

12.16 hrs.

# ESTATE DUTY (DISTRIBUTION)\* AMENDMENT BILL

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI P. C.  
SETHI) : Sir, on behalf of Shri Morarji  
Desai, I beg to move for leave to introduce  
a Bill further to amend the Estate Duty  
(Distribution) Act, 1962.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Shiv, Chandra  
Jha wanted to speak. He wanted to oppose  
the Bill. It is only the introduction stage.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (मधुबनी) : मैं इसका  
विरोध करना चाहता हूँ। आप संविधान के  
अनुच्छेद 269(2) को देखें। इस में कहा  
गया है:—

“The net proceeds in any financial year  
of any such duty or tax, except in so far as  
those proceeds represent proceeds attribu-  
table to Union territories, shall not form  
part of the Consolidated Fund of India, but  
shall be assigned to the States within which  
that duty or tax is leviable in that  
year, ....”

एस्टेट ड्यूटी जो आप लगाते हैं यह धारा  
कहती है कि इसकी प्रोसीड्ज स्टेट्स को जाना  
चाहिये। राज्यों की जब सलाह ली गई तो  
राज्यों ने भी यही कहा।

I am quoting from the Interim Report  
of the Fifth Finance Commission, page 8 :

“Distribution of the entire net pro-  
ceeds of estate duty, along with the  
States' share of all other divisible  
taxes and duties, solely on the ba-  
sis of needs of each State.”

स्टेट्स की नीड्ज को देखा जाना चाहिये।

इतना ही नहीं सेंटर और स्टेट्स के रिले-  
शंज खराब हो रहे हैं। जितनी नीड्ज हैं और  
सेंटर जितना दे रहा है, इस सब से स्टेट्स

सैंटिसफाइड नहीं है। अब जो आप दे रहे हैं  
इससे सेंटर-स्टेट रिलेशंज मौलिक रूप में  
बिगड़ने वाले हैं, सुधरने वाले नहीं हैं। इस  
लिए मैं यही चाहता था कि आप ज़रा फाइनैस  
की कमिशन की फाइनल रिपोर्ट आ जाने देते  
और तब उसके आधार पर संशोधन लाते। यह  
ज्यादा अच्छा होता। एस्टेट-ड्यूटी के खयाल  
से और सेंटर स्टेट रिलेशंज को मौलिक रूप से  
अच्छे करने के खयाल से मैं इसका विरोध करता  
हूँ।

SHRI P. C. SETHI : The hon. Member  
is now going into the details of the Bill.  
They can be discussed when the Bill comes  
up.

MR. SPEAKER : Yes. The question  
is :

“That leave be granted to introduced  
a Bill further to amend the Estate  
Duty (Distribution) Act, 1962.”

*The motion was adopted*

SHRI P. C. SETHI : I introduce the  
Bill.

12.18 hrs.

DSMANDS\*\* FOR GRANTS—Contd.

Ministry of Home Affairs—contd.

MR. SPEAKER : We will resume the  
debate on the Demands for Grants under  
the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs  
for which we have still got one hour and a  
half. We might have the reply by the Home  
Minister round about 2.30 or 3.0 O'clock.  
Two other parties have got time : the Jan  
Sangh has got time and the Swatantra Party  
has 15 minutes. The Communist Party  
(Marxist) has not spoken till now. They  
have 17 minutes. And then one or two  
Congress Members on this side also may  
speak. (Interruption). Only three parties

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\*\*4 Moved with the recommendation of the President.

[Mr. Speaker]

have got time. I will call all the three and then the Home Minister will take some time. At 3 o'clock, the Home Minister will be called.

SHRI SHIV NARAIN—rose

MR. SPEAKER : Shri A. K. Sen is not here. But in his place, do you want to speak ? Very good; let us see. But he might come. (Interruption) I know both of you. Shri Shiv Narain's name is fourth in the list. The name of Shri Nitiraj Chaudhary is there in the Congress list. The other Members are also there. I am afraid I cannot call Shri Shiv Narain because I have to call according to the list. I will call the Members whose names are there. Your name is fourth.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर): अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण आज उस आसन पर विराजमान हैं जिस पर कमी सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल बैठ कर रहे थे। सरदार ने 500 देमी रियासतों का एकीकरण करके भारत को विघटन से बचाया और आज इतिहास में सरदार भारतीय एकता के सूत्रधार के रूप में जाने जाते हैं। कमी ममी मैं सोचता हूँ—मावी इतिहासकार गृह मंत्री श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण का वर्णन किन शब्दों में करेगा ? आज देश विघटन के कगार पर खड़ा है, केन्द्र को दुर्बल करने के प्रयत्न किये जा रहे हैं। राज्यों को, जो स्वाधीनता के पहले प्रदेश थे, और मुख्यतया प्रशासन की सुविधा के लिये बनाये गये थे, आज उनको ऐसे अधिकारों से मण्डित करने का प्रयत्न हो रहा है जो देश की एकता को सुदृढ़ करने में सहायक नहीं हो सकते। आवश्यकता है कि राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिये अखण्डता के लिये जो चुनौतियाँ हैं, उन पर हम गहराई से विचार करें, उनके कारणों को ढूँढें और बुद्धिमत्ता के साथ उन का उपचार करें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आन्ध्र की स्थिति बड़ी विस्फोटक है। तेलंगाना का मामला इतना बढ़ने दिया गया है कि वह अब काबू से बाहर जा रहा है। आश्चर्य की बात है कि गृह मंत्रालय के कुछ अधिकारी उस मामले को हल करने के लिये भेजे गये हैं। यह मामला अधिकारियों के बूते हल नहीं होगा। यह मामला अब रुपये-आना-पाई का भी सवाल नहीं है। तेलंगाना की जनता में विश्वास पैदा करने की आवश्यकता है। सम्पूर्ण आन्ध्र में यह भावना भरने की आवश्यकता है कि हमें मिल कर अपनी कठिनाइयों को हल करना है। प्रश्न राजनीतिक है। नेतृत्व राजनीतिक प्रश्न का राजनीतिक हल ढूँढने में विफल रहा है।

मैं यह समझने में असमर्थ हूँ कि आन्ध्र के मुख्य मंत्री अपना त्याग पत्र क्यों नहीं दे देते। वे कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष को अपना त्याग-पत्र दे सकते हैं। आज आन्ध्र के मामले में कोई शीक ट्रीट-मेन्ट की ज़रूरत है जो जनता के मानस को छु सके, उसे भकभोर कर जगा सके—जो आत्म-हत्या के मार्ग पर बढ़ने वाले वहाँ के नौजवानों को परावृत्त कर सके। इस के लिये कोई ऐसा कदम उठाना होगा, जो जनता के विश्वास को फिर से स्थापित कर सके। जो तेलंगाना के पृथक होने की मांग कर रहे हैं, वे त्याग-पत्र दे रहे हैं, मगर आन्ध्र में जो तेलंगाना को रखना चाहते हैं, वे कुर्सी से चिपके रहने की धारणा पैदा कर रहे हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मैंने समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा है—अगर आप अपने प्रभाव और प्रतिष्ठा का उपयोग करके आन्ध्र की समस्या का हल निकाल सकें तो इस सदन और सारे देश को खुशी होगी। कांग्रेस का नेतृत्व आज कसौटी पर कसा जा रहा है। चुनौतियों को समझना होगा और हड़ता के साथ, लेकिन बुद्धिमत्ता के साथ प्रश्नों का हल निकालना होगा।

कुछ और भी संकट के स्थल हैं, जिन की ओर आज ही ध्यान देना ज़रूरी है। एक

संकट पैदा हो रहा है—जम्मू में। गजेन्द्र गडकर आयोग की रिपोर्ट आ गई है, उसकी सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित करने में देर नहीं होनी चाहिये। कोई भी डा० गजेन्द्र गडकर पर साम्प्रदायिकता या संकीर्णता का आरोप नहीं लगा सकता। लेकिन अगर उनकी सिफारिशों को ताक पर रखा जायगा तो असंतोष घुमड़ेगा। असंतोष के निराकरण के लिये अगर त्वरित कदम नहीं उठाये गये तो असंतोष बिस्फोट का रूप ले लेगा। क्या वहाँ बिस्फोटक परिस्थितियाँ पैदा हों, तब ही गृह मन्त्रालय के अधिकारी जम्मू जायेंगे? क्या गृह मन्त्री श्री च हाण मुख्य मन्त्रियों को विश्वास में लेकर आर्थिक विकास के असन्तुलन के कारण जो कठिनाई पैदा हो रही है, उसके निराकरण के लिये कदम नहीं उठा सकते? क्या केन्द्रीय नेतृत्व अमहाय हो गया है? क्या सत्ता के संपर्क ने प्रभावशाली कदम उठाने की उस की क्षमता को कुंठित कर दिया है? यह देश के साथ न्याय करने का तरीका नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, बेरी आयोग की सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित करने के प्रश्न पर राजस्थान के विरोधी बल उत्तेजित हैं। कोई विधान सभा में धरना यह दे मुझे पसन्द नहीं है, दुर्भाग्य से मेरे दल के लोग भी उसमें शामिल हैं, लेकिन जो कमीशन सरकार ने कायम किया, जिस कमीशन की नियुक्ति के समय हाईकोर्ट को आश्वासन दिया गया था, वहाँ एडवोकेट जेनरल ने आश्वासन दिया था कि कमीशन की सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित किया जायगा, अब उस कमीशन की सिफारिशों को मानने में आनाकानी की जा रही है, जनता को उत्तेजित होने का अवसर दिया जा रहा है। क्या गृह मन्त्री राजस्थान के मुख्य मन्त्री को बुला कर, विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को बुलाकर—इस के बारे में बातचीत नहीं कर सकते? श्री यशवन्त राव चव्हाण केवल गृह मन्त्री नहीं हैं, राष्ट्र की जीवन में उन का एक और भी स्थान

है। अगर वह राजस्थान के मुख्य मन्त्री को बुलायेंगे, वहाँ के विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को भी बुलायेंगे और मिल कर ऐसा प्रयत्न करें कि यह मामला तय होना चाहिये, वहाँ राजस्थान में कोई बिस्फोटक परिस्थिति पैदा नहीं होनी चाहिये, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि मुख्य मन्त्री भी मानेंगे और विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को भी हम उचित बात मनवाने के लिये तैयार कर सकते हैं। लेकिन आज दोनों को मिलाने वाला कोई नहीं है। जोड़ने वाला कोई नहीं है, तोड़ने वाले हैं; भावनाओं को शान्त करने वाला कोई नहीं है, मड़काने वाले हैं। केन्द्र में बैठे हुए नेताओं को जैसे लकवा मार गया है। यह कहते हुए मुझे दुःख होता है। किन्तु सत्य कितना भी कटु हो, उसका उच्चारण करना होगा।

केन्द्र और राज्यों के सम्बन्धों के बारे में गहराई से विचार होना चाहिये। हमारा संविधान संघात्मक है, और यह अनेक विमारियों की जड़ है। अगर संघात्मक संविधान में केन्द्र और राज्यों में कुछ खींचतानी हो तो वह अस्वाभाविक नहीं है, किन्तु उस का हल हमारे संविधान की परिधि में ही होना चाहिये। केन्द्र में बंटी हुई सरकार का आचरण भी संविधान सम्मत होना चाहिये और राज्यों में शासन करने वालों को भी संविधान को आधार बना कर आगे बढ़ना चाहिये। लेकिन क्या गत दो वर्षों में केन्द्र ने संविधान की भावना का, संविधान के अक्षरों का पालन किया है? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि केन्द्र ने अलग अलग स्थितियों में, अलग अलग समय में, अलग अलग मापदण्ड अपनाये हैं।

आज राज्यपालों के अधिकारों की चर्चा हो रही है और मुझे याद है कि गृह मन्त्री श्री चव्हाण ने दो साल पहले जब मध्य प्रदेश का मामला उठा था यह बात असंदिग्ध शब्दों में कही थी कि संविधान की केवल तीन धाराओं

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

को छोड़ कर—धारा 239 (2), 200 और 356 को छोड़ कर, राज्यपालों को अन्य मामलों में डिस्क्रिशनरी पावर्स नहीं हैं। उन्होंने मि० सेरवाई को उद्धृत किया था, लेकिन क्या इस पर आचरण किया गया? अभी मध्य प्रदेश में एक प्रश्न पैदा हुआ था और मैं उस प्रश्न को इस सदन में उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ और चाहूँगा कि गृह मंत्री अपने उत्तर में स्पष्ट करें—ऐसा मुख्य मंत्री जो सदन का विश्वास खो चुका है, क्या राज्यपाल को यह सलाह दे सकता है कि विधान सभा भंग कर दी जाय और क्या राज्यपाल वह सलाह मानने के लिये बाध्य होंगे। मेरा उत्तर है—नहीं। ऐसे मुख्य मंत्री को जिसने सदन का विश्वास खो दिया है, गवर्नर को इस बात के लिये विवश करने का अधिकार नहीं है कि वह विधान सभा को भंग कर दे। लेकिन मैं गृह मंत्री चव्हाण की स्थिति जानना चाहता हूँ। जब मध्य प्रदेश में दो साल पहले पं० द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र ने विधान सभा में अल्पमत में रहने के बाद राज्यपाल को कहा कि विधान सभा भंग होनी चाहिये। तथा यह मामला उस समय सदन में भी उठा था, और गृह मंत्री ने कहा था—जो मुख्य मंत्री सदन का विश्वास खो चुका है, अल्पमत में रह चुका है उस को भी राय देने का अधिकार है और राज्यपाल को वह राय माननी होगी। लेकिन जब राजा नरेशचन्द्र सिंह ने कहा तो यह नियम उनपर लागू नहीं हुआ ..... (व्यवधान) .....

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : He was not even an elected member of the House. He did not face the House, What does Shri Vajpayee want ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कोई व्यक्ति चुना हुआ है या नहीं है, यह सवाल नहीं है। बिना चुना हुआ व्यक्ति भी 6 महीने तक मुख्य मंत्री रह सकता है .... (व्यवधान) .....

मैं एक सीमित प्रश्न उपस्थित कर रहा हूँ। मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि राजा नरेश चन्द्र सिंह का बहुमत नहीं था लेकिन जिस मुख्य मंत्री का बहुमत नहीं होगा, क्या वह विधान सभा को भंग करने की मांग कर सकता है? (एक सदस्य : यह राज्यपाल तय करेंगे) यही मैं कह रहा हूँ कि अलग अलग राज्यपाल अलग अलग ढंग के आचरण कर रहे हैं। बिहार में श्री मीला पासवान शास्त्री ने सलाह दी कि विधान सभा भंग कर दो तो विधान सभा भंग कर दी गई लेकिन हरियाणा के राज्यपाल ने, विधान सभा में बहुमत होते हुए भी राव वीरेन्द्र सिंह के मन्त्रि मण्डल को बर्खास्त कर दिया। दल बदल के आधार पर एक जगह मन्त्रिमंडल बर्खास्त किया गया और मध्य प्रदेश में दल बदल के आधार पर मन्त्रिमंडल को कायम किया गया। गृह मंत्री इस पर यह न कहें कि विरोधी दल वाले भी दल बदल कराते हैं। हम भी कराते हैं और आप भी कराते हैं, इस हालत में हम सभी निर्वमन हैं। लेकिन प्रश्न राजनीतिक दलों का नहीं है, प्रश्न संविधान की व्याख्या का है। राज्यपाल को किन मामलों में डिस्क्रिशनरी पावर होगी, यह आज तय करने का समय आ गया है। राज्यपाल घमंवीर ने मन्त्रिमंडल द्वारा तैयार किए गए अभिमापण के कुछ अंश पढ़ने से इनकार कर दिया। अभिमापण अनुच्छेद 175 के अन्तर्गत दिया जाता है। अनुच्छेद 175 उन अनुच्छेदों में नहीं आता है जिनमें कि गृह मंत्री ने कहा है कि गवर्नर को डिस्क्रिशनरी पावर है। लेकिन फिर भी गृह मंत्री ने श्री घमंवीर का समर्थन किया है। और पंजाब के गवर्नर, श्री पावटे ने, जसा कि मन्त्रिमंडल ने अभिमापण तैयार किया था, वैसा ही पढ़ दिया।

गृह-कार्य मंत्री (श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण) : उन्होंने अपना डिस्क्रिशन इस्तेमाल किया होगा। .... (व्यवधान) .....



**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** क्या राज्यपाल अलग अलग अपने अपने डिस्क्रिशन निश्चित करेंगे ? क्या यह उचित है ? नहीं, अनुच्छेद 175 में डिस्क्रिशन नहीं है मैं फिर पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं और गृह मंत्री को याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने क्या कहा था । मैं चव्हाण साहब के शब्दों को ही उद्धृत कर रहा हूं । बड़े चुने हुए शब्द हैं । वे जब बोलते हैं तो बड़ी समझदारी से बोलते हैं और जब वे अलग अलग भाषा बोलते हैं तब भी समझदारी से बोलते हैं । उन्होंने कहा था :

“The Constitution is very clear on this point. The Governor of a State is the constitutional head excepting three articles. I have referred to the latest scholarly edition of the Constitution published by Shri Seervai, the Advocate General of Maharashtra, and he has said that only under three articles the Governor of a State functions as an agent of the President. They are articles 239 (2), 200 and 356. Except under these three articles the Governor functions as the constitutional head.”

आगे चव्हाण साहब कहते हैं :

“When an advice is given by the Chief Minister to a Governor, the question is whether the Governor is bound by his advice or not. My answer to that is that he is bound to accept that advice.”

मैं चाहता हूं कि .....

**श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण :** आखिरी सन्टेन्स जरा पढ़ लीजिए ।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :**

“When an advice is given by the Chief Minister to a Governor, the question is whether the Governor is bound by his advice or not. My answer to that is that he is bound to accept that advice.”

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I never said, “defeated”.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** डिफीटेड कौन था ? राजा नरेशचन्द्र सिंह डिफीटेड नहीं, वे गृह मंत्री तथ्यों को तोड़ मरोड़ कर पेश न करें ।

अगर कोई डिफीटेड था तो वे पं० द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र थे, उन्हीं के संदर्भ में आपने बात कही थी ।

मैं एक बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण संवैधानिक मसला उठा रहा हूं । पार्टी के दृष्टिकोण से मैं कोई मुद्दा जीतना नहीं चाहता हूं । जो अतीत में हो गया वह भुलाया जा सकता है लेकिन भविष्य के लिए संविधान की व्याख्या स्पष्ट, दो दूक और निर्विवाद होनी चाहिए । राज्यपाल धर्मवीर के लिए एक नियम और राज्यपाल पावटे के लिए दूसरा नियम नहीं चल सकता है । पं० द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र को एक गज से नापना और राजा नरेश चन्द्र सिंह को दूसरे गज से नापना यह नहीं चल सकता है । यह संविधान की मर्यादा की रक्षा करने का तरीका नहीं है । मैं यह समझने में असमर्थ हूं कि गृह मंत्री एक इन्टर स्टेट कौंसिल कायम करने के सुझाव को स्वीकार करने में क्यों असमर्थ हैं । इसकी व्यवस्था संविधान के निर्माताओं ने की है कि केन्द्र और राज्यों का विवाद हो या राज्यों को आपसी मतभेद हो तो उनको हल करने के लिए एक अन्तर्राज्यीय परिषद् हो सकती है । उसकी स्थापना संविधान के अन्तर्गत ही होगी । आज अलग अलग प्रदेशों में अलग अलग रूप, अलग अलग रंग और अलग अलग रस की सरकारें चल रही हैं । हम एक दलीय शासन के युग से बहु दलीय शासन के युग में आ गये हैं । अब केन्द्र को न केवल न्यायसंगत ही होना होगा बल्कि उसे दिखाना भी होगा कि वह न्याय के आधार पर आचरण कर रहा है । साथ ही राज्यों को भी संविधान का उल्लंघन करने की

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

इजाजत नहीं दी जायेगी। अगर एक इन्टर स्टेट कौंसिल होगी, राष्ट्रपति उसकी नामजदगो करेंगे, वह विवादग्रस्त प्रश्नों पर चर्चा कर सकती है। उनके हल निकाल सकती है। मैं नहीं समझता कि गृह मन्त्री को इन्टर स्टेट कौंसिल बनाने में कौन सी आपत्ति है? हम इस बात को जानना चाहेंगे।

मैं एक प्रश्न की ओर चर्चा करूंगा। वह केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों का प्रश्न है। उस दिन गृह मन्त्रालय के राज्य मन्त्री श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल ने यह घोषणा की थी कि कुछ दर्जन कर्मचारियों को छोड़कर बाकी सब काम पर ले लिये जायेंगे, इस तरह की व्यवस्था की जा रही है। लेकिन मुझे पता लगा है कि कर्मचारी काम पर ले लिए गए हैं लेकिन उनके मुकदमों वापिस नहीं हुए हैं। अब अगर एक बार उनको काम पर लेने का फैसला कर लिया गया है तो फिर उनके खिलाफ.... (व्यवधान) ....अभी काम पर लिए नहीं गए हैं लेकिन आदेश दिये जा रहे हैं। यदि ईमानदारी से उन आदेशों का पालन किया गया तो (व्यवधान) ...स्थिति यह बनेगी कि कर्मचारी तो कार्यालय में रहेंगे और उसका मुकदमा अदालत में रहेगा। मैं व्यवहार की कठिनाइयों को बता रहा हूँ। आपने जिन कर्मचारियों को हटाया था और जिनपर मुकदमों चला रहे हैं उनके सक्स्टीट्यूट भी रखे थे। अब उन कर्मचारियों को वापिस लिया गया तो उनकी जगह पर काम करने वाले जो सक्स्टीट्यूट हैं, उनको हटा दिया जायेगा और उन कर्मचारियों को अदालत में पेशियों पर जाना होगा। सरकार जब कोई कदम उठाती है तो इस तरह से उठाती है कि उसकी सारी शोभा ही नष्ट हो जाती है। अगर कोई कदम उठाना ही है तो उसको हिम्मत के साथ और विशाल हृदयता के साथ उठाना चाहिए। मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि चन्दाण साहब अपना हृदय विशाल नहीं बना सकते हैं, अगर चाहें

तो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कर्मचारियों के मामले वापिस होने चाहिए। उनके अधिकतर मामले दफा 144 तोड़ने के हैं। दफ्तर के भीतर दफा 144 तोड़ी गई, इस तरह की बात भी कही जा रही है। मैं अभी ट्रिब्यूनल गया था, केरल के कर्मचारी मुझसे मिले थे। केरल के कर्मचारी अभी काम पर वापिस नहीं लिए गए हैं। आडिटर जनरल के दफ्तर में जो कर्मचारी काम करते हैं उनके सामने नयी कठिनाइयाँ पैदा की जा रही है। यहां गोल डाकखाने में जो स्थिति पैदा हुई थी उसकी जानकारी गृह मन्त्री को न हो, ऐसा हो नहीं सकता है। इसलिए अगर आपने एक निर्णय लिया है तो एक कदम और बढ़कर निर्णय कीजिए कि हम सभी कर्मचारियों को वापिस ले लेंगे। अगर किसी ने गम्भीर अपराध किये हों तो उन पर विभागीय कार्यवाही हो सकती है लेकिन पुलिस और मुकदमों के चंगुल से कर्मचारियों को बचाना जरूरी है। जिस भावना से कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं उसका तकाजा यह है कि मुकदमों को भी वापिस करने के बारे में फैसला किया जाये। यदि कोई हिंसा की घटना का मामला हो और उसका प्रमाण हो, उसके लिए मैं नहीं कहता लेकिन दफा 144 तोड़ने के कारण जिन को मुकदमों में फंसाया गया है या आर्डिनेन्स की दफा 5 में लिया गया है, उन के मुकदमों वापिस लेने के बारे में गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए।

एक बात कहकर समाप्त करूंगा। देश में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हो रहे हैं। जब कभी दंगे होते हैं तो मेरे दिल का नाम उनसे जोड़ा जाता है। हमने मांग की थी कि रांची के दंगे की जांच की जाये। उसकी जांच हुई और जांच कमिशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट भी दी है। जस्टिस रघुवर दयाल की अध्यक्षता में बने हुए जांच कमिशन ने कहा है कि दंगे की पूर्व योजना मारतीय जनसंघ ने नहीं बनाई। यह रिपोर्ट मध्यवर्ती चुनावों के पहले ही सरकार को मिल गई थी लेकिन सरकार ने उस रिपोर्ट को दबा कर

रखा, उसको प्रकाश में नहीं आने दिया। अब रिपोर्ट आ गई है तो किस क्षेत्र की ओर से इस पर आपत्ति की जा रही है, उसकी ओर मैं गृह मन्त्री का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इस मदन के एक माननीय सदस्य ने भाषण दिया कि जस्टिस रघुवर दयाल कमीशन की रिपोर्ट एक पक्षीय रिपोर्ट है, नौकरशाही की रिपोर्ट है। जनसंघ की कमीशन ने बरी कर दिया है इस लिए यह पक्षपातपूर्ण रिपोर्ट है, लेकिन यदि कमीशन हम पर लांछन लगाता तो रिपोर्ट सही हो जाती।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि गृह मन्त्री महोदय देश के मानस को आन्दोलित करने वाले प्रश्नों पर स्पष्ट शब्दों में अपनी बात कहें। और एक प्रश्न यह है, कोई भी इससे मतभेद नहीं रखता, कि हमारा राज्य एक असाम्प्रदायिक राज्य होना चाहिये। हमारा राज्य ऐसा होना चाहिये जिस में मजहब के आधार पर, भाषा के आधार पर, क्षेत्र के आधार पर, कोई भेदभाव नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन क्या साम्प्रदायिकता का अर्थ यह है कि हम अपनी परम्परा से नाता तोड़ लें? क्या असाम्प्रदायिकता का अर्थ यह है कि हम अपनी संस्कृति से मुंह मोड़ लें?

प्रधान मन्त्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी भारत में बने हुए जहाज को समुद्र में उतारने के लिये गयीं। उद्घाटन के अवसर पर उन्होंने एक नारियल को तोड़ा। साम्प्रदायवादी भ्रूखबारों ने इस पर आपत्ति की कि एक असाम्प्रदायिक राज्य में, सेक्यूलर स्टेट में, नारियल नहीं तोड़ा जा सकता। नारियल तोड़ना हिन्दू पद्धति है, नारियल तोड़ना बन्द करना चाहिये।

हमारे आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल जयन्ती में आये। जयन्ती में सरदार पटेल का एक चित्र लगा था। राष्ट्रपति ने उस चित्र को माला पहनायी और राष्ट्रपति उस चित्र के सामने वंदना की मुद्रा में खड़े रहे। कुछ भ्रूखबारों ने लिखा कि मुसलमान राष्ट्रपति

को तस्वीर को माला पहना कर तस्वीर के सामने हाथ बांध कर खड़े नहीं होना चाहिये। तस्वीर को माला पहनाना और माला पहना कर करबन्द प्रणाम करना यह हिन्दू पद्धति है। मेरा निवेदन है कि यह पद्धति किसी विशेष उपासना प्रणाली का हिस्सा नहीं है। बल्कि भारत की मिट्टी से निकली हुई संस्कृति का हिस्सा है, और इस संस्कृति से नाता नहीं तोड़ा जा सकता। ये कुछ प्रश्न ऐसे हैं जिन पर राजनीतिक दलों को, गृह मन्त्री जी को और प्रधान मन्त्री जी को भी स्पष्ट शब्दों में अपनी बात करनी चाहिये।

एक बड़ी बड़ी घटना हुई है, मैं उसका उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे डा० कर्ण सिंह पटना गये थे, मैं उन के भाषण के लिये उन्हें बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मुझे दुःख है कि वहाँ यह बात कही गई कि छूआछूत यह हिन्दू धर्म का हिस्सा है। हम इस बात को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। छूआछूत एक पाप है, छूआछूत एक अभिशाप है, अस्पृश्यता एक कलंक है। जब तक यह कलंक हमारे माथे से नहीं मिटेगा हम दुनिया के सामने सर ऊँचा कर के खड़े नहीं हो सकते। और मैं नहीं समझता हिन्दू शास्त्र कहते हैं कि अस्पृश्यता चलनी चाहिये। अगर शास्त्रों की कोई ऐसी व्याख्या हुई है तो वह गलत व्याख्या हुई है, और हम उसे मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं एक कदम और आगे जा कर यह भी कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि कल अगर परमात्मा आ जाय और कहे कि छूआछूत मा-नों तो मैं ऐसे परमात्मा को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। मगर मैं जानता हूँ परमात्मा ऐसा नहीं कह सकता और जो परमात्मा के भक्त बनते हैं उनको भी ऐसी बात नहीं कहनी चाहिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमने हरिजननों की और बनारसियों की स्थिति की जांच के लिये श्री एलिया पेरीमल की अध्यक्षता में एक कमेटी बनायी थी। (व्यवधान)

SHRI B. SHANKARANAND (Chikodi): Only Hinduism recognises untouchability and no other religion in the world does it.

MR. SPEAKER : It is a good point that he is making. Do not spoil it.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : परिगणित जातियों और जन-जातियों की स्थिति पर विचार करने के लिये भारत सरकार ने एक कमेटी बनायी थी। श्री एलिया परीमल उसके अध्यक्ष थे। 26 जनवरी को, गुजरात के दिन वह रिपोर्ट राष्ट्रपति को समर्पित कर दी गयी। मगर उस रिपोर्ट ने अभी तक प्रकाश की रेखा नहीं देखी है। उस रिपोर्ट को सदन में क्यों नहीं रखा गया है, वह रिपोर्ट हमें क्यों नहीं दी गई? अगर सरकार उस पर विचार कर रही है तो रिपोर्ट को प्रकाशित कर के भी सरकार उस पर विचार कर सकती है। लेकिन आदिवासियों और हरिजनों की स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में हमें विचार करना होगा। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि एकीकरण का प्रश्न केवल हिन्दू मुसलमान को जोड़ने का ही प्रश्न नहीं है, उत्तर और दक्षिण में एकीकरण का भी प्रश्न है और जो हरिजन हैं, आदिवासी हैं उन्हें राष्ट्रीय जीवन में उनका महत्वपूर्ण स्थान देने का प्रश्न भी एकीकरण का प्रश्न है। राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता परिषद् की एक विशेष बैठक हरिजनों और जनजातियों के प्रश्नों पर विचार करने के लिये होनी चाहिये। समाज के इस वर्ग को हमें विश्वास दिलाना होगा, आचरण और कृति से, कि हम उन्हें बराबर का हकदार समझते हैं और उन्हें बराबर का स्थान देने के लिये तैयार हैं। इसके लिये अगर अंध विश्वास से लड़ना होगा तो हम लड़ेंगे। इसके लिये रूढ़िवाद के ऊपर वज्रपात करना आवश्यक होगा तो हम करेंगे।

यह तर्क का युग है, विज्ञान का युग है। आध्यात्मिकता की रक्षा करते हुए मानव और मानव के बीच में जो भेद की दीवारें खड़ी हैं उन को ढाना होगा, और इसके लिये एक

राष्ट्रीय अभियान की आवश्यकता है और इस अभियान का प्रारम्भ गृह मंत्री के द्वारा होना चाहिये। मगर गृह मंत्री चतुराई से चुप रहते हैं, बोलते हैं तो बहुत थोड़ा बोलते हैं और जब देश उनसे पहल की आशा करता है तो वह थोड़ा सा झिझकते हैं। यह झिझक छोड़ देना चाहिये और राष्ट्र के प्रति उन्हें अपने दायित्व का पालन करना चाहिये। जो राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है उन प्रश्नों पर उन्हें सारे दलों का समर्थन मिलेगा। कम से कम हमारा समर्थन उन्हें मिलेगा यह हम विश्वास दिलाते हैं।

श्री नीतिराज सिंह चौधरी (होशंगाबाद): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं गृह मन्त्रालय की मांगों का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ, और समर्थन के साथ साथ मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दो, तीन जो बहुत विशेष महत्व की बातें हैं, की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

पहली बात बोर्डर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स के सम्बन्ध में है। बोर्डर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स हमारी राष्ट्रीय सीमाओं के ऊपर रखी गई हैं और उन से यह आशा की जाती है कि वे उन सीमाओं की रक्षा करें। और वह रक्षा साधारण जीवन में भी की जानी है और जब देश के ऊपर विदेशों का हमला हो उस समय भी की जावे व, सीमाओं पर हमारे जवान डटे रहें। मगर उन को जो साज सज्जा दी गयी है, जो हथियार दिये गये हैं उन हथियारों से, जिस तरह से आज की फौजें सुसज्जित हैं ऐसी फौजों के हमलों की हमारी बोर्डर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स क्या रोक सकेंगी, किस हद तक अपनी सीमाओं पर डटी रहेगी इस के लिये कुछ थोड़े से उदाहरण हमारे सामने हैं। दूसरी बर्लिन में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है, अगर हम अरब-इजराइल के हमले की ओर देखें, चीन ने जो हमला किया था उसको देखें, पाकिस्तान के हमले को देखें तो हम को विदित होगा कि आज की फौजें जिस तरह से लैस हैं और जिस तरह से हमारे बोर्डर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स के सुसज्जित किया गया है

उस से वह देश की सीमाओं की रक्षा नहीं कर सकती। इसलिये मैं गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ और उनसे विनम्र प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह बोर्डर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स को पूर्ण रूप से देश की सीमाओं की रक्षा करने के योग्य बनायें। उन्हें जिन चीजों की आवश्यकता हो वे उपलब्ध करायें।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह जुडिशियरी के बारे में है। आज जो हालत हो रही है, एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में बतलाया गया है कि इस समय देश में 3,56,830 मामले हाई कोर्टों में निर्णयों के लिये पड़े हैं और 5,38,700 मामले सुप्रीम कोर्ट में पड़े हुए हैं। अभी सदन में बोलते हुए श्रीमती इलापाल चौधरी ने कहा था कि जस्टिस डिलेड जस्टिस डिनाइड। मैं यह कहूँगा कि इन मामलों में जस्टिस डिलेड जस्टिस डिनाइड कहना बहुत कम है। इन मामलों में अनेक मामले ऐसे हैं जो 10, 12 साल के हैं और इन में जस्टिस डिनाइड नहीं बल्कि मैं कहूँगा कि जस्टिस डिलेड जस्टिस मर्डंड। इन मामलों को जल्दी निपटाने के लिये और न्याय के प्रति लोगों में आस्था पैदा करने के लिये आप ऐडीशनल जजेज नियुक्त करें, और एक नहीं अनेक करें। आप देखेंगे कि कलकत्ता और इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट ऐसे हैं जहाँ तीस तीस हजार मामले पड़े हुए हैं और एक एक जज के जिम्मे अगर एक हजार भी मामले किये जायें तो एक जज को मामलों को निपटाने में तीन वर्ष का समय लगेगा और तब तक नये मामले एरियस में हो जायेंगे और एरियस का कभी निपटारा नहीं होगा। इसलिये ऐडीशनल जजेज को नियुक्त करने की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये और इन हाई कोर्टों में जितने ऐडीशनल जजेज की आवश्यकता हो उतने नियुक्त करें।

एक बात और है जिस की ओर मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा। और वह है सी० बी० ब्राई०। यह देहली पुलिस

एक्ट के अन्तर्गत काम करता है। इस की सीमा कुछ निर्धारित है। पर आज जैसी देश में परिस्थित पैदा हो रही है, प्रान्तों और केन्द्र में जो बातें हो रही हैं, उसमें हम को एक ऐसी संस्था चाहिये जो देश के किसी भी प्रान्त में कहीं पर कोई ऐसी बात हो तो उसकी जांच कर सके। आज जो सी० बी० ब्राई० की हालत है, उस को जब तक प्रान्त की सहमति न हो तब तक वह प्रान्त में जा कर के जांच पड़ताल नहीं कर सकती। इसके लिये गृह मंत्री का ध्यान ऐस्टीमेट्स कमेटी ने अपनी 78 वीं रिपोर्ट में पहले चैप्टर में पूरे विवरण के साथ आकर्षित किया है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वे उस विवरण को देखेंगे और जो सुझाव हैं उन को पूर्ण करने के लिये और जो कमियाँ आ गयी हैं आज की भी बदली हुई हालत में उन को पूरा करने के लिये वे कदम उठावेंगे।

एक बात जो मैं उन के ध्यान में दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह यह मामला है जिस कि वाजपेयी जी ने सदन में उठाया और उसके लिए मैं वाजपेयी जी का बहुत आभारी हूँ। उन्होंने सब बात कही लेकिन एक बात कहने में न जाने क्यों भिन्नक गये ? न जाने क्यों वह उस व्यक्ति की जिसने कि वह बात कही निन्दा करने में पता नहीं वाजपेयी जी क्यों रुक गये ? मैं अपनी ओर से व इस सारे सदन की ओर से ऐसे व्यक्ति की जिसने ऐसे भाव प्रदर्शित किये घोर निन्दा करता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सारा सदन सारा देश व राष्ट्र ऐसे आदमियों को पागल मानेगा। ऐसे आदमियों की किसी बात को वह कभी नहीं सुनेगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने जो मुझे थोड़ा सा समय दिया उसके लिए मैं आभारी हूँ। और अधिक न कह कर मैं फिर से गृह मंत्रालय की बजट डिमांड्स का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI P. M. SAYEED (Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands) : Last time,

[Shri P. M. Sayeed]

in respect of the Home Ministry's demands I was very much eager to speak but I was not the person to get the chance. The problems of Laccadive could not be placed before this august body at the time of the last Home Ministry's Demands. I stand to support the Home Ministry's Demands. In the history of our country the present Home Minister has faced such crucial and troublesome times. I think no other Home Minister has ever had the opportunity to face such difficult times. Perhaps some of my friends from the opposite are commenting on my own vernacular language, that I feel flattered. I am not at all flattering. It is a real and genuine feeling.

There are some hon. Members of this House who question even the superiority of the Central Home Ministry to the State Home Ministry. The other day--if I remember correctly--Mr. Dange was comparing a State Home Minister to Central Home Minister. Everybody knows that there is no comparison between the State Home Minister and Central Home Minister. He says and he claims that superiority comes to the State Home Minister because he happens to come in direct contact with the people--as if, the Minister at the Centre directly comes from America or from other countries. But he thinks like that. It is not so. The steps taken by the Home Minister definitely adds to the prestige and honour of this Government.

I may now turn to the debit side of the Home Minister. There is a certain impression and always it has been proved, whenever there is some sort of force or violence, the Government of India has a tendency to bend. That kind of attitude has been very much agitating in the minds of the self-respecting citizens of our country.

I have been here after the elections in 1967. I have been telling the Home Minister and this Government. You must tackle the problem from the very bottom and not this kind of patch-up business. About Laccadives we have been hearing so many things as if there are violations or the Naxalites are doing there the same thing as

they have done in Pulpully in Tellicherry. There was none police firing in the island and that was compared with the Naxalite activities in Kerala. How is it that this incident is given some colour?

You know, Mr. Speaker, the population of the Union territory of Laccadives is roughly about 30,000 and the area is roughly 11 sq. miles. The number of the Secretarial staff is about 1,200. In regard to these posts, the local population should have been given much more share. The very purpose of the development schemes should have been appreciated. There are limited jobs and an unlimited number of people to compete for them. What happens? The persons who are deputed or taken from the mainland have got their own relations and kith and kin to be appointed in the same area. They compete for these posts in order to retain their power and vested interests. What happens? The people from the local area are neglected. Whenever this kind of clash comes and with the population of the Laccadives being Muslim, automatically some sort of colour is given to unhappy incidents that take place. For example, take the case of giving a seat in the ship. Suppose unjustly a seat is allotted to somebody, and another man says: It is my turn and I must be given the first preference. Then that man is marked and not only marked for one time, but for the entire life. That kind of discontent prevails now in the minds of the population of the island. How is it that the Government of India is not able to get at the root of our problems? This kind of patch-up business is very bad. I am now very much convinced why the police verification reports, police reports, administrative reports and intelligence reports--everything comes to the Home Ministry. That reveals one story and all these people are joining together and sending the reports. As Shri Vajpayee said, what is the difficulty for the Government of India to understand the root of the problem? The Kerala Pradesh Jan Sangh passed a resolution to have a naval base there. What is the difficulty for the Government of India to have naval base in the island so that those people who are making all these nuisance can understand the real situation in the is-

land. But they do not hear. Secondly, when I, the elected representative from the island, say all these things, it is given some colour because I happen to be very much attached to my religion. I have faith and I am having some beard and because of that they suspect me. What more difficulties can I face? This is the whole trouble, Mr. Speaker. When I approach the Home Ministry, they will say: All right. We will look into the matter. The Home Minister should change this attitude of mind. This is really the crux of the problem in the island. The Home Minister has already repeated many a time in this House all the problems facing the country. We have Shiv Sena, Lachit Sena, etc. They are born out of economic problems. The very same problem is facing the island. Why don't you realise that? What steps have been taken by Government to solve the problems facing the island? They have taken no steps at all.

13 hrs.

SHRI VIRBHADRA SINGH (Mahasu): Start another *sena*.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED : As the hon. Member has said very correctly, perhaps we have to start another *sena*. This kind of thing is very bad.

I have been telling very often that the deputationists who have been deputed from Kerala should go back after completing three years. But there are still many of them who have been serving there for more than five years or six years, and they have created a vested interest there in those islands with an area of about 11 sq. miles and about 25,000 to 30,000 population. I am mentioning all these things so that if Government come to know of these things, they could take some steps.

No Cabinet Minister has visited these islands so far. I wonder whether any of the Ministers know how many islands are there. Instead, we have to spend Rs. 10,000 in order to send delegation after delegation to Delhi. This is happening because Government have not looked into our problems.

As my hon. friend Shri Atall Bihari Vajpayee was suggesting, why should a delegation from Parliament not visit those islands and see for themselves what is actually wrong and what the difficulties of the people of those islands are so that a remedy could be found and it could be implemented? What more can we suggest except this? Repeatedly we have been bringing these matters to the notice of the authorities, but nothing has happened. If anything happens in these islands, immediately a colour is given to it and the Home Ministry is satisfied with the report that it receives from the Kerala Government. I would, therefore, suggest that there must be a parliamentary delegation which should visit the Laccadive Islands so that the actual problems of the people could be understood and Government could take the necessary steps to resolve the problems immediately.

MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED : Last time also I got very little time.

I would request you to give me some more time.

MR. SPEAKER : He may continue his speech after lunch.

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13.02 hrs.

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

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*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch  
at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

DEMANDS FOR GRANDS—Contd.

Ministry of Home Affairs—Contd.

SHRI P. M. SAYEED : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am very fortunate that you are in the Chair.....(Interruptions) It is a well-known fact that you are liberal to every-

[Shri P. M. Sayeed]

one and more so to me. I was speaking about the economic development of the islands. Very negligible amounts were earmarked in the past three Plans and the amounts actually spent were much less. Even the amounts sanctioned were not spent. In the Fourth Plan they have asked a substantial amount to be spent so that the only industry there, the fishing industry, can be developed to a greater extent. It is painful to note that only Rs. 1.96 crores or so was sanctioned by the Planning Commission. When we demanded an expert committee to be sent to the Laccadives to explore the possibility of setting up industries there, the hon. Home Minister said in the Laccadive advisory committee that the best industry for the islands was the fishing industry. It was decided in the Committee that whatever applications were pending in the island administration for pablo boats would be taken from the mainland and distributed to the people so that in future we could have our own boat building yard at Kavaratti. Nothing has been done in that direction.

We have two hospitals and some health centres. Fourteen posts of doctors had been sanctioned but only six had been filled; eight posts are still vacant and the Government is unable to send doctors to the islands. Doctors should be sent from the Centre. There are 326 new posts to be created under the Plan but I do not know how many will be locally recruited. In the past percentage local recruitment has been very meagre. Even for the class IV posts, people have been taken from the mainland. I request Government to see that more and more employment opportunities are given to the local people, because as we all know, the root cause of many of the problems is the lack of employment opportunities.

It is a well known fact that sensitive areas like NEFA require greater attention. Many committees were appointed for NEFA, and the Ering Committee which is the latest has submitted its report on Panchyati Raj and other things. This committee has said that the five districts of NEFA should be connected by roads, and people's representa-

tatives should be associated with local development works. The position is almost the same in the Laccadive islands also. The people's representatives there are not given sufficient importance. Firstly, they are all nominated. As you know, a nominated person owes his loyalty more to the officials concerned than to the people whom they represent. This kind of thing should stop immediately so that the real representatives of the people could be associated with the local development works and the administration. School buildings have not been made permanent and many of them are in huts. Similar is the case with the schools in the islands also. The Ering Committee has recommended that Hindi should be taught in the schools in NEFA. But that has not been implemented so far. One of the demands of the NEFA people is that the secretariat should be located in side NEFA. But these things are still to be done.

There is also a boundary dispute between Assam and NEFA. Of course, every State has got its own dispute with the neighbouring States. And unfortunately we just drag on without solving the disputes. I feel that the Home Ministry should take immediate steps so that these disputes do not drag on for an indefinite time but are solved quickly.

Another problem facing the NEFA people is the absence of essential commodities shops in the border areas. The result is that the people of NEFA are obliged to cross the border and go to Tibet. In the pre-Independence era this used to happen. But now also the same thing is happening. I request Government to see that the facility of these shops is given to the people so that they would not have to cross the border and go to Tibet.

I have already suggested that the officers who are deputed from the other parts of the country to work in the Union territories should not be continued there for more than three years. This is one of the problems faced by the NEFA people, and this problem is also faced by the people of the Laccadives and other Union territories. The problems of these Union territories are



always similar. Therefore, I feel that Government should give sufficient thought to this matter and evolve a national policy on this matter so that the problems of the Union territories, can be solved effectively. My suggestion is that there must be a common cadre for the Union territories, judicial, police as well as administrative. If that is done, then it would be easy to solve many of the problems facing these Union territories.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry) : I am speaking on the Demands of a Ministry whose main duty during the last two years was the toppling down of various non-Congress Governments in the States.

While speaking on this Ministry, it becomes necessary for me to make certain observations about the Centre-State relations, which has been referred to by many of my hon. friends who spoke before me. I wish to approach this problem from the background of a new tendency and a very dangerous tendency that is fast developing in our country, a tendency to build up a police State.

Before Independence, and up to 1947, despite the fact that freedom struggle was sweeping all over the country and a heroic struggle was going on against British imperialism, the British Government did not spend more than a crore of rupees over the police in this country. But since Independence, the expenditure has increased 30 times, as compared with the expenditure in 1947 when the British Government were in existence here.

Moreover, the State Governments are entrusted with the task of maintaining law and order. Yet, the Central Government has also started building up its own police force. Here comes the role of the Central Reserve Police. Last year, the total budgetary provision for the Central Reserve Police was of the order of Rs. 8 crores. But this year this has been increased to Rs. 15½ crores, which means that the expenditure on the Central Reserve Police is going to be increased almost twice during this year. This means that the Central Government are out to strengthen the Central Reserve Police with a definite view and a definite

programme. The role of the Central Reserve Police has been discussed in this House already.

I would like to point out that a dangerous element has been introduced in this country by the Home Minister by the strengthening of the Central Reserve Police. Today, the Home Minister has given a clarification regarding the deployment of the Central Reserve Police in the State. It has been reported in the press :

"In view of the recent objections raised by the Kerala and West Bengal Governments to the stationing of Central Reserve Police battalions in these States, the Home Ministry has made it clear that where it apprehends damage to Central Government property and the local police fails to give the necessary protection it would be left with no option but to deploy the Central Reserve Police without consultations with the State Government."

In this connection, I would like to ask one question of the Home Minister. He says that if the Central Government properties are not protected well by the State police or the State Government, the Central Government has got every authority and the right to deploy the Central Reserve Police. Suppose the State Government fails in its duty to protect even the institutions or properties of the State, what will he do then?

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : That is their business.

SHRI P. GOPALAN : In that case, will the Central Government sit with tight hands? This is what I would like to ask of the Home Minister. The State Government have got their own constitutional obligations to safeguard the property of the Centre. I cannot understand the meaning of making this distinction between Central Government property and the State Government property. All property, whether it is of the Central Government or of the State Government belongs to this country and to its people. So, every Government has the right

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and obligation to protect the property of the nation or the country. So, this distinction is cleverly made, and this has been done with a view to provoke the State Government, especially the non-Congress States. Here, much has been said; a big hue and cry has been raised that gheraos are going on in West Bengal and that Government was attacked by the Home Ministry for the so-called breakdown of law and order. But the electorate of West Bengal has rejected the so-called propaganda of this Home Ministry and it has returned the United Front with a thumping majority to power again. This propaganda has proved to be futile and then a new element has been introduced by the Home Ministry to protect the State Governments. I would like to ask one thing: on the eve of the 19th September strike, a full battalion of the Central Reserve Police was deployed in the State of Kerala without consulting the State Government, and the Chief Minister objected to it.

In this connection, incidentally, I wish to make an observation. Out of the Central Reserve Police force, a few men had escaped from Kerala and came back and joined their parent organisation of dacoits of the big jungles of Madhya Pradesh. This is very symbolic. I wanted to refer to this because this is most symbolic of the character and the nature of the organisation which is under the command of the Home Minister Mr. Chavan. Sir, this also is an organisation of the dacoits of Madhya Pradesh. This is to commit political dacoity by the State. Where the Central Government has given power, they want to usurp the power. Law and order is to be maintained and the authority of the State Governments cannot be questioned. They have the responsibility to maintain law and order, but the Central Government, by pushing through the backdoor of the Central Reserve Police, wants to usurp the rights which are, according to the Constitution, in the hands of the State Governments. I do not think that this is a good trend. This will lead to various types of repercussions. Sir, I wish to say that a day will come, or a time will come when the State police will have to

face the Central Reserve Police and then where will it lead to? It will lead to civil war in the States. That is my contention. So, the Central Government deliberately wants to introduce an element of civil war; that is deliberately, they have calculated with a firm purpose, and with a definite purpose they are doing this just to provoke the State Governments. This is the way in which they are going to solve the Centre-State relations. This means, the Home Ministry is building up a police State in this country and this police State will ultimately lead to the disintegration of the country. No State is going to tolerate it for any length of time. The will of the people is going to be substituted by force, and where the Congress has failed, you are sending the CRP; to compensate for the loss of the political power, the CRP is being strengthened. The Home Minister is utilising this Central Reserve Police and other Central forces to compensate for the political loss of the Congress party.

In this connection, I would like to say very clearly that the danger for parliamentary democracy comes from the ruling class at the Centre; they are forcing the people of the non-Congress States to go into a civil war, and there is a danger of civil war in the introduction of this Central Reserve Police. That is my contention. I would like to say it clearly.

The next point that I would like to make is about the Home Ministry's continued demands for more powers to deal with the so-called anti-national elements in the country. While replying to a Call Attention motion, the Home Minister has said that they want more powers to deal with the anti-nationalism elements. Anti-nationalism was found in the publication of an advertisement of Peking Radio. It was published in the Malayalam Weekly. But here anti-nationalism means what? I can understand the meaning of saying that when it is Peking Radio advertisement, it is anti-nationalism, but all the radios including the BBC, Voice of America and others are publishing the advertisements in various papers in the country. There, you cannot say it is anti-nationalism. And our party has been condemned as a party

of anti-nationalism. We do not want to have any good conduct certificate from The Home Ministry. I would like to say that our party has not stooped to such a position as to get a good conduct certificate for nationalism from the Congress party, from this Government of Birlas and Tatas.

Our party has full faith in the people and we will act accordingly.

I would like to make this charge deliberately here that some Congressmen are getting money from various agencies outside. A few days ago, the Home Minister gave a reply saying that one Mr. George Thomas of Kerala has received Rs. 16 lakhs during the last four years from various American agencies.

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak) :** People living in glass houses should not throw stones at others.

**SHRI P. GOPALAN :** You will be anxious to know who that George Thomas is. He is the deputy leader of the Congress Legislature Party in the Kerala Assembly. If they are getting money from outside, it is patriotic money. If Mr. George Thomas, the deputy leader of the Congress Party, gets money from outside, it is an honour and he is great patriot ! I want to know from the Home Minister whether any investigation or enquiry was made as to the source from which he is getting this money and how he is spending it. Is the Home Minister prepared to make a through investigation about it ?

I quite understand the patriotic indignation expressed by some PSP members when they brought that call-attention against that Malayalam weekly. But about a year ago, an incident was reported in the press. We had tabled a question to which the Home Minister replied, saying that from the HMS office in Bombay, controlled by one Ram Desai, two transmitters made in USA and Rs 15,000 worth of dollar bills were recovered by the police. The police was investigating it. I do not know what has happened to it, and whether this has been hushed up and if so, why. Where had the patriotism of the PSP evaporated when

this incident took place ? Why have they not denied this incident ? This sort of thing is happening in this country.

About two year ago, the Home Minister assured the House that a thorough investigation will be made about the activities of the CIA. I do not know what investigations have been made and why a report has not been submitted to the House.

Through out the length and breadth of the country, the CIA has penetrated its tentacles deep and this is known to everybody. Various institutions, including governmental ones, are in the firm grip of the CIA. There have been charges that even some ministers were influenced by the CIA. The Government has failed in its duty to find out what the CIA is doing. Recently a book was published- *CIA Who's Who*- containing more than a hundred names of CIA agents in this country, their addresses where they are employed, etc. I do not know why the Government is not so anxious to find out what they are doing here. They have been shouting so much about nationalism, patriotism, etc. But when it is a question of CIA or America, they cannot do anything. They are not prepared to do anything. They do not even enquire about the various activities of CIA in this country. The Asia Foundation has ceased to function in this Country.

From the very beginning there were complaints here about this Asia Foundation, that this Asia Foundation is a CIA institution. But the Home Ministry did not take into account those complaints and for full 18 years this Asia Foundation has been functioning in this country. It was only after the *New York Times*, an American paper, exposed this Asia Foundation that the Home Ministry came forward to do away with this institution in this country. Up till now they had no source to find out what they were doing and how they were acting inside the country. Their activities were not enquired into. I would like to say to the Home Minister that these things have to be gone into thoroughly to save the integrity of our country, to save the sovereignty of our country. The ex CIA agent Mr. John Smith had even said that the CIA

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had deeply penetrated among the high officials in the military also. Why the Government is prepared to investigate fully and thoroughly into the activities of the CIA in this country.

The Congress leaders and Ministers talk loudly about national intergration. But parochialism and tendencies of communalism are fast developing and growing in this country. In this connection, I would like to mention a particular incident. Shiv Sena has got a weekly named *Marmick*. For full one year this weekly was spitting fire and thunder against the South Indians. They wanted to kick out the South Indians from Bombay, from Maharashtra. After doing this for full one year they celebrated their anniversary and on that occasion they got the Home Minister of India, Shri Chavan, to bless them. Is not a shame? After spitting fire for a full year against the South Indians they got the Home Minister, Shri Chavan, to preside over the functions organised by the Shiv Sena. And, Sir, the Home Minister, Shri Chavan, is preaching about national Integration. How can he bring about emotional integration, how can he bring about emotional integration, how can he keep up the unity of the country...

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I think the hon. Member is completely misinformed. I would like to know which function organised by Shiv Sena I attended.

SHRI P. GOPALAN : The first anniversary of its weekly.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, Mr. Naik attended it. You are completely misinformed about it.

AN HON. MEMBER : Shri V. P. Naik attended it.

SHRI P. GOPALAN : Even if the Chief Minister of Maharashtra president over it, it is very serious matter.

There have been so many communal riots in Ranchi, in Nagpur, in Meerut, in Bangalore and many other parts of the coun-

try. Two forces are mainly responsible for this-- the RSS and the Jan Sangh. They have been openly propagating communal ideas and openly inciting Hindus against Muslims. But the Home Minister, the Government of India and the Congress people are taking them as democrats. Despite the fact that these communal organisations are working as fascist organisations in this country they are considered to be democratic organisations of democratic parties. Even Shrimati Subhadra Joshi clearly stated in Ranchi that during the riots there a section of Congressmen along with the Jan Sangh had been inciting the people, inciting the Hindus against the Muslims.

This has been clearly stated and even the name of Shri K.B. Sahay has been mentioned in this connection. So, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister what firm steps he proposes to take to curb the communal tendencies that are fast developing in the country and to maintain the integrity and unity of this country.

SHRI ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE : He is going on talking about internal unity. Yet, his government is going to create a Muslim majority district in Kerala. Is that national integration?

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Quilon) : He is talking of something which he cannot understand ... (Interruptions)

SHRI P. GOPALAN : Lastly, I would like to make certain observations about our Law Minister, Shri Govinda Menon, who comes from our State. He always goes to our State.....

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : Where else can he go?

SHRI P. GOPALAN : Whenever he goes to his home State he will have secret conferences with officials, including police officials, and a conspiracy is hatched between the high police officials in Kerala, and the Law Minister with a view to discrediting the United Front Government in Kerala. As a part of this conspiracy, the police in the State are resorting to firing, lathi char-

ge etc. There have been allegations against the Kerala Governor, Shri Viswanathan. He contacted some leaders and Ministers belonging to the constituent parties of the United Front with a view to isolating the Communist Party (Marxist) from the Government. This was later exposed and he could not succeed in his attempt. So, even the Governor is being utilized by the Home Ministry to topple the government, to create division among the United Front parties. I would like to say that if the same policy is being pursued by the Home Minister there would not be any harmonious Centre-State relations in the country and ultimately this will lead to the division of the country. So, this would not be tolerated for such a long time. People will rise up and fight against the Central Government and their policies.

**श्री मु० अ० खां (कामगंज) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से एक दर्खास्त करना चाहता हूँ। पार्टीज की तरफ से आपको लिस्ट दी जाती है। वैसे आपको पूरा अधिकार है, जिसको चाहें बुलायें और जिसको न चाहें न बुलायें। लेकिन हमको उस वक्त तकलीफ होती है जबकि हमारा नम्बर चौथा या पांचवां होता है और 11 वें या 12 वें नम्बर वाले को आप बुला लेते हैं। आपको हमारे अधिकारों की हिफाजत करनी है लेकिन वह हो नहीं पाता है, आप उसमें फेल हो जाते हैं। (व्यवधान)

**MR. DEPUTY--SPEAKER :** Your party time has been exhausted completely.

**श्री मु० अ० खां :** या तो फिर लिस्ट मांगना छोड़ दीजिए और जिसको आप चाहिए उसी को बुलाइये। लेकिन लिस्ट मांगने के बाद पांच नम्बर वाले को छोड़ कर 11 या 12 नम्बर वाले को बुलायें, यह हमारे अधिकारों की हिफाजत है याकि उसको काटना है। मेरा 6ठा नम्बर था लेकिन आपने 11 नम्बर पर पटेल साहब को बुला लिया। फिर लिस्ट को जरूरत ही क्या है ? ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री रणधीर सिंह :** मुझे भी सुन लीजिए।

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Will you please resume your seat ? I would request Shri Randhir Singh also to resume his seat. I will not permit any more discussion on this point.

**श्री मु० अ० खां :** क्या यह सही है जो आपने किया है ? 6 नं० पर मैं बैठा हुआ हूँ और 11 नं० पर आपने बुला लिया।

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** No, Please resume your seat.

**श्री मु० अ० खां :** मैं पूछता हूँ क्या यह सही है ?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Whatever complaint he has, he may make it to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

**SHRI M. A KHAN :** It is not a matter to be taken up with the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** May I say this very clearly ? I have to see that the various regions, Centrally administered areas etc. are represented.

**श्री रणधीर सिंह :** मुझे एक प्रोटेस्ट करनी है, एक मिनट के लिये आप मुन नें। बात यह है कि मुझे आप से और स्पीकर साहब से प्रोटेस्ट करना है कि पिछले दो हफ्ते में हमारा काल एग्जेंशन आया हुआ है और वह एंडमिट भी हो चुका है .....

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** This is not the way to raise it.

**श्री रणधीर सिंह :** मैं नहीं बंदूंगा। किसान के साथ आप ज्यादाती कर रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** This will not be permitted. Please resume your seat.

**श्री रणधीर सिंह :** पाकिस्तान की बात लेते हैं, मजदूरों की बात लेते हैं। किसान की बात आप क्यों नहीं लेते हैं। गल्ले की कीमतों के

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

खिलाफ आज बड़े जोर का आन्दोलन है। हम नहीं बरदाश्त करेंगे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा काल अटेंशन कब आयेगा। किसान के साथ आप ज्यादाती करते हैं। और मैं प्रोटेस्ट कर के बाहर जाता हूँ, आप हमारी बात नहीं सुनते हैं।

14. 41 hrs

(माननीय सदस्य श्री रणधीर सिंह,  
सदन त्याग कर चले गये)

श्री प्रकाश बीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो लोक सभा की कार्य सूची सदस्यों के पास जाती है अगर उसमें कोई कालिग अटेंशन छप कर चला जाय कि यह आने वाला है, अथवा यह कालिग अटेंशन लिया जायगा उस को एक बार हटा दिया जाय और दूसरी तारीख के लिये चला जाय कि फलां तारीख को लिया जायगा, फिर हटा दिया जाय और तीसरी बार आगे के लिये चला जाय, तो यह बात माननीय रणधीर सिंह की सही है क्योंकि वह किसानों के गल्ले के मूल्य से संबंधित चीज है। तो आर्डर पेपर पर दो बार छप चुका है लेकिन वह मसला बराबर टलता जा रहा है। आप व्यवस्था दीजिये कि ऐसे मामले में लोक सभा की क्या परम्परा है ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The alteration was made with the concurrence of the House, if I remember correctly.

श्री मु० अ० खाँ : आपने मेरी बात का जवाब नहीं दिया। हमारी पार्टी से जो लिस्ट आती है अगर उसके मुताबिक नहीं बुलाना है तो फिर पार्टी से लिस्ट मंगाने की जरूरत ही नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have got a long list. I am not going to call anyone. I will see that every State and every Cen-

trally-administered area is represented in this debate as far as possible.

श्री तुलशीदास जाधव (बारामती) : जो भी लिस्ट दी हो तो आप को उसमें से बुलाना है या क्या करना है यह अधिकार तो आप को है न ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is all right.

SHRI PAOKAI HAOKIP (Outer Manipur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I consider myself to be very fortunate because whenever I speak you are in the Chair. I am afraid, my time is so limited again this time and I would not be able to express all that I would like to; so, I would try to touch on some points which I consider important.

I rise to support the report on the achievements in Manipur in the last year by Shri Chavan but I am very sad to say that the problem, which has been created in Manipur and which has been continuing since the movement of the Naga hostiles, has not yet been solved. The situation is so bad that in the midst of such a situation the people in Outer Manipur and of Manipur as a whole have been struggling to participate in the affairs of the nation. With all their humble efforts they have not been able to take part fully in the building of the nation.

How have they not been able to participate fully ? The reason is very simple and that is that Manipur, being situated in the north-east frontier part of the country, since its merger with the Union, has been cut off from the main Indian society. For all these years, no railway line has been laid—what to speak of air transport—and the condition is all the same. So, for lack of communications, Manipur has all along been ostracised from the society.

This time, again, I am pained to say that the hon. Railway Minister who is very much sympathetic to the lot of the Manipur people has not proposed to construct any railway line. I hope he will not forget the condition of Manipur and he

will do his best to put up a railway line in the near future.

Then, since the inception of Naga Hostile movement, the Government has been thinking of protecting the lives of the innocent people, the tribal people, of Manipur. In this regard, the hon. Home Minister has introduced, what they call, an organisation of the Home Guards. This force has been functioning for the last many years. But the functioning of this force has not been very satisfactory. Why has this not been functioning satisfactorily? The organisation of this force has not been done with adequate speed at the places more concerned. The authorities with poor provision have been slowing the organisation at the places the people like. Thus, the demand of the people for the benefit of such an organisation in different Vulnerable parts in the hill area has not yet been met adequately. In this way, the interests of the people, in such organisation seems not to have been taken into fullest account. This is one of the reasons why this force has not been very much successful in fighting the hostiles. If the interests of the people, the representatives of the people, the important public leaders, are taken into account and they are mutually consulted for setting up an organisation, I think, it will become very effective.

In this connection, I would request the hon. Home Minister that in order to protect the lives of the people, the tribal people, an organisation of mobile force should be set up in mutual consultation with the representatives of the people so that the life of the people can be safe to a great extent.

Thirdly, since I belong to Outer Manipur, I would like to point the difficulty...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

SHRI PAOKAI HOOKIP : I am concluding.

My long-standing grievance is this. Outer Manipur has reserved seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but very unfortunately, a part of the valley

of Manipur is included in this. I asked the hon. Home Minister on what basis was this done, and I was told that this has been done on the basis of population. I do not understand how this can be done on the basis of population. While the Constitution provides that the interests of the minorities, backward classes and tribal people should be adequately protected, how can this be done on the basis of population? If this has been done on that basis, I would like to say that the interests of backward classes and minorities will not be adequately protected. I will, therefore, humbly submit that this portion of the valley which is included in Outer Manipur may be immediately withdrawn, so that the interests of the tribal people and those of the plains are safeguarded.

My third point is.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am sorry, you have to conclude. I am hard pressed for time. Already the time has been extended. I should have called the Minister at 3.00. There is one more member on this side who has to speak. Please conclude.

SHRI PAOKAI HOOKIP : My third point is this. In 1964, an agreement between the Government of India and the Nagas was entered into, and by that agreement three sub-divisions of Manipur were included in the area which is declared to be under ceasefire. Taking advantage of the ceasefire, the hostile Nagas are doing whatever they like; they are playing like rats when the cat is away. So, the people in these three sub-divisions are very much tortured and harassed daily...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You will have to conclude. I have given you more than 12 minutes. Please resume your seat. My sympathies are with you. I cannot help. There is no time.

SHRI PAOKAI HOOKIP : I will conclude by saying that these three sub-divisions, which have been included in the ceasefire agreement, should be withdrawn immediately in the interest of the people there.

**DR. M. SANTOSHAM (Tiruchendur) :** I have the misfortune of having the floor when you are in a hurry because the Home Minister has to reply. Therefore, I would like to commence by reminding you that I have at least 15 minutes' time..

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** You will get your party time.

**SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi) :** 17 minutes.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** 15 minutes.

**DR. M. SANTOSHAM :** The Home Ministry has been always handling a very important responsibility, and because of the changing political scene in recent times, the responsibility of the Home Ministry becomes all the more significant and vital. Therefore, the need of the hour is that the Home Ministry should be really dynamic in its action. The changing political scene has created an impression in the minds of the people that, if the Home Ministry is, as it has been hitherto, going to be undynamic in future also, then the country is doomed to a disaster. We are, as it is, on the brink of disaster. Many members have already spoken about it. We are in the grip of three threatening disasters in this country. One is the instability of various Governments. Second is internal insecurity. Third is disunity inside the States and the chances of disintegration. These have resulted because of the political pattern that we have built up and it is necessary that not only the Home Ministry should become active and apply proper remedies in those particular places where these kinds of evils take place but also they should seek reform measures of longstanding nature so that the political pattern itself can change in such manner that and we do not get into the grip of these kinds of evils. The drama of floor crossing we have watched in this country with a degree of shame and certainly the world has watched it with horror. Governments have come and Governments have gone. The transient will O' the wisp Governments just make their appearance and in a few moments because of desertion of political partners or because of separation, we find them disappear. This has resulted

in a great deal of instability. It is not only in certain particular States where this has happened, this danger is existing. I think that such a danger is possible in practically every State in the country and also in the Central Government. We find that all is not very healthy in Delhi either. It will be a calamity of instability spreads and causes downfall of Governments in some states and in Delhi at the same time. So it is necessary to analyse the point as to what are the causes of this kind of floor-crossings and instable Governments. I would say that it is all because politics has been built in this country through these years in a pattern in which political affairs practically have become a commercial enterprise. At least very similar to a commercial enterprise. The first and foremost requirement for dabbling in politics when one wants to get into political power, the most important thing, happens to be a very large investment. Politics is like any other business; the political personality invests large amount of money, then he has his eyes on the turn over. When he has his eyes on the turn-over, he is always keen about what profit arises out of his political investment that he has made and this goes on to further investment after five years practically on the pattern of a commercial enterprise. If this kind of commercial enterprise is forced on political personalities and as a result of large investment and profit seeking if they are going to gain political power—great political power through which they can create monopolies a power by which they can create merchant princes just out of an order from their pen, the result is "Petty mind seeking mighty power." I think the evil in the political pattern of this country is this "Petty minds seeking mighty power and" a remedy should be sought. Therefore, it is necessary that our election law should be changed. The enormous amount of money that people are called upon to spend in elections actually deletes for eligibility those candidates who can be very useful to the society and who can be very useful for the administration of this country. Real thinkers, real scholars and real servants of the people get eliminated out of the lists of candidates contesting elections. Therefore people have no other chance except to select those who can stand the strain of enormous



expenditure. If one has got elected, the first thing he does, the first political work he does, to make a statement regarding his expenditure and I am quite sure that most persons when they make these statements, they are compelled to make a statement which is really not honest. I do not know why we should still keep this hypocritical law. In the recent Nagercoil bye elections the limit that is normally prescribed for a Parliamentary election was exceeded 50 times. That was the total expenditure of the candidates who contested in that election. Therefore I would say that the election law should be revised once again so that election expenditure could be controlled and proper kind of people will have an opportunity to contest the election.

The second danger in this country is internal insecurity. (*Interruptions*) That will affect your party you will stand to suffer. No, we are one of those who sponsored the move that election expenses should be reduced. Rajaji said that candidates should not be put to the strain of taking the voters to the ballot box but the ballot box should be taken to the voters. I hope and trust that the new Election Commissioner will take proper measures to see that election expenditure is reduced substantially.

15 hrs.

Sir, I was speaking about internal insecurity. In recent times lawlessness has broken out in every State. We have not acted sufficiently dynamically, with the result that those who are indulging in lawlessness become heroes in those particular localities. To preach lawlessness becomes a profitable undertaking for them. This kind of hatred propaganda pays dividends in politics. By preaching hatred, a person becomes a hero overnight. If such a person is able to create discord among the people and violence then he becomes a double hero. Lawlessness becomes practically some politician's pastime.

It is necessary therefore that the Law Ministry should take a very serious notice of this situation. Hatred is preached and those who preach hatred become heroes; they get elected; they become Government themselves; and after this they still contin-

ue to nurture and nurse this class hatred and as a result the Naxalite outrages take place. We have not taken serious notice of these things. We have not taken serious action against these things. Apart from the class hatred, we have also got the linguistic hatred. We have got regional hatred. According to the convenience of politicians they go on preaching these various kinds of hatreds.

Every one in authority from every place has condemned the Shiv Sena. They have condemned only in words and not in deeds. They have not raised even a finger to put down such Senas. I would like to ask one question in this connection. If a person in favour merely condemns Shiv Sena in words only and does not do anything to put it down ruthlessly, is he not a hypocrite? Therefore, I would say, if the Government which has got power does not do anything to control such unruly movement on the part of a section of people, they should accept the charge that they are abettors in the crime. They become abettors to the arson, loot and murder which take place as a result of the activities of bodies like the Shiv Sena.

Sir, all this happens because of the linguistic hatred which has been preached by a group of people. It is time that it is put down ruthlessly.

Then I come to the question of religious minorities. It is said that the minorities are well protected in this country. They say, ours is a secular State. I would like to question that statement. I represent the cause of the Christian minorities here. I would like to make the charge that the Christian minorities are being discriminated against. If a scheduled caste individual gets converted to Christianity he does not get the usual concessions. But if the scheduled caste person gets converted from Christianity back to Hinduism, he gets back all the usual concessions. A scheduled caste person may become a Christian and then he may become a Hindu. If he gets converted to Hinduism once again he is entitled to all the concessions. There is a law which has been passed in Orissa. It is called Freedom of Religions Act. If it is law for

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freedom of religions, it should apply both ways. It should protect individuals from fraud and bribes inducing them to change from Hinduism into Christianity as well as from Christianity to Hinduism. But the Statute itself provides that when a man who is a Christian scheduled caste when gets converted back to Hinduism he gets all the benefits once again. It means that the Statute itself deliberately induces people in respect of reconversion from Christianity to Hinduism. Therefore this is discriminatory. All the concessions and benefits which he gets as a scheduled caste Hindu when he gets converted to Christianity he must continue to get.

Again, I would like to say a few words about the disunity and disintegration that are facing this country. Apart from the instability of the Governments in the various States, we find that inside the States that there has been a great deal of quarrelling. Originally when the States were made into linguistic States we thought that we converted the country into a scrambled egg. When we found that linguistic patriotism was exceeding nationalism, we found ourselves were in the sad predicament of not being in a position to unscramble the scrambled egg. Now we are going to have mashed egg because every State wants to be divided into numerous smaller States. Only the other day, Punjab and Haryana were formed out of one State. We are now going to pass a law making the hill tribes of Assam into a separate State. When that is going ahead, we see still Telengana nuisance. Just like this we go on. In this line there are so many uncooked things still in the boiling pot which will further disturb the Home Ministry. The country, as it were, is getting into dissipation. For all these things, the solution must be found by the Home Ministry and I personally feel that unity and uniformity can be secured in the country only by creating oneness of thinking. And oneness of thinking and oneness of expression can come only through a united, common, conversational medium, namely, language. It is essential, therefore, that we should now resolve that there should be only one language for the administration of the

whole country. If we are going to have two languages side by side, a great deal of disturbance and trouble will be created. We read only in today's morning paper that the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister has announced that there will be a Tamil Nadu Cadet Corps. Cadet Corps is part of our defence programme. If we are going to have a National Cadet Corps and a Tamil Nadu Cadet Corps, all because of language controversy, it is not much of a healthy sign for the nation. Therefore, I would implore and plead with the Home Minister to give permission to the Tamil Nadu Government to use English words of command by the National Cadet Corps in their area. After all, English has to exist side by side with Hindi according to our accepted decision and there should be no difficulty felt in giving permission to the Tamil Nadu Government to have English words of command for the National Cadet Corps.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Home Minister (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. N. REDY (Nizamabad) : This is very unfair. The Speaker assured me time.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : I was also assured. (*Interruptions*) The Speaker had said I will be the last member to speak.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : How can you disallow me to speak when the Speaker had permitted me?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I know what you are going to speak. If I give you five minutes, what is the use?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप थोड़ा सा समय बढ़ा दीजिये। अगर तेलंगाना पर अलग से चर्चा नहीं हो रही है तो गृह-कार्य मन्त्रालय पर चर्चा हो रही है। इस पर तो कम से कम बढ़ा के लोगों को बोलने का मौका मिले।

SHRI SWELL (Autonomous Districts) : Let us extend the time by 15 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have already exceeded the time limit.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : Probably you do not have any idea of what happens in Telengana.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The Speaker before leaving the House mentioned that Shri Sheo Narain will be the last speaker. Therefore, he is entitled to get his chance.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Normally I should not disclose this, but the Speaker has given some instructions. The entire time of this side is exhausted; therefore no more speaker from this side, but only from the Opposition. As I have already pointed out, I would have very much liked to give some time to Shri M. N. Reddy, but we have already exceeded the time...

SHRI M. N. REDDY : Kindly see the proceedings; the Speaker had assured me that he would give me time...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All right, he may have ten minutes.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : Is this the way you are maintaining the standards of this House ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He will have five minutes. When the Home Minister is speaking for him, what can I do ?

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : It was the decision of the Chair, not of the Home Minister.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : I would like to register my protest at the outset, that Members do not seem to have any idea of the serious situation in Telengana and in spite of the assurance of the Speaker, you have not conceded my request

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have already conceded.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : ...I am very sorry about it.

I take this opportunity to refer to the serious situation that has arisen in Telengana,

and which has not been properly taken notice of by the Central Government. What has been done so far is nothing compared to the situation that is there. A bureaucratic approach has been made by the hon. Home Minister inasmuch as only a Central team consisting of some ICS officers has been set up as if they would solve the problem by going there. This means that the seriousness of the problem was not at all realised at the Centre. And if we rely on past experience, then I would say that they would realise only when it becomes too late in the day.

I would like to refer to the problem of Telengana and inform the hon. Members through you, sir, what the actual problem is. It is a problem of broken pledges and promises given at the time of the formation of the Andhra Pradesh State. The SRC had recommended that Telengana should be a separate State. After the publication of the report in October, 1955, it was the Andhras who had offered safeguards as a substitute, and on the basis of that the merger took place. I do not want to refer to the details of those safeguards, which were actually put forth by the Andhra leaders; a new concept of safeguards as the basis of merger was put forth by the Andhra leaders and it was later on endorsed by the then Home Minister Shri G. B. Pant on 16th February, 1956, that the Central Government would take care to see that such safeguards were implemented and that they would also give a statutory shape to those safeguards. I am not referring here to the failure of the Andhra Pradesh Government as such, but I am only referring to the failure of the Union Government and particularly the Home Minister.

In order to give shape to these safeguards, three actions were taken by the Home Ministry. One was a Presidential order issued on 1st February, 1958 under article 371 constituting a regional committee for that area to deal with certain subjects as enumerated in the order. Under clause 10 of that order this was what was provided. I wonder whether the Home Minister knows about it; in any case, I myself had occasion to refer to this when I met him personally. Clause 10 says : that over and above the

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normal and constitutional powers of the Governor under the Constitution.

"The Governor shall have a special responsibility for securing the proper functioning of the regional committee in accordance with the provisions of this order".

That means that whatever safeguards were provided for in that order had to be implemented, and if there was any lapse or default, it was the function of the Governor, over and above his duties prescribed under the Constitution, to see that those safeguards were implemented. So, the Andhra Pradesh Governor has been vested with an additional power in so far as those safeguards are concerned. But the Governor never interfered in this matter; he never intervened and never tried to see whether they were being implemented or not, and he never tried to inform the Central Government of it.

The second lapse which was committed by the Home Ministry was this. Here was an order which was made in pursuance of a solemn promise made to the people of Telengana, by constituting a statutory body called the regional committee, but at the same time it nullified the entire effect of that measure in the Second Schedule to the same order. I would invite your attention to clause 164 (g) which says :

"The sittings of the Regional Committee shall be held in private and within the precincts of the Assembly".

It is exactly due to this undesirable and preposterous clause that the entire proceedings of the regional committee have been kept secret and confidential with the result that nothing could be published and nothing could be brought to the notice of the public or any other authority. I do not know how this diabolic measure was conceived negating the entire effect of the order. This should have been removed long ago when the regional committee could not function. And this was the order that was made by the Central Government.

Again, I would refer to Schedule 3 and clause 8 (a) which says that where there is a difference of opinion in the matter of implementation of the decisions of the regional committee, between the Council of Ministers and the regional committee, it is the duty of the Governor to give his decision on the disagreement and whatever decision he will give in such a situation will be binding on the Council of Ministers. But no Governor who has been sent there has taken notice of it so far or was aware of this provision or ever intervened in the matter. The Andhra Pradesh Government or the Andhra leaders might have had their own motives for not implementing the safeguards, but what about the Central Government? The Central Government or the Home Minister have no such motives in the matter. Therefore, I blame the Central Government and particularly the Home Minister for not ensuring the effective implementation of the safeguards. It is not a case of a small region. This region has a population of 15 millions, and therefore, it is a question of 15 million persons. I have been discussing this matter with many members and at the national level the leaders feel that if this demand is conceded or if anything is done to satisfy the demands raised, it would have a snowball effect. But I would submit that they are not understanding the problem. Shri Y. B. Chavan may think that it would have its own repercussion in Vidarbha or in Saurashtra or in North Mysore or elsewhere. But I would submit that the problems are not similar. In this case, statutory guarantees were given to a region as the basis of merger, and those guarantees have not been implemented. In the other areas, the problem is one of economic backwardness. But here something was given but not implemented.

I would refer to another statutory safeguard that was provided. The Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957 was passed on the recommendations of the SRC as well as the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner. That Act has been passed as an exception to article 16 (3) as a transitory measure, in so far as it relates to Telengana. But during the last twelve years, it was not challenged because it was never implemented. The people from

the Andhra region did not experience any adverse effect due to that Act. But when it was thought that it would be implemented, the Andhra employees immediately went to the Supreme Court and the High Court, and the whole thing has been set aside. The decision that was given on the 28th of this month was a very profound decision, in no way less important than that in Golak Nath's case. I have got the decision of the Supreme Court here. The Supreme Court has once and for all decided that Parliament has no authority and is not competent to legislate in respect of a particular region; it can legislate in respect of an entire State but not a particular region. Therefore, now Parliament cannot do anything, although it has passed the Act on the 17th of this month extending it for a further period of five years. Therefore, what is to be done now has to be seen.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court has struck down only sec. 3 of the Act. We would have been happier if the whole Act had been set aside, but they have not done so; because in that case, the previous Mulki rules, which were in force in Telengana area even after the integration of that area with Andhra in terms of sec. 120 of the S. R. Act would have continued, unless repealed or otherwise modified by this Parliament.

We have now this very serious problem to which I would like to rivet the attention of all the leaders of the Opposition as well as of Government. Here on account of this Act, the benefit we had in Telengana area under the Mulki rules was gone because the Mulki Rules were repealed under sec. 2. But Section 2 is not struck down.

What has happened? Due to the enactment of Parliament, whatever rights we had under the Mulki Rules were taken away. Now this enactment has been held to be *ultra vires* the Constitution. The Supreme Court itself made certain observations, as reported in AIR 1963, p. 222, from which I would quote a few sentences. As a result of the Reorganisation Act, there was integration of various regions with other regions. They have recognised that particular laws, particular problems of a parti-

cular region integrated with advanced States should be taken into account. They have conceded the need to have different kind of legislation in order to bring them on par with the advanced States. They have said :

"The second ground on which the impugned Act and rules are attacked as offending art. 14 is that after the merger of the PEPSU in the State of Punjab under the said S. R. Act, they continued in force in territories of the erstwhile PEPSU Union, but they have no application in the other parts of the State of Punjab and this, it is said, is a sure ground of discrimination. We see no substance in this objection. Prior to the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, the PEPSU Union and the State of Punjab were two different States. The legislative authorities functioning in the two States were different. Prior to integration, there could be no question of discrimination under art 14 because that can arise only with reference to the law passed by the same authority. And if after reorganisation of the States and integration of the PEPSU Union in the State of Punjab different laws apply to different parts of the State, that is due to historical reasons, and that has always been recognised as proper placing of classification under art. 14".

What has happened is that this Parliament has repealed an Act which was already there, which gave sufficient protection to the Telengana people. On account of this enactment, those rules were gone. Now this enactment when it was intended to be implemented, has been struck down. The result is a serious situation, a stalemate with very serious legal implications flowing from the latest judgment.

I suggest two things here. We should see what can be done under the Constitution. An autonomous region, on the lines of what has been done in Assam, has to be thought of. Secondly, the scope of the Reserved or Scheduled areas under arts. 339, 341 and 342 could be suitably amended. I know they relate to Scheduled Tribes. But they

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can be suitably amended, with an eye on the future, and this area could be brought within the ambit of those provisions for the purpose of giving special protection. These things have to be explored.

Sec. 115 (5) of the S. R. Act envisages an advisory committee as a transitory measure. To ensure that all the services which are integrated with the other States, common gradation list, a common seniority list was envisaged and had to be prepared within a year or two. For thirteen years, 16,000 employees were affected in Telengana. You will be surprised to know sir, that nothing was done. That was thought of as a transitory measure, for a year or two and in any case not more than three years. Again the same advisory committee is now supposed to go to Andhra. In the meanwhile, how many have died or retired or have left service in disgust? Non-gazetted Andhra tahsildars could become collectors while gazetted deputy collectors remain the same and retire as such. Therefore, advisory committees are not going to help. The Home Minister has to take personal interest in the matter and he should visit the State not only as the Home Minister but also as a senior Congress leader because that State also is under the Congress rule. He should take a decision as a statesman, not as a politician. If he takes any other view, he cannot solve the problem. There was once Mr. Prasad who was Home Secretary for a brief period. There are serious complaints from the Telengana employees that during his home secretaryship he has undone what was done by his predecessors. This aspect should be considered by the Home Minister. All the cases which were dealt with by Mr. Prasad should be reviewed so that there will be no scope for any suspicion or doubt. The Telengana agitation people had given an ultimatum that if by 9 April the problem is not solved they would launch direct action in the shape of civil disobedience, self-government at village, taluk and district level, non-payment of taxes and so on and so forth. It is an unprecedented movement in our country. I can personally vouchsafe for it because there are no leaders in it. The leaders have come in very recently. It

was started by the masses, by the students. The organised leadership of all the parties is completely isolated. The leaders had then to echo the sentiment of the masses; otherwise they cannot exist in the districts. It should be viewed from that perspective. The bureaucratic approach of sending a few officers is not going to solve the problem. All the Opposition parties have sent their representatives to Telengana; they are aware of the situation and they are taking more interest but what has been done on behalf of the ruling Congress Party? They should not think of personalities or prestige if they do not want the movement to have a snow-balling effect and if they are serious about integration. It should be solved with the statesmanship it requires. Personalities should not come in the way because it is the future of the State that is of far more importance than anything else. Therefore, I make this request to you, Mr. Speaker, to constitute a committee of leaders of the all parties to go there and let us know what is happening. Let us not depend upon the reports of the State Government or the Central Intelligence agency. It is a crisis of confidence. People have no confidence in the State Government and it is against them there are these complaints. So, those who come should do as third parties with all magnanimity and with a desire to understand the problems and solve them and they should take responsibility on themselves to implement the safeguards because we know what happened to the safeguards given over a period of time. What happens after 1972 is also a factor to be reckoned with. Therefore, I suggest that the Leaders of the Opposition parties should also be involved in this to inspire confidence in the people that whatever injustice done to them would not be repeated. Not only justice should be done but something more should be done by the State Government and also by the Central Government; they should understand that all the parties are viewing the matter with the fullest sympathy. This should be brought to the notice of the people of the State. Delay in action would certainly result in disintegration to which you are all against. So, when you consider Telengana, Mr. Home Minister, do not consider what would happen in Vidarbha or Saurashtra. You confine yourself to the problem of

Telengana and you will be able to solve it. If you bring in other regions and personalities, then you will not be able to solve it because you will not be able to exercise a dispassionate and disinterested judgment in the matter. Therefore, I appeal to you that you should visit the place or you may send some responsible leaders to know what is the problem. Not only political leaders but all others who are associated with the agitation or who are interested in the welfare of the State should be called and consulted as to how to proceed with it.

15.29 hrs.

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

I would only like to quote one sentence from a great leader. Some members said this morning that it is after all a movement which was started by a few persons, a handful of persons. I would only bring to the notice of the Home Minister and the House what a veteran Congressman, who is more than 80 years, who is like Rajagopalachari to Telengana, an elder statesman, who has nothing to seek, no axe to grind, who has no ambition even if something happens to the State, has said recently, a few days ago, especially when it has been pointed out that this movement is started only by some vested interests, or a handful of people. He said : I quote from the statement of Mr. K. V. Ranga Reddy :

"It is wrong to say that only a handful of people in Telengana are agitating for separation. The fact is that excepting a handful of Telengani-ites attached to the apron-strings of the Government, all others in Telengana are bestirring themselves for separation : and this must be realised."

So, it is a very, very serious problem. The press also is full of this news. In the papers from Hyderabad, except the Telengana agitation, there is nothing. This morning only I even showed some of these papers to Shri Vajpayee. In the Delhi press, we find something somewhere; this is giving a very distorted picture in Delhi of what is happening in Telengana. Therefore, some

senior Congress MPs should go there; they could have visited those places already. But you have not sent anybody to see what is going on there, because it has been the habit of the Central Government to tackle the problem when it becomes too late. In fact, you are forcing the issue by your inactions inertia and apathy. You do not want to displease persons, personalities, politicians and all that. If you go into the politics of this issue, it would never be solved, and ultimately you have to take a decision against your own conscience and pleasure. Therefore, I once again request the Home Minister to view this matter with the gravest concern and see that something is done before it becomes too late.

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भगवान को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप कुर्सी पर लौट आये और आपकी मौजूदगी में मुझे बोलने का अवसर मिला।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि गत साधारण निर्वाचन के बाद से जब से विभिन्न राज्यों में विरोध दलों की सरकारें बनी हैं, गृह मंत्रालय की समस्याएँ बढ़ गई हैं—राज्य और केन्द्र का क्या सम्बन्ध हो, यह प्रश्न भी खड़ा हो गया है। इस पर नये सिरे से विचार करने की ज़रूरत है। यह बड़ा गम्भीर प्रश्न है। आप उस स्थान पर बैठे हैं—जहाँ सरदार पटेल बैठते थे, जहाँ पं० गोविन्द वल्लभ पंत बैठते थे। उन का नाम आज इतिहास में अमर हो गया है। मैं आज गृह मंत्री श्री चव्हाण से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि उन महान नेताओं की तरह से इस आसन पर बैठ कर आप देश के शासन को मजबूती के साथ हँडल करो।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ राज्य सरकारों के हक से लगता है कि वह केन्द्र को कमजोर करने पर तुली हैं। यह खतरनाक हक है। केन्द्र सरकार को ऐसे राजनीतिक हथकण्डों का जवाब देना चाहिये। अगर आप ढीले रहे तो इस देश की खेरियत नहीं। आप के पास होम

[श्री शिव नारायण]

मिनिस्ट्री के अफसरों की फाइलें आती हैं, लेकिन मैं गांव गांव में घूमता हूं, सड़कों पर घूमता हूं, आज सारा देश आपकी तरफ घ्रांख लगाये हुए है, अगर आप ढीले पड़े तो इस देश की खैरियत नहीं। हमारे दुश्मनों की निगाह हमारे देश की तरफ लगी हुई है, पाकिस्तान का नमूना आपके सामने है, चीन का नमूना आपके सामने है, रूस का नमूना आपके सामने है। इस वक्त हम खतरे से बाहर नहीं हैं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके द्वारा इस सरकार को सावधान करना चाहता हूँ—आज तेलंगाना में क्या हो रहा है। ये वामपन्थियों के बोए हुए बीज हैं—यह गलत बात नहीं है। इस लिये आपको इस समस्या को बड़ी गम्भीरता के साथ लेना होगा।

तीसरी बात—गृह मंत्रालय को साम्प्रदायिक और राष्ट्र विरोधी तत्वों के विरुद्ध तात्कालिक कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये आपने कानून तो बहुत बटोर लिये हैं, अब उन कानूनों को लागू करना चाहिये। एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को टाइटन करो। मुझ से पहले जो कम्युनिस्ट मैम्बर बोले—उन्होंने जिस भाषा का इस्तेमाल किया भारतीय संस्कृति का उन को कितना ज्ञान है, उन के भाषाण से जाहिर होता था। इस देश के साथ उन का कितना सम्बन्ध है—उनकी भाषा से जाहिर होता था। वास्तव में इस देश के साथ उन का कोई वास्ता नहीं है। जब 1967 में बंगाल का भगड़ा पैदा हुआ था, मैंने श्री अजयमुखर्जी को इस हाउस के अन्दर गालियां नहीं दी थीं। तब मैंने कहा था—अगर मैं बंगाल में होता तो I would have given a long rope to Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee and he would have hanged himself by his own rope. उस समय 18 दिसम्बर के पहले आपने भी गलती की थी—होम मिनिस्टर साहब। धर्मवीर ने भी गलती की

थी, वरना वह मामला आन-दी-फ्लोर डिसाइड होता।

मैं गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान भाषा की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इस देश की कोई भाषा नहीं है—हमारा विदेशों में कितना अपमान होता है। श्रीमती विजय लक्ष्मी पंडित से बड़ा लीडर हमारे यहां कोई नहीं रहा है। वह यू०एन०ओ० की प्रेजिडेंट रही हैं। जब वह रूस गईं और अपनी भाषा में नहीं बोल पाईं तो वहां के लीडरों ने उन से मिलने से इंकार कर दिया था। मैं यह बात इस लिये कोट कर रहा हूँ कि भाषा के नाम पर हमारा हिन्दुस्तान कितना बिखर गया है। मैं अध्यक्ष महोदय, हर हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, ईसाई से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में एक भाषा बोलो—चाहे उर्दू बोलो, संस्कृत बोलो, चाहे जो बोलो.... (सवधान) ....अपनी एक भारतीय भाषा को अपनाओ, एक लिंक भाषा को अपनाओ। मैं त्रिगुण सेन साहब को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ—जब उन्होंने कहा था कि इस देश में प्रत्येक आदमी अपनी मातृभाषा में एम० ए० तक पढ़ सकता है। मैं उस एक शिक्षा मंत्री को बधाई देना हूँ, भागवतभा आज़ाद को भी बधाई देता हूँ, उन्होंने भाषा के प्रश्न पर एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाया।

गृह मंत्रालय की राष्ट्रीय एकता समिति की सफारिशों को लागू करना चाहिये।

“कहता बहुत मिले, गहता मिले न कोय।”

मैं हर पार्टी से प्रार्थना करता हूँ, जनसंघ, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी, कम्युनिस्ट सब से कहना हूँ कि जब आप इन्टीग्रेशन कमेटी में थे, उस समय क्या सोच रहे थे। जिस हिन्दुस्तान को महात्मा गांधी ने बिना खून—खराबे के, बिना एटम—बम के, बिना पिस्तौल के आज़ाद कराया, 1942 में उन्होंने नारा दिया—क्विट इण्डिया, हू और डाई—मैं चव्वाण साहब से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि उस रेजोल्यूशन



को मत भूलो, इस देश को एक सूत्र में बांधने के लिये उस को आधार मानो—

“मेरी नाक कटी तो कटी, पर अपनी नाक बचा लेना।” सुपर्णखा ने ये शब्द रावण को कहे थे और रावण जैसा पंडित उस को नहीं समझ पाया। मैं तमाम पार्टियों के लीडरों से और होम मिनिस्टर साहब से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि देश की नाक न कटने पाये।

आखरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ—बड़ी गम्भीर समस्या है—हमारे डा० कर्ण सिंह बड़े विद्वान हैं, जब वह विश्वधर्म हिन्दू सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन करने पटना गये—अछूतों के उद्धार के लिये जो शब्द आपने वहाँ पर कहे वे सराहनीय हैं। राजा कर्ण सिंह, उनको मैं राजा कहता हूँ, वह धर्म रक्षक हैं, संस्कृत के पंडित हैं, उनसे बड़ा कोई पंडित नहीं है, उन्होंने पटना में जाकर धर्म सम्मेलन में कहा कि छुआछूत को समाप्त करो। उन्होंने बड़ी जिम्मेदारी की बात कही है। छुआछूत को समाप्त करने का काम राजा ही कर सकता है, कोई गरीब नहीं कर सकता है। ऊपर से ही इस चीज को चलना चाहिए। तो जब उन्होंने इस बात को कहा तब हमारे स्वामी शंकराचार्य जिनका नाम तो है शंकराचार्य लेकिन जो उन्होंने काम किया वह है छोटेचार्य जी का। मैं वाजपेयी जी को भी धन्यवाद देता हूँ वे एक पंडित की हैसियत से यहाँ पर बोले, जनसभ के प्रेसिडेन्ट की हैसियत से बोले और उन्होंने बहुत ठीक बात कही। जो भी कोई सही बात कहेगा, मैं उसका साथी हूँ। मैं इमानदारी के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि शंकराचार्य जी ने न केवल हमारी बल्कि सारे इस देश की नाक कटाई है। आज हरिजन समुदाय को उस पर बहुत दुःख है। मैं अध्यक्ष महोदय से इस पर दो घंटे की चर्चा की मांग करता हूँ। अगर अध्यक्ष महोदय की अनुकम्पा हो जाये तो यहाँ पर दूध का दूध और पानी का पानी हो

जाये।... (व्यवधान).... अब मैं धर्म की बात छोड़ता हूँ।

आखिर मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेहरबानी करके, आपने जो यू० पी० की पुलिस बंगाल भेजी है उसे वापिस बुला लीजिए। उम दिन प्रो० बरआ साहब ने बड़ा अपमान किया और कहा कि यू० पी० की पुलिस बड़ी निकम्मी है। उस पुलिस में हमारे बेटे और आपके बेटे ही हैं। क्या वे सब निकम्मे हो गए? हमने आपको जवाहरलाल नेहरू—दिया, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री दिया और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी दिया। आज ये हमको कहते हैं कि निराम्मे हैं। आज भी हमारा जो चीफ मिनिस्टर है वह हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे सीनियर लीडर है, वह बेचलर है। उन्होंने यू० पी० में उर्दू, अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी और संस्कृत, इन चारों भाषाओं को पढ़ने के लिए एलाऊ किया है। शपथ लेने के सम्बन्ध में जो बात हुई वह एक दुःखद बात है, हम उसपर दुःख प्रकट करना चाहते हैं। यहाँ पर जब उस दिन चर्चा हो रही थी तो हम उसपर बोलना चाहते थे लेकिन कहने की इजाजत नहीं मिल पाई। मैं उर्दू भी जानता हूँ :

न पेमां शिकन हूँ न गद्दार हूँ हम,  
वतन परवरी के खतावार हूँ हम।

मैं वह वह शेर पर पड़ सकता हूँ जिनको मुल्ला लोग भी नहीं समझ सकते हैं। उर्दू भाषा सभी लोगों की है। हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई, सभी की यह भाषा है। कश्मीर से लेकर कन्या कुमारी तक, सभी जगह फेली हुई है।

अन्त में मैं अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने आज मेरी नाक रख ली। मैं होम मिनिस्टर को भी बधाई देता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि वे मजबूती के साथ इस देश की रक्षा करें। इस मुल्क की हिफाजत आप के ऊपर है।

श्री एस० एम० जोशी (पूना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, कबल इसके कि गृह मन्त्री अपना भाषण शुरू करें, एक चीज की तरफ मैं उनका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि गृह मन्त्री और उनकी हुकूमत चाहती है कि मालिक और मजदूर, एम्प्लॉई और एम्प्लायर, के बीच में अच्छा ताल्लुक रहे। मेरी राय में तो जो कुछ हुआ है उससे यह साबित होता है कि जो यूनियन्स आपने डि-रिक्ग्नाईज की हैं, जिन यूनियन्स की रिकग्निशन को आपने वापिस ले लिया है, उन पर दोबारा विचार करने का समय आ गया है। अब आपने जो पालिसी सिम्पेयी की या लीनियन्सी की रखी है वह भी जल्द से जल्द कार्यान्वित हो, इस बात की भी बहुत जरूरत है। यह भी एक रियलिटी है कि जो यूनियन्स हैं उनके पीछे मजदूर हैं। इसलिए इसके बारे में अगर नीति को साफ किया जाये तो बहुत ही अच्छा होगा।

अन्त में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली में जो कुछ पुलिस ने किया था—उसको चाहे स्ट्राइक कहिए या जो भी कहिए, उसके सिलसिले में आपने बहुत से लोगों को सस्पेन्ड कर रखा है। उन लोगों को और उनके परिवारों को आज उससे बड़ी परेशानी और चिन्ता है। मैं समझता हूँ आप को भी उनके लिए थोड़ी सी चिन्ता होनी चाहिए। उन लोगों को बहाल करने के लिए अब आपको कोई न कोई कदम जरूर उठाना चाहिए। यह मेरी आपसे प्रार्थना है, हालांकि मेरा उनसे कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank this hon. House for debating these Demands for more than nine hours spread over three days. The debate started with a very serious speech by the hon. Member, Shri Lobo Prabhu, and ended on a very lively note.

MR. SPEAKER : The tension must be removed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I do not propose to go into every small detailed criticism that was levelled against the Home Ministry but would take a general review of some of the points that were made by hon. Members and leave the details to be examined further by me so that I can communicate, if necessary, about those particular points to the hon. Members who made them.

When I say that I would like to take a review of the last one year, I do not propose to confine myself only to what happened in the last one year only. Unless we take a review of a longer period, it will be very difficult to see the real perspective of things that we have to take into account in future.

The year that we passed through has been a very eventful year in which very significant things had happened which are going to have their bearing on future events as well. I know, in this last year many powerful forces were at work in our country. If I can repeat what other hon. Members said, we are passing through a very difficult phase of our history. Some of these powerful forces are very welcome. They are forcing and ensuring change in the country but there also some forces which are threatening to be dangerous to the country.

If we just take for illustration what happened in the mid-term elections, there was certainly one very good thing in this. With all the defects of instability and uncertainty that we are facing in the country, one guarantee that offers itself as a result of these elections is that the people in this country are very much certain of themselves. They have given their verdict and showed that the democratic processes in this country have come to stay.

But, at the same time, even during the very process of these mid-term elections, certain things have been happening which are pointing towards very unhealthy things in our social, political and economic

life. As we are all aware, in some of the States the poorer sections of society were prevented from going and exercising their right to vote. It merely throws a floodlight over some of the weaknesses in our whole body politic. At the same time some of the divisive forces, which have asserted themselves in our life, like communalism and regionalism are showing us the dangers that we are likely to face in the years to come. I just took as an illustration a very important event in our national life, that of the mid-term elections, which is pointing towards the forces of strength and also the forces of weakness.

These forces are, in a way, a challenge and we have to see exactly as to how we propose to deal with these threats that are facing us. I would like to explain the underlying philosophy or the considerations which influence our policies and direct us to go in a particular direction.

I would like to take event after event, questions after questions, if I can. First of all, I would like to point out that during the last year, we had to deal with the problem of running the administration under President's Rule in nearly five States, to begin with Haryana, followed by West Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab. I must say that the President's Rule period was really a challenge to the democratic processes in a sense in these State and though the proper legislature were not functioning we met it in a democratic way through the Consultative Committees composed of Members of Parliament. We had to overcome one wrong conception about the President's Rule, that was many people's view that the President's Rules was a mere caretaker administration. It is true that major policies of taxation or policies reflecting the lives of the millions of people cannot be formulated by such administration. Even then, being of caretaker nature was a rather negative approach to the problem of administration and, we did not take it that way but wanted to undertake certain progressive social measures also. I must thank the hon. Members of the House who happened to be the members of the Consultative Committees. We met, practically, in every State more than twice and functioned as informal legislatures. There

were criticisms, angry exchanges and interruptions -- I am looking at Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu on the other side--and even then, I must say, we under took certain important social legislation as well.

I can make a reference to one very important legislation that we undertook in the case of Bihar. The problem of land alienation had become very difficult in the tribal areas of Bihar. A team was appointed to go into different aspect of the problem and, based on those recommendations, certain legislation was passed, I think in the form of the President's Order. I can say that though, by itself it may not be a complete thing, it initiates a new process of legislation which will protect the interest of tribals in that particular area. Economic insecurity had become a very important root cause for the discontent and trouble in the tribal areas. I just made a mention of the President's Rule in these States and our approach, towards it because that was a major event during the last year.

After that, certainly, some new problems have arisen. One other thing that I would like to make a mention of--I do not want to take time of the House on that particular aspect--is the problem of Assam reorganisation. This honourable House had an opportunity of the discussing the matter and, unfortunately, because of certain happenings, this House will have another opportunity to discuss the matter again sometime, if the House approves, possibly sooner than later.

This problem is also a very difficult challenge to us because the eastern region of this country is of crucial importance to us from the national security point of view and the problem of discontented people in that region is the greatest danger to security. Therefore, we tried to find a solution and succeeded in evolving certain consensus on which was based the Twenty-Second Constitution Amendment Bill which we discussed in this House.

The other problem that we continued to face in the last year was the problem of insurgency in two areas, one in Nagaland and the other in Mizo districts. I would like

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

to outline again the approach that we adopted towards this problem. In these areas of insurgency it is not merely the sanction of force or the use of force that is going to help us. It is a political approach combined with the sanction of force which is going to help us to solve the problem. But such methods do not produce results very quickly.

That takes some time. I must say that it grinds slowly but it grinds small as they say. This approach of combining the political approach with the use of force, has given some results in Nagaland recently.

SHRI HEM BARUA ( Mangaldai )  
Nagaland is not under you.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Even in the matter, the Home Ministry has a certain role to fulfil.

SHRI HEM BARUA : We want that to be under you, but then it is under the Ministry of External Affairs.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is not a question of being under me or under 'A' or under 'B' or under 'C'. It is a government's problem--the problem of insurgency. Maybe, the administrative problems of Nagaland are under the Ministry of External Affairs, but there are many aspects of the problem which the Home Ministry has to deal with. There is nothing wrong in that. Certainly the administrative coordination is done by the Ministry of External Affairs ( *Interruption* ) That point was discussed in the House before.

As far as Mizo district is concerned, there also we found that dealing with the problem merely by the use of force was not going to give results and that it had to be combined with a certain political approach, and I must say that, that policy is giving us very good results in Mizo area as well.

I am merely mentioning some of the problems because it is much better that when we take a review, we see the major landmarks of the problems of the country.

There is another problem which is being discussed in the country today, and that is the problem of communalism. Many things have been discussed and said on the floor of the House. I do not want to repeat the same things again because it would be repeating the hackneyed phrases which is not very good for the purposes of this debate. But we must not miss one point that, in the course of the last 20 years, there is a particular trend that manifest itself in the problem of communalism. I do not want to give detailed statistics, but I can mention the trend. After 1947, the graph of the incidents, if I may say so, showed a very sharp decline. It went on decreasing and decreasing upto 1960. But in 1960 the graph started going up and, I think, it was the highest in 1968. Personally I do not want to say whether party 'A' or group 'A' is responsible for this because that would be rather an over-simplification; I know that. That is a wrong approach. But I have no doubt that the incident rose from the time of communalisation of politics for the purpose of elections, etc., when communal approaches were made use of--that started round about 1960.

SHRI HEM BARUA : You have said what you did not want to say.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Have I said that ?

SHRI HEM BARUA : Yes.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have succeeded in conveying what I have to convey, I have done well. But that is not the point. The main point is this. When we analyse the causes of communal incidents, certainly there are certain suspicions on one side or the other; there are sometimes some local reasons for these troubles which have to be gone into. There are certainly failures of administration also in taking preventive action, etc. These reasons are there. But the basic cause, as far as I can see, is communalisation of political thinking. That is mainly responsible for the present communal problem. This communalisation is on both sides. Why only both sides, it is there on all the sides ....

**SHRI OM PRAKASH TYAGI** (Moradabad) : Foreign hand.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : Once upon a time, all of us in this country believed that the communal problem—Hindu—Muslim problem—was there because of British intervention. I have ceased believing in that theory now because Britishers left this country 20 years before and even now we feel that communal problems are there and they are increasing. It is no use blaming some third party, some foreign party, for this. In this matter all of us have to search our hearts, whether our thinking is right or wrong. That is, really speaking, going to be the main test in this matter.

16 hrs.

Hon. Member, Shr. Vajpayee, made a reference this morning to some remarks made by some other members. I think, the remarks made by some other members blaming that the Dayal Commission were labouring under some sort of prejudices were very very unfair because the Dayal Commission consisted of three eminent persons. I do not want to go by the religions of these persons. For the information of this House I must say that the three Members belonged to three different religious groups. There is no question of the Commission being influenced or led any religious prejudiced in this matter. Therefore to label this Commission as prejudiced is not correct. I am prepared to accept that this Commission is making an impartial and objective assessment of what happened. It is true that the Commission has said that there was no pre-planning as far as the incidents were concerned. I think many detailed recommendations that this Commission has made are a matter of very important study and scrutiny. The important suggestions and recommendations that the Commission has made have to be gone into. We have sent it to different States. On some of the recommendations that we have ourselves to consider, we have started examining this matter. Administrative steps that are required, the political steps and the educational steps that are required—all these matters have to be gone into. I made a reference to this because the hon. members made a reference to it.

Dayal Commission's work is not yet complete. They have merely considered so far only incidents of Ranchi and Jammu and Kashmir. Now they are discussing some of the problems in Maharashtra. Particularly, four States stand out in this trouble. They are Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra and Maharashtra. These four States have made very unfortunate contribution towards this problem. The States have to take a very serious note of the situation.

Another problem, a debate about which is going on in the last few years, if I may say so, after the 1967 Elections particularly is the problem of Centre-States relations. I do not propose to say anything which possibly might prejudice the consideration of this question with open mind in days to come because very recently the Standing of Committee of the National Integration Council has considered this question and have decided to study this problem in depth. At the same time, I would certainly like to give a general outline of the problem which we face. I think it is true of all Federations that this sort of debate continuously goes on about the relations between the States and the Centre. It has happened in other Western Federations. There is nothing unnatural that such a debate should go on in this country as well. There is nothing wrong about it. It should go on. But what should be the criteria for this study? That is, really speaking, the most important question. In a country like ours some people think that this problem has arisen because of the political results of the elections of 1967 when the state of the same Party having rule in the Centre and the States ended. It is attributed to the new situation that has arisen because Governments of different colours are coming up in different States and the Centre is controlled by one political party. It may have perhaps emphasized the debate. But I personally do not believe that the problem has arisen because of that. I have to say that to maintain that the problem has arisen because of governments of different colours coming in the States is not a statement of fact. Otherwise, they would say that it is rather over-simplification of the problem. Possibly you can bear me out that even before the 1967 elections when there were

[Shri B. Chavan]

Congress Governments in all the States, there were problems of Centre-State relations.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : It is a family problem.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : They were not family problems. Let us see what are the problems. You yourself headed an important States of India. I had the privilege of heading another State. We know we had problems. The problems are the problems of economic advancement and economic progress. That is, the basic problem because we feel different States are at different levels of development. They have got their own problems, their own requirements which need to be supported by the Centre. This is not the first time that the problem is enunciated. The problem is more emphasized. It has become more acute. Rather I would not to say acute, it is argued rather strongly now a days. It is finding expression in stronger and firmer terms. Not that the problem is a new one. It is called a domestic party problem. That is what hon. Shri Vajpayee has said. It is not a domestic party problem. Really speaking, it is a national problem. In respect of Centre-State relations, certain frank talks should be held. Arguments should be made. All points of view should be carefully examined and any conclusion that seems reasonable should be arrived at. But when we look at the problem as Centre *versus* State, then it does not remain a problem of Centre-State relations. I am not mentioning any particular Government or any particular party in this matter. But what we have to take care is to see that we do not treat this problem as Centre-*versus*-State, because then the very perspective is completely changed.

SHRI RANGA : That also is there.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That problem is also there. We have to consider all these things. There is also a theory that all the States are in a way some sort of nationalities. This theory, we have to remember, ultimately aims at weakening the Centre. I do not want to speak exclusively for a strong

Centre etc. Our intention is to evolve a sort of cooperative federalism in this country. We do not want to have a situation where the States are pulling in their own directions weakening the Centre. That is the basic question which we have got to answer and answer objectively. Our aim should be a cooperative federalism giving every State the opportunity to express its own personality. I think this problem of Centre-State relations is becoming a problem of underdeveloped economy of the country; basically it is that problem.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai) : It is a problem of difference of fundamental policy as between Government of different States.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : When you say that, I would like to meet that argument. It is a view of one party. I am not criticising that particular point of view. Some people say that they are some sort of nationalities and they must be allowed to have their independence...

SHRI UMANATH : There is a question of land reforms in Kerala. They have got a view. They have sent the Bill to you for concurrence. You have refused concurrence. This is a fundamental reform on the question of land. It goes on between the Central Government and the State Government and there is no finality.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I will come to that. I may tell one thing to the hon. Member. The basic principles in Kerala legislation are not opposed to by us. We have concurred with it. Yet, there are certain technical matters which require further examination and clarification. I have had discussion on the Bill of the Minister-in-charge of the particular Bill from Kerala and I am telling this as responsible Minister that as far as the principles of the Bill are concerned, we are not opposed to it. There are some issues which have to be sorted out with half-a-dozen Ministries. Naturally it becomes rather difficult where the problem of international trade are involved in this matter...

AN HON. MEMBER : It takes more time.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : Taking more time does not mean that we are opposed to it.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE** (Kanpur) : How long ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : May I say that some aspects of it are being considered even now ? I could see that point. We are looking into the problems without any further delay so that the Bill will be cleared.

The hon. Member there said that it is a question of principles which are involved. What are the principles involved in Centre-State relations ? It is not a principle involved here that any functioning democracy must have a little strong Centre ? Hon Members themselves philosophically crave for a democratic Centralism. I hope I am not wrong.

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH** : They believe in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

**SHRI UMANATH--rose**

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : You do believe in democratic Centralism. When there is a Government of another party at the Centre, you talk of something else.

**SHRI UMANATH** : Even if our party rules, we will retain Foreign Affairs. Communication and Defence and leave the rest to the State Governments.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : Now we are going into the merits of the case. I do not want to express an opinion on that. I just wanted to discuss this matter generally. But I won't say anything which will prevent objective consideration or examination of this problem....

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU** (Diamond Harbour) : That is why you want to run parallel police force all over the country.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : That has been discussed many a time. He mentioned about the CRP.....

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU** : There is

border security force, industrial security force, railway protection force, anti-Communist force....

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : I have no anti-Communist force because it is a negative way of thinking and I do not think negatively. Border security force, central reserve police and industrial security force are all different forces having independent roles and I think they are very necessary.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU** : Under the same controller.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : About the Centre Reserve Police, I have made our position very clear. This is a Union Force and it is a Central, National Armed Force. But it will not be imposed on any State Government. They are free not to have it.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU** : Let us see how you act.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : Certainly. But at the same time, you cannot object to our stationing it in any part of the country. You cannot deny that force the right to protect the central property or central project, etc. when the managements of those projects feel the need for protection. How can we refuse that to them ?

**SHRI UMANATH** : That has got to be there for State industries also. Why do you differentiate between State industries and Central industries ? They are also national industries. If the State property can be protected by the local police, the Central property can also be protected by them,

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN** : In that case I will not impose it. I am not differentiating between State and Central industries. If the State wants the Central Reserve Police for protecting their industries, we are prepared to give them.

**SHRI UMANATH** : That will be at the request of the State Government. So also, State police will protect the Central property at the request of the Central Government.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I am not saying this in a spirit of controversy. It is a question of trying to understand it.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) :** This should be clarified because we want to know for future debate. Does the Hon. Minister mean to say that in the case of Central undertakings, irrespective of whether the State Governments seek the help of CRP or not, the CRP can unilaterally go to protect those undertakings? What exactly is the position?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** There is no question of the CRP deciding itself and doing things. Suppose the management of a Central project feels that they need the help of the CRP and they ask for it, then will it be right or wise to refuse it?

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** They can feel genuinely so only if the State Police is not available for protecting them.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** These are matters of detail. Some conventions can be thought of.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** This is what happened in the recent case.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** In regard to the recent event, the facts are not fully known to me at least and therefore I do not want to pass any judgement with regard to things that have taken place recently. These are all matters of detail which can be discussed.

**SHRI RANGA :** It is not a fact that in the Central projects people from all States whose mother-tongues are different from the local language are employed whereas in the case of State projects mostly people whose mother-tongue is the same as the language of that State are employed because they are mostly people hailing from that particular State. Whenever there are quarrels as between different sections of people or between local people and outsiders, they have got to be protected and they can be protected better by the Central Security Force than by the local police force. Secondly, is it not a fact that when we were

considering a particular piece of legislation on the floor of this House, we did consider the adequacy or otherwise of the present powers that the local Governments have got over Police in maintaining law and order?

We felt that there would be need for this special security police and therefore, we passed that law.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I agree with the conclusion of the hon. member, but I would only add a footnote, that this is only one of the aspects. Also I can not say that in the state undertakings only people from the State concerned are employed. That is not so.

**SHRI RANGA :** Mostly.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** In private sector also, in individual industries, at the present moment, there is such a social mobility in the country that even in one private industry there are many people from different parts of the country. Bombay, for instance (*Interruptions*).

**AN HON. MEMBER :** Shiv Sena.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** If it is true of Bombay, it is true of Madras also.

**SHRI PILLO MODY (Godhra) :** From the clarification sought and given, it has not become clear to me whether he is categorical in assuring us that the Central Government projects, no matter in what State they are located, will be protected by Central Government instruments and that is the first charge on him and his Ministry. We want an assurance on this without prevarication.

**SHRI UMANATH :** We do not want any such things.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I would say that he is unnecessarily introducing sharp overtones into this matter.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** Day in and day out, he runs down these public sector projects. Why does he want them to be protected?



**SHRI PILOO MODY :** We do not want any more losses than there are already.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I would suggest to Shri Indrajit Gupta to encourage this process, now that they have started taking interest in them.

**SHRI RANGA :** Whoever has said that Central projects belong only to the Congress Party or the Communist Party ? They belong to the whole nation.

**SHRI UMANATH :** Equally the State projects are not the property of only one party; they are the property of the nation as a whole.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I would, in passing, make a mention of a very general trend that has created many political difficulties in the last two years, namely, the problem of defections. As hon. members are aware, as a result of a Resolution passed by this House, a committee was appointed to go into this and it has produced a very important report. I know the process of defections is still continuing. In that committee, we could not come to any major conclusions about the problem of defections as such. It was felt that it was not on the basis of legal action but the agreement of political parties to lay down certain principles on the basis of which we could develop new traditions and conventions which could tackle this problem.

This problem has created a problem of another type, namely, the controversy going on about the role of Governors in this country.

**SHRI RANGA :** So far as defections are concerned, any assurances would be coming from him about the future.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** This is not a question on which any party or individual can give an assurance, unless there is some basic understanding on all sides.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Can he give an assurance that there would be no defections from his party ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** It is not defection from my side or defection from other side. It is a national defection, as a matter of fact ..

**SHRI RANGA :** It is not a national defection.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Shri Vajpayee made a specific mention of the role of Governors. I know there may be some difference about the interpretation of the Governor's role. I would not look into the past, as to what happened in different States in the last two years; but I would certainly look to the future. One matter which has been argued over and over again is the use of the discretion. He quoted my speech during the debate on Madhya Pradesh affairs two years before. I have it with me. I was dealing with a particular problem that was raised, and was mentioning about the discretion specifically given by the articles of the constitution. In that context I quoted Mr. Seervai. In the course of many discussions that took place in the House, it was mentioned that inherently there are situations in which even though discretion is not mentioned specifically by any article of the Constitution, the Governor has to exercise his discretion. One specific issue was raised as a result of what happened in Rajasthan immediately after the general elections. If a situation arose where no single party had a definite majority, what is the Governor supposed to do ? It is patent that though discretion is not indicated by the articles of the Constitution, the situation dictates that the Governor should use his discretion. We discussed this matter in the House and it was decided that I should sit with the leaders and evolve some sort of guidelines so that the Governors can be helped in this matter. I do not know whether Prof. Ranga chose to participate in that.

**SHRI RANGA :** I did not choose to put my faith in your people, after your behaviour in Rajasthan.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** It is no use becoming cynical. Shri Ranga is one of the veterans and leaders of parliamentary democracy and he cannot start with a feeling that we cannot be believed.

**SHRI RANGA :** I co-operated with you on the Defections Committee; you are indulging in it on a large scale.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** The recommendations of that committee are to be debated and accepted and legislative and other decisions have to be taken by the House. It is not a matter for any individual discretion; it can not be done.

So, there are certain situations in which the Governor has used his discretion. What conventions should be there to guide the Governors is a matter which needs to be further examined. In this matter I feel that all the parties, irrespective of what is happening around us should sometime sit together and try to enumerate the situations in which the Governor will be asked to use his discretion and lay down certain guidelines.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** We shall give you guidelines.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Such guidelines will help Shri Piloo Mody to guide himself.

I had referred to some general problems that arose in the course of the last year which had a great impact on the political life and the parliamentary institutions in our country and they created sometimes pleasant and at other times bitter controversies. If we learn some lessons for our future guidance from our experience in the last few years, some of those bitter things will not be repeated and possibly we may be able to face the future of our democratic institutions with more confidence and more faith in ourselves.

I want to make a passing reference to some other leading questions that were raised. I must congratulate Shri Vajpayee for the good stand he took about the problem of untouchability in this country. For the first time I must say that he spoke for the whole House. It is something very good.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** I suppose it is not for the last time.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I hope so, because it is something which is in the heart of everybody and he voiced it effectively, beautifully. I hope this attitude grows further. Really speaking, equality between one human being and other is the basic premise on which democracy is built. The very concept of democracy is based on the equality of the human beings, whether it is an untouchable or a scheduled Caste or Tribe or a Muslim or a Christian ..

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** ...Or a Minister.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Or an industrialist.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Or even an architect. (*Interruption*)

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** An architect is also part of an industrialist ! So, Sir, really speaking, I was very happy when I heard that remark from Mr. Vajpayee, because that gave us some more faith in the future of democracy in the country. That is what we wish and therefore I wanted to make a specific reference to that matter.

Then, some Members referred to Telengana and some were very excited about Telengana. Some people said, we should act from here only. These are matters in which I think the Central Government should act with a little caution, consideration. Any word that is spoken here, must be such that it may not add to the problems which are already there. Our approach in this particular matter is that, on the feeling of grievances that the people of Telengana have, we are prepared to help the State Government and we are prepared to make all efforts to remove those feelings of grievances. An hon. Member made mention about inequality of services and that certain decisions on the integration of the services were not properly implemented, etc. It was only for that very purpose that we are thinking of sending a team of officers; we have not yet sent it.

श्री गंगा रेड्डी (ग्रादिलाबाद) : जब हम जल कर खाक हो जायेंगे, तब क्या ग्राम कुछ करेंगे ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** It is no use merely becoming emotional in this matter. If we just take a very isolated view of every problem and decide it, I do not think we shall be doing any service to the nation. All these problems have a national bearing; they have to be considered, examined and acted upon from the national point of view. In this matter, I do not want to say one way or the other, in a very determinate manner and a very partisan manner, and the only thing that this Parliament, that this Government would wish is that some opportunity is taken by the parties concerned to understand each other and remove any feeling of grievance or injustice that may be there. And in that process the Government of India is prepared to help and make all the efforts that are necessary.

**SHRI THIRUMALA RAO (Kakinada) :** One clarification. It is quite relevant. Are the Government of India sufficiently well-informed about the situation, about the demand for a separate Telengana and that the situation is developing in a very undesirable way, from moment to moment ? How far are the Government of India taking an active interest in this ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I cannot answer such a specific question offhand, but we are taking interest, we are interested in the integrity of the State, and we are interested in maintaining good relations between the different regions of the State. This is all that I can say. What more can I say ?

Some Members, and particularly the hon. Member Shri Kushok Bakula, made a reference to certain problems of Buddhists in Ladakh. I am in touch with the Jammu and Kashmir Government in this matter. He mentioned certain incidents as having taken place there, where certain flag of the Buddhists came in for controversy or something like that. I am told that the matter has been looked into by the local authorities and certain prosecutions have also been launched. I have no doubt that the Jammu and Kashmir Government is keen to give protection to all the religious minorities in the Jammu and Kashmir State. I have no reason to suspect that.

**SHRI RANGA :** Why not tack it on to Himachal Pradesh ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Well, that will be starting again or playing the game of attaching some place to some other place. (Interruption). While referring to Jammu and Kashmir, I would like to make mention of the Gajendragadkar Commission's recommendations. This Commission was appointed...

**श्री मोलहू प्रसाद (बांसगांव) :** बाजपेयी जी ने भी इसका जिक्र किया है। एलिट पैरामल कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आ गई है। उसको अगर प्रकाशित या कार्यान्वित किया जाए तो उससे राष्ट्र हित में बाधा तो नहीं पड़ेगी ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I will have to look into that aspect, because I can not answer that question off-hand.

**SHRI RANGA :** We are all concerned about Ladakh, we want them to be protected properly.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Certainly, I assure the House that we will certainly look into the problem of Ladakh, because Ladakh is more important from the national point of view and the security point of view of the country. Therefore, we are very much concerned about it. The only thing that I wanted to say was that the Jammu and Kashmir Government is equally concerned about the problems of Ladakh.

The Gajendragadkar Commission was appointed by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and the report is under their examination. I have no doubt that the Jammu and Kashmir Government will certainly closely and objectively examine the principles guiding the recommendations. Till they take view on this matter, I think we should not start creating any doubts or suspicions. I should say that things are improving in Kashmir and by creating such suspicions, possibly we might make the Kashmir problem more complicated.

**SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali) :** What about Beri Commission ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I know that hon. members are very much exercised about it. The State Government is considering the report. They have not yet decided either to accept or to reject it. When the State Government is considering the report, how can I say about the results ? Only when it is a Congress State Government, I must say everything here. When it is a non-Congress Government, I am barred from saying anything. How can I do that ?

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH : What is the machinery for implementing the recommendations ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The facts are very clear. The recommendations have been made to the State Government. The State Government is examining the report. I do not think anybody can say what they will do. I cannot say anything now. The machinery also has to be decided by the State Government itself.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA (Mandya) : He has referred to the Beri Commission, Raghubir Dayal Commission and Gajendragadkar Commission. But it is very inconvenient to refer to the Mahajan Commission report. Let him say something about it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The Government of India has not taken any decision on it.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA : What prevents the Government of India from taking a decision ? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am telling you the fact.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA : You can say that it is rejected (*Interruptions*).

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) : Why is he evading it ? I want to know, (*Interruptions*).

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : When a decision has not been taken either to accept it or to reject it, how can I say that it is rejected ? As a responsible person, I must make a statement of facts.

SHRI PILOO MODY : The Home Minister has proved that every time a report is inconvenient to the Government, he says that the concerned Government is considering it. The same is happening with the Beri Commission report. He is doing the same with the Mahajan Commission report.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar) : What about laying on the Table the report of the Madholkar Commission which enquired into the charges against the present Orissa Minister and some others ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I cannot answer about all the commissions appointed by State Governments and undertake the responsibility of laying their reports on the Table.

Sir, the problems that we faced last year in this Ministry were certainly very challenging problems and I think we have tried to face those problems with confidence and faith. I have no doubt that the support of this House will help us to face them effectively in future.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will now put all cut motions to the vote of the House.

*All the cut Motions were put and Negative.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now the question is :

“That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 43 to 57, 119 and 120 relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

*The Lok Sabha divided :*

## Division No. 7 ]

[ 16. 38 hrs.

## AYES

Achal Singh, Shri  
 Agadi, Shri S. A.  
 Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram  
 Ahmad, Dr. I.  
 Ankineedu, Shri  
 Awadesh Chandra Singh, Shri  
 Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha

Babunath Singh, Shri  
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar  
 Barua, Shri Bedabrata  
 Barua, Shri R.  
 Basu, Dr. Maitreyee  
 Basumatari, Shri  
 Besra, Shri S. C.  
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.  
 Bhagavati, Shri  
 Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri  
 Bhargava, Shri B. N.  
 Birua, Shri Kolai  
 Bohra, Shri Onkarlal  
 Buta Singh, Shri

Chanda, Shri Anil K.  
 Chanda, Shrimati Jyotsna  
 Chandrika Prasad, Shri  
 Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar  
 Chaturvedi, Shri R. L.  
 Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh  
 Chavan Shri D. R.  
 Chavan, Shri Y. B.  
 Choudhary, Shri Valmiki

Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas  
 Dass, Shri C.  
 Dehmukh, Shri B. D.  
 Deshmukh, Shri Shivajirao S.  
 Dhillon, Shri G. S.  
 Dinesh Singh, Shri  
 Dixit, Shri G. C.

Ering, Shri D.

Gajraj Singh Rao, Shri  
 Gavit, Shri Tukaram  
 Girja Kumari, Shrimati  
 Gupta, Shri Lakhan Lal

Hajarnawis, Shri  
 Hanumanthaiya, Shri  
 Hazarika, Shri J. N.  
 Hem Raj, Shri  
 Iqbal Singh, Shri  
 Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas  
 Jadhav, Shri V. N.

Jaggiwan Ram, Shri  
 Jaipal Singh, Shri  
 Jamir, Shri S. C.  
 Kahandole, Shri Z. M.  
 Kamble, Shri  
 Kamala Kumari, Kumari  
 Karan Singh, Dr.  
 Katham, Shri B. N.  
 Kedaria, Shri C. M.  
 Kesri, Shri Sitaram  
 Khan, Shri M. A.  
 Kotoki, Shri Liladhar  
 Kripalani, Shrimati Sucheta  
 Kureel, Shri B. N.  
 Kushok Bakula, Shri  
 Lakshmikanthamma, Shrimati  
 Lalit Sen, Shri  
 Laskar, Shri N. R.  
 Lutfal Haque, Shri  
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.  
 Maharaj Singh, Shri  
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini  
 Mandal, Dr. P.  
 Marandi, Shri  
 Master, Shri Bhola Nath  
 Mehta, Shri P. M.  
 Menon, Shri Govinda  
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali  
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
 Mohinder Kaur, Shrimati  
 Mrityunjay Prasad, Shri  
 Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda  
 Mukne, Shri Yeshwantrao  
 Murthy, Shri B. S.  
 Murti, Shri M. S.  
 Nirlep Kaur, Shrimati  
 Pahadia, Shri Jaganath  
 Palchoudhuri, Shrimati Ila  
 Pandey, Shri K. N.  
 Pandey, Shri Vishwa Nath  
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani  
 Pant, Shri K. C.  
 Paokai Haokip, Shri  
 Partap Singh, Shri  
 Parthasarathy, Shri  
 Patel, Shri Manubhai  
 Patil, Shri C. A.  
 Patil, Shri Deorao  
 Patil, Shri S. B.  
 Poonacha, Shri C. M.  
 Pradhani, Shri K.  
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri  
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri  
 Rajasekharan, Shri  
 Rajni Devi, Shrimati

Raju, Shri D. B.  
 Ram, Shri T.  
 Ram Dhan, Shri  
 Ram Dhani Das, Shri  
 Ram Sewak, Shri Chowdhary  
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.  
 Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Rana, Shri M. B.  
 Randhir Singh, Shri  
 Rane, Shri  
 Rao, Shri Jagannath  
 Rao, Dr. K. L.  
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi  
 Rao, Shri Thirumala  
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.  
 \* Rao, Shri V. Narasimha  
 Raut, Shri Bhola  
 Reddy, Shri Ganga  
 Reddy, Shri R. D.  
 Reddy, Shrimati Sudha V.  
 Reddy, Shri Surendar  
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Sahu Ram, Shri  
 Saleem, Shri M. Yunus  
 Salve, Shri Narendra Kumar  
 Sanghi, Shri N. K.  
 Sant Bux Singh, Shri  
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati  
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.  
 Sayyad Ali, Shri  
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayana  
 Sen, Shri P. G.  
 Sethi, Shri P. C.  
 Sethuraman Shri N.  
 Shah, Shrimati Jayaben  
 Shambhu Nath, Shri  
 Shankarnand, Shri B.  
 Sheo Narain Shri  
 Sher Singh, Shri  
 Shinkre, Shri  
 Shiv Chandika Prasad, Shri  
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan  
 Siddayya, Shri  
 Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri  
 Singh, Shri D. N.  
 Sinha, Shri Mudrika  
 Sinha, Shri R. K.  
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
 Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari  
 Snatak, Shri Nar Deo  
 Sonar, Dr. A. G.  
 Sripakar, Shri Sradhakar  
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri

Sursingh, Shri  
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.  
 Swaran Singh, Shri  
 Tarodekar, Shri V. B.  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.  
 Tula Ram, Shri  
 Uikey, Shri M. G.  
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
 Verma, Shri Balgovind  
 Verma, Shri Prem Chand  
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri  
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra  
 Yadav, Shri Chandra Jeet

#### NOES

Anbazhagan, Shri  
 Ayarwal, Shri Ram Singh  
 Babrudduja, Shri  
 Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
 Bansh Narain Singh, Shri  
 Barua, Shri Hem  
 Behera, Shri Baidhar  
 Bharti, Shri Maharaj Singh  
 Brij Bhushan Lal, Shri  
 Chauhan, Shri Bharat Singh  
 Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.  
 Deo, Shri K. P. Singh  
 Devgun, Shri Hardayal  
 Fernandes, Shri George  
 Gowda, Shri M. H.  
 Gowder, Shri Nanja  
 Goyal, Shri Shri Chand  
 Gupta, Shri Kanwar Lal  
 Jha, Shri Bhogendra  
 Jha, Shri Shiva Chandra  
 Joshi, Shri S. M.  
 Kalita, Shri Dhireswar  
 Khan, Shri H. Ajmal  
 Khan, Shri Ghayoor Ali  
 Kisku, Shri A. K.  
 Kothari, Shri S. S.  
 Koushik Shri K. M.  
 Krishna, Shri S. M.  
 Kushwah, Shri Y. S.  
 Lobo Prabhu, Shri  
 Majhi, Shri M.  
 Meetha Lal, Shri  
 Meghachandra, Shri M.  
 Misra, Shri Srinibas  
 Moody, Shri Piloo  
 Molahu Prasad, Shri  
 Naik, Shri G. C.  
 Naik, Shri R. V.

Nath Pai, Shri  
 Nihal Singh, Shri  
 Patel, Shri J. H.  
 Patodia, Shri D. N.  
 Ramabadrán, Shri T. D.  
 Ramamurti, Shri P.  
 Ramani, Shri K.  
 Ranga, Shri  
 Sait, Shri Ebrahim Suraiman  
 Santosham, Dr. M.  
 Sen, Shri Deven  
 Sequeira, Shri  
 Shah, Shri T. P.  
 Shastri, Shri Ramavatar  
 Suraj Bhan, Shri  
 Tapuria, Shri S. K.  
 Tyagi, Shri O. P.  
 Umanath, Shri  
 Vajpayee, Shri A. B.  
 Vidyarthi, Shri R. S.  
 Viswambharan, Shri P.  
 Yadav, Shri Jageshwar

ing the year ending the 31st day of March 1970 in respect of 'Cabinet.' "

#### Demand No. 45--Administration of Justice

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,04,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Administration of justice.' "

#### Demand No. 46--Police

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,30,12 000 be granted to the president *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'police.' "

#### Demand No. 47--Census

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,31,53, 000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of "Census. "

#### Demand No. 48--Statistics

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,10,15, 000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Statistics.' "

#### Demand No. 49--Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers,

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,36,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Privy Purses and Allowance of Indian Rulers.' "

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The result\* of the division is : Ayes 172; Noes : 60.

*The motion was adopted.*

[The Motions for Demands for grants which were adopted by Lok Sabha are reproduced below--ed]

#### Demand No. 43 -Ministry of Home Affairs

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,45,96, 000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1970 in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs.' "

#### Demand No. 44--Cabinet

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 55,57, 000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Cabinet.' "

\*The following Members also recorded their votes :

Ayes : Sarvashri Devinder Singh and Shashi Bhushan.

Noes : Sarvashri P. C. Adichan, D. Amat and V Narasimha Rao.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

**Demand No. 50--Territorial and Political Pensions**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,77,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Territorial and Political Pensions'."

**Demand No. 51--Delhi**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 36,08,25,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Delhi'."

**Demand No. 52--Chandigarh**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,90,67,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Chandigarh'."

**Demand No. 53--Andaman and Nicobar Islands**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,53,55,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'."

**Demand No. 54--Tribal Areas**

"That a sum of exceeding Rs. 21,20,38,000 be granted to the President *to complete the necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

**Demand No. 55--Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,54,000 be granted to the President *to complete*

*the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Dadra and Nagar Haveli Area'."

**Demand No. 56--Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,00,82,000 granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands'."

**Demand No. 57--Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,33,65,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

**Demand No. 119--Capital Outlay in Union Territories and Tribal Areas**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,71,83,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Capital Outlay in Union Territories and Tribal Areas'."

**Demand No. 120--Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 40,00,000 be granted to the President *to complete the sum necessary* to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970 in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."