र। मैं समझता हूँ कि उस समय गोआ के सामने एक और पर्याय रखा जाना चाहिए था एक और विकल्प रखना जरूरी था और वह था सेपरेट स्टेट। स्वायत्त स्टेट। वह रखा नहीं गया। वह यूनिन टेरीटरी है इस बजह से हम लोगों को जो भारतीय कायदे कानून हैं उन का फायदा नहीं मिल रहा है। यहां भारत में शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज का क्लासिफिकेशन हो गया और वह क्लासिफिकेशन होने के बाद यहां के जो शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोग हैं उन का फायदा हो गया, उनको सुविधाएं मिल गईं। लेकिन गोआ में वह क्लासिफिकेशन हुआ ही नहीं। साढ़े पांच वर्ष हो गए हैं गोमन्तक के स्वातंत्र्य के और अभी तक क्लासिफिकेशन हुआ ही नहीं। अध्यक्ष महाशय, ऐसा क्यों होता है इस का खुलासा मैं करता हूँ... (व्यवधान)... मेरा यह भाषण हिन्दी में दूसरा भाषण है।... (व्यवधान)...

दादरा और नागर हवेली के बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान) मैंने निश्चय किया है कि इस सदन में मैं हिन्दी में ही बोलूंगा और मुझे अभिमान है क्योंकि गोआ के स्वातंत्र्य से पहले ही हम लोगों ने हिन्दी को अपनी राष्ट्रभाषा माना था।

मैं दादरा और नागर हवेली के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मेरा जो

प्रोफेशन है अध्यापन का वह नागर हवेली में ही मैंने शुरू किया 1946 के पहले मैं वहां शिक्षक था और वहां की कहानी मैं जानता हूँ क्योंकि मैंने वह सारी परिस्थितियाँ देखी हैं। दादरा और नागर हवेली का जो प्रदेश है वह करीब 72 विलेज का है। उस में कोई 40 गांव ऐसे हैं जिनकी भाषा मराठी है और 32 गांव ऐसे हैं कि जिनकी भाषा गुजराती है। अगर यह समस्या जल्दी नहीं होती है तो सम्बन्धित पार्टियों, इन्टरेस्टेड पार्टियों को मौका मिलेगा, इस का गुजरातीकरण करने का और वह इस का गुजरातीकरण कर डालेंगे। इसीलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि जल्दी से जल्दी वह समस्या जो है वहां की वह खत्म की जाय नहीं तो गोआ की जंसी हालत हुई है वही हालत यहां भी हो जायेगी। 1963 में मेरी जो पार्टी है महाराष्ट्रवादी गोमन्तक पार्टी उस को विजय मिली थी। उस को विजय मिलने के बाद जल्दी से जल्दी वहां ओपिनियन पोल लिया जाता या भ्रगला चुनाव हो जाता तो जो ओपिनियन पोल का रिजल्ट आज हुआ है वह रिजल्ट न होता। उस समय ओपिनियन पोल का रिजल्ट यह न होता जो आज हुआ है। क्योंकि अध्यक्ष जी आप को मालूम है कि तीन वर्ष तक राज्य का कारोबार चलाने का काम उन को मिला था। हमारी महाराष्ट्रवादी गोमन्तक पार्टी ने तीन साल तक राज्य कागो बार चलाया, लेकिन यूनिन टेरीटरी के सेट अप में राज्य कारोबार चलाना किता मुश्किल है यह सब जानते हैं और बड़ी मुश्किल से ही हमारी महाराष्ट्रवादी गोमन्तक पार्टी ने वहां का राज्य का कारबार चलाया था। उस के बाद जैसी कई राज्यों में पिछले चुनावों में कांग्रेस की हालत हो गई वैसी ही हमारी भी हो गई। लेकिन यह भी ध्यान में रखना चाहिए उस के बाद भी हमारी पार्टी महाराष्ट्रवादी गोमन्तक पार्टी विजयी हो गई है और विजयी होने के बाद हमारी पार्टी सत्ताखंड भी हो रही है और इसलिए भी मैं समझता हूँ कि गोमन्तक के



[श्री शिंदरे]

भविष्य की समस्या इस सदन के सामने  
आयेगी। जरूर आयेंगी।

17.30 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi (Bhubaneswar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am thankful to you for allowing me an opportunity to participate in this discussion. It seems that some of the members of this House are so much obsessed with the idea of Central intervention that most of their speeches during the debate dealt only with that point indicating that Central intervention is always haunting their minds.

After the fourth general election was over in 8 States non-Congress governments were formed and the Prime Minister, Home Minister, Central leadership as well as the Central Government and Congressmen welcomed the formation of non-Congress governments as competing alternative systems for fulfilling the aspirations of the people. During this period, off and on I was going through the newspapers. While going through the newspapers of the last two or three months, occasionally I was just looking at the figures of firings and lathi charges that have been undertaken by the non-Congress governments. The other day some hon. Member of the Swatantra Party said that the Congress Government was able to do in 20 years what the British Government could not do during the last 200 years in respect of firing and lathi charges. I would like to supplement him by referring to the record of the non-Congress governments during the last two or three months in the matter of firing and lathi charges. During the last two or three months I did not take detailed notes but off and on I have taken note of the firings. In Bihar on 11-5-67 firing at Jamshedpur, on 18-5-67 firing at Monghyr, in Uttar Pradesh on 24-4-67 at Varanasi, 16-5-67 at Kalagarh, 24-5-67 at Lucknow, in Orissa

on 18-3-67 at Rajagaj Pur, on 24-5-67 at Brajraj Nagar and on 30-5-67 at Sambalpur; in Bengal there is a big list, starting from Baghmari on 29-3-1967, then Santipur, Howrah, Daila Village in Malda, Ranaghat, Bhadeswar, Naxalbari and Calcutta. Therefore, I was thinking that perhaps they are competing with the Congress Government insofar as lathi charges and firings are concerned.

May I submit that the people in the non-Congress Government areas have got equal pressing problems and during the last two or three months they should have been able to solve, if not many at least 1 per cent of their problems. I say that the question of Central intervention never arises. I would say to the Home Minister that by way of respite and relief they want Central intervention. So, for all times to come, I would request the Home Minister never to oblige them; they should not be obliged. The Congress Parliamentary Party and the Central leadership are very clear on this point that there should be no Central intervention. Some of our friends were thinking about reactions to happenings in West Bengal. I do not know whether the Home Minister is completely aloof from the reactions of this country. Because he is the Home Minister, he must look to the law and order problem of this country and must be alive to the reactions of every political party. I was reading only day before yesterday the statement of Shri Madhu Limaye that the non-Congress Governments of West Bengal, UP, Bihar and Kerala are not working well. He added that it is worse that things are not so well in UP and Shri Nambodiripad has not done anything spectacular in Kerala. These are the reactions of the political parties. The most interesting thing about Shri Limaye is that he is most outspoken and I congratulate him for that. He further stated that among the opposition par-

ties in Parliament except the SSP all parties are partial oppositions and have invisible links with the Congress. So, let us analyse this problem, the reaction of the opposition parties, what they are thinking on this problem. Just now we have heard the speech of Shri Surendranath Dwivedy. He said that he is not satisfied with what is happening in West Bengal. Similarly, there is the question of the reaction of the Jan Sangh. What has the Jan Sangh said? The Jan Sangh has said that a stable balance in West Bengal can be achieved only by a concerted effort by all nationalist elements both inside and outside the Ministry. The Chairman of the PSP, Shri Goray, has said, "If we allow them to continue their policies, I am afraid, there would not be one but several Naxalbaris along the Himalayan range." He has gone too far; he says that there may be many Naxalbaris.

Looking into all these allegations and reactions of the different political parties which are represented in this House, if the Home Minister has resisted all these things so far, I salute him. I hope, the Congress Party also thinks on the same lines. The Home Minister believes and the Prime Minister and the Central Government also agree that a man like Shri Ajoy Mukherjee must try to improve the situation in West Bengal. They have not lost hope and I hope the hopes of the Congress and the Government will not be belied by a man like Shri Ajoy Mukherjee in West Bengal.

I heard the speech of our respected and hon. friend, Shri Dange. I have great admiration for Shri Dange. He is very straightforward and very clear in his analysis of the problems. He has today completely condemned the ultra lefts in China represented by the cult of Mao. But about happenings in West Bengal he did not make himself as clear perhaps because he thinks that some of the ultra lefts in West Bengal may come over to him. Therefore he did not much harp on that point. My analysis is completely

identical with that of Shri Dange. I feel that the ultras in China and in India have one common point and that common point is to strengthen the forces of reaction both in the international camp and in our country. On that point I agree with the analysis of my respected friend and ex-leader, Shri Dange.

When I listened to reactions and counter-reactions among opposition parties about Bengal I remembered an English poem I read in my college days. It is by Maria Edgeworth and it reads:—

"We drank Sire Condy's good  
health and the downfall of his  
enemies till we could stand no  
longer ourselves."

Shri Ramamurti always attacked the Congress and raised the bogey of Central intervention. What he tried to point out was that a conspiracy was being hatched by the Home Minister, the Congress and the Central leadership to enforce President's rule and take over the administration of West Bengal. It has been completely denied and there is no chance that the Home Minister will oblige him. My feeling is that Shri Ramamurti never looked to his sides; he always looked to the front—to Congress perhaps, he has lost his side visions. As King Kansa always used to look at the image of Krishna before his destruction he always sees Congress before him. He had sitting by his side people who were challenging his party's activities and asking him to control his party members. He should silence them before he points his finger at the Home Minister and the Congress Government. I am quite confident that the Congress people in Bengal will rise to the occasion. I have said in the Congress Parliamentary Party and I say it once again today that the Congress people in West Bengal as representing the forces of democracy must never identify themselves with the forces of reaction and vested interests because a time has come when Congressmen must be aligned with all the progres-

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sive and democratic forces and must find a solution to the economic and social problems not only of West Bengal but of all the States where we have not been able to solve these problems.

As Shri Dange has suggested, the main basic problem is of unemployment, food and rising prices and we must try our best unitedly to solve these problems.

Now I may come to the question of privy purses. I need not stress more on this point but I may draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister to the opinions expressed by the intellectuals of Rajasthan University because almost all the intellectuals of this country are very much exercised over this subject. I most humbly bring to the notice of the Home Minister this honest appeal by the intellectuals of the Rajasthan University. It is as follows:

"In their opinion, the princes, irrespective of political parties to which they belong, must give up their privileges and concessions before they earn the right to participate in political activity."

I hope you will agree that this is the most earnest appeal.

Yesterday, I was listening to the hon. Member from Kalahandi. He was saying, "I do not want any privilege." I am glad that he has said that. It will be easier for the Home Minister to scrap special privileges of these princes and bring forward a Bill in this session itself. I am reminded here of an instance. The hon. Member was sued in a court and he asked for a special privilege not to be sued because he was a Maharaja and he was not obliged rightly.

Then, Mr. Dange referred to Maharajas and ex-rulers as traitors—I am not using strong words; there are many patriots also....

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Peermade):** He did not say that all were traitors; he qualified it.

**Shri Chintamani Panigrahi:** I welcome that. When we qualify traitors, they condemn us but when they qualify traitors, I welcome that.

The Home Minister should make an appeal to the princes to give up their privileges and their privy purses. Now, the hon. Member of the Swatantra Party from Kalahandi gets Rs. 2 lakhs annually. With all that, he goes to the people saying, "I am a democrat; I have given everything to the motherland and all that." What is this? If they could have waited for six months, the people of the States would have swallowed them up and they would not have been here. For the last twenty years, they have taken Rs. 100 crores from the exchequer. It was Sardar Patel who made them gentlemen and helped them to go to the people to seek their votes. That was the position at that time. I had my knowledge of the Rampur State's People Movement where the great movement started. They say, "We had the kingdoms". Who gave them kingdoms? The people did not give them kingdoms.

I again appeal to the hon. Minister to ask the ex-rulers to give up their special privileges as, we find, they are agreeable to give up their special privileges and, therefore, it will be easier for the Home Minister to scrap these special privileges and come with a Bill during this session. He should make an appeal to them saying, "If you want to be democrats, if you want to serve the people, if you want to be popular, if you want to be elected to Parliament and Assemblies, you please also give up these privy purses." The hon. Minister is very persuasive and I hope he can do that.

Now, I would like to say a few words about the political sufferers, their pensions and all that. The hon.

Minister has left it to the State Governments. When we are giving lakhs and lakhs of rupees by way of privy purses to the ex-rulers, why the help is not given to the political sufferers who have the right to get proper help because they have suffered for the country and they have lost everything, their property and all that, I request that proper steps may be taken in the matter. They have even no food to eat. I am receiving letters that they are starving. I hope the hon. Minister will look into the matter. Then, regarding the legal aid to the Adivasis, the Harijans and the Scheduled Castes and the Tribes, nothing much has been done because there again the Home Ministry has left it to the State Governments. Here also, something should be done.

One more point that I want to submit is with regard to the memorandum that was submitted by the Congress M.L.As. of the Orissa Assembly and the M.Ps. to the President against the corruption charges of the present Chief Minister of Orissa. The other day, our friend was suggesting that they are all old things. There is nothing old and new about corruption; corruption is always corruption if it is indulged in 1961; corruption is always corruption if it is indulged in 1959. In this connection, I would like to read the letter of the leader of the Opposition of the Congress Party in the Orissa Assembly with the memorial. It says:

"It was improper for the Orissa Government itself to decide whether a *prima facie* case existed in regard to allegations made against those in power prior to 1961 because these were charges against you, your colleagues and also your supporters who held office in the past."

"Therefore, presentation of facts or framing of issues or examination of cases to determine whether they are *prima facie* fit for reference to the Commission or not by your Government or any of its subordinate agencies or

officers is contrary to the whole purpose of appointing a commission of inquiry.

"He has further demanded that as soon as the Commission starts functioning, the present Ministry should step down from office to ensure a free and fair inquiry which alone can serve the larger interests of democracy and public life."

I hope, the submission is enough. There are specific allegations but I would not like to dilate on them at this stage.

May I also submit for the information of the hon. friends who were telling the other day about the popularity of their Party, Swatantra Party, in Orissa, and also for the enlightenment of the House that it is a brother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law and sister-in-law controlled party; the Swatantra Party is a father-in-law, brother-in-law, son-in-law and sister-in-law party. This is the popularity of that party! My hon. friends were telling, allegations were made, that in recent months, for whatever uprisings had taken place in Orissa, whatever protests had taken place against the Government, the Congress and the Congress-men were to be blamed. Prices are rising in Orissa State, the students are being attacked, wanton arrests are made, there are lathi-charges and firings made on workers, and if people resist them, then they lay the blame at the doors of the Congress! I feel like going to the people and being one with them. That is the duty of the Congressmen. Rather, the Congress has not gone to the masses yet after the elections. The present resistance of the people in Orissa against the Government is a spontaneous one. The Communist Party of Orissa has also condemned the present Government as a reactionary Government. These are the characteristics of the Orissa Government today. What sort of popular government it is the actions will prove. Therefore, I would not like to take much time to say what sort of popu-

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lar government it is; it is the most reactionary government; they are selling out the interests of the State to private monopolists; more and more things are coming and the people of this country will gradually know about it.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री मन् भ्राई पटेल (डभार्ड) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज इस सदन में दो, तीन आदरणीय सदस्यों की बात सुनने के बाद मुझे लगता है कि गृह मंत्रालय जिस तरीके से काम करता है उससे और ज्यादा कड़ाई व तेजी से उसे काम करना चाहिए। श्री द्विवेदी जी बात कर रहे थे कि इस देश में ऐसे एलिमेंट्स हैं जो एलिमेंट्स कि देश के इंटरग्रेशन को खत्म करने वाले हैं लेकिन ऐसे एलिमेंट्स के साथ द्विवेदी जी यहां हाथ मिलाकर बैठते हैं। नक्सलवाड़ी के बारे में उन्होंने दूसरी जगह पर जिसके खिलाफ उन्होंने बयान किया वह सब के साथ वहां खिलाफत करते हैं लेकिन यहां इस सदन में उन सब के साथ बैठ कर वह एक यूनाइटेड फ्रंट बनाते हैं श्री राममूर्ति जी भी कई बातें करते हैं और डांगे जी ने भी कई बातें कही लेकिन सब बातों के पीछे मैं देख रहा हूं कि जब भाषा का सवाल लाते हैं जब स्टेट और सेंटर रिलेशनशिप का सवाल आता है, चाहे नक्सलवाड़ी का सवाल हो और चाहे कोई और दूसरा सवाल हो डांगे जी ने यहां पर वही एक क्लास स्ट्रगल का चित्र पेश किया और इस क्लास स्ट्रगल में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को महत्व बचाना करने की कोशिश करने के अलावा कोई और दूसरा प्रयत्न मैं नहीं देखता हूं। जो कम्युनिस्ट सोसिअल उन की चलती है और पीकिंग रेजियो की बात भी साफ हो गयी कि नक्सलवाड़ी जैसी कोई चीज नहीं है इसी तरह जो हमारे एस० एस० पी० के श्री रबी राय ने गृह मंत्री की मिसाल नीरो से दी कि जैसे जब रोम जल रहा था तो नोरो बंशी

बजा रहा था उसी प्रकार से आज गृह मंत्री जी कर रहे हैं तो मेरा कहना है कि यह बात उन की गलत है चाहे नक्सलवाड़ी का सवाल हो, चाहे घेराब का सवाल हो, चाहे दूसरा सवाल हो, सब सवालों के बारे में हमारे गृह मंत्रालय ने बड़ी सजगता से काम उठाया है यदि न उठाया होता तो आज हिन्दुस्तान में कोई अलग ही बात हो गई होती।

भाषा के सवाल के बारे में यह लोग एक नहीं हैं कहने हैं हम एक हो कर शासन को यहां से हटा कर वहां बैठने की क्षमता रखते हैं लेकिन खुद अपोजीशन वालों में भाषा के बारे में झगड़ा चलता है डी० एम० के० वालों में एक बात होती है, कम्युनिस्ट दूसरी बात करते हैं, जनसंघ वाले तीसरी बात करते हैं उन में आपस में मेल नहीं है। प्राथिक समस्या के बारे में भी एक नहीं हैं। उन में एकता तो है ही नहीं फिर भी मैं दूसरी बातों में न जाते हुए भाषा के बारे में मैं इतनी बात कहूंगा कि देश में राष्ट्र भाषा एक हो हो सकती है, और वह है हिन्दी या हिन्दुस्तानी। इन को छोड़ कर दूसरी कोई राष्ट्र भाषा नहीं हो सकती। जितनी रीजनल लैंग्वेजें हैं उन को एक तरीका स्थान दिया जाये यह ठीक है। देना चाहिये। लेकिन अंग्रेजी को दाखिल कर के दूसरी भाषाओं की रक्षा कैसे हो सकेगी। यहां पर एक माननीय सदस्य अभी बोल रहे थे कि अंग्रेजी को जारी रखें और उर्दू को स्थान दें। अंग्रेजी को जारी रखते हुए उर्दू की रक्षा कैसे होगी? यदि उर्दू की भी रक्षा करनी हो तो भी अंग्रेजी को हटाना होगा और हिन्दी को स्थान देना होगा।

आज मैं अहिन्दी भाषा हूं। मुझे हिन्दी बोलने का कोई तजुबा नहीं है, न कोई आदत है। आप देखते होंगे कि कभी कभी मैं सबान पूछता हूं तो अंग्रेजी में पूछता हूं। पहले मैं

अंग्रेजी में बोला करता था। लेकिन जब मैं मास्को गया तो मास्को युनिवर्सिटी में वहाँ के रूसी स्टूडेंट ने मुझे से पूछा कि मैं अंग्रेजी में बात कर रहा हूँ तो क्या मैं हिन्दुस्तानी में बात नहीं कर सकता? मुझे लगा कि किसी ने मेरे गाल पर चपत लगा दिया। उसके बाद अश्वेव से मुलाकात हुई। वहाँ हम बैठे थे और अंग्रेजी में बात करते थे। इंटरप्रेटर उसको रूसी अनुवाद करके बतलाता था और अश्वेव उसका जवाब रूसी में देते थे। उसको इंटरप्रेट करके हिन्दी में मुझ को बतलाया जाता था। हम कहते थे कि आप क्यों हिन्दी भाषा में बोल कर हमें शर्मिन्दा करते हैं जब हम अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं। तब उन्होंने हम से कहा कि भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी है, अंग्रेजी नहीं है। अंग्रेजी गुलामों की भाषा है इसलिये भारत के साथ जब हम बात करेंगे तो हिन्दी में करेंगे। आज मैं डी० एम० के० वालों को याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ और डी० एम० के० से भी ज्यादा मैं जो हमारे केरल के दोस्त थे उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि यदि वह भारत की बात न मानें तो जो उनका फादरलैंड है, पितृभूमि, उनकी बात तो मानें। जो रूस की इतनी बात करते हैं उनकी बात तो सुनें। लेकिन उनको इसकी चिन्ता नहीं है। जब केरल में मिड टर्म एक्जामिन हो रहे थे तब मैं कुछ महीनों के लिये वहाँ रहा था। केरल में उन्होंने कुछ मास्को बड़े कर रखे थे। उनको जितना विश्वास मास्को में है उतना दिल्ली में नहीं है। जहाँ उनका स्ट्रांग होल्ड था उसके लिये वह कहते थे कि वह उनका मास्को है। अब शायद पीकिंग मानते होंगे। वह मास्को में विश्वास करते हैं। इसलिये जहाँ जहाँ उन्हें भौका मिलता है, चाहे लैफ्ट हों या राइट हों, कम्युनिस्टों में चाहे डांगे साहब हों चाहे कृष्णमूर्ति हों या दूसरी मूर्ति हों, सब एक राय के होते हैं कि क्लास स्ट्रगल करेंगे, बायोलेस को बराबर मदद करेंगे। अगर बायोलेस न होगी तो उसको पैदा करेंगे। आज तो श्री डांगे ने साफ-साफ बतला दिया

कि यदि देश में दूसरे तरीके से न्याय नहीं पा सकेंगे तो माइनर्स को शस्त्रसज्जित करेंगे और देश में हिंसा पैदा करेंगे। यह तो उन्होंने आज बतलाया। उस दिन कहते थे कि यदि बेराब से नहीं होगा तो हम बेराब को छोड़ कर

"We will drown you; we will see that you are drowned first and then we shall drown ourselves."

श्री ए० के० गोपालन घंट दे रहे थे, जब उन्होंने अन्न समस्या के बारे में ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन दिया था तब उन्होंने कहा था कि :

"If we cannot solve our food problem by this adjournment motion, we will solve it by other means."

What does the phrase 'other means' mean? It means extra constitutional means.

कांस्टिट्यूशनल मीन्स पर उन्हें विश्वास नहीं है। लेकिन इस बात को मैं छोड़ता हूँ इसलिये कि गृह मंत्रालय के समक्ष आज बड़ा सवाल है स्टेट सेंटर रिलेशनशिप का। स्टेट सेंटर रिलेशनशिप के नाम पर उन्होंने जो कृत्रिम परिस्थिति पैदा की है उस पर उसे सोचना चाहिये क्योंकि आखिर स्टेट सेंटर रिलेशनशिप में गड़बड़ी की वजह क्या है? आखिर देश में कोई भी स्टेट सावरैन स्टेट नहीं है।

We have got one Constitution, one citizenship, one Election Commission one Comptroller-General.

सब एक हैं।

The States have no right to secede,

इसके बाद अगर स्टेट कोई ऐसी बात करती है कि हम तो सावरैन हैं, तो सरकार को उसको बर्दाश्त नहीं करना चाहिये। उसको बड़े से बड़े तरीके से काम लेना चाहिये क्योंकि यह देश कोई स्टेट्स का फेडरेशन नहीं है।

Nowhere in the Constitution it is written that it is a Federation of India, it is a Union of India.

[श्री मनुभाई पटेल]

यूनियन आफ़ स्टेट्स ताकत वाली हो इसलिये कांस्टिट्यूशन बनाने वालों ने भविष्य को देखा होगा कि कभी ऐसी परिस्थिति का निर्माण हो सकता है इस देश में, जहाँ कई राज्य सरकारें हैं, कि कोई दूसरी पार्टी भी सत्ता में आ सकती है।

माननीय सदस्यों ने स्टेट सेन्टर रिलेशन-शिप का कृत्रिम सवाल पैदा कर दिया। वह कहते थे कि मद्रास में अगर हम एक रुपये का एक मेजर राइस दें तो आप का क्या हर्ज है। एक रुपये का एक मेजर राइस देकर 12 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा सेन्टर पर डालेंगे और फिर कहते हैं कि हमें अधिकार है कि यदि सेन्टर हम को 12 करोड़ रु० न दे तो हम सेन्टर को राज्य में हस्तक्षेप करने की इजाजत न दें।

केरल वाले बोलते थे कि हमें परदेश से चावल लाने की इजाजत दी जाये नहीं तो हम यहां गड़बड़ी पैदा करेंगे।

They are acting as if they are sovereign as if they are not part of sovereign India, as if they are separate States.

यह मनोदशा पैदा हो रही है। इसका खयाल कर के मैं सेन्टर से विनती करता हूँ कि . . .

Shri P. Viswambhāran (Trivandrum): That is why we are asking for food from the Centre. (Interruptions) Don't think because I am alone, you can shout me down.

श्री मनुभाई पटेल : मैं इसलिये ऐसा कहता हूँ कि आखिर में भारत एक है और भारत को एक और मजबूत बनाना है। जो डिस्टेंडमेंट करने वाले हैं, जिनकी तादाद काफी है, उन सब डिस्टेंडमेंट करने वालों की मनोवृत्ति को दबाने का काम स्टेट को करना चाहिये। यदि ऐसा उसने नहीं किया तो वह अपने फर्ज से चूक रहे हैं। कम से कम मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ। इसलिये गृह मंत्री जो कुछ कर रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि कम मेजर में कर रहे हैं। इस से भी

कड़े मेजर्स लेने की जरूरत है और इस सदन के सब सदस्यों को साथ ले कर कड़े मेजर्स ले कर देश को एक करने की कोशिश करनी होगी क्योंकि देश में एक किस्म का बाहियात भय है कि देश के टुकड़े करने की कोशिश की जा रही है भाषा के स्वरूप में, राज्य-केन्द्र सम्बन्धों के रूप में, नक्सलवादी के स्वरूप में, अनाज न दें इस स्वरूप में, पैसा न दें इस स्वरूप में। घेराव वगैरह सब चीजों को हथियार बना कर लोग आगे जा रहे हैं। इसके बारे में हम को बड़ा सतर्क रहना होगा।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारे यहां एक ऐसी मनोदशा पैदा हुई है कि कई प्राइ० सी० एस० आफिसर्स और आगे जो प्राइ० ए० एस० आफिसर्स होंगे, वह रिटायर होने के बाद तुरन्त किसी प्राइवेट फर्म में नौकरी कर लेते हैं और वहां जा कर जो उनका तजुर्बा होता है इतने सालों का उसका फायदा उठाते हैं। जो उनका तजुर्बा होता है उसका फायदा तो वह उठाते ही हैं लेकिन जो सम्बन्ध रहा होता है आफिसर से, जो उनका परिचय होता है उसका भी फायदा वह उठाते हैं ऐसा मुझ को शक है और जो फर्म्स हैं, प्राइवेट एन्टरप्राइज वाले हैं वह उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा एम्प्लॉय कर लेते हैं। ज्यादा से ज्यादा वन्डराह बेकस उनको अपने बगल में रखते हैं। कोई ऐसा तरीका निकालना चाहिये कि ऐसे जितने रिटायर्ड अधिकारी या आफिसर्स हों, हाई आफिशल्स हों वह गवर्नमेंट-सर्विस से अलग होने के बाद कई सालों तक किसी और सर्विस में न जा सकें।

18 hrs.

ऐसा ही एक दूसरा सवाल है जिसके बारे में पहले बड़ी चर्चा हो चुकी थी। लेकिन अब यह हमारी प्रांज खोलने वाला प्रसंग हो गया है। वह राष्ट्रपति का चुनाव था। क्या कोई हायेस्ट आफिशल सर्विस में रहते हुए कोई ऐसा निर्णय कर सकता है कि हम

फलाने के लिये चुनाव के लिये खड़े हो सकते हैं ? या इस के लिये काम कर सकते हैं या इच्छा रख सकते हैं ? इसके मायने यह हुए कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस जैसी पोजीशन से उनको सन्तोष नहीं है ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may continue tomorrow.  
18.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, July 5, 1967/Asadha 14 1889 (Saka).*

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