

of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs Resolution No. F. 21-1/61-C.I., dated the 29th June, 1961, the members of Lok Sabha do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two members from among themselves to serve as members of the Central Advisory Board of Anthropology for a term of three years with effect from the 29th June, 1964, subject to the other provisions of the said Resolution."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That in pursuance of paragraph 3(5) of the late Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs Resolution No. F. 21-1/61-C.I., dated the 29th June, 1961, the members of Lok Sabha do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two members from among themselves to serve as members of the Central Advisory Board of Anthropology for a term of three years with effect from the 29th June, 1964, subject to the other provisions of the said Resolution."

*The motion was adopted.*

12.17 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** We take up further discussion on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Shri Anthony has already taken 36 minutes. I do not propose to give him any more time. He had only 17 minutes for his party, but I promised him that I would give him 20 to 25 minutes, but 36 minutes have been taken.

Acharya Kripalani.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy** (Kendrapara): How much time is left? When is the Minister to reply?

**Mr. Speaker:** Two hours and 50 minutes remain.

**Shri Frank Anthony** (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): Actually, I only spoke for about 15 minutes. The rest of the time was taken up in pandemonium, but that was not of my making. I do not want to seek your privilege, but can a Member be sort of over-ridden by mob rule in this House? After all, . . . (Interruptions)

**Mr. Speaker:** He is just asking me. Why should others interrupt?

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Never in 21 years . . . (Interruptions) they are objecting. I am glad in a way you were not here, because you would have been ashamed as I was, and deeply hurt, because what happened was that this House became a victim of mob rule. (Interruptions)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Unless I allow, no one should get up.

Whether it was interruption, or whatever it was, interruptions are also part of the speech, and no further time can be given.

Acharya Kripalani.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद): अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बात मैं कह दूँ . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं आपसे दख्खिस्त करूंगा कि आप बैठ जायें ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं इतत सम्बन्ध में नहीं कह रहा हूँ ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर इस चीज के बारे में नहीं तो फिर किम चीज के बारे में कह सकते हैं ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : जब श्री ऐन्थनी अंग्रेजी के हक में बोलते हैं तब तो यह हजरात बहुत तारीफ की दृष्टि से सुनते हैं . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप बैठ जाइये ।

[Mr. Speaker]

Acharya Kripalani. He might begin. He will have only 15 minutes.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha):** The Home Ministry is the most important Ministry in our internal affairs. It has something to do with law and order, much to do with the administration, the existence of corruption, espionage, justice and many other things.

Though law and order is more a State subject, the Centre should go to the aid of the States in case of suppressing inter-State gangs of criminals. Even after seventeen years these gangs have not been eliminated. Also the problem of foreign espionage, both Chinese and Pakistani must be tackled by the Centre. This has not been done. Recently there were reports that some factories were discovered which were manufacturing arms. There is the question of infiltration of Pakistanis into our territory. It has been going on for years and many complaints have been made in this House. But it is only when the problem has become very acute Government has thought of it and we are put in a very difficult position. The Centre must be vigilant in respect of all these things. It could not leave these things to the States which are more engaged in internal squabbles than in doing important things.

So far as administration is concerned, Gandhiji said that he had no quarrel with the foreign Government but he had quarrel with the system through which the foreign Government ruled. We have changed the rulers but we have not changed the system. It continues to be bureaucratic, wooden, riddled with red-tape, inefficient and it lacks initiative. Above all the officers yet consider themselves not as the servants of the people but as their masters. Their political bosses have to remind them often that in a democracy this is not done and they must con-

sider themselves as the servant of the people, and not their masters.

Closely connected with administration is the question of corruption, nepotism and graft. At first the existence of corruption was denied by the authorities. Then it was admitted to exist in the lower ranks of the services. It is at this level that people come in contact with the services. With great reluctance it is admitted now that there is corruption even in the higher services and today corruption in the political field is also admitted though it is said that complaints about this are exaggerated. I hope that the findings of the Santhanam Committee would be an eye-opener for the authorities. If the Government means business it must scrupulously carry out the recommendations of this committee.

It is good that the present Home Minister has staked his political career on the question of eliminating corruption. May I, therefore, suggest to him certain way through which this corruption works? The religions have always held that our enemy is within ourselves. Corruption also has its roots within ourselves. For instance, we have to look for it in our private secretaries. Some of the politicians in Government have made their clerks and typists as their personal assistants. Their emoluments have been raised from a couple of hundreds of rupees to Rs. 1500-1800. Some of them have been granted Congress tickets for local legislatures and even for Parliament. Those who do these things never suspect that they are encouraging corruption. It is also alleged that illegal gratification generally passes through these personal assistants of the Ministers. In India, political corruption works not directly but through relatives, through wives, through sons, through in-laws, and in India, we have all sorts of in-laws; there are brothers-in-law, cousins-in-law, caste-in-laws, village-in-laws and even provincial in-laws.

In this House, when I denounced the rioting in Assam which was directed against the Bengalis, my Assamese friends accused me that I did that because the Bengalis were my in-laws. A masseur comes to serve me and he is a Mussalman; he is a Bengali but he always calls me *Jamai Babu*. If corruption has to be stopped, the Home Minister must investigate the assets of the wives in the shape of ornaments and jewellery. He must also assess the properties of the sons and near relatives. If the assets are much that they cannot be made in a short time, he must institute enquiries. He must also carefully go through the reports of the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee and also the Audit. What they say about procedural defects are not always procedural defects but they proceed from corruption and bribery.

Then, in the matter of the judiciary, the Home Ministry has a hand in appointing high court judges and Supreme Court Judges. It is a fact that some of the appointments that have been made of those who were briefless barristers and advocates. Care must be taken to comb the people for the appointment of high court and Supreme Court Judges.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Most of them should belong to the ruling party

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** It must be understood that if the political bosses are corrupt, the administration cannot but be corrupt. Let no Minister be under a delusion that what he does is not known to his subordinates. A Persian proverb says that when those in political authority take a pinch of salt without paying, then their administrators would loot the whole country.

The legislators in India have also their peculiar way of being corrupt. One of such methods, as is very not notorious in Delhi, is that the houses which Members of this House occupy are sub-let and the tenants are made to pay not only the whole rent but

also feed the Member while he is in Delhi.

**An Hon. Member:** Shame, shame.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** This must be stopped, because it brings us all into disrepute.

Most of the revolutions in history have taken place because those in power were corrupt. This also explains the recent revolutions in the erstwhile colonial lands and the installation of military dictators. Corruption leads to high and luxurious living, this undermines the vigour of the individual and of the community. The result is inevitable—decline and decay. It is this decline and decay that we are observing in this country. It is, therefore, the first duty of every revolutionary Government to root out corruption and inefficiency. Sometimes we see that the communist countries and also military dictators use very drastic remedies for rooting out corruption. Whenever there is corruption or whenever there is even suspicion of corruption, they liquidate the persons. It is not that these revolutionaries are cruel and sadistic people. They know that they have come to power, because the previous Government was corrupt and if they allow corruption to prevail, they also would be swept off by another revolution.

We had a revolution in India. But after 17 years, we have not been able to tackle the problem of corruption and the evils that go with it. I said that corruption leads to easy and luxurious living. He would be a blind man who does not see that conspicuous consumption prevails in our political bosses and in the administration and also in the higher ranks of our merchants and manufacturers.

Not only are we extravagant in our lives, but we have also retained the whole pomp and costly paraphernalia introduced by the foreign government to impress the people with their might and also to keep their prestige. For instance, the Rashtrapati Bhavan and the Governors' residences remain as

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they were. They cover miles of valuable and much needed land in crowded cities. I remember that when Lord Mountbatten stepped down from his Viceroyalty he requested the Prime Minister to allow him to move out from the Viceregal Lodge that he occupied. He said that as a representative of the Empire, he could do so, but as a representative of the people, he could not do so. He wanted for himself the house that was occupied by the Commander-in-Chief in those days and that is occupied by our Prime Minister today. Even the imperial people thought like that. He was not allowed by the Prime Minister to change his residence.

Gandhiji said that all these palaces must be made into hospitals for the poor. We have done nothing of the sort. I remember that one day when I was in the Viceregal Lodge, when the negotiations were going on, Lady Mountbatten told me, "Mr. Kripalani, Bapu says that this beautiful palace should be turned into a hospital. May I request that you people will see that it is turned into a museum?" We have turned it maybe into a zoo.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh** (Parbhani): Is it fair to refer to the President of India like that?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is not fair; I disapprove of it.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Even she did not believe that a democratic government would want for its President the Viceregal Lodge.

The conspicuous consumption and the high living that we see nowadays has created a gulf between the educated and the rich and the masses. The gulf was there during the British regime. But the way Gandhiji carried out his national movement and also the way he conducted the constructive programme narrowed the gulf. But after independence, I venture to say that this gulf has been growing wider and wider. The gulf between the upper and the

lower classes has also been widened because of the prevalent desire for the rich and the educated to appear modern. On high authority we are told that everything modern is also scientific.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to request Acharyaji now to attempt to conclude his speech.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** I am concluding in a minute.

What has however happened is that having lost our feet in Indian culture we have been taking to ourselves the externals of western culture. As a matter of fact, the upper and the educated classes in India are neither western nor Indian. They belong to a mixed breed.

**Shri Ranga:** Hybrid.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** It is this hybrid culture that we take to foreign countries in our cultural missions wasting our precious foreign exchange. Our young men and women nowadays, for instance, wear a pant which is called drain-pipe. Some of you may know it.

**Mr. Speaker:** Acharyaji is quite familiar with the latest development of fashion.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Yes, because I am much concerned with Indian culture and, therefore, I observe how Indian culture is being destroyed.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** What has the Home Minister to do about it?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I would request Acharyaji to conclude now.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** They have learnt a dance which is called 'Can-Can' and 'Twist'. Here, consumption of Coco-cola is increasing and going to the villages, whereas in its home of origin Coco-cola is considered to be a very bad drink because it is supposed to bring about cancer.

Gandhiji brought vigour and put life in this country by making us to fraternise with the masses of the country. After independence, we have been assiduous in destroying the genius of our people and our historical past. We must remember what the Gita says, that it is preferable to stick to one's duty even defectively performed than to perform well duty of others because in that there is a great danger, the danger of losing our soul.

This does not mean that we have not to borrow from the west the things that are valuable. Gandhiji borrowed from the west many valuable things like keeping time, keeping his engagements, public hygiene etc. He learnt many things from the British, but he learnt them as an Indian. He did not learn them by mechanically copying their externals. If we have to prosper, we can only prosper by the way that Gandhiji showed to us; any other way is fraught with peril.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): When do you propose to call the senior Minister?

**Mr. Speaker:** At 2 O'Clock.

**Shri Rishang Keishing** (Outer Manipur): Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs. I shall take this opportunity to place on record the heartfelt gratitude and appreciation of the people in the Union Territories to this hon. House and the Government of India for successfully establishing legislatures in all the Union Territories, namely, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Pondicherry and Goa. Since the Parliament under that Act gives one status to all of them, the people can justly expect impartial and equal treatment to all the Union Territories.

I may, however, submit with respect that the action taken by the Government of India so far is not in tune with that. For example, while we are all equal, in Himachal Pradesh, Goa and Pondicherry we have got Lieu-

tenant-Governors whereas in Manipur and Tripura the Chief Commissioner is the head of the territory. The post of Lieutenant-Governor is generally held by senior and more experienced persons while that of Chief Commissioner is held by junior and less experienced persons. This inequality should be done away with and all Union Territories should have Lieutenant-Governors as the head.

Though all the Union Territories are equal in status, I am sorry to say that in some of the Union Territories Government have given better scales of salary and allowances to the M.L.As, Ministers etc, as framed by their Assemblies while in some others, like the Manipur though the legislatures have passed a resolution and put forward a proposal before the Central Government it has not been accepted. As a result, members of the Assemblies of the other Union Territories are getting only Rs. 150 per month. It is a matter of shame to know that MLAs residing in Imphal town are deprived of the sitting allowance and they are getting only Rs. 2.50 whenever there is sitting of the Assembly. I have drawn the attention of the Home Minister to this fact and he has promised to look into it. I hope he will expedite it.

Another instance of partiality is in the matter of creating civil service cadre. A combined service cadre for Delhi and Himachal Pradesh was started long ago. In spite of pressure from the local people nad the State, there is no civil service cadre for other Union Territories. I am sure, Delhi is very much benefited by this scheme. The Report says that in Delhi 16 officers were trained in 1963 and 12 officers on probation are to be trained in the current year. Four persons have been appointed to the Joint IAS cadre for Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. 18 persons were promoted to the Delhi and Himachal Pradesh Police Service. 14 persons are to be appointed to Civil Service and 6 to the Police Service. All these facilities have been completely denied to other

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Union Territories with the result that our employees continue to be stranded in wilderness without any destination, without any hope of prospect for the future. Therefore, I would request the Minister to take immediate action to see that these Union Territories get their own service cadre.

The strength of the Ministry in all the Union Territories except Tripura is three. The number is too few that each Minister is in charge of a dozen or more portfolios and justice can hardly be done to any of them. So, I would suggest that the strength of Ministers should be raised to at least five—three Cabinet Ministers and two Deputy Ministers.

Under the present practice half of the Union Territories are kept under the External Affairs Ministry and the other half under the Home Ministry. I feel very strongly that this should be done away with. The tendency or hope that if one State or Union Territory remains under the Ministry of External Affairs, of which the Prime Minister is the head, that State will be looked after better or it will get better treatment, should be discouraged. In India every State should be under one Ministry; all the Union Territories should come under the Home Ministry. I believe that it is the country and the Government that will give protection, to which they should look upon; not upon any particular person, however high and great he might be. So, I want the distinction to be done away with.

12.45 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Coming to the law and order question, the Report of the Ministry mentions that the law and order situation in Manipur and Tripura remain satisfactory, except some increase in the hostile Naga activities. This Report is incorrect, totally unacceptable and misleading. The entire Hill area of Manipur continues to be declared as

disturbed area since three years back as the hostile Naga activity is continuing; rather, it is on the increase. They have been extorting money from the public. Recently there was a report in certain newspapers about the return of 700 hostiles from Pakistan. There was a calling attention notice also on the same subject. My information is that 700 Naga hostiles entered Bongmal village in Tengnoupal Sub-Division of Manipur on 25th March. They were carrying 200 light machine guns, 400 automatic rifles, many hand grenades and 3" mortars. On that very day, one Burmese fighter plane and helicopter were flying over them, suspected giving protection to these Naga hostiles. When recently the Chief Minister of Nagaland was here, certain Members of Parliament met him. He also said that the Naga hostiles were allowed to pass through Burmese territory by the Burmese Government and that the Naga hostiles were being given warm reception and warm send-off by the Burmese army officers. So, the law and order situation is really deteriorating in that area.

The crossing of Naga hostiles from India to Pakistan and Burma and returning to this country after obtaining arms and training has become a regular occurrence. Government seems to be minimising the magnitude of the problem. Though we feel very strongly on this point, and even though we have brought it to the notice of the Home Ministry, nothing seems to have been done in this direction. Perhaps, Delhi is too far away from this area to take note of the serious situation prevailing there. I would suggest that some Members of Parliament should pay a visit to that area, contact the people and assess the problem. It is not enough to leave the problem to the officers. The officers have got their own way of looking at things; they have a closed mind; they could not feel the pulse of the people. So, I repeat that some Members of Parliament should visit that area and see the law and order problem for themselves.

Then, in Tamenglong Sub-Division of Manipur, Rani Gaidileu and her gang have been indulging for the past two or more years in looting, arson and murder. Already more than 40 persons have been killed by her and her gang. I have written a letter and drawn the attention of the Home Minister to this fact. Yet, Government have not taken any action against her and her gang and they are still indulging in those activities. This is also disturbing the law and order situation there.

There is a reference to Home Guards in the Report. The Report specifically mentions the raising of Home Guards in Tamanglong and Ukhrul areas. Though these areas comprise 4,000 square miles of hilly area in Manipur, I am sorry to say that the total strength of Home Guards does not exceed 200. In spite of repeated demands since the time of the late Pandit Pant, Government have opened about five centres. Perhaps, each of these centres will have only 40 Home Guards. I do not know whether all these Home Guards are fully armed or not. My information is only 20 are armed. So, with this little number I do not know how they will help the law and order situation in that area to improve. I feel that not only Manipur but the entire border area requires more of Home Guards. So, I want the Ministry to take prompt action in this matter and increase the strength of Home Guards, because this is the common and popular demand of that area.

There is a reference to water supply schemes for Imphal in the Report. It is a matter of great shame that though the water supply scheme for Imphal was started in the First Plan period, the Third Plan period is ending and up to this time Government have not been able to give us water. Now we are promised water by 1965. I do not know whether we will get it or not. But I might respectfully submit that the Government should see that this item is not there in the

Fourth Five Year Plan. Let us finish this item in the Third Five Year Plan.

As regards electricity, again the same thing is there. The total supply of electricity in Manipur is about 800 kilowatts. Just to bluff the people Government have erected a number of poles in the Hill and rural areas to show that Government propose to extend electricity to those areas. But many of those wooden poles have fallen which while falling down have killed a number of cattle. To this also I would like to draw the Government of India's very serious attention so that something is done towards it.

Coming to the Backward Classes, there is a reservation of 12½ per cent for the Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes in All India Services. The recruitment to the ICS and IAS up to the 1st January 1963 is 66 Scheduled Castes and 23 Scheduled Tribes and to the IP and IPS, 39 Scheduled Castes and 11 Scheduled Tribes. This is the record of 16 or 17 years. I would like to ask whether the Ministry feels that what they have done is sufficient and is justified and whether this is a good achievement. I may say that the Ministry has not paid proper attention to the recruitment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates to these posts.

May I suggest that all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates who pass the written examination for the IAS should not be chucked out because they fail in the oral interview. Oral interview is nothing. If one passes in the written examination, one should be absorbed in one of the All India Services, say, the Central Secretariat Service or some other Service. They should not be thrown out.

I would also suggest that reservation in respect of promotion to Class I and Class II posts should also be there. In services controlled by the State Governments reservation should be there on population basis and never

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on the basis of 12½ per cent and 5 per cent for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes respectively. It should strictly be on population basis.

At present we have got coaching classes at Allahabad and Mysore for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates appearing in I.A.S. Examination. That is not enough. We want that one more training centre should be opened in the eastern sector. I was glad to learn from the hon. Deputy Minister yesterday that arrangement is going to be made to have training classes even for State Government services. That is welcome; but it should be expedited. They should be started immediately.

Definite steps should also be taken to introduce compulsory primary education in the Fourth Five Year Plan for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Without education there is no hope to progress or to go along with the majority community or other advanced communities in the country.

As regards the Central Advisory Boards for Tribal and Harijan Welfare, I would like to suggest that one meeting in a year is not enough. We should have at least three meetings in a year and the recommendations of the Boards should be properly implemented. I may also suggest that every State Government should be asked to have similar advisory boards and Members of Parliament belonging to the Communities should be associated with these boards.

Lastly, national language is one question on which we have been completely silent so far. We must have a national language. Without a national language, how are we going to progress and how are we going to go together as one nation? So, a national language should be there and that should be and is Hindi. The non-Aryans and non-Dravidians, i.e., we the Mongolians, want to learn Hindi. We are all for Hindi. Please provide adequate funds for the pro-

pagation of Hindi in our areas. We feel that once the non-Aryan and non-Dravidian people learn Hindi, the rest of the people, that is, the Aryans and the Dravidians will be compelled to learn Hindi. Therefore I want that every effort should be made to develop Hindi. But I also want that English should be there, nevertheless English should not jeopardise or infringe upon the predominant position of Hindi. English should be there but Hindi should get more importance.

With these words, I support the Demands.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Surya Prasad.

श्री प्रताप सिंह (सिरमूर) : जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब,

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Are you Shri Surya Prasad? Shri Surya Prasad.. Absent. Shri Hathi.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hathi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity of participating in the debate.

श्री साधूराम (फिल्लोर) : यह माननीय सदस्य यंज ब के बोलना चाहते हैं, बहुत देर से बैठे हुए हैं।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) : हम ने माननीय श्री सुरज लाल वर्मा का नाम दे रखा है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : उनका नाम है।

श्रीमती जमुना देवी (शाबुआ) : जो अभी तक इस सेशन में कभी बोले नहीं हैं, उनका कुछ तो ख्याल रखा जाना चाहिये।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : यह बड़ा महत्व का विषय है। इसमें सब को बोलने का मौका मिलना चाहिये।



**Shri Ramanathan Chettiar (Karur):** The lady Member must be given an opportunity.

**Shri Basumatari (Goalpara):** May I draw your attention to one thing? Yesterday Assam was referred to many times by Shri Badrudduja and other hon. Members. So, one Member from Assam should be given an opportunity to reply to that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Within the time that is available I will try to give as many chances as possible.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur):** When is the hon. Minister going to reply?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** At 2 o'clock the hon. Home Minister will be called upon to reply.

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hathi):** I know that there are a number of hon. Members who are eager to participate in the debate and I shall try to be as brief as possible so as to be able to accommodate other hon. Members who want to participate in the debate.

During the course of the debate some of the Members raised some of the very important questions of the day, namely, the Kashmir affair, the communal disturbances, corruption, welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, all-India Services, administrative reforms and a number of other subjects. It may not be possible for me to deal with all the subjects in the short time at my disposal, but I shall try to deal briefly with as many points as I can.

The Home Ministry is charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the country, to give a

clean and efficient administration, to maintain efficient services and for this purpose to train and equip personnel for shouldering these various responsibilities that devolve upon them specially with the vast programme of development that has been undertaken in all these Five Year Plans. It is also entrusted with the responsibility of looking to the welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes and a number of other subjects.

Many of the hon. Members who participated in the debate during the course of the last two days had a kind word of appreciation for the Home Ministry and for the Home Minister personally too. I am grateful to all those hon. Members who appreciated the work of the Ministry. There were also a few hon. Members who, of course, had to say something against the Ministry. I also welcome the criticism because that gives us an opportunity for replying to that and explaining our position. I shall deal with those criticisms also.

Shri Mathur who is a very constructive Member and who has the experience of administration has given a number of suggestions.

**Shri D. C. Sharma: (Gurdaspur):** Was he a minister also somewhere?

**Shri Hathi:** He was a minister. He has keen interest in administrative reforms. He has rightly emphasised the need for overall administrative reform. As mentioned by him, it is true that merely a change in a procedure here or there is not going to give an efficient and clear administration. It requires an overall change in the administrative machinery and the Government have for some time been giving anxious thoughts to certain major problems of administration. One of those problems is the prevention of corruption and maintenance of integrity in public service. Another is the setting up of an agency

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for evolving a machinery for the redress of grievances of citizens arising from unsound procedures, wrong exercise of discretion, delays, lack of courts and consideration in official dealings and the like. The third is the wider problem of reform, reorganisation and modernisation of administration at all levels so as to make it efficient and sensitive instrument for carrying out the tasks of economic development and social welfare and for achieving generally the social objective which the country had set before it. The machinery of the Government and the need for its adaptation to the changed set up and conditions in the country has been given continuous attention by the Government at the Centre and the States and also by Parliament and State Legislatures. A number of committees and individuals have examined various aspects of administration and made recommendations during these years. There have been nearly 20 committees at the Centre and if we take all the committees in the States and at the Centre together, they are nearly 70 of them which have looked into these problems.

13.00 hrs.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Too many.

**Shri Hathi:** These individuals and these committees have made a large number of recommendations affecting various aspects of administration. Many of these recommendations or ideas underlying them have been accepted. There are many other recommendations which are still be pursued. In addition, there are a number of ideas of administrative improvements which have emerged from the experience of these years about the soundness of which there is no doubt or difference of opinion but which remain to be translated into specific proposals for action. There is thus already available a great deal of material on the basis of which we can take action and it should be taken as quickly as possible. Therefore we have decided to create a Department

of Administrative Reforms in the Ministry of Home Affairs to take up these urgent practical tasks. This Department will make a quick review of recommendations which have not so far been properly attended to and take action where necessary. It will examine whether the recommendations already accepted have been followed up effectively and it will generally take the initiative in promoting the administrative improvements in the light of recent experience and it will also assist in the effective implementation of measures for improvement of administration in the interest of efficiency, economy and integrity. It will also work out details of machinery for the redress of grievances of citizens against the administration. That is an important aspect and the earlier we can take up the task of administrative reforms the more it is desirable and it is our desire that this Department of Administrative Reforms should immediately take up the problems of administrative reforms.

The other point which some hon. Members referred to was about the all-India Services. As the House is aware, only last year legislation providing for the creation of new all-India Services in the fields of Engineering, Forestry, Medicine and Public Health was enacted by Parliament. In consultation with the State Governments and with the Ministries concerned at the Centre, we hope to finalise soon the structure and the rules for these services. Thereafter, we will have to take the initial constitution of the Services in consultation with the Union Public Service Commission. We hope that not only these Services will strengthen the administrative structure of the country and improve standards in the respective spheres but also they will help towards national integration. The unanimous agreement of the State Governments to the creation of the Services is a reflection of the deep desire which exists in all parts of the country to promote national integration by

every means and to improve administrative standards.

There was also a suggestion for the creation of an all-India Educational Service, all-India Agricultural Service and all-India Public Health Engineering Service. We have taken up this matter and we are in consultation with the State Governments.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf** (Nominated—Jammu and Kashmir): The Forest Services will be included or will it be separate.

**Shri Hathi**: Common Service. I am glad to say that the response has been generally favourable. My colleagues, the Minister for Education and the Minister for Agriculture, have been in touch with the State Governments and I hope it will not be long before we are in a position to bring this matter also before Parliament for its consideration. The all-India Services and the administrative reforms are all good. But in order to have an efficient administrative machinery, we must have trained personnel who should be trained and equipped for the tasks they are called upon to undertake. Unless they are trained, unless the personnel trained properly, the whole administrative machinery, however sound it may be, will not function. For that purpose, it is necessary to train our youngmen.

In this connection, I may refer to the training facilities that the Home Ministry has provided during all these years. After the establishment of parliamentary democracy and the ideals of socialistic State, the magnitude, the complexity and the urgency of the social and economic enterprise have necessitated a reorganisation of training of our civil servants. In a welfare State, as the hon. Members will agree, the civil servant has to be imbued with a sense of public service. The old method of apprenticeship between the young civil servant and his immediate superior is no longer adequate. The training should develop in the public servant a proper understanding of the constitutional,

economic and social framework of society and the machinery of Government within which he has to function so as to enable him not only to administer the policies and programmes of Government but also to contribute towards shaping of these policies. With this end in view, we have established the National Academy of Administration. Its training course includes, above other things, the study of Indian History and Culture, Gandhian Thought, Economic Planning and Problems of Social Welfare

During 1963-64, 317 probationers of the I.A.S. and the Central Services (Class I) attended the Foundational Course, lasting for a period of about five months. 90 I.A.S. probationers have continued to remain in the Academy for completing their professional training.

In the Third Refresher Course on Personnel Management in Public Enterprises, 9 officers of the Central and State Governments with 10 to 15 years service participated.

A Fourth Refresher Course on 'Budgeting in the States with reference to State-level Planning' is being held now in the Academy. About 12 persons from the different Ministries in the Government of India and various State Governments are at present participating.

Similarly, in the next Foundational Course, we expect to depute nearly 375 probationers of the I.A.S./I.P.S. and the Central Services (Class I). This is by far the largest number that has attended the course at the Academy. The number of I.A.S. probationers being sent this year is also the highest, namely, 115. Additional accommodation has been provided for at Mussoorie for this increased strength.

The hon. Member, Shri Mathur, referred to the need for having an Industrial Management Pool Service and other Services, in view of our

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planned development. We have, therefore, established the Statistical and Economic Services of India. The initial constitution of these two Services have been announced recently with the appointment of 163 officers to the Indian Statistical Services and 262 officers to the Indian Economic Service. The selections for these appointments were made by a Committee appointed by the Union Public Service Commission; the recommendations of the Committee were finally approved by the Commission and accepted by Government. We hope that in the near future we will be able to start regular recruitment to these two services on an organised basis.

Although the two Services have been constituted to serve the general needs of the different units of the Government of India, in the context of the increasing need for specialisation both in the statistical and economic fields, provision has been made in the rules for temporary exchange of personnel at various levels between Government and non-Government organisations and also for the deputation of personnel to and from the State Governments. With the growth of interest in these matters that we see in our universities, leading research institutions and in the private sector, we trust that this exchange of talent and experience will be of real and lasting value.

These Services should be still further developed because we are going to have many more industrial plans, many more industries, and for this, we have to have a sound Service for Industrial Management also. With that end in view we have had a pool of officers suitable for the Industrial Management Pool. They are today about 111 in number.

Then, Dr. M. S. Aney referred to another question, namely, the Foreign Assignments. He wanted to know what work this Section is doing in the Home Ministry. In order to build

up panels for Foreign Assignments, circulars were issued to the various authorities—Central Ministries, State Governments and various organisations both in the public and private sectors. A press-note was also issued twice inviting applications for the panels of engineers, doctors and teachers. The categories for which the panels are at present maintained and the number of persons borne on the panels are nearly 1500. During the last seven months, 30 requests (comprising of about 200 posts) were received from foreign countries and organisations for the services of Indian Experts. We have sponsored about 463 candidates against the various posts for these countries.

He also referred to another question and said that in the emergency now, he was rather surprised to find that the grants which were made to the Indian Rifle Training do not find a place in the budget of the Home Ministry. As this is an important subject, I would like to clarify the position. The National Rifle Association was given a grant of Rs. 1 lakh and 20 thousands and a grant of Rs. 5,000 each by the Ministries of Defence, Education and Home was being granted to the Association. It was thought that instead of three Ministries dealing with this, it would be better if the Education Minister would deal with this. Therefore that is now being dealt with by the Education Ministry but the amount of grant is there.

Then, some hon. Members referred to the strengthening and the training of the Police Administration. There also, the Government of India and the State Governments are keenly conscious of the need to keep down the crime in the country. I will not go into the statistics on this occasion. All I can say is that the position generally—excepting for the communal disturbances that took place—is not so bad as in the previous year. There has been slight decrease in the number of

cognisable crimes during 1963 compared to 1962. However, as I said, that does not console me; nor do I look upon this with any sense of complacency.

Hon. Members are aware of the recent unfortunate and tragic occurrences in certain parts on the country which have been put down with a firm hand by the Government and with the minimum possible delay. Our cultural heritage and our basic values are that of a peace-loving people and it should therefore be possible for us to achieve a higher level of social order. The factors which militate against this must be carefully analysed and deliberately met. Urbanisation and industrialisation have brought in a number of problems in their wake, but we should not be mute spectators to those evils. It appears now that a much greater degree of public participation in the evolution and sustenance of a social order is necessary. There must be a realisation that police can only regulate and act against actual offenders. The mass of people must conform to a civilised code of social conduct and accept the inherent discipline of social life. Naturally, the active cooperation of the people will be forthcoming to the extent the instruments of Government show that interest in performing their job efficiently and honestly.

Hon. Members are aware that most of the policemen are under the administrative control of the State Governments; but the Government of India have been keenly interested in improving the efficiency of the police forces and have started several training institutions. We have established a Central Forensic Science Laboratory in Calcutta where the policemen are taught scientific techniques of investigation. Besides this, there is a Central Detective Training School, where sub-inspectors are trained in advanced methods of crime detection. A second Detective Training School is being established at Hyderabad. The Central Fingerprint Bureau has been

rendering very good service to the State Governments and also to the Governments of other nations in keeping track of national and international criminals.

Recently we have established the Central Motor Transport Training School and the Weapons Training Centre.

The Central Police Training College at Mt. Abu has been conducting advanced courses for senior officers of the I.P.S. Apart from this, selected senior officers are being deputed to foreign countries to learn the latest developments in the technique of scientific investigation. Simultaneously, we have been encouraging the State Governments to establish their own forensic science laboratories. The Central Police Research Centre is already functioning and the benefit of the expert knowledge of the Central Forensic Science Advisory Committee and the Central Medico-Legal Advisory Committee is made available to them.

In order to be able to render adequate assistance to the State Governments in times of need, the Central Government have decided to strengthen the armed police, and steps are being taken to raise additional units. Simultaneously, steps are being taken to equip the existing as well as the additional forces properly, particularly in the matter of weapons, wireless sets, vehicles etc.

During the emergency, the police forces have been called upon to perform arduous duty in the difficult terrains. Some of the armed police battalions are on the borders. To give them due recognition, the Government of India have recently instituted the Police Special Duty Medal to those who have completed a year's service in those difficult areas. We have also increased the amenities granted to the police personal who are on deputation outside the State Government.

Then, another hon. Member referred to judicial reforms. That is also another branch where we have to take

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action. He also referred to the speech of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India. The Home Ministry has been constantly thinking of this. The House knows that the Law Commission had made certain recommendations. We had a discussion with the Law Minister, and we are creating a special cell in both the Ministries, in the Home Ministry as well as in the Law Ministry, to take up the question of judicial reforms. I had also a discussion with the Chief Justice of India, and the Law Minister and the Home Minister will discuss it further to see that judicial reforms are carried out as quickly as possible. Today we all know and feel that there are delays in the dispensation of justice for some reason or the other; it may be procedural, it may be legal, it may be for want of public co-operation. But whatever the causes are, they have to be handled, and we are, therefore, taking up this matter in the near future.

Then comes the question of the Whitley Council to which my hon. friend Shri S. M. Banerjee made a reference. The two points that he referred to were as follows. He asked why, when the Government servants were prepared and when Government themselves were talking about creating a machinery whereby the disputes could be solved and settled, Government should insist on their abjuring strikes? As I had explained to the House earlier, the question is this. We are creating a machinery whereby a dispute between the Central Government servants and the Government can be solved by suitable means, by arbitration, and if they are satisfied that this is the proper machinery which will solve their problems, the question of their going on strike would not at all arise. But what we want is that they may have the right to strike, but for the purpose of entering into the scheme, they should provide an undertaking that they will not go

on strike. In regard to those who do not want to come into this scheme, there is no question about them. This is only with regard to those who participate in the scheme itself. Therefore, it is only if they agree and they find that there is a machinery which will solve the disputes that they come in. When they want to participate, they should say in their constitution that they will not go on strike.

Then, my hon. friend also referred to the question of outsiders being the office-bearers, so far as the Trade Union Act applies. I may make that also clear here. There is no question of our denying the right to the unions to have their office-bearers in the trade unions from outside, if the particular law allows it to that extent. But so far as the question of discussing these questions is concerned, or so far as this machinery is concerned, they should be people who are Government servants and who are dealing with them, because here the question relates to people dealing with the service classes where one of them who knows the problems should be there. That is the whole idea here.

My hon. friend also mentioned about the delay. So far as this matter is concerned, I might say that only on January 20th, I think we had circulated the scheme to the various unions. Their comments are awaited. But we are still eager to expedite it, and I think next month we are having a meeting in consultation with the Labour Ministry. On the part of Government, I may say that we are keen that we should be able to evolve a machinery whereby these disputes could be solved, and Government servants will not have to go on strike and their grievances will be properly looked into. As far as we can, we shall try to have this approach to accommodate them and to see that at least we make a start with this as an experimental measure, and if it satisfies their demands, and if it proves well, I hope that we shall be

able to cement the relations between the Government servants and the Government so as to make them as ideal and as cordial as they should be.

Then, there was a question raised about the State Public Service Commissions. Here, the constitutional position under article 316 is that so far as the Centre is concerned, it is the President who does it, and so far as the State is concerned, it is within the jurisdiction of the State Governor. So, it is for the State Government to see whom they should appoint. The procedure for the appointment of High Court judges is something different. Therefore, we have to abide by the constitutional position as it stands.

**Shri P. R. Patel (Patan):** But there is a case where a sub-judge of the city court from Ahmedabad was appointed, and the High Court appointed him.

**Shri Hathi:** I am talking of the Public Service Commission. Now, I shall take up two other questions which my hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani referred to. So far as Shri M. R. Masani is concerned, I have great regard for him. He is a personal friend of mine. We have a common language . . . .

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** The hon. Minister is semi-literate, but he is literate.

**Shri Hathi:** We have a common language. In fact, he comes from the place where I am a voter; he is from my place, and he is my representative.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** Did the hon. Minister allow him to commit the offence because of that consideration?

**Shri Hathi:** The only difference is that he is learned and literate, but I am semi-literate.

**Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot):** May I assure the hon. Minister that I was not referring to him when I made that remark. I was referring to the people who banned the book, whoever they were?

**Shri Hathi:** Even then, I am here on the Treasury Benches and even if I have not seen the book and even if I have not banned it, I should take all the responsibility. So long as I am the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, and so long as I am in the Government, the responsibility is mine.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Without even reading it?

**Shri Hathi:** I came across it yesterday, but for the orders I take the responsibility. Although I am semi-literate, and I may not be able to say much, yet, I can say this that the Government had after careful consideration banned it, because it comes within the definition of the term 'prejudicial reports' as described or defined in clause (7) of rule 35 of the Defence of India Act, 1962.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** In what way?

**Shri Hathi:** It comes within that definition. That is the interpretation. The interpretation may, of course, differ. A literate man may interpret it in one way and a semi-literate man may interpret it in a different way.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Is that supposed to be an explanation?

**Shri Hathi:** But I may say that my hon. friend is a law-abiding citizen; whatever may be the differences, and whatever may be the political ideologies, he is a law-abiding citizen; I do know it, and having known once that the book is banned and the possession of that book is illegal, I am sure that he will not be any more in possession of the book; that much I do know.

**Shri M. R. Masani:** Gandhiji taught us to resist a law if it was wrong.

**Shri Hathi:** The second point that he referred was Mr. Dange's letter. As everybody knows, the Home Ministry deals with a number of subjects. But our learned friend, Mr. Masani

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roamed about the whole country to find a stick to beat the Home Ministry with and he could find only two items, one Mr. Dange's letter and the other the book. He did not think of Kashmir affairs and he did not think of the communal disturbances! he did not think about eradication of corruption; he did not think of the administrative reform. The whole of his speech was on these two things. I would just submit to Mr. Masani that when there is a difference of opinion as to whether the letter is a genuine one or whether the letter is a forged one, why should Government take upon itself the responsibility of getting it examined and finding out whether it is genuine or not.

The other thing which Mr. Masani said is that even the INTUC friends say that Mr. Nanda is too friendly to Mr. Dange. Is it therefore, that he means to say that we do not like to get the letters examined. On the contrary, we have gone out of our way and allowed all Members of Parliament, irrespective of whether he is a research scholar or not, to look into these letters so that they can themselves see and if they want they can get the letters examined. You know Sir, that even amongst hand-writing experts there will be difference of opinion. Two hand-writing experts never agree. One expert's opinion will be different from the other.

Mr. Masani's point was that since Mr. Nanda is Mr. Dange's friend, we are not examining those letters. But, we have given all facilities; we have gone out of the way; we have taken the file from the National Archives and any Member of Parliament or anybody who wants to see the letters and decide can go to Home Secretary's room and verify those letters. But, I do not propose to get it examined.

**Shri Khadilkar (Khed):** Since when Mr. Masani has become the advocate of left communist faction?

**Shri Hathi:** In fact, I have got a lot of material, but I don't think I

shall take more time of the House. I shall take up one more suggestion made by Mr. Mathur. He said that the Chief Secretaries of the States are not of the same standard of the Additional Secretaries and Secretaries here, which comes in the way of their transfer from State to Centre and vice versa. We have now revised their salary to Rs 2750, equivalent to the salary of Additional Secretaries here. Therefore, that will facilitate the transfer of these officers. So far as other I.A.S. Officers are concerned, many of them are on a tenure of five years in Delhi. They have not completed their tenure. There are also a few officers, Additional Secretaries and Secretaries, whose tenure is over, but they can under special exceptional circumstances stay here. Then, there are other Pool Officers, who are also there.

In view of the fact that other members would like to have their chance of speaking, I will finish here though I have got a lot of material. I leave it to my senior colleague to reply to other questions so that now other members may get a chance to express themselves. I am thankful to you and to the honourable members.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, many important points have been raised during the course of this debate. So, I would like the time to be extended, so that all the points can be covered. I move that the time for the discussion of the Demands for Grants of the Home Ministry be extended. (*Interruption*)

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I have formally moved the motion that the time may be extended.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Sir, there is one more point. Yesterday, nearly one hour was taken up because of certain provocative remarks made by one of our honourable Members. Certain things he stated on the floor of the



House need to be challenged by every member. For that purpose, I would request you personally that the time may be extended.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I am very sorry. I cannot accept this. The motion was earlier accepted by the House. The honourable Minister may have as much time as possible to cover all the points.

**Shri P. N. Kayal (Joynagar):** We have formally moved the motion. You put the motion to the vote of the House; otherwise, we are not going to proceed.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** The motion has been moved formally. There is no bar for that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Rule 338 of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of business in Lok Sabha reads:

"A motion shall not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the House has given a decision in the same session"

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** This cannot be interpreted under this Rule.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The matter may be raised when the Speaker comes here. The Speaker will decide it.

**Shri Khadilkar:** When the first decision was taken, the context was different. Under the present context you have every right to revise the earlier decision.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I cannot agree with Mr. Khadilkar. I will leave it to the Speaker.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** We have moved the motion and it should be put to the vote of the House. You have to take a decision.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Hathi:** I am rather worried, Sir. Yesterday the debate went on very well. Unfortunately, at the fag end of the day that unfortunate incident happened. I want to appeal to the Members that if we want more time we can submit it to the Chair. The Chair can consider it.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Can the Chair reject it outright?

**Shri Hathi:** I would appeal to the Members that let us not unnecessarily create this sort of thing. One by one the Members can submit their request to the Chair. So far as I am concerned, I am absolutely in the hands of the House.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** If the Speaker is to decide this, let the Marshal go and call him. Let the Speaker be called to the Chair.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Is it the sense of the House that Finance need not be taken up today?

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes, Yes.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I do not agree with this proposition that Finance Demands would not be taken up today. We had allotted 8 hours for Finance. That is why we took so much trouble yesterday to see that the time is adjusted in such a manner that neither the Home Ministry nor the Finance Ministry suffers for lack of time. Now, there is demand from the majority of the members of the House that some more time should be given for the Demands of the Home Ministry. That does not necessarily mean that Finance Demands would not be taken up today. Some other time should be provided and if necessary you may give the time of the Finance Bill; but Finance Demands should not be adjourned in order to provide time for the Home Ministry. I do not think that Members who are demanding for more time to be given to the Home Ministry want that Finance and Planning should not be discussed at all.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Yesterday one of his colleagues moved a motion that time should be extended for guillotine. Now, we are requesting through you the Speaker that time for Home Ministry should be extended because it looks absurd that on the same day in three hours two Ministers are replying to the debate. Then, there is no debate at all and they are replying in the vacuum. I request that the time schedule be revised.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry that cannot be done. The House has already taken a decision that all the Demands should be guillotined today by 5 o'clock. There is no agreement also for extending the time. Mr. Dwivedy is raising objection.

Objection has come from Shri Dwivedy to the effect that whatever may be the time extended for these Demands for Grants discussion, the Finance Ministry's Demands should be discussed. So I think we should stick to the original decision. The hon. Home Minister will be called upon to reply at 2 O'clock.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** With due respect to you, a motion has been moved and you have to put it to the House. There is no other alternative.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Under rule 338, it is barred.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** It is not so. I would request you to please stick to the rules. Do not treat us like children in this House. We are not to be treated like this. With all respect, I submit to you please listen to us and then give your ruling. It is not that you should not hear us and without hearing us, you should give your ruling. I say that Shri Dwivedy has not objected to our motion. He only says that the time for the discussion of the Finance Ministry Demands should on this account not be curtailed. Secondly, he said that Government should provide time for this. Therefore, he is not opposed to the motion. There is no disagreement. We have moved the motion. It must be put to the vote of the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Yesterday, this matter was considered. Shri Masani was definite that no time should be cut down from the allotment to the Finance Ministry Demands.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Nobody asked for that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am telling Members what happened yesterday.

Therefore, the House took a decision that the guillotine would be applied today at 5 O'clock. At the most, if the House agrees without opposition, we can extend the time for these Demands upto 5 O'clock. At 5 O'clock all the outstanding Demands have to be put to vote.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Upto 5 this can go on.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** No, no.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is objection from Shri Dwivedy.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Let me clarify my objection.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have understood it.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** As you suggest now, if this proposition is accepted, as a result of it the Finance and Planning Demands would not be discussed at all in the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That will be the result.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I think that will not be proper. We have given as many as 12 hours for these Demands. I do not object to giving more time for these, if necessary, if there is a general desire in the House. But that should not mean that Finance and Planning will remain undis-

cussed. You should call the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs here. He must give us more time. The guillotine should not be applied at 5 O'clock. Then there will be time available for discussion of the Finance Demands. Unless that is done, I cannot be a party to this decision.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** So far as that is concerned, the House has taken a decision yesterday. We cannot go against it.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** The House can revise its decision.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** You have already ruled, just before calling the adviser of the Secretariat, that we can revise our decision.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I submit in all humility that yesterday we took a decision in a certain context. Now a new situation has arisen. That was not there when the earlier decision was taken. I would urge upon you—and I am sure all my hon. colleagues will agree with me—that some more time must be given for these Demands because certain basic issues have been very wrongly interpreted here, which will have very serious consequences in a number of ways, if they go unreplied. I would appeal to Shri Dwivedy also. What are two hours for discussion of Finance and Planning? They are nothing.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If the House agrees, I am prepared. But Shri Dwivedy is objecting.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Yesterday, Shri Kamath, anticipating all these difficulties, brought forward a compromise formula by requesting Dr. Singhvi also to agree to the holding over of non-official business next Friday and devoting that time for these discussions. But it was not agreed to. Now a new situation has arisen. We do not want that the Finance Demands should not be discussed or

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that Planning should be skipped over. At the same time, we support the demand of Shri Azad and all the other Members that the time should be extended for these Demands. It is something surprising that when the House wants to have more time because of certain serious implications which have arisen yesterday, that is being resisted. We want to discuss all these Demands for Grants. Let the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs be here. Let the compromise formula, which was undone by the majority yesterday, be revived.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Let that formula be revived.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** On a point of order.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House has already taken a decision.

श्री श्रीकार लाल वेरवा (कोटा): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है...

**Shri P. R. Patel:** My point of order is this. A motion has been moved for extension of time. It is before the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is not moved. It is barred.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** You asked: Is it the sense of the House and so on. You said those words. We cannot allow the rule to be infringed like this.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** It has been moved. The House is seized of it. The only course open to the Chair is to take a vote on it, nothing else.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I request the Chair. You are in the Chair. Please have respect for the rules. A motion has been moved. As Members of Parliament, we feel that the rules should not be infringed. You have accepted the motion. The only alternative for

[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]

the Chair under the rules is to put it to vote—yes or no. We cannot do otherwise.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : कोई चालीस पचास मंत्रों ने जो शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के हैं और दूसरे भी हैं, वक्त बढ़ाने के लिए आपको दरखास्त दी है। अभी मन्त्री महोदय बिना डिबेट हुए ही जवाब देने लग गये थे। अगर वक्त पांच छः घंटे बढ़ाया जाता है तो वह शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लिए मिलना चाहिये। टाइम जरूर बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** So far as extension is concerned, the House has already taken a decision yesterday. All these points could have been urged when the Speaker was in the Chair then (*Interruptions*). The motion now moved is barred under rule 338. The rules were framed by the House, accepted by the House and they should be observed by the House. Under those rules, this motion is barred. I cannot accept it.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : हाउस अपने फैसले पर फिर से विचार कर सकता है।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If Shri Dwivedy has no objection, I am prepared to extend it upto 5 O'clock including the Minister's reply.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I have absolutely no objection, provided time is found for discussion of Finance and Planning.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I agree that the House should not break its own rules framed by it. What we are insisting upon is just that. A motion has been moved in the House. There is no question of its being barred because the House has taken a decision yesterday. You asked: Is it the desire of the House that the time be extended? Please see the proceedings. The

motion is before the House. We are pleading with you that you should also respect the rules. I am joining you in the plea that you made to us by saying the same thing to you. Please respect the rules. The motion is before the House. Please take the vote of the House. There is no other alternative.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will read the rule—

"A motion shall not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the House has given a decision in the same session".

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** This is not identical.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I cannot accept the motion. Shri Sezhiyan.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** It is not identical. Please respect the rules. You have already given a ruling that it is not identical. After that, you have to put the motion to the House. Please respect the rules, and do not allow the House also to break its own rules. We stand on that principle.

**Shri Paliwal (Hindaun):** I think the situation can very well be met if we can just call the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. If he agrees, we can have one day more for these Demands.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** But the Minister is not here.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** The Deputy Chief Whip is present.

**Shri Rane:** Yesterday, the whole question was discussed and we came to a decision that all the outstanding Demands would be guillotined today at 5 O'clock.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That is what I have said. But Shri Dwivedy objects.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** The difficulty can certainly be solved if the Government agrees that the non-official business scheduled for next Friday is postponed to some other day, next Wednesday. We can extend the time and the guillotine need not be applied, that is the opinion of the House but Government says "no". Let them agree, otherwise I do not agree to the proposition. They have pressed for voting and division on this very reasonable request.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** We agree with this suggestion, and the Deputy Chief Whip can be no substitute for the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let the Minister Minister of Parliamentary Affairs come. Shri Sezhiyan.

**Shri Sezhiyan (Perambalur):** We have moved several cut motions, but considering the limited time at my disposal, and also in view of the fact that many speakers preceding me have discussed the various aspects such as prevention of corruption, communal harmony etc., I will concentrate my attention on only one factor, namely the medium of the UPSC examinations.

The recent proposal of the Government to make Hindi an alternative medium for UPSC examinations has caused much apprehension and fear in the minds of the people in the South, and also in other non-Hindi areas.

I do not want to discuss here the whole question of the official language. It is a wider and also a fundamental question, on which we hold some strong views. We want a re-appraisal of the whole language issue. We feel that grave injustice is being done to the non-Hindi people in this way, and we also feel that we are being relegated to the position of second-grade citizens in this country.

I will not try to cover the entire field of the language problem, but concentrate my attention and references only to this particular question of the

medium of UPSC examinations. I shall invite the attention of the House to only certain aspects, certain assurances given by the Government, certain decisions taken, and enquire whether they have respected those assurances and those decisions already taken by them.

It is a very vital question, and it has been hanging fire for a long time. Time and again this question has been taken up in the House and many replies given.

I will invite the attention of the House particularly to a resolution passed by the All India Congress Working Committee on 5th April, 1954. The All India Congress Working Committee met in Delhi and passed a resolution on this vital issue of the competitive examinations in India.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I rise on a point of order. Whenever a Member approaches you, the Marshal should not come between you and the Member. Is it right for him to do so and ask the Member not to approach you and not to talk to you? We have seen him at least half a dozen times behaving like this. We protest against this behaviour of the Marshal. Just now a Member approached you, and he asked the Member not to approach you and not to talk to you. This is not fair.

**An Hon. Member:** Every time he does like that.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** We protest against this to you, Mr. Deputy-Speaker.

**An Hon. Member:** It is protection for the Deputy-Speaker.

**Shri Sezhiyan:** In the resolution passed by the All India Congress Working Committee on 5th April, 1954, the second paragraph states:

"The Working Committee recommend that progressively examinations for the All India services should be held in Hindi, English and the principal regional

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languages, and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations."

This resolution is very categorical and very clear. If the medium of examination is to be changed, this resolution of the All India Congress Working Committee states that the examination should be held in Hindi, English and the principal regional languages. I would like to know why that portion of the resolution has not been implemented by Government while deciding to introduce Hindi. I have nothing against Hindi as such, but my objection to the introduction of Hindi is that the same favour is not shown to all the other languages also, as has been clearly and categorically accepted by them.

Some may think why I should harp so much on a resolution of the All India Congress Working Committee, some may think that though the Congress is the ruling party, every resolution of the Congress Party need not bind Government, but I have got a stronger basis for referring to that resolution.

On 2-5-1955, while answering a Calling Attention Notice, the late Pandit G. B. Pant, the then Home Minister laid a statement on the Table of the House, wherein, on this question of the medium of the UPSC examinations, he said:

"Government have decided to be guided on the subject by the principles contained in the resolution entitled 'Examinations for All-India Services' which was passed by the Congress Working Committee on the 5th April, 1954."

I am asking for neither more nor less than the implementation of the resolution that has been passed by the All India Congress Working Committee.

which has been taken as the policy of the Government of India as announced by the Home Minister on 2-5-1955 which categorically states Government's desire to be guided by the principles mentioned in that resolution; and those principles are that Hindi, English and the principal regional languages should be taken as the medium for the All India Services examinations, and the candidates should be given the option to answer in any of these languages. Therefore, I would state with all humility that the Government should respect the decision taken by them, the assurances given by them.

The other day when a question was put here, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs was pleased to say that it was not feasible to introduce other languages. If it is not feasible now, why was an assurance given a few years ago? It was not given in a hurry. In April, 1954, the All India Congress Committee passed a resolution, and in May, 1955, after a year, after well considered thought, Government came to the decision to give effect to the Congress Working Committee resolution. If it is not a feasible one, why was an assurance given at all? If it is practicable, why not implement it? If you say the resolution has been accepted and not implemented, it shows political inconsistency; if I may use a harsher word, it amounts to political dishonesty. If you say it is feasible, but not implemented, it shows administrative incompetence. Either way it is a bad thing, and I would request the House and the Government to go by the decision taken by them.

I am not going into the fundamental question of the official language and all that, but here you have taken a decision, you have accepted a certain principle. Implement that decision and that principle, that is all I ask.

These fears and apprehensions of the non-Hindi areas were well expressed even at the time this question was taken up in the Constituent Assembly. I shall quote one or two persons who gave vent to their fears and apprehensions when this matter was considered in the Constituent Assembly in 1949. I shall not quote Members like Dr. Subbaroyan and others who come from the South, but some others who have taken the same view.

One Mr. B. Das, representing the Orissa, General Constituency, speaking on the official language,—I do not know if he is the same person who is a Governor now— said:

“The fears and suspicions that we harbour today were harboured by us till a couple of years ago when the officialdom was manned by the Britishers and the Civil Service examinations were conducted in London. Naturally, the Englishmen preponderated in service. Now that the Civil Services and other examinations are being held in Delhi, naturally hereafter the Hindi-speaking provinces (I am not talking of the immediate future, but of fifteen years hence) the people of the Hindi-speaking provinces such as U.P. and C.P. will preponderate in the Civil and other services of our country.”

I can quote another person. Shri Shankar Rao Deo, coming from Maharashtra, then Bombay, was more clear and categorical when he said:

“People come from the South and they speak Hindi because they came here for bread. After all it is for bread that people quarrel... Apart from the difficulty of learning a language, people are afraid that in Secretariat and in the offices they may be pushed out, not by superior men, but because they are backward in a particular language. You must

admit that however much a person may learn Hindi or Hindustani or any other language, unless it is his mother-tongue, unless he uses it all the 24 hours, he cannot master it. And unless he masters it, he cannot have a superior or high position in Secretariat or in any other field. I know the difficulty of the friends from the South.”

This is the view expressed not by a person coming from the south but by Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, coming from Maharashtra. He was even more categorical and strong when he said: “If you feel that this country requires one language and the regional languages, whatever may be the past or present, must go, you may say so and people speaking the other languages know at least where they stand. Let them be told what position you are going to accord to the regional languages; whatever be their past you would be pushing them out of India. We will know where we stand”. When you take a decision to allow all the languages for the UPSC examination, when the time comes for according that position, you say that it is not feasible. I would like to know why such a stand is being taken.

14.00 hrs.

My fears and apprehensions are not unfounded. Introduction of Hindi as the medium has caused much apprehension in the minds of the people in the South. I would like to say one thing more. A candidate who wants to appear in the UPSC examination for IAS or IFS has three compulsory subjects and three optional subjects and two more additional subjects. There are 30—35 optional subjects out of which he has to choose three. Some of them are: applied mathematics, geography, statistics, British history, pure mathematics, international law, political science, English literature, physics, mercantile law, advanced accountancy and auditing, etc. Hindi is

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also one of these subjects, apart from Sanskrit. No other regional language can be taken as optional subject. A person knowing Hindi can take it as one of the three optional subjects while a person knowing any other regional language cannot take that regional language as one of the optional subjects. But I have to take applied mathematics or statistics or Hindi one of the other subjects. I collected statistics of the marks obtained in the last examination, in 1962. 5391 candidates appeared in that UPSC examination and I calculated the average marks scored in each subject. I took only those subjects where more than 100 persons appeared, as the average of subjects in which only two or three students appeared will not be a correct comparison. If one man passes say, in Latin, it will be a hundred per cent pass and if one man fails, it will be a hundred per cent failure. I find that the average percentage of marks in applied mathematics was 28; in geography 30, statistics 31, British history—33; pure mathematics 34; international law 35; political science 35, English literature 36; physics 37; mercantile law 37; advanced accountancy and auditing 38; Indian history—38; chemistry 38; general economics 39; law 40; philosophy 41; Sanskrit 42; world history 43; Hindi 46. That means, that the students who took Hindi as an optional subject were on an average able to secure 46 per cent compared to 28, say, secured by those who took applied Mathematics. In competitive examinations lower by 18 marks means lower by so many hundreds of ranks. My point is that with different gradations and different valuations, such things have happened in 1962. In a competitive examination, everyone should be on the same footing; every one should have equal opportunities and equal chances. I have no objection if you extend the same facility in respect of Tamil or Telugu, Malayalam or Kannada, Bengali or Gujarati and Marathi. Then everybody will be on the same foot-

ing. It is no use arguing that the people of one place or State are more intelligent and that they can master everything. Even this mastery has come at stake now because in the recent list published of the 135 successful candidates hardly 15—20 are from the south. Usually there used to be a higher percentage of the South. I am not questioning the examinations or the results..... (Interruptions.)

14.07 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Suddenly it has dropped down. I am not saying that suddenly the intellectual development of the south has come down or that the examinations have become more difficult so that these people could not answer them properly. I would like to ask the hon. Home Minister to consider the entire matter and see how there has been this sudden collapse. When we organise any of these things we should see that equal chances are given in a race. Whenever we arrange a race one should not be asked to run a hurdles race and another a free run. This is what is happening in the non-Hindi speaking States. There should be equal opportunities of employment for all. That was the decision taken by the Home Ministry in 1955. I have also cited the earlier resolution. I have already shown from a statistical analysis of the marks what the position has come to be. Therefore, I request the Home Minister through you, Mr. Speaker, to go into this question and to put into practice what is preached. If we do not put into practice what we preach, it is also another form of corruption and our Home Minister who has taken a solemn vow to fight corruption should put an end to this sort of thing happening and the non-Hindi speaking States should be given their due place in this country.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Minister.

Some Hon. Members rose—



**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, we request you to consider this. When you were not in the Chair, we had raised a point of order and this House asked for the extension of time. The Deputy-Speaker quoting rules said that because it had been decided, yesterday, it cannot be raised again. Ultimately after our saying, the Deputy-Speaker put the motion to the House saying: is it the desire of the House to extend the time? It was after a long discussion. Now, when the motion has been put to the House, we ask a ruling from you whether it is left to the Chair to withdraw the motion from the House or to put the motion to the House that time should be extended. He has already done so. Therefore, we request this ruling from you. Once a motion is put to the House, is it the sweet will of the Chair to withdraw the motion from the House?

**Mr. Speaker:** Has it been proposed to the House?

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes, yes.

**Shri Basappa (Tiptur):** The time may be extended.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not clear yet as to what has happened.

**Shri Basappa:** Many Members want to speak, and so the time may be extended.

**Mr. Speaker:** Is it the desire that we should extend the time for the Demands of the Home Ministry?

**Several Hon. Members:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** How far can we go?

**Shri Khadilkar:** As a compromise, it was suggested that we should go up to 5 O'clock and we should stick to the schedule for the guillotine. As Shri Dwivedy said, to enable us to discuss the Demands under the Ministry of Finance and also Planning, the time may be extended until tomorrow.

**Mr. Speaker:** That would not be possible, as yesterday that decision was taken definitely.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** We want two hours more for the debate on this Ministry's demands. How we do it, we leave it to you.

**Mr. Speaker:** That means that the other Demands shall not have time.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** I have my objection. This question has already been raised. These hon. friends want the time for this demand should be increased and that the discussion should be extended. But, at the same time, as you know, all these matters were discussed threadbare yesterday, and in order to find some accommodation for these Ministries, an extra time, we had suggested that the guillotine should not be applied at 5 O'clock, but in spite of that, the decision was taken. So, the only alternative before, is either that decision has to be changed, that is tomorrow the guillotine should be applied, or, we follow what has been already decided. I object to this, namely, of again revising the decision, and omitting the Finance Ministry altogether. If, by the force of majority, as they decided yesterday, a reasonable demand was rejected, and again by the force of the majority it is going to be decided that the time should be extended for this Demand, and the most important Ministries—Finance and Planning—are not to be discussed at all, I think this will be unfair, and it would be difficult for parties like us, for Members like us, who are not in a majority, to submit to these things, and probably it would be useless for this House to function in this manner.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** May I submit for the information of Shri Dwivedy that we do not want to apply the majority rule. I may say for his information that yesterday I was one among those few Congress Members who voted for the motion. Therefore, on such matters, we never try to apply the majority rule. What I say is, yesterday, on our part, we tried to persuade the

[Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad]

other side also, but we could not; they voted for the motion that the time should be extended. Today, when we ask for the extension of time, Shri Dwivedy does not oppose even now the extension of time for the Home Ministry. What he says is that the time for Finance and Planning should not be reduced. I agree with him. The point is, how this time should be got.

The general feeling of this House on this side is this. Not that many have not spoken. Most of them have already spoken and they have no grievance. But Shri Prakash Vir Shastri was one among the learned Opposition who is supporting us. (*Interruption*). What I say is, on many an occasion like this, you have tried to find time and have adjusted with the Government. We again request you on this occasion to find out some formula and give us two more hours, up to 5 o'clock today. This is my first request.

My second point is this: pending this, I requested for your ruling on the important point to which I referred, that is, the House should not be made a party to a breach of the rule when the Deputy-Speaker put the motion before this House, namely, "Is it the desire of the House that the time should be extended?" I still stick to it.

**Shri Bade (Khargone):** My submission is this. I quite agree with Shri Dwivedy, but, at the same time, if they want time, the time may be given. But then time for Finance and Planning should also be given. The motion was put before the House yesterday and also today. Shri Dwivedy said that time for Planning and Finance should be given. Of course, he objected to a revision of the decision. There has been so much of discussion about the whole affair—whether the motion was put or not—and the whole point was discussed here. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Miscellaneous discussion will also take up the time available for the Demands. We will be deprived of the time.

**Shri P. N. Kayal:** Sir, on a point of order. The desire of the House is to discuss the problems of the Home Ministry, the Home Affairs. If this opportunity of discussion is not given to us, how can we vote in favour of this Demand?

**Mr. Speaker:** That is obvious. The House has always placed a limitation on itself and has exercised self-restraint. Therefore, if the House wants time, and without its getting that time, or that extension, the House cannot vote, then the other limit is, at 5 O'clock the guillotine should be applied. We cannot just exceed that time. That has to be done.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Why not?

**Mr. Speaker:** We have made that attempt.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** There will be no difficulty if we agree on this point? Since, as you say, if the House agrees now that we should have more time for discussion, I do not think that the date that we have fixed for the passing of the Finance Bill, that is, 21st of this month, is going to be upset in any way if the guillotine is applied not today but tomorrow. That can be done. I think that is the sense of the House, taking all these points into consideration. I am glad that you took the trouble to come here but the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs should also have been here, when the whole House is exercised over this problem. The discussion of non-official Resolutions should be taken up on Wednesday and the guillotine should be applied tomorrow, so that we can take up the Demands of the Finance Ministry also. It is within the rights of the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have no objection; of course, whatever the House decides, is followed. But the House should not be taken—I do not say of any individual—as being whimsical in this respect, since only yesterday we took a decision, and today, if we change that decision . . .

**An Hon. Member:** The House is supreme.

**Mr. Speaker:** Am I to take it upon myself that I am supreme? What impression shall we give? It may be that we are so whimsical and changing in that yesterday we took a decision and today we want to change that decision. According to the rules also, one decision should be changed in the same session, and of course, so soon. I am sorry that the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is not here. Perhaps the Home Minister can help us.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** We had requested the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs since long, but he is not available. It is now for you to decide. We had requested the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs long before.

**Mr. Speaker:** Cannot the Home Minister help?

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** Only yesterday, we had taken all these factors into consideration and arrived at this decision. But something has happened in this House in the meanwhile which has completely upset the schedule and because of this there is the demand for extension of time. I think in view of the changed circumstances, the House will be justified in taking a decision.

**Mr. Speaker:** Even if we extend the time by two hours, there will be very few speakers who can be accommodated. The same difficulty will arise. If we continue in this manner, in the Finance Bill also, the same speeches can be made as are intended to be made during this debate.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** May I in all humility make this point? Yesterday, by your leave, I made a concrete proposal, but unfortunately, yesterday, the House was not willing. Today, however, I find that the at-

mosphere is propitious and the House is willing to consider my proposal. The very fact that the House is sovereign, rather supreme, shows that we can change the earlier decision, that the House which took a decision can, if I may say so, revise its own decision. The emblem or the token of supremacy, or the test by which the supremacy of the House is judged lies in the fact that it can revise its own decision. I, therefore, suggest this; again I make the proposal, namely, two hours and a half . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes; I have understood it.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The latter part was not made clear. The two and a half hours set apart for the non-official business.—Resolutions—on Friday may kindly be permitted to be shifted to Wednesday, the 22nd. Therefore, if that is done, we can have the whole of tomorrow for Finance and Planning till 4 O'clock and at 4.30 we can start the Finance Bill. So, the 17½ hrs. allotted for the Finance Bill will not be altered.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I want to submit that certain things have come up yesterday when you were not here and all that has been said has gone unreplyed to. Those things have to be replied to by Members from particular States. When the Minister replies, he will take into consideration what has been said and also the reaction of the Members. So, it is for this reason that I request that the time may be extended.

**Mr. Speaker:** If that be the only contention, if one Member wants to say anything particular, I can allow him.

**Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana):** It has been mentioned here that this House is sovereign and supreme. Nobody finds any fault with that proposition. We all agree that this House is supreme and sovereign. But this House is also something else.

[Shri Kapur Singh]

This House is also a conscientious lot. Therefore, it is only legitimate that the Members desire that they should speak first before being called upon to vote. But the House is something else also. It is an honourable House. If this House has previously made some kind of a formal decision as to the limitation on the time with regard to the discussion on the demands, then that also becomes to a certain extent binding upon us.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Let the Minister agree, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am giving him time so that he may prepare himself.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Yesterday, anticipating all this, Mr. Kamath had a compromise formula, rather a very concrete formula. The House in its wisdom—the majority group in this House rejected that motion. Now we are of the opinion that that is the only solution and the Government should not have any objection. They should not reject it merely on the ground that the majority is with them. Most of the ruling party Members are also in favour of extension.

**Mr. Speaker:** That request is rather coming from that side; he should not advance it.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** I am pleading not only for extension of time, but I want that the Finance Bill's time also should not be eroded and we should get opportunity. I think Mr. Kamath's formula is the only feasible formula which should be accepted by the House.

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल) : समय को इस तरह से बढ़ाते जाना व्यर्थ है। वही बातें कहीं जायेंगी। आखिर कोई विशेष नई बात तो कहीं नहीं जायेगी। समय को इस प्रकार से बढ़ाते चले जाने का अर्थ तो केवल अपने दैनिक भर्त को बढ़ाना है।

**The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha):** Sir, I must apologise to you and to the House that I was not present when this was being discussed. To be frank, I have not yet been able to follow what the demand of the House is. Yesterday this suggestion was made . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** It is the same proposition that is being put today.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** There are two things. One is extension of time. According to the schedule, the Home Ministry's demands will be over at 3.30 or 4. If the guillotine has to be applied at 5 o'clock and if the demand is that this Ministry's demands should be extended till 5, that is one part of the question. That can be easily done.

**Mr. Speaker:** They want that the guillotine should be applied tomorrow.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** I quite agree that whatever decision the House has taken, it has every right to reverse it also. There is absolutely no doubt about that. The House can do anything. It can liquidate itself also. Therefore, if the House wants to reverse its earlier decision, I am not going to stand in the way. My only difficulty is that one day will be gone.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** 2½ hours only.

**Mr. Speaker:** Their request probably is that the Home Ministry's demands may be concluded today at 5.30. Then we may take up the Finance Ministry's demands tomorrow and spend the whole day on it, and have the non-official business on some other day.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** It is not a question of 2½ hours, but 5 hours.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is 5 hours.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Originally 8 hours were allotted and

actually we are doing it in 5 hours. So, only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours more are needed to adjust. It is not one day.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Either my arithmetic is weak or the hon. Member's arithmetic is weak.

**Mr. Speaker:** A whole day is being asked for.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** They asked for 5 hours more than the time allotted because they do not want to erode the time allotted for the Finance Bill;  $17\frac{1}{2}$  hours must stand.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** We have reduced the time from 8 hours originally allotted to 5 hours.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member at least has made that mistake of extending the other demands' time. We have encroached upon them. Now we are faced with this difficulty that the whole time that was allotted for all the demands expires today. We want one other day.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** So, it is a question of 5 hours more. How is he arguing that it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours?

**Mr. Speaker:** That is being done in order to induce you to agree with it.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** I am not going to be duped this way that it is only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours. Let us understand it is absolutely 5 hours more. If the House wants to have 5 hours more I will have no objection.

**Mr. Speaker:** Is it the decision of the House that we should continue with the Home Ministry's demands till 5 o'clock and have 5 hours more? Is the whole House agreed to that?

**Hon. Members:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then we will have to suspend that rule.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** The Finance Bill must be put through in this House by the 21st.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** That will be done.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let me count whether there are  $17\frac{1}{2}$  hours up to 21st.

**An Hon. Member:** No, Sir.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** We are not prepared to take that risk; let me make it clear.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Members are not prepared to reduce time for the Finance Bill.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Let me make it clear that the Finance Bill must be put through in this House by 21st.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is not possible then. We ought to be clear. If  $17\frac{1}{2}$  hours are to be given, after today, we have 5 hours on Thursday,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours on Friday,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hours on Saturday and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours on Tuesday, the 21st. We can get only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours of non-official business out of that. That would mean that will not be able to finish it on the 21st.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I submit that the non-official business may be taken up next Wednesday instead of on Friday, the 17th.

**Mr. Speaker:** That would give  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours only. Where shall we find the other  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The House may sit till 6 o'clock everyday beginning tomorrow, Friday, Saturday and Tuesday.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is agreed that we will give  $17\frac{1}{2}$  hours to the Finance Bill. We will conclude it on the 21st and if there need be, we will sit extra time in order to give this additional time to the consideration of Home Ministry's demands.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** You have not said anything about the Finance Ministry's demands.

**Mr. Speaker:** We will apply the guillotine tomorrow. We will have to suspend that rule 338 today and go on with this Ministry's demands till 5.30 today.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I think it is rule 208 (2).

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** So, we are discussing the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Finance tomorrow?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** There should be a formal motion under Rule 388. The rule to be suspended is 208(2). Rule 338 is about revision of a decision. We have revised the decision already.

**Mr. Speaker:** He may move for the suspension of the rule.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I beg to move:

"That Rule 208 (2) be suspended."

I think it is rule 208 (2) if I am not mistaken.

**Mr. Speaker:** Rule 208 (2) says:

"(2) On the last day of the allotted days, at 17-00 hours, the Speaker shall forthwith put every question necessary to dispose of all the outstanding matters in connection with the demands for grants."

Yes, that is the rule to be suspended.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Sir, I beg to move.....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I have moved it already. You can move it now.

**Mr. Speaker:** There ought not to be any confusion about it. First, rule 338 has to be suspended and then rule 208 also shall have to be suspended.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Not the whole of rule 208, but only sub-rule (2).

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That rule 338 of the Rule of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha in its application to the motion for extension of time for the discussion and voting of Demands for Grants be suspended."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That rule 338 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha in its application to the motion for extension of time for the discussion and voting of Demands for Grants be suspended."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, is it the desire of the House that the discussion on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs should continue till 5.30 today?

**Several Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then, Rule 208 (2) shall have to be suspended.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That sub-rule (2) of rule 208 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha in its application to the disposal of all the outstanding matters in connection with the Demands for Grants today, be suspended and the time for discussion and voting of Demands for Grants be extended till the 16th April, 1964."

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That sub-rule (2) of rule 208 of the Rules of Procedure and conduct of Business in Lok Sabha in its application to the disposal of all the outstanding matters in connection with the Demands for grants today, be suspended and the time for discussion and

voting of Demands for Grants be extended till the 16th April, 1964."

*The motion was adopted.*

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What we lost yesterday, Sir, we gained today.

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Please do not talk in that strain.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It is not a good strain?

**Shri Satya Narayan Sinha:** Nobody has gained or lost.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I did not say "I gained". I said: "We". By "we" I meant the House collectively. You did not hear me properly.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** This only proves that the Minister is a democrat.

**Mr. Speaker:** Now, I think the hon. Minister should be called at 4:30 Will he take one hour or more than that?

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda):** One hour is enough.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then I shall call him at 4.30.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, देश के स्वतन्त्र होने के बाद जब अंग्रेज भारत से चले गये तो इस बात पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया जाने लगा कि अंग्रेजियत को कैसे कैसे धीरे धीरे भारत से विदा किया जाए। अंग्रेज जहाँ अपने साथ और बुराइयाँ भारत में लाये थे, वहाँ उन्होंने हमारे देश के सामाजिक और धार्मिक जीवन पर भी आक्रमण किया और करोड़ों अरबों रुपया देश में इस बात का प्रचार करने के लिए वे व्यय किया कि किसी तरह से इस देश की पुरानी पवित्र परम्पराओं और इस देश की संस्कृति को समाप्त किया जाए। स्वतन्त्र होने के बाद भी

वह बुराई जब बराबर चलती रही तो मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने नियोगी कमीशन की नियुक्ति की इस बात को देखने के लिए कि मध्य प्रदेश के आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में जंगलों में तथा पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों में विदेशी ईसाई प्रचारक किस तरह से करोड़ों रुपया व्यय करके वहाँ के लोगों का धर्म परिवर्तन करते हैं। इसी प्रकार की एक समिति मध्यभारत में वहाँ की तत्कालीन सरकार ने रेगे साहव की अध्यक्षता में नियुक्त की थी। इन दोनों समितियों ने जो अपनी रिपोर्ट दी थी, उनको कहीं तक व्यावहारिक रूप दिया जा सका है यह तो मैं नहीं कह सकता। लेकिन दोनों ने यह स्पष्ट लिखा है कि इस देश में करोड़ों और अरबों रुपये व्यय करके स्वतन्त्र होने के पश्चात् भी अभी तक विदेशी ईसाई पादरी भारतीयों का भारी मात्रा में धर्म परिवर्तन कर रहे हैं। कल नागालैण्ड का निर्माण भी इसी पट्टभूमि में हुआ। इसी कारण से केरल के राजनीतिक वातावरण में उथल पुथल पीछे देखने में आई थी। अभी पादरी स्काट और लन्दन में बैठे हुए मि० फिजो आदि व्यक्ति भी इसी प्रकार की कारवाइयाँ करते रहते हैं जो भारतवर्ष के लिए चेतावनी देने को पर्याप्त हैं। कुछ दिन पहले यहाँ पर मैंने एक प्रश्न पूछा था कि इस समय भारत में कितने विदेशी ईसाई पादरी हैं और विदेशी ईसाई पादरियों के द्वारा चलाये जाने वाले सघं कितने हैं और कितने उनमें विदेशी लोग काम करते हैं। गृह मन्त्री जी ने उत्तर देते हुए बताया था कि नौ हजार के करीब लोग ईसाई पादरियों के रूप में, डाक्टरों के रूप में, नर्सिस और दूसरे तीसरे रूपों में काम करते हैं। ये नौ हजार आदमी जो काम करते हैं उसके अतिरिक्त जो करोड़ों अरबों रुपया आज भी स्वतन्त्रता के सालह वर्ष पश्चात् धर्म परिवर्तन, व्यय होता है, वह भी तो हमारी आँखें खोल देने के लिए काफी होना चाहिये। वे अभी तक भी अपनी पुरानी आदत को छोड़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

### [श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

बाहर का अरबों करोड़ों रुपया आकर जहां देश के धार्मिक जीवन में हस्तक्षेप कर रहा है वहां देश के सामाजिक और देश के राजनीतिक में भी इनकी ओर से अनुचित हस्तक्षेप किया जा रहा है। जो इस देश के रहने वाले बहुसंख्यक लोग हैं, जिनको हिन्दू कहा जाता है, इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि शताब्दियों से और सहस्राब्दियों से उन्होंने अभी किसी का बलात् धर्म परिवर्तन नहीं किया है और न ही कभी किसी देश पर आक्रमण उसका धर्म छीनने की दृष्टि से किया है। लेकिन इतना होने के बाद भी स्वतन्त्रता के सोलह वर्ष बाद उन रूप्यों से प्रभावित कुछ लोग इस प्रकार के हैं जो भारत में और भारत से बाहर भी इस प्रकार का वातावरण पैदा करना चाहते हैं जिससे विदेशों में भारत की वर्तमान सरकार और इस देश के बहुसंख्यक लोगों को बदनाम किया जा सके। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि विदेशी पादरी जिनके खिलाफ हिन्दुस्तानी पादरियों ने भी आपको जापन दिये हैं और यह कहा है कि इनका भारतवर्ष में आना बन्द किया जाए और उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाए, क्या वैसा करने का समय नहीं आ गया है? साथ साथ जो अभी भी आ रहे हैं, उन पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगना चाहिये।

इतना ही नहीं कि विदेशी पादरियों और उनको रुपये जो बाहर से आते हैं उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगे लेकिन जो उस रुपये से प्रभावित मस्तिष्क भारत में काम कर रहे हैं, खास तौर से एंग्लो इंडियन लोग जो उस रुपये से भारत में विषवमन कर रहे हैं उन पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगना चाहिये। कल जो घटना यहां देखने को मिली, उसको देखते हुये मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि आप राष्ट्रपति जी को इस सदन की ओर से यह सिफारिश भेजें कि इस लोक सभा में जो भी सदस्य आयें, वे जनता द्वारा चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि आयें, राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा नाम-निर्देशित

या इसी प्रकार के दूसरे व्यक्तियों को प्रतिनिधि बन कर नहीं भेजना चाहिये जिनके द्वारा इस प्रकार के भाषण हों जिनका उद्देश्य देश की समस्याओं का समाधान करना न हो। बल्कि दूसरे देशों में इस देश की सरकार को और इस देश के निवासियों को बदनाम करना मात्र हो। मेरी निजी जानकारी में यह बात है कि कल एक विपला भाषण सायंकाल ऽब यहां पर हुआ, रात्रि को बी० बी० सी० से और पाक रेडियो से वह ब्राडकास्ट किया गया। इसी से आप अनुमान लगा सकते हैं कि भाषणकर्ता का उद्देश्य क्या था और किस दृष्टि से इस प्रकार के भाषण यहां दिये जाते हैं।

असम के सम्बन्ध में मैं अब कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी हमारे गृह मन्त्री असम गये थे। उन्होंने वहां की स्थिति को अपनी आंखों से देखा है। यों न केवल असम की स्थिति इस प्रकार की है वरन् हमारे देश के दूसरे राज्यों में भी लगभग स्थिति इसी प्रकार से बिगड़ रही है। लेकिन फिर भी मैं नन्दा जी से एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ। जिस समय वह असम गये थे तो क्या उनको इस प्रकार के जापन असम के कुछ राजनीतिक दलों की ओर से दिये गये थे कि इस समय जो असम में गवर्नमेंट काम कर रही है, उस गवर्नमेंट में मन्त्रिमण्डलीय स्तर के कुछ लोग इस प्रकार बैठे हैं जो अवैध रूप से आने वाले पाकिस्तानियों को प्रोत्साहन दे रहे हैं और उनके कारण लाखों की संख्या में ऐसे पाकिस्तानी भारत आ गए हैं और उनकी संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है? क्या उनको इस प्रकार के जापन भी असम के उनके दौरे के दिये गये हैं कि असम गवर्नमेंट के मुख्य पदों पर इस प्रकार के व्यक्ति बैठे हैं, जैसे आई० जी० पुलिस हैं, डायरेक्टर, सिविल डिफेंस हैं, चीफ सैक्रेटरी आदि जिनकी बजह से पिछले पन्द्रह वर्षों में लाखों की संख्या में पाकिस्तानी असम में आकर बस गए हैं? नन्दा जी ने कहा है कि हम चाहते हैं कि जल्दी से जल्दी उनको निकाला जाए।



लेकिन जल्दी निकालने की स्थिति करी आ सकती है इसको भी तो आप देखें। पहली बात तो यह है कि जो लोग मन्त्रिमण्डल में बैठे हैं, वे और उनके ही साथियों ने कुछ पहले कहा था कि अवैध रूप से आए हुए पाकिस्तानियों की संख्या केवल बारह हजार है। लेकिन लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी जब वह गृह मन्त्री थे, तब उन्होंने साहस करके कहा था कि उनकी संख्या दो ढाई और तीन लाख के बीच है। अब १९६१ की जनगणना के हिसाब से पता लगा है कि यह संख्या २ लाख २० हजार है। अपनी जानकारी के आधार पर आज भी मैं बलपूर्वक कह सकता हूँ कि यह संख्या सात लाख से कहीं अधिक है। अब किस गति से इनको निकाला जा रहा है, यह भी मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। असम के मुख्य मन्त्री चालिहा साहब ने १० जून, १९६३ को कहा था कि १ जनवरी १९६२ से ३० अप्रैल, १९६३ तक ७०३८ पाकिस्तानी अवैध रूप से भारत आए और उनमें से ११४४ को वापिस किया गया और १५०० को नोटिस दिये गये। ये सोलह मास के आंकड़े मैंने आपको दिये हैं। चालिहा साहब को सोलह मास जब इतने लोगों को वापिस भेजने में लगे हैं तो २ लाख २० हजार जो लोग आए हुए हैं, जनगणना के आंकड़े मैं बताता हूँ, इस हिसाब से उनको अगर वापिस किया गया जैसे असम की गवर्नमेंट अब कर रही है, तो मेरा अनुमान है कि उनको हटाने में कम से कम ४२ साल लगेंगे। और फिर ४२ साल में यह संख्या बढ़ कर भी दुगुनी हो जायेगी। आज जो स्थिति काश्मीर की बन रही है जैसे वह गले की हड्डी बन कर अटक गया है, कहीं उसी तरह से फिर असम दूसरा काश्मीर न हो जाये और मन्त्रिमण्डल में बैठे हुए लोग फिर शेख अब्दुल्ला का पार्ट भ्रदा न करें। श्री नन्दा को चाहिये कि इस बढ़ते हुए रोग को समय रहते वह समाप्त करें।

दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए शरणार्थियों के

सम्बन्ध में। वैसे तो स्थिति यह है कि न केवल पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से बल्कि भारत सरकार की दुर्बल नीति के कारण बर्मा से भी भारतीय उजड़ कर आ रहे हैं, श्री लंका से उजड़ कर आ रहे हैं, अफ्रीका से उजड़ कर आ रहे हैं, लेकिन पूर्वी पाकिस्तान का घाव इतना ताजा है कि उसका टपकता खून हमारी रानों से स्पष्ट दिखाई दे रहा है। इसीलिये मैं इसकी चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ। पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए लाखों लोगों को बसाने की समस्या का स्थायी समाधान यदि करना है तो उसका एक ही प्रकार है कि बिना यह सोचे हुए कि दुनिया हमको क्या कहेगी हम अपने देश की स्थिति को स्वयं सम्भालें। हमें पूर्वी पाकिस्तान सरकार से कहना चाहिये कि जितने लोग पहले लाखों की संख्या में उजड़ कर वहां से आ गये और जो अब उजड़ कर आ रहे हैं उनको जितने हिस्से में बसाया जायेगा उतनी जमीन भारत को पाकिस्तान से मिलनी चाहिये। यही इस समस्या का उचित समाधान है। यदि वे ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो फिर दूसरा तरीका यह हो सकता है कि जितने हिन्दू वहां से यहां आये उनके बदले में उतने पाकिस्तानी मुसलमान हिन्दुस्तान से पाकिस्तान भेजे जायें। आप मुझ से पूछेंगे कि जो यहां शान्ति में आकर बैठे हैं उन्होंने क्या गुनाह किया है कि उनको वहां भेजा जाये। मैं इसके उत्तर में पूछना चाहूंगा कि जो लोग वहां बैठे थे उन्होंने क्या गुनाह किया था कि इस तरह से उनको उजाड़ा गया और उनकी हत्या की गई। इसके सम्बन्ध में मेरे कुछ अपने सुझाव हैं।

**Shri Badrudduja** (Murshidabad):  
Sir, I rise on a point of order. The hon. Member, while referring to certain people who are coming from East Bengal, is at liberty to criticise the Pakistan administration. But, why should the Muslims of India be dragged into it? Sir, it is a very serious question and I want your ruling whether it can be referred to. We are also citizens of the same State; we are an integral part of the Indian

[Shri Burudduja]

nation. No hon. Member has the right under the Constitution to question our right to be here and to be entitled to the same status, same position and same privileges as are guaranteed to the rest of the citizens of India under the Constitution.

**Mr. Speaker** So far as I could understand the hon. Member, he was just saying that since a large number of members are coming over to India, we should ask Pakistan to surrender a portion of the territory.

**Shri Badrudduja:** He was referring to the Muslims of India.

**Mr. Speaker:** What did he say?

Did he ask that the Muslims of India should be sent there?

**Shri Badrudduja:** That is exactly—what he said.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** मेरा बड़ा स्पष्ट मुझाव था और मुझे बड़ी खुशी होती यदि श्री बदरुद्दुजा कल अपने भाषण में इस प्रकार की चर्चा करते कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में हिन्दुओं के साथ जो व्यवहार हुआ है वह नहीं होना चाहिये था और उसी प्रकार का व्यवहार जो यहां भी कुछ मुसलमानों ने कलकत्ता शहर में किया है वे उस को बुरा कहते . . .

**श्री बदरुद्दुजा :** मुसलमानों ने नहीं किया है ।

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** पाकिस्तान के जो हाई कमिश्नर दिल्ली में रहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान में इतने मुसलमान रहते हैं, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने वहां जा कर कभी कोई प्रदर्शन किया । मुझे इस बात की भी जानकारी है कि उन्हें परामर्श दिया गया कि किसी प्रकार से ये लोग सामूहिक रूप से इस प्रकार का विरोध करें । जो लोग आज दूसरों के साथ मिल कर कुछ ज्ञापनों पर हस्ताक्षर करते हैं उन्होंने अभी तक दृढ़ता के साथ उस पर कोई निर्णय क्यों नहीं लिया । सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि जो आज लाखों की संख्या में प्रवांश रूप से यहां था

कर लोग बस गए हैं पश्चिमी बंगाल में, असम में त्रिपुरा में, जब हम उन को निकालने की बात कहते हैं तो उन्हें क्यों दर्द होता है । जो लोग वहां से आये हैं और आकर जिन्होंने हमारे घर पर अधिकार कर लिया है, जब हम उन को निकालने की बात करते हैं जिस से कि हमारे उजड़े हुए भाइयों की समस्या का समाधान हो सके, तो उस में उन का तकलीफ क्यों होती है, जिस की वजह से हमारे देश का भविष्य धीरे धीरे अन्धकार मय होता चला जा रहा है ।

अगली बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में है । शेख अब्दुल्ला की रिहाई की जिस समय घोषणा हुई थी और इस सदन में उस की चर्चा आई थी, उस समय मैंने एक प्रश्न पूछा था । मैंने अपने प्रश्न में कहा था कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को जो रिहा किया जा रहा है वह क्या भारत सरकार के और अपने प्रधान मंत्री के असन्तुलित मस्तिष्क का परिचायक है । दूसरी बात मैंने पूछी थी कि क्या कोई बाहर का दबाव पड़ रहा है जिस के कारण शेख अब्दुल्ला को रिहा किया जा रहा है । उस समय अविभागीय मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने कहा था कि बाहर से हमारे ऊपर कोई प्रेशर या दबाव नहीं पड़ रहा है । लेकिन श्री चागला ने अभी तीन दिन पहले पटना में एक वक्तव्य में यह कहा कि अमरीका की ओर से हम पर कुछ दबाव पड़ा था कि अगर शेख अब्दुल्ला को इस तरह से रिहा नहीं किया जायगा तो हमारी समस्या और बिगड़ेगी । परन्तु इस से भी आगे एक और बात पूछना चाहता हूँ । श्री चागला ने क्या कहा और क्या नहीं कहा, अमरीका का दबाव हमारे ऊपर पड़ा या नहीं पड़ा, लेकिन मैं तो यहां पर भारत सरकार के दिमाग के उतार चढ़ाव की चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ । जब आप जानते थे कि पार्लियामेंट चल रही है, जब आप जानते थे कि उस समय काश्मीर

की विधान सभा चल रही थी, तो क्या दिक्कत आप को थी कि जिस आदमी को प्रयत्नपूर्वक आप ने काश्मीर का प्रधान मंत्री बनवाया था श्रेष्ठ को छोड़ने के पहलें उस काश्मीर असेम्बली में एक प्रस्ताव ला कर यह कहलवाने कि संविधान को धारा ३७० हटा दी जाय पार्लियामेंट चलनी रही थी, संकटकालीन स्थिति का लाभ उठा कर धारा ३७० को हटाया जा सकता था। और धारा ३७० को हटाने के बाद और सदर रिपॉसिट के हाथ में वहां का शासन देने के बाद अगर श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला को रिहा किया जाता लेकिन उस के बाद वह इससे भी ज्यादा जहरीले वक्तव्य देने नो में कहना कि उस से देश को और काश्मीर की घापी को किसी प्रकार का खतरा नहीं हो सकता था। यह हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की अदूरदर्शिता का परिणाम हुआ। जिस ढंग से मुकदमें में बिना निर्णय पर पहुँचे हुए आप ने गरीब जनता का साढ़े तीन करोड़ रुपया बरबाद किया, देश की जनता आप से पूछना चाहती है कि अगर गरीब जनता के बच्चों के मुँह से टुकड़ा छीन कर उस साढ़े तीन करोड़ रुपये से दस साल तक खिलावाड़ करना था तो उस का क्या परिणाम हुआ यह तो बता देते। दुनिया कल आप को क्या कहेगी कि इस मुकदमें में निर्णय के लिये बिना आप ने उसे छोड़ दिया। निर्णय लेने के बाद आप उस को छोड़ते। लेकिन फिर भी नन्दा जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ, आज देश के ४४ करोड़ जनता उन से यह पूछना चाहती है, कि श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला की रिहाई के लिये मुख्य रूप से जिम्मेदार कौन है। किस पर यह जिम्मेदारी है, हिन्दुस्तान के प्राइम मिनिस्टर पर है, हिन्दुस्तान के होम मिनिस्टर पर है या श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री पर है। आज इस बात को स्पष्ट बतलाया जाय, क्योंकि इस बात को छिपा कर रक्खा जाता है जिसकी वजह से यह ऐतिहासिक भूल हुई है।

दूसरी बात मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान सरकार क्या कुछ गलतफहमी

की शिकार हुई। श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला को छोड़ने से पहले क्या काश्मीर के वर्तमान अधिकारियों ने आप को कोई गलत आश्वासन दिये थे और यह कहा था कि श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला छूट जाने के बाद हिन्दू मुस्लिम इत्तहाद के लिये काम करेंगे, श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला छूट जायेंगे तो जमशेदपुर और रुरकेला में जा कर भाषण देंगे, श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला छूट जायेंगे तो धारा ३७० को हटवाने को कहेंगे, और इस भ्रम में आ कर आप राय दे बैठे कि श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला को रिहा कर दिया जाये। अगर यह बात नहीं थी तो बतलाइये कि किस तरह से यह काम हुआ।

तीसरी चीज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब गांधी जी को भी, जो कि देश के इतने बड़े नेता थे, अंग्रेज सरकार छोड़ती थी तो सुबह चार बजे किसी छोटे से स्टेशन पर ले जा कर छोड़ती थी। आप ने श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला को छोड़ते समय इतनी भारी पब्लिसिटी क्यों दी। क्यों दिल्ली से दावतनामे भेजे गये। क्या आप ने उन को निरापराध मान लिया जिस के कारण इतनी पब्लिसिटी की जरूरत थी और बड़े से बड़े अधिकारी को हवाई जहाज में बिठा कर दावतनामा ले कर भेजा गया कि जब श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला जेल से छूट कर आयें तब वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर्स हाउस में पहली दावत खायें। देश की इज्जत के साथ इस से ज्यादा कोई और खिलावाड़ नहीं हो सकता। अभी तो वह साधारण जहर उगल रहे हैं। मैं श्री नन्दा से चेतावनी के रूप में कहना चाहता हूँ कि असली विषवमन तो २३ अप्रैल को श्रीनगर ईद की नमाज के बाद वह जो भाषण देंगे उस में होगा। उस को श्री नन्दा सुनें। स्थिति धीरे धीरे ऐसी बपती चली जा रही है कि आप के हाथ से तीर निकल रहा है।

काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में केवल तीन विकल्प हैं या तो वह भारत के साथ रहे, जैसा कि हम निर्णय कर चुके हैं और संविधान की स्वीकृति है, दूसरी बात वह जिस का पाकिस्तान

## [श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

नारा लगता है और तीसरी बात यह कि काश्मीर स्वतन्त्र रहे। शेख अब्दुल्ला ने अब तक जो वक्तव्य दिये हैं वह यह तो ये नहीं कि काश्मीर घाटी का भारत के साथ विलय अन्तिम हो चुका है और धारा ३७० हटा दी जाये। वे पाकिस्तान के पक्ष में भी कुछ नहीं बोले थे। पर क्या परसों उन्होंने आप के किसी प्रेशर में आ कर ऐसा कह दिया कि वे कब कहेंगे हैं काश्मीर को स्वतन्त्र रखा जाये। पर आज फिर उन्होंने अपने वक्तव्य को बदला है। अब दिन रात शेख साहब के दिमाग में उतार चढ़ाव आ रहे हैं और इस प्रकार से वे अपने वक्तव्यों को बदल रहे हैं। आप निश्चय मानिये कि कल काश्मीर घाटी में पहुंचने के बाद वे कुछ और बात कहने लग जायेंगे। यदि उन की इच्छानुसार कोई निर्णय लिया गया और काश्मीर घाटी को स्वतन्त्र कर दिया गया तो याद रखिये कि हजारों जवान जो सन् १९४७ में काश्मीर घाटी की रक्षा के लिये बलिदान हुए थे, जिन की विधवाओं के आंसू पन्द्रह साल के बाद आज नहीं सूखे हैं वे आप से पूछेंगे ब्रिगेडियर उस्मान के अनाथ बच्चे जब आप से जवाब मांगेंगे। कैसे आप उन को सन्तुष्ट करेंगे। काश्मीर घाटी जाने के बाद क्या आप फिर लद्दाख को बचा सकेंगे। अगर लद्दाख निकल जायेगा तो आप मेजर शैतान सिंह की पत्नी को क्या जवाब देंगे, जिस को बुलवा कर कल आप ने परम वीर चक्र प्रदान किया था। और क्या जवाब आप देंगे डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी की आत्मा को, जिस ने काश्मीर को हिन्दुस्तान में मिलाने के लिये अपने जीवन का बलिदान दिया था। साथ ही सब से बड़ी बात मैं आप से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जवाब आप देंगे उस रूस को जिस के बीटो के अधिकार का इस्तेमाल कर के आप ने सुरक्षा परिषद् में कई बार अपनी इज्जत बचाई थी। उस को आप क्या जवाब देंगे। शेख अब्दुल्ला को छोड़ कर आप ने जो देश के साथ गलती

की है उस का क्या प्रायश्चित्त करेंगे। शेख अब्दुल्ला कहते हैं कि जवाहरलाल के साथ मेरा बड़ा प्यार है, जवाहरलाल से मेरी मुहब्बत है, लेकिन जवाहरलाल की मुहब्बत में मैं काश्मीर घाटी को, काश्मीर के लोगों को कुर्बान नहीं कर सकता। वही बात हम भी कहना चाहते हैं कि जवाहरलाल जी हमारे भी प्यारे हैं, लेकिन क्योंकि जवाहरलाल जी तथा शेख साहब में मित्रता है, हम उनकी दोस्ती के लिए हिन्दुस्तान और काश्मीर को कुर्बान नहीं कर सकते। जवाहरलाल जी के प्रति हमारा सम्मान है लेकिन देश के प्रति हमारा सम्मान जवाहरलाल जी के सम्मान से बड़ा है। इस स्थिति को हम अपनी आंखों से झोझल नहीं कर सकते। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस कार सरदार पटल का नाम ६५० रियासतों को मिला कर देश को एक बनाने के लिए अमर हो गया, उसी तरह से, अगर यह गलती हुई तो पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम इतिहास में देश में अनेकता की सृष्टि करने वालों में लिखा जायेगा। और इसे आप इतिहास से हटा नहीं सकेंगे।

मैं अपने वक्तव्य को उपसंहार की ओर ले जाते हुए एक बात विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ और मेरी इच्छा है कि आप मेरी इस बात को प्रधान मंत्री जी तक पहुंचा दें। अच्छा होता यदि वह यहां होते और मैं उन से ही यह बात कह सकता। जब से प्रधान मंत्री जी बीमार हुए हैं तब से मंत्रिमंडल की निर्णायक शक्ति लगभग समाप्त सी हो गयी है। आज इतने बड़े देश के ४४ करोड़ लोगों की किस्मत जिस सरकार के हाथ में है, उसकी कुर्सियों पर बैठ कर जो निर्णय लिये जाते हैं वे इसी तरीके के होते हैं जैसे कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को छोड़ने का आदेश धीरे से भेज दिया गया। अब भी यहां पर कुछ ऐसे वक्तव्य हो रहे हैं जिनके द्वारा शेख अब्दुल्ला के समर्थन में वातावरण तैयार किया जा रहा है। श्री

एंधनी जैसे सदस्य यहां भाषण दे कर पाकिस्तान के विदेश मंत्री श्री भट्टो और शेख अब्दुल्ला के लिए एक नये वातावरण का निर्माण कर रहे हैं। क्या उन को यह कमजोर हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार रोक सकेगी ? मैं चाहता हूं कि आप प्रधान मंत्री जी को हमारी ओर से बड़ी नगर्ना से यह बात कहें कि उन में हमारी श्रद्धा है, देश की जो उन्होंने सेवा की है उनके आगे हमारा मस्तक नत है, लेकिन अब जो प्रधान मंत्री अब्दुसस्य हुए हैं यह उनको प्रकृति की चेतावनी है और प्रकृति की इस चेतावनी को प्रधान मंत्री को बहुत दूर तक जा कर सोचना चाहिए। आज कुछ चापलस उनके चारों ओर एकत्र हो गये हैं। कुछ राजनीतिक नेता, एक विशेष राजनीतिक दल और कुछ राजनीतिक अखबार उनके कान में बराबर यह कहते रहते हैं कि आप के बिना देश नहीं चलेगा। मैं कहता हूं कि देश गांधी जी के बाद चलता रहा, सरदार पटेल के बाद चलता रहा तो नेहरू जी के बाद क्यों नहीं चलेगा ? प्रधान मंत्री जी अपने जीवन काल में ऐसा व्यक्ति उत्तराधिकारी बना कर जायें कि जिस को देख कर वह खुश हों और देखें कि मेरे हटने के बाद देश का काम और अच्छे ढंग से चलाया जा रहा है।

इस समय देश का सब से बड़ा अभाव यह है कि सरकार के पास तो नेता है लेकिन जनता के पास नेता नहीं है। गांधी जी के बाद जनता का नेता समाप्त हो गया। मैं चाहता हूं कि आप प्रधान मंत्री जी को यह राय दें कि वह सरकारी नेता बने रहने के बजाय अब अन्तिम समय में जनता के नेता बनें और इस तरह इस स्थान को किसी उपयुक्त व्यक्ति के लिए छोड़ दें। यह उन के स्वास्थ्य के लिए भी ठीक रहेगा और देश के लिए भी ठीक रहेगा।

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, while participating in the debate on the Demands of the Home

Ministry I would, at the outset, congratulate the hon. Home Minister, firstly, for the determination that he has shown to grapple with the problems since he assumed charge of this Ministry and, secondly, for displaying the sincerity that he means what he says. It is an entirely different thing that since he has taken over there are serious problems coming up in the country; all the more, the fact remains that his determination, will and courage to tackle those problems have won the sympathy and admiration of almost all in this House and outside.

The most important problem that has come up since he assumed charge is the problem of refugees coming from East Pakistan, or rather the attitude of Pakistan to squeeze out the minorities from that country. We have seen during the Calcutta riots how by his personal intervention he had corrected the whole thing. While I was travelling in a train from Calcutta to Pirpainti, Bhagalpur, I was talking to one man without knowing his identity. We were travelling by the same train. In the course of the talk he said that but for Nandaji's personal intervention and coming over to Calcutta things would have been much worse. It shows the determination of the Government of India, which is confirmed by his later visits to Jamshedpur and Rourkela; how the Government of India believes and not only preaches but also acts on the principle of secularism in which everybody has faith—the Prime Minister and this Government.

But it is unfortunate that when all these things are being done by the Government of India to tackle this problem and when it has won the admiration not only of Congressmen or those who support the Congress but of every section in this House, here comes a gentleman who says that every Muslim in this country walks under the shadow of death. What a shame! I think, Parliament is not the forum to degrade this nation, to humiliate this nation by this statement. He has said

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that all Hindus are communal. Not only that. Shri Kamath was not there. Majority of the friends were not there yesterday when it was said that all political parties are communal. This was a statement made in this House. I would ask Acharya Ranga to look into that. It is not out of sheer sentiment or something that we rose in revolt yesterday. We must say what we see. Democracy means the adjustment of different political parties. At times we shout at each other, but at no time either the Congress will allow the Opposition or the Opposition will allow the Congress to humiliate this glorious nation of ours. In spite of the determination of the Home Minister and the Prime Minister to curb that, yesterday we were told that. We have gone to the extent of having a separate Ministry. We have even offered to President Ayub to issue a joint statement which he refuses. In spite of that, again the Prime Minister approached that Government for the Home Minister's Conference; the conference is held; we give the maximum latitude to which some of us may disagree just now; still in spite of all these facts if that is said in this House, it is nothing but a piece of propaganda, rather a brief of Pakistan. To say that every Muslim in this country walks under the shadow of death. . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** 'Brief of Pakistan' would be too much.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I am sorry, if that is so. But I must say that to say like that is an insult, a humiliation of this nation. Therefore we would request our Government to consider as to what sort of persons should be allowed to be nominated to this House.

**Shri Bade (Khargone):** Pakistan will take advantage of it.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I appreciate the action of the Government for tackling this problem, but I would say to the Government not to try only

to remove the effect but it must also look to the causes. Unless the cause is removed, however much you may try it is impossible to wipe out the effect. The refugees are coming here because it is the organised policy of the Pakistan Government. It has been confirmed by the statement of Mr. Bhutto who has said that riots will continue to be there in that country till the Kashmir dispute is settled. He has said in that conference that because the minorities have been driven out of West Bengal or from India, serious repercussions are there and the refugees are coming out. What a shame! What a lie! It is nothing but an absolute lie and Pakistan Government has become adept in that. I think on the right occasion the Government of India will give a befitting reply to such lies.

I read the proposals that the Home Minister had made, and had placed on the Table of the House, during the talks that he had with the Home Minister of Pakistan. He has said there, namely:—

"India also indicated its willingness not to issue quit notices for two months if Pakistan were agreed to grant certain facilities for the migration of refugees from East Pakistan and enforce certain measures for establishing communal peace and harmony."

May I ask the hon. Home Minister most humbly whether establishing communal peace and harmony means surrendering the sovereignty of this nation? There are foreigners in our country, in Assam. All possible measures have been taken. Independent tribunals have given them full chance to prove that they are Indian Muslims. We are not in any degree, even in the smallest degree, wanting to hurt the feelings of Indian Muslims. They are as good citizens as we are. They are a part and parcel of this country. But in the name of this sentiment let not those foreigners be allowed in Assam to invade

our country and make this country an unsafe ground for us.

The Assam P.C.C. has passed a resolution in which it has said:—

"That a target date not later than March 31, 1965 to complete the deportation of the Pak infiltrants in Assam be announced and acted upon accordingly."

I think it is very reasonable and absolutely correct for the Assam P.C.C. and thereby for the Government of Assam to ask for a target date. If necessary, let the number of tribunals be increased. But no foreigner could be tolerated on our land come what may. It is also said what should be the basis. It is said that because some gentlemen have been there for 10 years, they should be presumed to be the Indian nationals. Am I to understand that a robber or a thief who is at large for 10 years should be treated as a gentleman? Because a foreigner has been in this country for 10 years and has been trying to befool us and has been exercising his right of vote, we should accept him as an Indian national. Absolutely not. The 1951 Register should be taken a basis as the ground for it. Let the number of tribunals be increased. It is but necessary that they should be deported from our land as soon as possible and it must be done by 31st March, 1965.

15:00 hrs.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** They can apply for citizenship.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Of course, that is there. It is their choice and they can apply for that.

I also support the demand of the Assam P.C.C. and I ask the Home Minister to consider this demand of the Assam P.C.C. which is extremely concerned with the activities of the office of the Assistant High Commissioner of Pakistan at Shillong. I request the Government of India to take necessary steps to close it forth-

with. I think the Government of India should consider on this matter as well.

I will again congratulate the Home Minister for the part that his Ministry has played in the discovery of the holy relic in Kashmir. Upto this part, this Ministry was responsible and, I think, they did well. They did well in tracing out the culprits though they have not been able to bring them to book. But, however, the people have been satisfied by the genuineness of the relic and I congratulate the Home Minister for that. The hon. Home Minister should not take note of a sheikh saying, what business had the Home Secretary of the Government of India, Mr. Viswanathan, to go about ordering the Kashmir Government? I think there are many sheikhs in Kashmir, in this part of the country, who will ask for Mr. Viswanathan and more other officers of the Government of India to go to that part of the country which is an integral part of India and to move about and see how law and order should be maintained.

I would not say why this decision was taken to release Sheikh Abdullah though as a small Member like myself had already my convictions. When some of the friends like Mr. Kamath and Mr. Nath Pai were raising their voice that he should be released. I sent a note to Mr. Nath Pai asking him "Are you sure, Mr. Nath Pai, when you demand his release, that Sheikh Abdullah has changed his attitude regarding the Independent Kashmir? Are you sure that he regards Kashmir as an integral part of India?" Mr. Nath Pai in his reply said, "I cannot say." And yet he did it. It does not matter . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I am sorry to interrupt. He has mentioned my name . . .

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I am only quoting one of his friends, I am not

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absolving the Government of India of their responsibility I am saying that there were friends on the other side....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** My stand has all along been that Sheikh Abdullah's views should have been ascertained beforehand on Kashmir's integration with India and also with regard to the abrogation of article 370. The Minister Without Portfolio said that it could not be ascertained because he was in jail. That is all I want to say.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I am happy to hear the views of my hon. friend Mr. Kamath. I do not know if he ever said about these qualifications before he is released. I do not know. The Home Minister will say that I am only saying this. Now he has been released and we are seeing what he is doing. I only request the Home Minister to be on his guard and alert and make full arrangements for law and order problem in Kashmir to see that this part of our country for the utterances of one sheikh is not allowed to plunge into something of a disorderly condition or otherwise. He has tackled the problem of communal harmony in other part of the country and he has tackled the problem of discovering the holy relic. Similarly, I hope, he will make full arrangements and see that for the utterances of a sheikh there are no disorderly conditions created and, if necessary—God forbid if something happens—he will make arrangements for sea shore or some other place for him where he will lie in rest.

**An Hon. Member:** Lie in rest?

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** I do not mean final rest. I mean only physical rest. I am sorry I did not mean that.

I will now come to a small question which is so much agitating the mind of Mr. Masani. The other day he devoted his entire speech to the pros-

cribed book *Peking vs. Delhi* by Patterson. I have not read the book fully. But I have some knowledge of that book, I can say with full amount of confidence that it is a dirty piece of lie, falsehood and idiocy. That book should be proscribed by the Government of India because it degrades the morale of the nation. It, of course, supports the policy of non-alignment. If that would have been the only thing, the Government of India would not have banned this. But in the cover of non-alignment, it is a dirty piece of lie, falsehood and idiocy and has tried to inculcate in the Indian mind such things which are absolutely baseless from the point of history and, therefore, the Government of India should stick to their decision to keep that book under ban and Patterson should know that no secular Government, no Government of the people, can tolerate such things. Well, Mr. Masani has developed certain good taste. He has got love for foreign investment; he has got praise for foreign Governments; he has got praise for foreign publications—all foreign he likes. Therefore, he wants a *laissez faire* economy in which foreign investors, foreign publications and foreign Governments will have a full play. I think we shall not allow that empire to come either through the back side or through the side door.

I now come to the last point and that is this that I must appreciate the determination of the Home Minister to fight corruption. Nobody can deny that we are suffering from this evil very much. We have done many good things. These three Plans, though not fulfilled according to our expectations, have gone a great way. But for this evil we would have done a lot more because the Plans though with very good objectives and ideals could not be implemented according to our expectations. Therefore, we have all this trouble now.



**Shri Shinkre (Marmagoa):** Do please try to deal with the causes which you referred to earlier.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** Well, my friend, please try to listen to me. I know you are older than me but you are younger in the House. I was saying that the implementation of the Plans could not be done because the Administration is not capable of implementing a socialistic society Plan. Corruptions are of many facets. The Vigilance Commission has been appointed now to deal with them. That is a very good thing. I welcome that decisions of the Home Minister and I wish the Vigilance Commissioner should have the full strength to deal with them. Not only the officers but also those men sitting behind big business tycoons whose moneys are roaming about and whose 2000 agents are running all over the country to corrupt must also be brought to book by this Commission. I also support the demand that political persons also either at the helm or at the bottom should be dealt with if they are corrupt. I am a Member of Parliament and if my wealth goes up many times which is not within my strength to have it and does not commensurate with my income, I should prove my *bona fides* as to from where I got the money. I have absolutely no objection about that. If there is any charge against a political person or even against any Minister, it must be enquired into.

I want to tell the Home Minister one thing more. I would request the Home Minister to see to the administrative machinery. The people at large in the villages do not judge your administration by Mr. Viswanathan or by Mr. L. P. Singh or by some Chief Secretary. They judge your administration by S.I., that is, the Sub Inspector of Police, by B.D.O. and by V.L.W., who are really stalking, absolutely preying, on the people. Everywhere you have to pay something before you get a thing done.

Therefore, the most important thing is that we must have a Ministry of Administrative Reforms, to examine how the reforms can be done. Unless that is done, the hon. Home Minister will not fully achieve success in his fight against corruption.

With these words, I congratulate him on his determination, will and courage, and I wish him all strength to tackle the problems of the country.

**श्री ज्वा० प्र० ज्योतिषी (सागर) :**

माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का बहुत शुक्रगुजार हूँ कि आप ने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बोलने का मौका दिया।

सब से पहले मैं होम मिनिस्टर को बधाई दूंगा और बधाई दंगा इस देश के नागरिकों को, जिन्होंने बड़े प्रोवोकेशन के बीच में इस देश में शान्ति और अमन को कायम रखा। इधर-उधर कुछ छुट-पुट घटनायें हुईं, लेकिन जिस मुस्तीदी के साथ होम मिनिस्टर ने और इस देश के निवासियों ने उस अशान्ति का दमन किया, वह इस बात का सबूत है कि इस देश की रियाया का विश्वास पूरी तरह से सकुलरिज्म पर है।

कल इस सदन में बार हम्म में बैठ कर काम करने वाले एक मित्र ने, जिन्हें इस देश की जनता से अधिक मिलने का मौका नहीं आता है, एक फतवा दिया कि इस देश में मुसलमान दिक्कत में हैं और वे अपने आप को मृत्यु की छाया में पाते हैं। मैं हजारों लाखों मुसलमानों से मिला हूँ। मैं देश की रियाया में थोड़ा बहुत घूमा हूँ। मैं ने उन से बात की है। उन की तरफ से मैं बड़े जोरों के साथ इस बात को कह सकता हूँ कि इस देश में एक भी मुसलमान असुरक्षित नहीं है। इस देश की जनता ने, इस देश के नौ-जवानों ने, इस देश के हर एक आदमी ने, इस बात का बीड़ा उठाया है कि हम इस देश में साम्प्रदायिकता के दैत्य को उन्मूलित

[श्री ज्वा० प्र० ज्योतिषी]

कर के रहेंगे। हम ने इस देश में एक फ़िज़ा बनाने का यत्न किया है—और हम चाहते हैं कि इस देश में रहने वाले सभी लोग, सभी विचारवान् मित्र, इस बात में हम को सहयोग दें—कि हम देश की रियाया को हज़ारों वर्षों के पाप को धोने के लिए प्रेरित कर सकें।

यह सही बात है कि इधर-उधर कुछ छुटपुट घटनायें होती हैं। पाकिस्तान में अगर कोई घटनायें होती हैं, तो उन की कुछ प्रतिक्रिया यहाँ पर भी होती है। आरि इस देश के निवासी भी मनुष्य हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि इस देश निवासी मनुष्यत्व के बिकास की सीढ़ियों पर चढ़ें। हम चाहते हैं कि उन के मन उन घटनाओं से प्रभावित न हों और वे इस देश की नीति को, इस देश के शासन की नीति को, मजबूती से पकड़ कर रखें। लेकिन साधारण जनता पर थोड़ा बहुत प्रसर होता है और उस के कारण इधर-उधर छुट-पुट घटनायें हो जाती हैं। लेकिन उन छुट-पुट घटनाओं के तिल का ताड़ बना कर इस देश की रियाया को दुनिया की नज़रों में गिराना इस देश के साथ ग़दारी का काम है।

एक वक्त अमरीका की एक मिस मेयो ने इस देश का इधर-उधर दौरा कर के इस देश के सम्बन्ध में एक गन्दी किताब लिखी थी। हम को अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि एन्थनी महोदय ने कल यहाँ पर जो भाषण दिया, उस भाषण में मिस मेयो की आत्मा की आवाज़ जैसी आवाज़ थी। उन को इस देश के अल्पसंख्यक लोग ख़तरे में नज़र आए। कौन अल्पसंख्यक लोग यहाँ पर ख़तरे में हैं? एन्थनी साहब हमारे बीच में शान्ति के साथ बैठ सकते हैं, बात कर सकते हैं, हम लोगों के साथ बैठ कर चाय पी सकते हैं, गप्प कर सकते हैं और इस तरह की बात भी कर सकते हैं। हमारे मित्र, श्री

बदरुद्दुजा, हमारे बीच में बैठ सकते हैं, एक मित्र की हैसियत से गम्भीर से गम्भीर विषयों पर बात कर सकते हैं, चर्चा कर सकते हैं। इस देश में हम ने सेकुलरिज़्म की नीति को मजबूती से—और अधिक मजबूती से—जमाने के लिए कदम उठाए हैं। ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि एन्थनी साहब और बदरुद्दुजा साहब जैसे माधियों का हम को और सहयोग हो, ताकि हम इस देश में और अच्छी फ़िज़ा बना सकें।

यह बड़ी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात हुई कि आसाम में पाकिस्तान के मुसलमानों का—शायद वे वहाँ पर दिक्कत में रहे हों—इनफ़िट्रेशन बड़ा। हमारा देश भी अपनी आबादी के प्रेशर के नीचे दबा हुआ है। इसलिए हम को मजबूर हो कर उन लोगों को यहाँ से हटाना पड़ा। इस के लिए हम लोगों ने वहाँ पर ट्रिब्यूनल बिठाए। हम नहीं चाहते कि हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी मुसलमान को तकलीफ़ हो। हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में रहने का उस का जो नैजिटिवेट राइट है, उस को बराबर उपयोग करने का उस को मौका दिया जाय। लेकिन बाहर का कोई भी प्रेशर हम बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए अत्यन्त दुःखित हृदय से हम को ट्रिब्यूनल और जजिज बिठाने पड़े, ताकि इस बात का इन्तज़ाम किया जा सके कि जो लोग अनावश्यक रूप से, अवैध रूप से, बाहर से यहाँ पर आ गए हैं शायद शरीबी की वजह से और शायद शैतानी करने और इस देश में विस्फोट पैदा करने की गर्ज से, उन को निकालने के लिए कदम उठाए जायें। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह कदम बहुत ज़रूरी है और किसी भी हालत में इन कदमों को पीछे नहीं हटाया जा सकता है। चाहे पाकिस्तान को नाराज़गी हो और चाहे एन्थनी साहब को नाराज़गी हो। चाहे किसी को भी नाराज़गी हो, लेकिन हम इस देश में ऐसे लोगों का इनफ़िट्रेशन बर्दाश्त नहीं

कर सकते हैं, जो हमारी सुरक्षा के लिए खतरा बन सकते हैं, जो हमारे अन्दर विस्फोट पैदा कर सकते हैं ।

मैं बहुत दुखी होता हूँ, जब मैं सुनता हूँ कि राउरकेला और टाटानगर में कुछ घटनायें हुईं । ये घटनायें हमारे लिए दुखद हैं । हम को और मजबूती इस देश में लानी है, ताकि इस तरह की घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति न हो सके । ये घटनायें दूसरे देशों को हमारी तरफ उंगली उठाने का मौका देती हैं । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री और हमारे होम मिनिस्टर ने इस बात का दावा किया है कि चाहे हम कितने ही टुकड़ों में विभाजित हों, चाहे हमारी कोई भी पार्टी हो, हम सब इस देश के नागरिक हैं । मैं कहता हूँ कि मैकुलरिज्म की नीति पर ही इस देश का वर्तमान और भविष्य निर्भर करता है । अगर हम चाहते हैं कि काश्मीर से ले कर कन्या कुमारी तक यह देश एक रहे, इस देश में रहने वाले लोग तरक्की कर सकें और यहां पर शान्ति और व्यवस्था कायम रहे, तो यह बहुत जरूरी है, यह एक बुनियादी आवश्यकता है कि मैकुलरिज्म के भाव को अधिक से अधिक मजबूती के साथ इस देश में स्थापित किया जाये । चाहे कोई हिन्दू महामाई हो, चाहे कोई आर० एस० एस० का आदमी हो, यह वक्त है कि हम रीथिंकिंग करें । हम इस देश के सभी नाथियों को आमंत्रित करते हैं कि वे अपनी पोलिटीकल फिलामिफी के बारे में रीथिंकिंग करें । इस देश की बुनियादी तरक्की के लिए यह जरूरी है कि इस देश में मैकुलरिज्म को मजबूती से लाया जाये ।

काश्मीर में इस समय जो कुछ हो रहा है, हम जानते हैं कि वह किम के इशारों पर हो रहा है । उन इशारों ने इस देश को विभाजित किया और अब वही हमारे इस देश में एक नया विस्फोट पैदा करना चाहते हैं । काश्मीर की जनता ने हिन्दुस्तान में शामिल होने का जो इरादा किया था, वह

पाक इरादा था, वह ठीक इरादा था । काश्मीर के लोग यह नहीं चाहते थे कि पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान के फौलादी बूट जिम तरह से पूर्वी पाकिस्तान को अपने पैरों तले रौद रहे है, उस तरह से वे काश्मीर की छाती का रोदें । इसलिए शेख अब्दुल्ला ने स्वयं निक्यूरटी कौमिल में जा कर यह कहा था कि हम ने अपने आप को हिन्दुस्तान में शामिल किया है और वह उचित भी है ।

आज जेल में बाहर आने के बाद वह और तरह की बातें कर रहे हैं । यह स्वाभाविक होता है कि उस आदमी के मस्तिष्क में एक झुंझलाहट पैदा हुई हो और झुंझलाहट के वातावरण में वह बाहर आ कर इस तरह की बातें करें । लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जेल से बाहर निकलने के बाद शायद वह वर्तमान परिस्थितियों को समझे । मुमकिन है कि समझे और मुमकिन है कि न समझे, लेकिन मुझे यकीन है कि काश्मीर की जनता उन का साथ नहीं देने वाली है । काश्मीर की रियाया उन की बातों को अच्छी तरह से समझती है । जैसे पहले उन का स्वागत हुआ था, मैं देखता हूँ कि अब वह स्वागत घट चला है और काश्मीर की जनता यह महसूस करने लगी है कि उन की बातें हमारे लिए हितकर नहीं होंगी ।

जो भी हो, मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि चाहे किसी के भी इशारे पर हो, इस देश में एक विस्फोट का वातावरण निर्मित किया जा रहा है । मैं अपने देश की सरकार को पूरी मजबूती के साथ आगाह कर देना चाहता हूँ कि उसे बड़े सख्त कदमों के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए । आज सारे देश के बार्डर अशान्ति और विस्फोट के ज्वालामुखी के कगार पर खड़ी हैं । हमें अपने देश की सारी सीमाओं पर, चाहे वह काश्मीर की सीमा हो और चाहे आसाम की सीमा हो, बहुत मजबूती से कदम उठाने चाहिये और अपने देश को सम्भावित खतरे का मुकाबला करने के लिए

[श्री ज्वा० प्र० ज्योतिषी]

तैयार करना चाहिये । अगर सारे बांडर एरियाज को राष्ट्रपति के डायरेक्ट शासन के अन्तर्गत लाने के लिए एक कमीशन की नियुक्ति की जाये, तो ज्यादा अच्छा हो । विचारवान् लोगों की एक सलाहकार समिति स्थापित की जाये और उस समिति को बांडर एरियाज का पूरा शासन दे दिया जाय । वर्ना मैं बह आशंका कर रहा हूँ कि बहुत जल्द इस तरह का विस्फोट हो सकता है, जिस से इस देश के लिए और आम-याम के देशों के लिए बहुत गम्भीर स्थिति पैदा हो सकती है ।

भ्रष्टाचार के सम्बन्ध में बहुत बातें कही गईं । मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि माननीय नन्दा जी ने इस विभाग की वाग-डोर सम्भालने के बाद यह घोषणा की कि हम दो वर्षों के अन्दर भ्रष्टाचार का उन्मूलन करके रहेंगे । भ्रष्टाचार हमारे देश की छाती का घाव है । मैं जानता हूँ कि दूसरे देशों में भी भ्रष्टाचार है, लेकिन जो देश मार्लिटी और सदाचार के आधार पर कायम है, जो देश गांधीजी जैसे महापुरुषों के पद-चिह्नों पर चला है, त्याग और तपश्चर्या जिन की राजनीति का आदर्श है, वह देश भ्रष्टाचार को बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगा । यहां वहां जब मैं जनता से मिलता हूँ, लोगों से मिलता हूँ तो वे भ्रष्टाचार का जिक्र करते हैं, उसकी चर्चा करते हैं जिससे वे परेशान हैं । प्रशासनिक भ्रष्टाचार की बहुत चर्चा सुनाई देती है । इस के उन्मूलन के लिए विजिलेंस कमिशन की स्थापना की गई है जो स्वागत योग्य चीज है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस का पथ प्रशस्त किया जाय और उसको अधिक से अधिक सहूलियतें दी जायें, ऐसी स्थिति पैदा की जाय जिस में वह अच्छी तरह से अपना काम कर सके । छोटे छोटे लोग धर धर अगर कोई गलती करते हैं, गरीब आदमी अगर गलती करते हैं, छोटे कर्मचारी अगर कोई गलती करते हैं तो वह भी बुरी चीज है, इस को मैं मानता हूँ । यह ठीक है । लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि उस खराबी को थोड़ी

देर के लिए बरदाश्त किया जा सकता है । लेकिन जो आदमी उच्च पदों पर आसीन हैं, वे अगर खराबी पैदा करते हैं, या बुराई करते हैं, तो उन को कभी भी बरदाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता है । उच्च पदस्थ व्यक्तियों को उन की यात्रा के लिए हवाई जहाज की सुविधा दी जाती है, फर्स्ट क्लास के सैलून उन को यात्रा करने के लिए दिये जाते हैं । अगर उन में से कोई भ्रष्टाचारी सिद्ध होता है तो उसे सख्त और ज्यादा दण्ड देने की भी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये । विजिलेंस कमिशन की सीमा को, उस के अधिकारों की सीमा को अगर आप चाहें तो आप बढ़ा सकते हैं या कोई और नया ट्रिब्यूनल अगर आप स्थापित करना चाहें तो वह भी कर सकते हैं । लेकिन उच्च पदस्थ व्यक्तियों में व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार का निराकरण होना आवश्यक है । उन के खिलाफ सख्त कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है ।

अब मैं भाषा के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ी सी बात कहना चाहता हूँ । मुझे अफसोस है कि भाषा की बात को ले कर हमारे दक्षिण के मित्र दुखी मालूम होते हैं और वे महसूस करते हैं कि हिन्दी को उन के उपर लादा जा रहा है । इस देश के निवासियों पर किसी भी किस्म की कोई भी चीज लाद कर के उन के स्वत्वों का अपहरण नहीं किया जाना चाहिये । इस को मैं मानता हूँ । हमें ऐसा कभी करना नहीं चाहिये । लेकिन उसके साथ साथ यह भी सही है कि विदेशी भाषा में कारोबार चलाते रहना, हमारे लिए लज्जा का विषय है । उस स्थिति में हम प्रजातंत्र को घर घर नहीं पहुंचा सकते हैं । जनता तक आवाज पहुंच सके और जनता प्रजातंत्र में पूरा रस ले सके, इसके लिए यह जरूरी है कि हम इस देश की भाषा को डिवेलेप करें ताकि शासन का सारा कारोबार उस के द्वारा किया जा सके । आज सुबह हिन्दी की सदन में चर्चा हुई थी । श्री श्री भी चर्चा हुई कि अगर आई० ए० एस० की परीक्षा हिन्दी में देने की सहूलियत दी जाती है,

हिन्दी को प्रश्रय देने का आप यत्न करते हैं तो उससे दक्षिण के लोगों को तथा अहिन्दी भाषा भाषियों को, बंगाल को तकलीफ होगी। हम किसी को भी किसी किस्म की तकलीफ नहीं देना चाहते। लेकिन यह भी सच है कि हम जरूर चाहते हैं कि जो भाषा हम ने राजभाषा स्वीकार की है, जो कि हमारे अपने देश की ही भाषा है और संविधान में भी हम इन बात का फैसला कर चुके हैं कि हिन्दी को यह स्थान मिलेगा, उसके बारे में हमें किसी किस्म का झगड़ा नहीं उठाना चाहिये, हमें कोई किसी किस्म का एतराज नहीं होना चाहिये। जब हम अंग्रेजी को बरदाश्त कर सकते हैं तो कोई बजह नहीं होगी चाहिये कि हम अपने देश की ही एक भाषा को बरदाश्त न करें। जो दक्षिण के भाई हैं, जो बंगाल के भाई हैं, जो अहिन्दी भाषा भाषी भाई हैं, वे अगर अंग्रेजी में प्राफिजेंसी प्राप्त कर सकते हैं तो वह दिन दूर नहीं जबकि उतने ही अच्छे हिन्दी लेखक दक्षिण में भी होंगे और बंगाल आदि में भी होंगे और हिन्दी में वे प्राफिजेंसी हासिल कर सकेंगे। आज भी हो रहे हैं और आगे भी होंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इन मंत्रालय की मांगों का समर्थन करता हूँ और जो अवसर आप ने मुझे दिया है, उन के लिए मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**Mr. Speaker:** Shri Vasudevan Nair.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** On a point of order. After all, Parliament represents the whole country. Not only two but more than four Members have been called only from one State or the other. Not a single Member has been called from Gujarat.

**An Hon. Member:** The Minister of State is from Gujarat.

**Shri Basappa:** Members from the south may also be called.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuruzha):** My colleague, Shri Daji, has

already touched upon the important questions that agitate our minds today. I will be very brief because I am only trying to raise a problem that may look comparatively unimportant in the context of the most important national issues that concern us today, but all the same, I thought this is the occasion when we are debating the Home Ministry Demands that I should focus attention of this House and of the Ministers presiding over this Ministry to this question of police verification in the appointment of people to Government service.

We are told by State Governments that the Central Home Ministry has sent a directive that when people are appointed to government service, their character and antecedents have to be ascertained. In normal circumstances, can anybody find fault with this practice? No. As a principle and as a practice, if it is followed scrupulously, nobody can find fault with it. But what is really happening in the country in the name of ascertaining the character and antecedents of people applying for government service? The Public Service Commissions sometimes interview candidates. They go through all the relevant papers. They have got the various conduct and character certificates of these people given by colleges and universities. After considering all relevant material, they make selections and publish lists and people are appointed. But certain people selected by the Commissions wait and wait endlessly. They are never appointed. They do not know why. They are not told why they are not appointed. Perhaps in the merit list of the Commission, they are second or third or even first. But their chance and turn never comes. They wait. After some time, it comes to light that they are not appointed because there is some report given by the police department against the particular persons.

What is the practice? The police department is asked to inquire into the antecedents of a particular candi-

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

date. Naturally when the order goes down, the police constable goes round, to the village or town, gets some report and sends it up. In many places a kind of political victimisation is taking place, on the basis of these police verification reports. At least in my State, such cases run into hundreds. It is not an isolated case here or there. I should say thousands of people are being deliberately ruined by Government on the basis of political discrimination. There is no other fault as far as the candidates are concerned. They have passed their examinations very well, many of them. They have got their conduct certificates. There is absolutely no black spot on their character or conduct. But the police constable takes it into his head on the basis of certain reports presented by some people that the gentleman is a subversive element or is connected with the communist party or is against the ruling party, or has worked for some candidate against the Congress or was appointed agent of some candidate who was opposing the ruling party. Some such report is given to the police constable. Then he cooks up a very strange report a surprising report that if the particular person is appointed a clerk or peon or in the third grade or fourth grade in government service, he will blow up the whole Government, the whole country, democracy will be at stake and the heavens will fall. Such reports are sent, and in spite of the selection made by the Public Service Commissions, hundreds of people are not getting jobs. Not only are they not getting jobs after selection; even after the appointments are made, they are thrown out of jobs on the basis of such reports, even after serving for many years on the basis of some complaint by somebody.

This practice is being so much misused, because there are all kinds of feuds and quarrels, and I know of many, many cases when somebody just sends an anonymous petition that such

and such a fellow working in such and such a department is a communist or a communist-sympathiser, or has worked for some election, and then a new enquiry is made, a new verification is ordered, and then he is thrown out of service. We have got so many cases with us.

There is a very tragic case at Calicut in my State. A boy was working as a peon or something like that in the Postal Department for nearly five years. By his own effort, he passed some test and got a selection in Class III. From Class IV he was promoted and appointed in Class III, but as soon as he was promoted, there was a fresh verification, the so-called police verification. And then what happened? This boy was retrenched from service. One fine morning he gets an order from Government that his services are not required. Having worked in the same department in Class IV for nearly five years, simply because he took it into his head to write a test and got a promotion, he lost his job. Actually, this boy tried to commit suicide, he wanted to commit suicide, but even that he could not do. Some people found him out, and he was saved. He was in hospital.

There is the case of another boy of 20 years. He was in college, in the third year of B.Sc., a very brilliant student. He wrote a P. & T. Department test, and was selected. He was appointed after training as a sorter. After serving for ten months, he gets a letter from Government that under rule 5 of such and such an Act, his services are no more required. No reason is given. He was a student when he was selected for Government service. He did not even have any opportunity to engage himself in the so-called political activities. Right from the college he was selected and appointed, and he is thrown out of Government service.

So, this vicious practice of police verification is being made use of by

people in authority, by people in the ruling party to take revenge. This is made use of to threaten people, to recruit people to the ruling party.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy** (Kurnool): I want to know whose Government, your Government or the Congress Government.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair**: I know the hon. lady Member is a very clever interruptor, but I have very little time. At least our Government for 28 months put a stop to this evil practice which your Government was following. I challenge the hon. Member to tell me whether during those months in the name of police verification, or in the name of politics, any Congressman was victimised. Not a single case you can point out.

15.34 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

But a party which pledges itself to democracy and the Constitution is really prostituting the same.

Because of this practice, no free thinking is possible. You cannot express your ideas, you cannot subscribe to a particular ideology. I know hundreds of persons who, perhaps, would like to take up a particular political position, but they dare not, because they know that the son will be victimised, the daughter will be victimised; he and she will not get jobs if the parents have a particular ideological affiliation, if they have some progressive outlook, if they vote for a candidate belonging to the Communist Party or some other Opposition party. I am sure this will be extended to other opposition parties. At present this may be used against the Communist Party, but this is going to be used against the other opposition parties. So, this is a common question for all people who want really to nourish democratic traditions in this country.

So, people are terrorised, and they try to recruit people by force. People are really not prepared to take up bold positions because the future

generation will suffer, because the son will suffer because of the father. There are so many reports by the police saying this particular candidate has nothing to do with any party, but his brother is a Communist or his uncle had something to do with a trade union, that he was working in a trade union, that his father was an agent in a particular election on behalf of a particular candidate, or that the particular boy, when he was studying in college, contested the election to the students' union on the ticket of a particular student federation. So many reports, and hundreds of people are victimised like that. And we are told at least by the State Government that you are responsible for it, and that they are implementing your directive. I would like to know whether there is a directive. This particular issue has been raised in this House on many occasions by us. At one time, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri told us that the Centre was not responsible for it, they had not sent out any such instructions, that perhaps the State Government had formulated its own rules. We would like to know the real position, whether the Government of India is responsible for it or not. If they are not, let them really speak out their mind, and we will take up the issue at the State level and see what can be done.

This is a question which agitates the minds of hundreds and thousands of young people at least in our State, and it will be taken up by the people if it is going to continue like his. Do not think you can cow down the people by making use of such tactics and terroristic methods. You are really cutting at the roots of democracy, and we demand that this vicious practice, this evil practice should be done away at the earliest possible opportunity.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Siddiah. Shri Basappa.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : हमारा नम्बर कद आने वाला है ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : जो लोग बराबर अटेंड करते हैं, उन्हें भी टाइम मिलना चाहिये ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी मैं सदस्यों को बुलाऊंगा ।

**Shri Basappa:** The sovereignty of this country is something very big and very important. It is one and indivisible. It is being questioned now in our Kashmir border, and also the East Pakistan border. Therefore, it is up to us, whether we come from the South or the North, or the East or the West, to guard this sovereignty of the country when it is being threatened or questioned.

The minority problem, the problem of the migrants from East Pakistan has exercised the mind of this House very much, and therefore the two Home Ministers have met, but finally they have not decided anything; they have postponed the evil day, the issue, that is all. Though effective steps have been proposed by our Home Minister, his counterpart from Pakistan has not been able to see eye to eye with him. On the other hand, instead of discussing the main and important point, they went on to discuss the question of infiltration and the eviction issue. The Pakistan Home Minister insisted that eviction should be the first issue. I do not know how we can tolerate this. After all, the meeting was for the main purpose of deciding the big migrants question, but instead of that, the Pakistan Home Minister took up a different line. And after going back, he says somethings; he wants to escape responsibility. Therefore, instead of believing merely in talks and talks, we have to think of measures whereby we can secure the wellbeing of these millions of refugees who are coming here. Therefore, when we cannot find land for all these people here, it would be up to us, when all the talks have

failed, to suggest to them seriously, that after all they have to be rehabilitated, relief has to be given to them, and what is the place where they can be safely rehabilitated? That is the border place. We have to claim from them. So, this should be the attitude of the Government when dealing with this question.

Again, the Kashmir question has exercised our mind very much, and we have to be firm in our policy. With the release of Sheikh Abdulla, already some people remark that Kashmir will go away. No such impression should be left in the mind of anybody in this country. There should be no change of policy, and any apprehension in the mind of anybody here must be removed completely once and for all so far as this matter is concerned. After all the five crores of Muslim population here must have some safeguards and they must be able to be assured that Kashmir will remain an integral part of this country. I remember, Sir, when you addressed the Commonwealth Conference, when Sardar Hukam Singh, our hon. Speaker, was able to get you a chance, as a point of order was raised that you could not speak on that occasion and he had to come forward and say that when the Pakistani representative had spoken, India's representative must also speak and thus you got the chance there and you said that no power on earth can remove Kashmir from India. After all you were expressing the opinion of this Government. Government must stand firmly on this issue and see that Kashmir at no cost goes because five crores of Muslims' interest is also involved in this. There are pinpricks and intrusions from Pakistan. The Prime Minister spoke the other day that if such things continued we would even cross the cease-fire line if it becomes necessary. When the same question came up again, our Minister without portfolio diluted it to some extent and said such things should not be done



Our planes must be able to chase out the other planes from the other side of the cease-fire line.

I will now come to the Ministry proper. The other day Mr. Mathur said that after fifteen years of Independence, the real independence still lies with the bureaucracy. That independence must be wrested from their hands. There should be successful and harmonious working of the forces of this country and the bureaucracy. Unless that is done most of the villages will not be benefited. I am not antagonistic to the bureaucracy. But there should not be bureaucratic rule. Some of our Secretaries are very fine. Just now Mr. Azad referred to the wonderful work done by the Home Secretary in Kashmir; he was able to find out the relic which is a great achievement. I heard a whispering campaign here and there—for what reason do not know—that there is some misunderstanding between the Minister and the Secretary and that there was some resignation also; probably it might have been withdrawn. There should be closer understanding because we are dealing with a difficult situation. I am not speaking of the domination of some Ministers over the Secretaries nor am I speaking of the domination of some Secretaries over Ministers. That is what was happening. I am glad that the riots were suppressed by the Home Minister. In some other parts of the country they did not take place. In some parts there was administrative failure. This must be enquired into. There is delay in administration and inefficiency. Men who man the foreign missions have to be selected very carefully—men who could depict the correct view of India, its past heritage. These are the men who are to tell the world what India stands for. Not a good word we hear about anybody except in the case of two or three big missions. Mr Masani quoted from a proscribed book. But what about his article in *Time* which says that there is vacuum of leadership. How can we

tolerate such a thing as this? It is malicious and mischievous propaganda. It says people are performing puja to take the life of our Prime Minister; that the Prime Minister speaks with a shaky voice and trembling feet and even the name of Indrajai has been brought in, as being troubleshooter. How can we tolerate such things here? I understand that the Prime Minister is strong enough to defend himself. In spite of his little bad health he is coming here every day and is trying to see that this country is able to meet the challenge. Our own friend Mr. Mathur raised the question of Deputy Prime Minister. If it is necessary I think the Prime Minister will not hesitate to do that. Sometimes it becomes necessary also. Even today I would see how the Treasury Bench is there. There is absolutely no state of direction to be given at the proper time. In these circumstances, a Deputy Prime Minister would be very helpful. Certain serious allegations are made and even Dr. Lohia pointed out the appointment of a member of the UPSC. I know him. We were in the Estimates Committee. This person was appointed as UPSC member after he retired. He said that he was related to the Home Minister also. The Home Minister has been accused; it was alleged that he was appointed because he is the kith and kin of the Home Minister. It is not correct to say so. After all the UPSC wants certain persons, some experts. Of the 9 people two people are experts. He was appointed after he retired. So also Mr. Kamath raised the question of the Central Vigilance Commission... (An Hon. Member: You do not know the whole story). You may narrate it. The allegations will have to be proved before anything is said about this Central Vigilance Commission. If it has to work well, more powers have to be given to it. Otherwise he could not handle a big situation when it comes.

I do not want to take more of your time. But the inter-seniority of the Mysore Government servants has to be solved. A large number of people

[Shri Basappa]

and officers feel a lot of grievance over this issue. It has not been settled although so many years have passed. It is up to the Home Ministry to settle it quickly. The question of State officers versus the Central officers is there. In the same place both officers have to work with different scales of pay. This should be set right.

I thank you for giving me this opportunity. The Ministry exhibits a lot of sincerity in its work. I hope the two big problems, the minority question and migrants question and the corruption question will be solved effectively within the time stipulated by the Minister.

श्री सू० ला० वर्मा (सीतापुर) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि १७ वर्ष हो गए हैं, लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने काश्मीर को पाकिस्तानी डाकुओं के हाथ से नहीं छुड़ाया है।

**Shri Basumatari:** Assam was referred to by many Members. A major and damaging reference was made by Shri Badrudduja about Assam. Should I not reply?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There are many States whose representatives I have not called.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** May I know whether the list was prepared beforehand and Members are called from the List? What is the procedure?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

श्री ए० ला० बारुपाल (गंगानगर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे भी इस पर बोलने का चांस मिलेगा कि नहीं ?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर, आर्डर ।  
श्री सू० ला० वर्मा ।

श्री सू० ला० वर्मा : सन् १९४७ में पाकिस्तान ने डाकुओं के रूप में काश्मीर पर आक्रमण किया और काश्मीर के बड़े भाग पर कब्जा कर लिया और उस पर अभी तक अपना कब्जा जमाये चले आ रहे हैं जिसको कि आजकल तथाकथित आजाद काश्मीर कहते हैं ।

श्रीमन्, अभी हाल ही में शेख अब्दुल्ला साहब की रिहाई हुई जिसका कि हम लोगों ने बड़ा स्वागत किया । लेकिन शेख साहब ने जेल से निकलने के बाद हमारे देश के ऊपर कीचड़ उछालना शुरू कर दिया । उन्होंने जो भाषण दिये हैं उनसे पता चलता है कि शेख साहब की मनोवृत्ति अभी भी काश्मीर को अलग रखने की है या पाकिस्तान के साथ मिलाने की है । उन्होंने जो भाषण दिये हैं उसमें केवल देश के साथ गद्दारी ही कह सकते हैं । उन्होंने जो मत गणना कराने की बात कही है वह भारत सरकार की नीति के सर्वथा उलट है ।

श्रीमन्, भारत के संविधान की धारा ३७० को अभी तक क्यों खत्म नहीं किया गया है जब कि सरकारी बँचों से इसके सम्बन्ध में कई बार घोषणा की जा चुकी है ? श्रीमन् मैं शेख साहब को चेतावनी देता हूँ कि वे ऐसी कोई बात न करें जो देश के प्रति गद्दारी साबित करे । इसको भारत की जनता कभी भी बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी । मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि शेख साहब चाहते क्या हैं । वे वहाँ के किंग बनना चाहते हैं या थाली का बैंगन बनना चाहते हैं कि कभी इधर को लुढ़क गये तो कभी उधर को ? मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें हमारी सरकार की ही कमजोरी है जिसका वह फायदा उठा रहे हैं । इसको भारत की ४४ करोड़ जनता कतई बर्दाश्त करने के लिये तैयार नहीं है ।

श्रीमन्, मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि शेख साहब को देश-द्रोहिता के अपराध में जेल में पिछले १० वर्षों से बन्द किया हुआ था। उन पर मुकदमा भी चल रहा था। ऐसी स्थिति में अब कि उसके ऊपर इतने बड़े आरोप के लिए मुकदमा चल रहा था, क्या कारण है भारत सरकार ने उसको छोड़ना उचित समझा? इससे भी बढ़ कर यह बात कि वह अभी जेल से छूटा भी नहीं था कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उसे जेल में चिट्ठी भेजकर उसे दिल्ली आने का निमंत्रण दिया और उसमें यह भी लिखा कि वह उनके पास ही दिल्ली में आकर ठहरें। यह चीज प्रधान मंत्री को शोभा नहीं देती।

श्रीमन्, मध्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान में कुछ मुट्ठी भर डाकू हैं जिनको पकड़ने में हमारी पुलिस असमर्थ हो चुकी है। उनको पकड़ने के लिए वहाँ तीन, चार प्रान्तों की पुलिस बटालियंस लगा दी गई हैं फिर भी वहाँ वैसे की वैसे ही यह डाकू समस्या चल रही है।

हमारे देश में इस समय बहुत बड़ीसंख्या में लाखों की संख्या में पाकिस्तानी गुप्तचर विभाग अपना काम कर रहा है जिससे हमारे देश की अन्दरूनी हालत की रिपोर्ट पाकिस्तानी सरकार को समय समय पर हर दिन मिला करती है। इस तरह हमारे देश में बहुत बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो गया है। अभी हाल में काश्मीर में बड़े तूफान उठे, बहुत सी बम विस्फोट की घटनायें देश के अन्दर होती रहती हैं। अभी सखनऊ में एक आभार बनाने वाला घातक कारखाना पाकिस्तान सरकार की मदद से चलाया जा रहा था। वह अब पकड़ा गया है और उसमें स्पष्ट तौर से बताया गया है कि दिल्ली स्थित पाकिस्तानी हाई कमिश्नर के स्वास्थ्य विभाग के सम्बन्ध में बताया गया है। इसी प्रकार से एक भंडार कानपुर में भी पकड़ा गया है। ऐसी ही एक घटना सखनऊ से १४ मील दूर जुगौर में भी हुई है और वांदा में भी हुई बताई जाती है। मुझे ऐसा भी मालूम हुआ है कि यह हमारे देश की सी० आई० डी० न पुलिस केवल

विरोधी पार्टियों के लिये ही लगाई गई है और यह पाकिस्तानी गुप्तचर विभाग वालों को पकड़ने में असमर्थ हो चुकी है। पुलिस द्वारा ये हथियार बनाने के कारखाने तभी पकड़े जाते हैं जब कि उनके गिरोह का ही कोई आदमी किसी प्रकार से नाराज होकर पुलिस को इसकी शिकायत कर देता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार से हमारे देश भर में बहुत से घातक कारखाने अन्य जगह भी हो सकते हैं। यह भी मालूम नहीं कि इस तरह से जो कारखाने पकड़े गये हैं वे कितने दिनों से चल रहे हैं और कहां कहां इन लोगों ने इस प्रकार के हथियार आदि सप्लाई किये हैं। इस कारखाने को पकड़ने में हमारे लखनऊ के शहर कोतवाल तथा कैसरबाग कोतवाली के इंस्पेक्टर ने अपनी जान की बाजी लगा कर पुलिस दल के साथ कारखाने में घुस कर गद्दारों को पकड़ने में सफलता प्राप्त की और उस बहादुर सिपाही जो जात का मुसलमान है जिसने कोतवाल की जान बचाई, मैं उन सब को बधाई देता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, मैंने यहाँ दिल्ली में देखा है कि पुलिस में तो बड़ा भ्रष्टाचार मचा रक्खा है। बिना रिश्वत के कोई भी काम नहीं हो सकता। मैंने स्वयं देखा है कि दिल्ली स्टेशन पर पुलिस वाले दो आना रिक्शा, चार आना स्कूटर और आठ आना टैक्सी चार्ज करते हैं। तांगा वाला बगैर उनको पैसा दिये स्टैंड पर नहीं रुक सकता। अब से उनका पैसा बढ़ा हुआ है और कोई भी बगैर उनके पैसा दिये स्टैंड पर नहीं रुक सकता है। ऐसा ही मैंने कानपुर, लखनऊ तथा अन्य शहरों में देखा है। सोतापुर और लखीमपुर में भी यही चीज है मैंने देखी है जहाँ कि पुलिस ने बड़ा भ्रष्टाचार मचा रक्खा है और कोई वहाँ मुनने वाला नहीं है।

हमारे देश में रिश्वतखोरी बढ़ने की वजह से पुलिस का काम सही नहीं हो पाता

[श्री सू० ल०० वर्मा]

है। ज्यादातर झूठे मुद्दमे बना कर और चालान करके अदालत में भेजेते हैं और वह वहां झूठे साबित हो कर छूट जाते हैं। हमारे जिले में पुलिस थाने बहुत कम तादाद में हैं। सरकार की ओर से कुछ ऐसा मुद्दा था कि थाने बढ़ाये जायेंगे लेकिन अभी तक कोई थाने और चौकियां नहीं बढ़ायी गयीं।

श्रीमन्, हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की पुलिस बमकाबले देश की और जगहों की पुलिस से अच्छी सिद्ध हुई है लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि उनका वेतन बहुत ही कम है। जब कि उत्तर प्रदेश की पुलिस के सिपाही को ६० या ६५ रुपया दिया जाता है दिल्ली पुलिस के सिपाही को १२० या १२५ रुपया दिया जाता है। इसी तरह पुलिस मैन से लेकर इंस्पेक्टर जनरल तक यहाँ के मुकाबल वहाँ का वेतन बहुत कम है।

16.00 hrs.

[SHRI KHADILKAR in the chair].

मैं भारत सरकार से जोरदार शब्दों में मांग करता हूँ कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की पुलिस को उतना वेतन मिलना चाहिए जितना दिल्ली में पुलिस वालों को दिया जाता है। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब गृह विभाग को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने अभी हाल में काफी तादाद में दीया किया और गलत पाने वाले पुलिस मैनो के खिलाफ मुनासिब कार्यवाही की। आज हमारे देश में मेहनत करने वालो की जरूरत है। महलों में बैठ कर हुकमत करने से देश कमजोर हो गया है। देश आगे नहीं ब सकता है। देश की स्वतन्त्रता को खतरा पैदा हो ग्या है। इसका कारण आरामतलबी है। मिनिस्टर से लेकर अधिकारी वर्ग तक की रुवाहिश आरामतलबी की बन गई है। इससे देश कमजोर होता जा रहा है। अगर देश की रक्षा करनी है तो मिनिस्टर साहब और उनके अधिकारियों से अपील करता हूँ कि वे मदान में आकर मेहनत

करने में जूट जायें तभी देश का खतरा समाप्त हो जायेगा और देश की आजादी बनी रहेगी।

श्रीमन्, अभी हाल ही में दिल्ली में भारत और पाकिस्तान के होम मिनिस्टरो की जो कांफ्रेस हुई थी वह कांफ्रेस तो अब फेल हो चुकी है। अब मैं अपने होम मिनिस्टर साहब से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे रावलपिंडी जाने के लिये कतई तैयार न हों।

श्रीमन्, कल जो हमारे हाउस में एक वातावरण पैदा हो गया और वह वातावरण माननीय सदस्य श्री एन्थोनी ने पैदा किया है उससे भी पता चलता है कि ऐसे व्यक्ति हमारे यहाँ मौजूद हैं जो कि पाकिस्तानी एजेंट कहे जा सकते हैं। इसको कतई बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता है।

कल माननीय सदस्य, श्री होमी दाजी, ने गरू जी के प्रति जो कुछ कहा है, वह शरारत-पूर्ण है। उसको कतई बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता है।

धन्यवाद।

Mr. Chairman: I would request every hon. Member to conclude in five minutes. Shri P. R. Patel

श्री ह० च० सोय (सिंहभूम) : चयन-मैन साहब, हमारी रिविस्ट यह है कि आपके पास जो नाम है, उनके आधार पर मेम्बरो को न बुलाया जाये। रूल यह है कि जो मेम्बर चयन की श्राई को कैंच करे, उसको बोलने का अवसर दिया जाये। इस समय नाम भेजने और लिस्ट वा जो घंघा चल रहा है, उससे हमारे जैसे बैंक बेंचिंग को बोलने का अवसर नहीं मिलता है।

Mr. Chairman: I will keep your observation in mind. I desire to accommodate as many as possible. So, every hon. Member should confine himself to five minutes. Shri Patel.

Shri P. R. Patel: I do not want to speak. No, Sir, I would say I will not. You hear me first.

**Mr. Chairman:** May I point out that I will have to call him to order? This is not the way to address the Chair.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** First hear me and then say anything.

**Mr. Chairman:** It is a general rule. . .

**Shri P. R. Patel:** As a protest, I do not speak at all.

**Mr. Chairman:** All right, Shri Shivaji Rao Deshmukh.

**Shri Koya (Kozhikode):** My group was not called on any demand.

**Mr. Chairman:** The time is limited. So, I want to accommodate as many speakers as possible.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** In the beginning you give 15 minutes and in the end you say only 5 minutes. That is not proper.

**Mr. Chairman:** Unless the House is ready to cooperate, I cannot satisfy the demands of all. I will try to accommodate as many as possible provided they confine their remarks to 5 minutes.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** Sir, while thanking you for having given me an opportunity to participate in this debate, I wish to lay stress on the fact that the nation today is at very dangerous crossroads. We are on the one side faced with the danger of external aggression, while at the same time, things have taken a turn which go to prove that even our internal security is at stake. Therefore, at such a crucial time, when the reins of power are in the hands of persons in whom the nation has confidence, I must congratulate Nandaji for the efforts he has made towards establishing the integration of this land. One of the dangers to our internal security is in the industrial sphere. As a Gandhian trade unionist, I have no doubt in my mind that Nandaji would succeed not only in maintaining political stability in this land, but also

will see to it that industrial production is not allowed to suffer.

Sheikh Abdullah happens to be released and it has been stated to be a 'calculated risk'. After all, he happens to be an individual and his utterances so far go to prove that according to the common law of the land, he can be openly held guilty of treason, because we have amended the Indian Penal Code to the effect that anybody pleading for secession, whatever be his status, is guilty of treason. So, whether a man, who in the circumstances can be held guilty of treason, has access to the Prime Minister and whether the Home Minister is not prepared to tackle this man according to the law is a question which the Home Minister has to answer today on the floor of the House. In the present circumstances, since the Indian Penal Code is not applicable to Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah cannot be tried on the charge of treason. So, my first request to the Home Minister shall be to take steps to see that at least that portion of IPC and if possible the whole of it is made applicable to Kashmir State.

My anxious desire is to see that Nandaji is in a position to achieve internal integration. This is not possible to achieve unless all processes for integration are accelerated. After all, the process of merger is a process of integration. Therefore, every step that the Government of India will take to keep Goa away from Maharashtra is bound to disintegrate that portion of India which is most vital to us. By our same approach towards the question of integration of Kashmir we are at the threshold of a situation when people doubt whether we will be able to maintain Kashmir with us. So, if Goa is not allowed to merge and helped to merge with Maharashtra. I am afraid the process of disintegration and the Portuguese elements in Goa will be strengthened.

The border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore has been hanging fire for a long time and every day

[Shri Shivaji Rao Deshmukh]

that passes is bound to aggravate the feelings of the people living in the border areas. While facing the border issue with China, we cannot say with justification that border disputes in the States shall be allowed to hang fire. I have no doubt that Nandaji's approach in this field will prove successful. I have no doubt that with his sincere approach, he will be in a position to bring the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra and Mysore together and ask them to adopt a formula which has been adopted so far in the past in the border dispute between Madras and Andhra, whatever be the nature of the dispute a formula which has the single merit that it is not harmful to anyone of them.

**Shri Basappa:** The States Reorganisation Commission have rejected it.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** We are charged with expansionist desire, when we are more anxious to see that the people of Mysore who are with us, who logically should go to Mysore and when they are anxious that they should go to Mysore, are even forced not to proceed further possibly under the pretext that the border dispute no more exists. It was a solemn assurance given by the then Home Minister, when the States' reorganisation was effected that all border disputes in adjoining States will have to be solved according to a principle which has been stated by the then Minister. I only wish to remind Nandaji of this fact that he will take early steps to see that this cause which is likely to affect the feelings of brotherhood between Maharashtra and Mysore is not allowed to proceed in such a way that it ultimately estranges the feelings between the two leaders. The Chief Minister of Mysore has unequivocally stated on the floor of the Assembly that he stands for the merger of border areas of Mysore State with Maharashtra if certain principles are adhered to. And that principle has

been evolved. Therefore, I earnestly request Nandaji to see that early steps are taken to solve the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute.

**Shri Basappa:** He says the Chief Minister has agreed to that formula. He has not agreed.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** I am quoting the very words of the Chief Minister of Mysore.

**Mr. Chairman:** His time is over. He will kindly resume his seat.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** I will just finish this sentence and resume my seat in a minute.

**Mr. Chairman:** Not a word more. I cannot conduct the proceedings in this fashion. Shri Saraf.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Sir, the time has been extended because certain aspects have come up here about which very little has been said. So, kindly permit me to take a few minutes more...

**Mr. Chairman:** No, no.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I congratulate the Minister and the Ministry of Home Affairs for dealing with the situation that has arisen in the last few months. I was in Kashmir and that very night arrived there, when that sacred relic disappeared from one of the shrines there and simultaneously a number of things happened. As you know, Pakistan raised the question in the Security Council there was sabotage in Kashmir; there was the trouble in Assam and genocide in East Pakistan. A number of things happened about which I have no time to speak now. I will say that our enemies within and without tried to harm India at a time when things would have been very bad for us. I must heartily congratulate first the Minister of Home Affairs and then the other colleagues

in the Ministry, particularly the Home Secretary and the other officers, who were deputed to Kashmir at a time when the then Government there had collapsed in no time with the disappearance of the sacred relic from one of the shrines there. In spite of the fact that the conditions were unfavourable to them and there was every apprehension of their being misled, misguided and misinterpreted, even then they tackled the situation wonderfully well. I happened to be there and I had several occasions to meet them. I saw how carefully and tactfully they did it. I, on behalf of the entire Kashmir population, Muslims, Hindus and everybody, heartily congratulate them, congratulate the Ministry for having conducted themselves wonderfully well.

My hon. friend referred to the whispering campaign. I would ask, what whispering was there? After all, our attitude to the officers has to be that implementing of Government policies or administration is left to our services. Certainly, one or two political matters came up on which decisions had to be taken. I had occasion to talk to these friends, give them my views and hear them also. Naturally, as officers of the administration they could not take a decision. They had to wait for the decision from the Centre, from the Minister and the Government. If delay has taken place, it is no fault of those officers, whether they were Central Intelligence Bureau officers or the Home Secretary and his colleagues. They have done wonderfully well. I am not the only one who says like this. I may tell you that those very people who organised themselves into the so-called Action Committee in which a number of Sheikh Abdullah's colleagues are there, unannouncedly passed resolutions in big gatherings welcoming the Centre taking over of the administration of the State and handling it well to everybody's satisfaction. No doubt, if this delay on political decision had taken place things would have been

much better. Anyway, those officers are not at all responsible, and I say this with a full sense of responsibility. I again pay my compliments to Shri Nanda for handling the situation in a wonderful manner. I also congratulate his colleagues who went to Kashmir and saved the situation wonderfully well.

**Shri Basappa:** I have also complimented the Minister.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Secondly, Sheikh Abdullah has been released. I would humbly claim to have been one of his associates and lieutenants for nearly three decades. When we had trouble with him, when we had differences with him, perhaps this humble self had to face it and I faced it very squarely at that time also. But today, I wholeheartedly welcome his release. I may tell my hon. friends here, I do not think that heavens have fallen on earth with Sheikh Abdullah's release. I can assure my colleagues that our men in Kashmir, Muslims, Hindus and everybody, will face anyone if he goes wrong, whether it be Sheikh Abdullah or anybody else. The way in which speeches are delivered here, I may assure my hon. friends, is not going to help us at all. After all a person has been released nearly after 10 years and 8 months. Why he was there, how he was there, I am not going into those details now. I only want to say this much. After all, some allowance has to be given to a human being. He has come out. Let him say what he wants to say. I can assure you . . . (*Interruptions*). I would request hon. Members to listen to me. I have to fight him. You are not to fight him. I assure you that I will be the first man to fight him (*Interruptions*). But there is one thing. The man has come out now. Few politicians may differ with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, but I personally know that the entire country is by him. Immediately after his release Mr. Abdullah said that he would meet

[Shri Sham Lal Saraf]

the Prime Minister. In spite of the fact that I met him and I had discussions with him, apart from what I said and what he told me, I still cling to the hope that after meeting the Prime Minister he might come round. If that does not happen, I can assure my friends here that my friends, my colleagues in the State, will face him. You are not to face him, I only want you to be firm here in the Centre. We in the State will face him and face him like anything.

But I only want to submit one thing. While discussing these matters certain things have been said. I wholeheartedly condemn the approach of Shri Anthony in his speech yesterday. He condemned every Indian, every Hindu, every Congressman as a communalist. It is a lie. I repudiate it with all the force at my command. It is because the majority of the Hindus, the majority of the Indians are in the Congress that our secular ideal is alive and kicking. I can assure my Muslim brethren living in this country that there can be no difference either in the law or in the Constitution or in the dealings with anybody, between me, Shri Badrudduja and others. I was very happy to listen to the speech of Shri Badrudduja. It was a very well balanced speech. I know how he has suffered, how his kith and kin have suffered and how our brethren have suffered in Bengal. All the same he spoke in a restrained and well balanced way. I congratulate him on that. I assure him and every body that we will never believe in this thing that because Pakistan has chosen a policy by which she is put into trouble and our Hindu brethren had to come back, we must send away the Muslims from here. I repudiate this theory. This theory will never help us. It has never helped us and I do not think it will ever help us. Let everybody in this country know that according to our secular ideology, our Constitution, whatever religion one

may follow one is absolutely safe in our country. He is absolutely free in this country as I am, as Shri Khadilkar is or anybody else is.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member should conclude now.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** But there is one thing.

**Mr. Chairman:** No, no. Order, order. I have given him two more minutes. I am sorry. He will have to resume his seat. There must be self-imposed discipline, otherwise I cannot conduct this House.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I will wind up.

**Mr. Chairman:** No, Sir.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** We want justice.

**Mr. Chairman:** I hope Shri Saraf will excuse me. I would request him to co-operate with the Chair.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** All right, Sir.

**श्रीमती रामदुलारी सिन्हा (पटना) :**  
सभापति महोदय, मैं गृह मंत्रालय को मुबारक-बाद देना चाहती हूँ कि उसे श्री नन्दा जैसे कर्मठ जन सेवक की सेवायें हासिल हो सकी हैं। वस्तुतः किसी भी देश की गृह नीति उसकी तमाम नीतियों का भरकज हुआ करती है। जहाँ से उसकी विदेश, श्रम, योजना, औद्योगिक आदि तमाम नीतियाँ नशर होती हैं ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण विभाग का निदेशन श्री नन्दा के हाथों होना बिल्कुल माकूल है जब कि उन्हें श्रम और योजना के पूरे अनुभव उपलब्ध हो सके हैं। एक मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से। हम मजदूर कार्यकर्ताओं को उनके ऊपर फरह है, इसलिये भारत सेवक समाज, श्रम बल्लक्षण और मजदूर आन्दोलन की दिशा में उनकी सेवायें और उनका नेतृत्व सारे भारतवर्ष को हासिल हुआ है।



इस मौके पर मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि नन्दा जी का ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण मौकों पर सफल होना तभी कहलायेगा जब कि भारतवर्ष में समाजवाद के निर्माण में, आर्थिक असमानता में और सामाजिक विपत्तियों को दूर करने में वह सफल होंगे। भारतवर्ष के प्रजातान्त्रिक समाजवाद के ढाँचे को तैयार करने में नन्दा जी का भी एक बहुत बड़ा हाथ रहा है। हमारे देश के सामने आज काश्मीर प्रश्न एक बहुत हैरान कर देने वाला प्रश्न है। मैं किसी भी कंट्रोवर्सी के जाल में जाना नहीं चाहती हूँ क्योंकि यह सदन काफी कंट्रोवर्सी में आज तीसरे दिन भी जा चुका है। मैं तो आज यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि पिछले कुछ दिन पहले पाकिस्तान के एक उच्च अधिकारी ने बर्लानिया के एक लेबर एम० पी० श्री जान स्ट्रेची को बतलाया था कि यदि भारत पर इस बार आक्रमण हुआ तो वह किसी भी तरह चुप बैठने वाला नहीं है। नन्दा जी से भी यह सदन आश्वासन लेना चाहता है काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर। अभी दो तीन दिन पहले शास्त्री जी ने हम लोगों को आश्वासन दिया था जिससे इस सदन के सदस्यों को काफी तसल्ली हुई थी। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि काश्मीर के वाग बगीचे, वहाँ की केसर की क्यारियाँ अमर नाथजी-का मन्दिर वहाँ के हिन्दू और मुसलमान, वहाँ की तमाम धरती, एक एक इंच भारत की है और भारत की रहेगी और यदि उसकी एक इंच धरती पर एक सिटिजन पर, किसी भी तरह की कोई चोट पहुंची तो तमाम देश उसकी रक्षा के लिये, उसकी अखण्डता और एकता के लिए, उसके द्वारा किये जा रहे विकास के कामों की असफलता के लिये कुर्बान होने को तैयार है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि यह आश्वासन आज नन्दा जी देश को दें।

उन्होंने साम्प्रदायिक प्रश्न को हल करने में बड़ी ही सफलता हासिल की है। इसके सम्बन्ध में मैं बहुत व्यापक तरीके से

कुछ कहना नहीं चाहती हूँ। लेकिन इसे हमने माना है, विधान में भी हमने इसको माना है, अपने रूख और व्यवहार के जरिये भी इसे कबूल करके सारे संसार को हम ने दिखा दिया है कि हमें अल्पमत की रक्षा करनी है, किसी भी कास्ट पर इस काम को हमें करना है। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि क्या हमारी तमाम उदार नीतियों के फल हमारे तमाम सद्-व्यवहारों के फल हमें कड़वे ही क्यों मिल रहे हैं? हमारे सामने यह एक प्रश्न है। आज पाकिस्तान हमारी औरतों और बच्चों के खून पर राजनीतिक शतरंज खेल रहा है तो कभी-कभी हमारा धीरज टूटता है। आज श्री नन्दा यहाँ नहीं हैं। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहती थी कि उन्होंने भारत और पाकिस्तान के स्वराष्ट्र मंत्रियों के सम्मेलन को बुला कर कौन सी सफलता हासिल की, जिसमें ऐसा लगता था अखबारों में पढ़ने से जैसे स्वयं भारत डक में खड़ा हो। एक मामूली सा प्रश्न था असम में अवैध रूप से पाकिस्तानी पंचमागियों के घुस आने का, परन्तु उनको भी बाहर करने में अब दिक्कतें आ गयीं। श्री नन्दा के कन्वों पर . . . .

**सभापति महोदय :** अब आपका समय समाप्त हो गया।

**श्रीमती रामदुलारी सिन्हा :** सभापति महोदय, इस अधिवेशन में यह मेरा पहला भाषण है। इसलिये तीन चार मिनट कम से कम मुझे और मिलें।

हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के प्रश्न पर मैं कुछ कहना चाहती थी। यहाँ पर श्रीमती चन्द्रशेखर का लम्बा वक्तव्य हुआ। उसमें आखिर क्या आश्वासन रहा। वेबर भाई कमिशन की रिपोर्ट का क्या हुआ। जयप्रकाश समिति की रिपोर्ट जिसमें प्रति व्यक्ति की सालाना आमदनी कम से कम १२५० रुपया हो यह सिफारिश की थी, यदि इस तरह भी कोई कदम गृह मंत्रालय के

[श्रीमती रामदुलारी सिंह]

प्रतिवेदन में उठाया गया होता तो समाजवाद के निर्माण में एक बड़ा कदम होता ।

देश के विभिन्न कोनों में आज हड़ताल की धूम है । अभी पटना में पिछले दिनों ५०,००० सरकारी कर्मचारियों का प्रदर्शन हुआ । हमारे देश के अन्दर हमारे सारे पैटर्न में सलरी स्ट्रक्चर कैसा हो गया है । सिर्फ आप सचिवालय की बात लीजिये । बड़े और छोटे अधिकारियों के सैलरी स्ट्रक्चर में २० और २५ गुने का अन्तर है । इसके सम्बन्ध में जिलास ने अपनी क्लिप में लिखा था कि बड़े अफसरों का एक न्यू क्लास बन गया है । इस तरह का सैलरी स्ट्रक्चर क्या भारतीय प्रजातन्त्र के अन्दर वांछनीय होगा ।

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Koya.

**Shri Koya (Kozhikode):** Mr. Chairman, I wish to express my thanks for your giving me this opportunity, after four days of continuous tapasya. . .

**Shri P. N. Kayal:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. I have called Shri Koya.

**Shri Rama Chandra Mallick:** Mr. Chairman, when the Deputy-Speaker was in the Chair I was told that my name is there in the list.

**Mr. Chairman:** At the request of the House, the original decision was once revised.

**Shri Rama Chandra Mallick:** I saw my name . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** Will you please resume your seat?

**Shri Rama Chandra Mallick:** Your ruling amounts to . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** Please resume your seat. Once the decision of the House was revised. Now, Members are still getting impatient. After all, I have got to accommodate as many Members

as possible within the time available or at my disposal. I am trying to do it by giving every Member five minutes. Yet, every Member is exceeding that time limit. In this situation, it is very difficult to accommodate every one. They might be accommodated at the time of the Finance Bill. Therefore, I would request every Member to help the Chair to keep order in the House. After all, if there is disorder every time somebody's name is or is not called, it is not in keeping with the dignity of the House.

**Shri P. N. Kayal:** A Member is not getting even a single chance to speak while some other Members are getting as many as three chances to take part in the discussion, which is very unfair.

**Shri Koya:** Mr. Chairman, I will not take a single minute more than you have allotted to me. The moment I hear the bell I will sit down. I know the difficulties of the presiding officer as also had the privilege of being a Speaker of my Assembly for a short time.

**An hon. Member:** Sit down.

**Shri Koya:** Who are you to tell me to sit down?

I wish to express my appreciation of the solicitude and promptitude with which the hon. Home Minister went to the rescue of the suffering people, the quick and clear grasp he came to have over the situation and the firm steps and measures he took for relieving the situation in Calcutta and other places.

At this juncture I do not want to add to the heat that he had generated. I only request the Home Minister to see that rehabilitation of the uprooted people of the minority community in Calcutta is expedited. I had been to Calcutta and I had occasion to speak to the Home Minister about it. He was very sympathetic. I have seen those people who have become uprooted from the bastis. I have seen

those people living in open air. They are innocent people. They are citizens of India. They are the blood of our blood and the flesh of our flesh. They are Indian citizens. It was not their fault that something happened in Pakistan. It would have been better, it would have been very good, if we had behaved better towards our minorities and accused Pakistan. How nice would that have been! What a grace would we have got in international councils! I still believe that the riot was all preplanned. I have seen the markings on the houses. Muslim houses were marked 'M'. It was preplanned affair. I wonder, how our CID and central intelligence people could not find out these miscreants and their plans. I have seen houses whose iron girders were all destroyed. Dynamite was used it was obvious. Anyhow, what has happened has already happened. The only thing we can do now is to take stern action against the miscreants and see that the uprooted people are rehabilitated . . . (Interruption). Therefore, I hope that the Home Minister will rise to the occasion and persuade the Bengal Government to see that something is done.

I am very happy that we could begin this debate on the Ministry of Home Affairs in a very good atmosphere after the very wise speech of the Prime Minister when he was counselling patience about Indo-Pakistan relations. The debate began just after the hon. Shri Nanda placed his statement on the Table about the Indo-Pakistan relations. I do not want to add anything to what he has said because that will spoil the situation. We are now trying to discuss all our problems with Pakistan for an amicable solution in a friendly atmosphere and even though we disagree with many of the points of Pakistan, I do not want to spoil the atmosphere that has been created. Many of the points suggested by the Government of India, by the Home Minister can be implemented ever without waiting for Pakistan's consent. For example, there

is the question of asking for the co-operation of the press.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Shinkre:** Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much for giving me this much cherished chance which has come my way after about one week's sustained and patient waiting. Last Saturday the hon. Minister without Portfolio, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, informed the House that there is already a move to get the constituency that I represent, that is, the Union territories of Goa, Daman and Diu, under the purview of the Home Ministry. It is definitely a step in the right direction. But, through you, I would like to warn the hon. Home Minister that this assurance from the hon. Minister without portfolio will not be enough because the worst opposer or contender that the Home Ministry will have to deal with is the Ministry of External Affairs. You have certainly come across the criticism or the description levelled against the Ministry of External Affairs of this country. Many a time it has been described as a state within a state. So, I think the hon. Shri Nanda will have to deal very squarely with the Ministry of External Affairs whose best interests and worst interests also will be to maintain the Union territories as they are, under their purview because there are various types of vested interests.

We saw the other day that it was also Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri who informed this House that from Pondicherry there was some sort of opposition to bringing the State of Pondicherry within the purview of the Home Ministry. It is not very strange or extra-ordinary to expect that in this Union territory, that I presently represent, also some vested interests will grow and only the procrastination from the Government side will only help the growth of such vested interest. Tomorrow there may come

[Shri Shinkre]

opposition also from the present Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. It is quite easy to create vested interests or at least to let the existing ones grow to most undesirable proportions. I may inform you that such vested interests are of various kinds. I myself can be placed in such an atmosphere that tomorrow I may create a vested interest in this question. You know very well that while on an average a Member of this House represents something like 1 million people. I represent less than a half a million people. This Union Territory has two representatives in this House and has a cabinet functioning at home in Panjim that is the capital of this Union Territory. Tomorrow, the people—I do not exclude myself from them—might feel that it is far better to have some sort of a representation, although in a limited sphere, than to merge with a bigger State or a larger State though that is a natural solution. As I said earlier, it is a step in the right direction bringing this Union Territory under the purview of the Home Ministry. I think it is a first step towards attaining the merger of the Union Territory with the adjoining State of Maharashtra as far as Goa is concerned and Daman and Diu in the adjoining State of Gujarat.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member should conclude now.

**Shri Shinkre:** The guillotine as announced by you in the very beginning has taken half my courage. I had much to say. But anyway, I would earnestly request the hon. Home Minister to devote all his attention to this and I will once again repeat that the worst enemy will be the very Ministry of External Affairs that he will have to overcome.

**Shri P. N. Kayal:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, after Independence, there was a mental revolution, a psychological revolution, in this country and that

resulted actually in the form of all round work in agricultural, industry, public utility services and so on. But though the demand was very high, production was less. People's extravagant nature creates wants, as I find while I go to Paharganj bazaar an ordinary man carrying transistor on his cycle. This extravagant nature also creates wants. All these things create corruption. For everything this administration should be held responsible.

Now, Sir, the question is. What are the problems in this country today? One is the communal problem and the other is the general law and order problem. About this communal problem, I want to say that this communal problem in India is nothing but a reaction of action in Pakistan. So, I do not think this Ministry of Home Affairs of ours can help in this regard. Though they are trying to curb communal disturbances in the country, I do not think they will be able to do it successfully, as Mr. Badrudduja asked for it, because it is an effect of the cause and that cause arises in Pakistan.

About the general law and order situation, I do not think as per conditions prevailing in this country any Home Minister can help much in this. I can tell you things one by one. In the villages, not a single police officer is really honest. Even in Delhi itself, I know, while you want to park your car on the road near Paharganj bazaar, the stall keepers block the road. In Calcutta, you cannot just leave your car for even 5 minutes and go to see your friend somewhere in office or in the house. Speaking about my own case, I had to make payment for three false trunk call bills. First, I asked for an enquiry, and the report was as usual. But then I again pressed for an enquiry, saying "How can I pay Rs. 100 for trunk calls which I had never made?". Then, the general manager was kind enough to take it up, and ultimately I got some relief.

Speaking about the press reporters in this country, even they are not free to work in this country, because of corruption in various forms and because of the influence of their bosses on them.

So far as the Communist Party is concerned, I have seen in my own State that they go among the agriculturists and try to create a dispute among the landholders and their tenants, and when they are in the courts, the party people just fly away.

As regards the UPSC, we have already heard about it.

So far as medical services are concerned, I had taken a patient to a hospital, and I have seen how the doctors and the nurses behave. My relation is still suffering for the last five months or so from a small injury, which he had sustained earlier.

16.43 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

I know that in my own State an MLA is in collusion with the local SDO to grab whatever relief is to be given to the people.

When things have assumed such a dimension, how could the Home Minister fight it? Of course, the hon. Home Minister is honest. So far as the Santhanam Committee's report is concerned, I feel that it is of no use, because it is a medicine for external application only, if that is applied, the disease will hide deep into the body. So, we should be very careful about this. What I would like to suggest is that we shall have to do something on the political plane.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

**Shri P. N. Kayal:** I shall tell you one thing more before I conclude. I am sure you will kindly agree with this House, because the desire of the House is such, that let us have a resolution in this House and let us fix a day for discussion whether the law and order situation is favourable or not favourable. Let us discuss that resolution on some day.

**Shri Nanda:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would express my deep sense of distress and sorrow over the fact that the smooth course of discussion on the Demands of the Home Ministry was marred yesterday towards the end of the day. Such things cause damage to the prestige of the nation and they do harm to the vital interests of the country. This House has to set an example of dignity and restraint. The people will look to it for that example, and all of us have to assist the Chair in maintaining that dignity and decorum which is expected of this House.

In the course of the discussion that we have had, this Ministry had been dealt with very generously. Sympathy has been showered on the Ministry because of the fact that it has had to face a great deal of strain and stress, and we were told that some storms were brewing ahead. I would like to submit that we shall try to brave those storms with all the strength that we have.

It was said that this Ministry had a pivotal role in the administration of the country. The simple things which I and my colleagues and co-workers have been able to do during these days have been magnified. We are overwhelmed by it. That shows the generosity of the House and we shall try to deserve it more.

The Home Ministry has varied responsibilities, and its activities cover a very wide range. The main function, as I understand it, however, is, in an overall sense, to preserve the social and political infra-structure so that the life of the community moves smoothly and the economic and other functions proceed without interruption. I would like to submit that so far as the Home Ministry is concerned, the less is heard of it, the less it comes into the picture, the better for all concerned. It is something like a fire fighting apparatus. Any social malaise, any political trouble, any economic upset somehow gets projected into the working of this Ministry.

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and as difficult times and periods, strains and stress increase, multiply, this Ministry has to face a severe test.

I shall take the time permitted to me and shall make use of it in dealing with a few major problems which concern the Ministry, specially in the context of the present situation. The most important task, in my view, is to create conditions in the country so that the people of India can stand up in confidence and strength to face the aggression on the soil of India, to preserve the integrity and independence of the country. Closely related with this are other essential requirements that the efforts at development of the country are pushed forward vigorously seeing that the internal conditions, for which we are responsible, are such that this process is helped and not hindered. These objectives and desirable aims can be realised only if there is peace and security and social and political stability and if we are able to give to the country a sound administration—speedy, efficient and honest. Without a pervasive sense of security, without peace and stability, it will not be possible for the country to make economic and social progress; the progress will be arrested, the economic and social aspirations if the people will not be realised, and furthermore, in the context of the defence of the country, that degree of solidarity and cohesion which we have to develop may not be there. I shall first deal with this problem which is facing us now. But I may add in continuation of what I have said now that it is in this particular context and it is having in view these high purposes that we shall function, myself, my colleagues and co-workers, and shall make our contribution towards these constructive ends. We shall be tested by that.

I was referring to the main task. The first thing naturally for us is con-

cerned with the law and order and security of the country. It is the primary responsibility of the Home Ministry, the Government, to do everything possible to keep down crime. The volume of crime is a kind of index of the social health of the community. I do not propose to deal with the statistics of it. My colleague, Shri Hathi has said that there is some decrease in the volume of crime in 1963 when compared with the previous year. It is so, but it is a very marginal improvement. I do not at all want to take any credit for it, and I do not want to draw any inferences from it. And there is also no question of drawing any solace from the fact that in the matter of crime, we are somewhat better than some other countries. The volume of crime, in the ordinary course, may be compared to the incidence of physical ill-health in the community. A certain degree of morbidity cannot be avoided, but when it goes beyond a certain limit of tolerance, then special measures and steps have to be taken.

These communal disturbances we can compare to the outbreak of an epidemic and it is a call on us, on the community continuously to be on its guard against them. We try to evolve preventive action and protective devices, and all the time precautions are taken against it. I believe that it is possible for us—it should be—to secure a substantial decline in the volume of crime in the country. This is my conclusion after some study of the subject.

For this purpose, we have to bring about certain reforms in the police system which should include methods of recruitment and training, equipment of the force, certain facilities for the police force, and also, when we expect of them that they should do their part, we have to do our duty to them. The living conditions of the police have to be improved, especially

in the matter of housing. We have been able to do something by loan assistance to the States. I think much more should be done. We are trying to do that.

Coming to one or two special problems relating to law and order, I believe much more attention has to be paid to the role of the people and voluntary agencies and fuller collaboration by them with the police. Today the policeman is looked upon as an enemy, and not as a friend and helper as he should be. In the matter of relations between the police and the people, particularly after independence, and particularly in a democratic State aiming at the establishment of a socialist society, the situation should be very different from what it used to be and what it is.

I have to make special mention of a phenomenon, about which I knew something before also, but I came up against it sharply during recent weeks. Members can possibly guess what it is. It is the institution of organised gangsterism, anti-social elements, goondaism. The goondas are a major threat to the peace and good government of this country. Their presence detracts from the freedom of the citizen. Steps will have to be taken to liquidate them. These goondas belong to all communities, and they are found among the followers of every religion. In fact, they have no religion at all. A goonda cannot be called a Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or parsi. The goondas function in an organised manner. I have seen something of the way in which they organise: it is a loose organisation, but they function in an organised manner.

They come into the picture in all anti-social activities. Apart from these communal disturbances, I find that they have a part in large-scale criminal activity. They have got resources. They are well-equipped. The origin of numerous thefts and burglaries which take place in urban areas in big cities can be traced to them mostly. I do not think that we can say

that they start these communal disturbances, but I am sure they are a powerful abetting factor, and they exploit the situation and lead to the worsening of the situation. Of that I have no doubt at all.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Where do they get the resources from, these goondas?

**Shri Nanda:** From our innocence.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Where do they get their resources from, these goondas?

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** From the vested interests.

**Shri Nanda:** For instance, in Jamshehpur, there are so many crores worth of stores transactions, theivery, etc., and all that. Wherever there is money they can have a share in it in many ways. But I am also thinking of it as a human problem. Some steps will have to be taken—not as a matter of criminology—but by way of social rehabilitation. Something has to be done on a fairly large scale on the social, moral and rehabilitation plane.

I now come to another problem which I had not originally thought of dealing with at length. We had discussed it before here—the question of communal disturbances. Considering some of the things which have been said here—I think I have to give some time to it. It is of course natural that the dominant theme of the discussions should be the grave happenings across the border and the repercussions of those happenings in certain parts of our country, particularly eastern States. The situation which looms large before our eyes and effects us deeply is the double tragedy: on the one side ceaseless flow of refugees into our country from Pakistan and on the other, the communal disturbances in our country as a result of that. We

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know enough of the persecution and atrocities and all that to which the refugees who come to India are subjected, the horrors of through which they pass, their arrival in a complete state of destitution. Most of them if not all are in great distress. It is not possible to make any precise estimates of the number killed or of the extent of loss of property. From what we have gleaned and gathered we find the number is staggering. But it is also true that the number of persons killed and maimed here, in this country as a result of communal disturbances, is on a fairly large scale. I have seen the tragic plight of these people, who were affected by these communal disturbances and disorders I can say personally that I lost appetite; it was not possible for me to eat on those days when I saw the hospitals full of injured people.

I may refer to one or two things in this context. One would agree that a man revolts when he encounters this ugliness and evil—so much of it. But one should not take a distorted view of things. It does not do any good; it does not help. It is true that one becomes deeply affected under the impact of the scenes of the harrowing stories of cruelty and savagery. But we should not allow our minds to be warped and become unbalanced. Such an attitude causes provocation and creates tensions and leads to further tensions and reinforces the wrong trends. These things are not good from any point of view. For example, I mention this with a bit of hesitation—something was said to the effect that every member of the minority community moves under the shadow of death in this country. This is something . . .

**An Hon. Member:** Under the shadow of death.

**Shri Nanda:** Yes; under the shadow of death.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** It was not "every". That is quite wrong.

**Shri Nanda:** That is why I said "to the effect." To say, "every now and then, every now and then"—the effect of it was that.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** That is a complete misquotation. I have got with me the script here. "How?"—This is the script. . . . .

**Shri Nanda:** Let me be allowed to proceed. (*Interruption*).

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:** That was the effect of his speech.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** It is a complete distortion of what I said.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Unless the hon. Minister yields, the hon. Member cannot proceed in this way.

**Shri Nanda:** I read it. He said, "every now and then" and again "every now and then." This is a travesty of truth, and not merely a gross exaggeration. It will be minimising—it will be an under-estimate—if I say it was gross exaggeration. The people, in the normal conditions, live in this country in peace, harmony and amity. That is the normal state of affairs. I see and I go about. I am not limited to any certain or a few places in this country. I see everywhere what kind of life there is for the minority communities. Generally, for the most part, from day to day, year in and year out, it is peaceful, and they live in dignity and peace. The things which the hon. Member mentioned are rare, scarce. A few things here and there, in certain places, are exceptional and abnormal!

The hon. Member there made a complaint that Muslims here lived in a state of helplessness. He said that the Muslim minority had no chance of relief and redress. This too has no relation to the facts of the situation at all. The assurance which I gave in the course of the communal disturbances, the approach of the Central



and the State Governments to these problems and the determination with which the administration grapples with these problems should remove any kind of false idea, misgivings and apprehensions in that respect.

Because of this, I will say something about what has happened. I want to stress two things. First, the occurrences here have not been generated in this country initially; they are in the nature of repercussions of what happened in Pakistan, about which there can be no doubt.

**Hon. Members:** Hear, hear.

**Shri Nanda:** I would also add that I speak with a sense of great responsibility about it. Secondly, I want to say about the policy that we are pursuing. It is heartening that there is complete unanimity in the House with regard to the essential aspects of this great problem, about our basic policy. The very fact that there is full support of the House for the policies which we have hitherto adopted encourages me. I gave an assurance in Calcutta, and I have repeated it several times, that all the resources of the State, all the powers that we command in this country will be used for the purpose of saving the life of any, every single person when he is exposed to the perils of communal fury. That remains; that stands. This assurance will be backed up by stern action and strong measures to prevent the outbreak of communal disturbances to quell them as soon as possible.

At an early stage I gave a warning to the States, when we sent instructions, that the officers in charge of maintenance of law and order should act promptly and effectively to put down any disorder. They have been assured that they will have the full support of the Government in any effective action they may take against communal riots. Very soon

thereafter, we sent out a further warning to all the officers concerned—the magistracy and all ranks of the police were told in unambiguous terms that any hesitation on their part in taking strong action and to break by force a riotous mob or a mob intent on violence would be treated as a grave dereliction of duty and they would be punished. All powers available to the Government under the ordinary law and under the much-maligned Preventive Detention Act and the Defence of India Rules are being evoked and will be evoked to the required extent to deal with trouble-makers and instigators. Directions have been issued that anti-social elements and goondas should be rounded up immediately. That is a precaution which has to be taken everywhere at once and delay in that does cause harm.

17.00 hrs.

While all the coercive forces of the State have to be applied fully in such a situation, they success remains partial unless the community i.e., the moral force of Public opinion is mobilised. I found that in Calcutta the arrangement that was made of joint teams moving in the affected areas with the full backing of the Government had a very good effect. There should be citizens committee all the time, but in any such situation, composite terms representing all parties moving about can create confidence and a moral effect, which nothing else can do. I may add that this should be done without importing any political angle into it. This is a humanitarian arrangement based on humanitarian considerations. This is the action immediately to be taken for the purpose of stamping out riots.

There are other things like preventive action and deterrent steps which have to be taken also. Side by side with the stringent enforcement of law, there should be vigorous investi-

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gation, of criminal cases, speedy trials and deterrent sentences. These are some of the things which—I found in the course of my visits—have to be done. There should be widespread searches for the recovery of weapons and stolen property and in suitable cases imposition of collective fines.

One of the weaknesses brought out in the recent disturbances was concerning the security arrangements in the steel plants at Jamshedpur and Rourkela. References have been made to that. I have come to certain conclusions. Apart from preventing at any cost the manifestation of communal disturbances in industrial areas, it is equally necessary to ensure that the functioning of these vital undertakings does not suffer a setback, particularly in those industrial plants which are engaged in the important task of building up our defence.

Government have, therefore, drawn up a scheme to establish a centrally-organised security force which can be entrusted with the security duties in public sector undertakings. Important private undertakings may also come in if they like. We have to consult the States. The draft scheme has been sent to the States and I hope they will agree. It is also proposed—and I hope our friends who are concerned with the labour movement will also agree—that this security force must be taken entirely out of the purview of labour laws, industrial disputes and all that kind of thing. They should remain absolutely immune from all these influences.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Are you going to bring some legislation to that effect?

**Shri Nanda:** We will do that. I will consult my hon. friends. I hope they will agree. I am not going to impose it immediately. But we have to do it quickly.

In order to combat this evil of communalism we requested all the State Governments to take certain measures to forestall these developments. Mention was made in the debate about our intelligence system. Why is it that we have to act after a thing has occurred? Why did we not anticipate things? I think our system of intelligence has to be improved. It is not simply the intelligence machinery which has to be strengthened for that purpose. For that purpose, various other agencies have to be pressed into service—the local institutions, panchayats and others. All those who remain in touch with whatever is happening should be pressed into service. For this purpose the authorities should become informed of any aberrations in order that they can take action quickly. They should become informed of anything which can create communal tensions so that they may be able to deal with them at an early stage. This is being taken in hand.

Then, there is one other factor which, to my mind, had a powerful influence. It was the effect or the power of rumour. Rumours move and you cannot catch them. Something goes ahead and it goes on causing damage. These have to be checked. Dissemination of news likely to incite communal passion should be checked.

Here the role of the Press comes in. I must say, generally, our Press has conducted itself with a great deal of restraint and a high sense of responsibility. But I am also constrained to point out that in the aggravation of recent communal disturbances a certain section of the newspapers is at any rate not above blame. In the past we have done so, and in the future also we shall continue to see that every effort is made to secure the voluntary co-operation of the Press in exercising moderation but if a newspaper per-

sists in taking a wrong course then the law has also to take its course. I must again pay a tribute to the vast majority of newspapers that they have thrown their weight for maintaining peace. I would appeal to the Press to continue to mobilise public opinion in favour of good relations between the communities and the cause of preservation of peace.

A little while ago one hon. Member referred to rehabilitation of those displaced persons as a result of these disturbances. I have seen what arrangements have been made. On the spur of the moment, as disturbances start, it is difficult to make proper arrangements. It will take some time. I have found that as soon as possible the authorities undertook to do whatever was possible and whatever could be done. But it is an important duty, the foremost duty to ensure that those people who are in the camps go back to their own places. That was the intention when we came with an ordinance and then a legislation, so that the sharks in Calcutta who want to fatten themselves or profit themselves by the misery of people are not allowed to do so. That is why these people have been removed from the huts and other places where they were. They had to go back. Those who took possession of them had to be removed. That had a very healthy effect immediately, because then the disturbance would not be there. They had to go back. They had to be given police assistance in order to restore normal conditions so that they could pursue their normal avocations. Every step has been taken and further steps are being taken in that direction. I have learnt, when I moved round those places, that most of the people in Calcutta have gone back to their houses, though in a number of cases the houses are not yet fit for normal habitation. Rehabilitation assistance is being given to them for housing and other purposes in the rural areas so that they are enabled to carry on cultivation and satisfy their other needs.

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Here I want to refer to those people who foment communal passions and hatred. I can say with confidence that they are not going to be tolerated. We will deal severely with those who do so,—those who exploit the communal situation. It is necessary to put an end to these nefarious activities because the risk that they create for the nation is something which is difficult to describe. I hope the House will certainly endorse this approach.

I may again say to those who have any doubt about it that equal treatment and full guarantee of protection of the lives of the minorities is a fundamental article of faith with us, and that is mentioned in our Constitution. Therefore, I must stress this that whatever the provocation from the other side across the border, to get worked upon that and to go into a mood of retaliation does not help. Whom does it help? When I was in Jamshepur, I saw a large number of workers—crowds of them. I have been in crowds and I can deal with them. I first found that they were abusing in a high pitch. I talked to them and explained the position. I told them. What are you doing here? This plant produces so many trucks in a day which goes for our defence. What have you done? You have stopped the work. We had to bring in police. Who is paying for it? We are paying for it. How much of money has to be spent for the relief and rehabilitation of the people affected by these troubles? Who is going to pay for it? We are going to pay for it. By cutting off communication lines, whom are you helping? You are coming in the way of the defence of the country. So, you are the enemies of this country. This argument went home to them. Then they started shouting Z'ndabad and their mood relaxed—when we explained the position to them. I know the workers and how to tackle them. They are good people. They only, take more time to understand.

This talk in terms of retaliation does not help at all; rather, it hinders.

[Shri Nanda]

Let us deal with the situation in a different way. You kill an innocent Muslim because an innocent Hindu has been killed on the other side. There is further killing of Hindus on the other side and the vicious circle goes on. How does it help us? It does not help us at all.

I may refer in this context to the meeting of the Home Ministers of India and Pakistan, which was mentioned here. I have just seen some report in a newspaper "Habibulla's Delhi talk fails". In the same report it is mentioned—this thing was agreed to or that thing was agreed to—which means that even though they did not sign an agreement, there was some common ground. Whether we are able to settle or not all the points, we should restore communal harmony and create a sense of security and confidence in the people of both countries. This having been agreed to, it is not necessary that we sign anything. This is the common objective. Various things were then thought of regarding which there was no disagreement. Therefore, the effect of that meeting is, those things should be done. We are doing them here in this country. They should also do that in their country without waiting for any further meeting of the Home Ministers later on.

The principal objective of the meeting was to convince Pakistan Home Minister that the chain of repercussions to which I have referred to—whatever its origin—should be broken. This I did not argue with him. Of course, I mentioned the fact that what happened in Orissa and Bihar recently and the movement of Ad'basis—clearly and without any doubt—had its origin in what had previously happened in East Pakistan, from where a large number of Christian Adibasis were pushed out to Garo hills, and the stories and tales of woe and suffering of those people had reached people on this side.

A number of others—Adivasis and some labour there—were pushed out in other places. These things affected their mind. I have been in that area. I have seen the Adivasis. I have seen things there. Therefore I can say with definite knowledge that this was a major factor. Of course, the trains moving through that area exposed the refugees' sufferings. I believe, this should not have been permitted at earlier stages. I think, there was some remissness about the trains moving in that way. Later on, as soon as possible, when we learnt it, we saw to it that things change.

I put this to Pakistan Home Minister and I said that this chain of action and reaction and repercussion must be broken at once and he agreed with me. His response was very gratifying and the joint communique which we issued is an expression of the deep and common concern and the realisation of extreme and grave consequences for both the countries of such happenings.

Then, we applied ourselves to the exploration of all the avenues that were open to us to restore communal harmony and to create a sense of security. The main objective was to check further migration so that the new exodus of refugees stops. For this purpose we, that is, the Indian delegation, on the strength of our experience here, made a string of proposals and gave a number of ideas. Many of them were, as we said, agreed to.

Then, we brought up the question of abduction of women and the crimes against their person and honour. The Home Minister of Pakistan expressed as strong feelings on the subject as I did and it was agreed that something should be done about it. Our suggestion was that there should be a high-level committee to examine this problem and some special agencies had to be created for this purpose of rescue and recovery of abducted women. To that there was no objection.

Several measures were considered for creating a social climate and for changing the social outlook and attitudes of the people. These are naturally of long range effect. One thing which has immediate bearing on the situation is that we emphasised that to instil confidence in the minds of the members of the minority community and to induce them—that is the intending migrants—to change their mind, one thing should be done. They were saying about people coming out. I said, "Do nothing. Make sure and rehabilitate those who remain there and who have not yet come out. If you rehabilitate them, take them back and put them back in possession of their property—let them start living normal life—that will help others to change their mind. They would not want to come out." At any rate, this was accepted that there should be proper and adequate rehabilitation. There was a large measure of agreement regarding this.

The points regarding which argument arose were these. On our side there were two things. We laid stress on creating an effective machinery for implementation. This was inevitable because we had in mind our past experience. The second thing was that for persons who want to migrate, who have to come out because they feel compelled to do so, who do not have that sense of security there at all, there should be free movement and protection and various other things.

Regarding the joint machinery, I said, "I attach great importance to it and I explained that the value of it lies in this thing. If there is something that happens in my country, you come with me and see whether I have put it down or not, whether things are all right or not; then, you go back and tell the people in Pakistan that things are all right here. There will be no reaction. Similarly, when somebody is talking here that things are very bad there, that large numbers of people are losing their lives, that women are being molested and this is happening, I go there, go round with you,

see things and report here." This was at first considered as a question of sovereignty etc. Then, I said, "This is nothing. I am not going as the protector of the Hindus there but I am going as the protector of the Muslims. I go there in order to see so that the Muslims here can be protected. That is the point." Then, it was realised.....

**Shri Rasmusatari:** That he did not agree.

**Shri Nanda:** Well, he said that he agreed in principle but the proper arrangements as to what level the meeting should be will have to be considered—these joint tours, a joint machinery with officers at various levels for consultation, for assessment and for findings out what the deviations are regarding those matters which were accepted as parts of an agreement. I, of course, asked for the facility for those who have to migrate and this included apart from protection etc. the various vexatious practices of which we have heard—the persons or the families coming will lose everything—the income-tax clearance, some kind of a union certificate, then the character certificate and all these things. I said, "What is all this?" These things should be removed and they should be able to bring out belongings, everything, cash, jewellery....

**Shri Khadilkar:** May I seek an explanation? Pakistan had promulgated an ordinance freezing all transfer of property and transactions. It has an unsettling effect and in the papers that you placed on the Table of the House, as they have raised the question of illegal infiltrants, this problem was not raised. Why was it not raised?

**Shri Nanda:** It was very much raised.

**Shri Khadilkar:** Let me finish. They have said that it should be referred to a sort of a joint international body. Why you have not said that this problem also, the freezing of transfer of property and all that, has created an unsettling effect? It has not been prominently placed.

**Shri Nanda:** We took it up and we discussion it. They explained that this was being done for a specific purpose, that is, the Hindus were being forced out of their lands and homes by the goondas there who wanted to create a fright in their minds, "Look here, you have to give in any case. fore, why not you give to me a building worth a lakh of rupees for Rs. 10,000? Otherwise, you will have nothing." Therefore, in panic they were giving up. This is the explanation. Therefore, nobody can transfer the immovable property without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. It is all right. But we placed two points before them. One was, as to how many people can go to the Deputy Commissioner? So, those facilities should be there for those who are living there. Secondly, the property of either those who are migrating or those who have migrated remains theirs. A trust is created, a committee is set up which acts as a trustee for the persons who have migrated unless the person goes back and gets all that property. If he does not go back, his property still remains his and he gets either compensation or rent, etc. for that. This was our proposal. It is in that setting that it has to be viewed. Well, we have not given up that point. Still it is being pursued.

**Shri Basumatari:** They have not accepted it.

**Shri Nanda:** Well, the agreement has not been concluded. A number of things were at a stage of discussion. The hon. Home Minister of Pakistan said that his National Assembly was coming to a close within two days and that it looked our work would take a longer time—he had got business there just as. I have business here—and, therefore, he said that we will have to meet again.

Now, I come to the question of Pakistani infiltration. From their side, the question was about the evictions. I took up the stand and I challenged their whole assumption that riots occurred because some people were being

asked to leave Assam and Tripura as they were Pakistanis. According to them, that movement into East Pakistan has been the major irritant, the major source of communal trouble. I challenged it. I said, it is totally wrong. There was small scale of evictions during the last two years. It was during the last two years that this thing had happened. In 1956, I believe, there were communal disturbances and there were no evictions. There is no casual relation between the evictions and communal disturbances. That was clear. Still they were very keen about that. Well, that was something on their side. We need not have talked to them. But we also had something to ask for. We asked for the protection and for various things about property, etc. for the minorities in East Pakistan. In order to secure all that, we had to discuss with them. But discussion with them does not mean surrender of any sovereign rights, since when they asked for the setting up of committees or those joint tribunals with judges from both countries and somebody from another country, we said 'No' to it, because it was totally unacceptable to us, as there, we thought that it was an encroachment on our sovereignty.

**Shri Ranga:** Why? It is a small matter. Why should we have brought all that criticism on our heads that we are driving away Assamese Muslims?

**Shri Nanda:** If the hon. Member and the whole House thinks that it is a small matter, then, certainly I shall have to do that, but I believe possibly that the Home Minister of Pakistan may be satisfied with less than what the hon. Member suggests. For, I offered this suggestion to him. I told him 'If I dub a person as a Pakistani infiltrant, and then push him' into East Pakistan, he has a quarrel. He said 'How do you say that he is a Pakistani? I have to decide whether he is a Pakistani or not'. But what did we say? We said 'No, we are only deciding whether a person is an Indian national or foreigner according to our laws; and the moment we take that

decision we do not say that he is a Pakistani, but we only tell him 'Go where you came from'. Let him go where he came from. We are not saying that we shall push him into Pakistan. If he had come from Pakistan, let him go there?

The question did not stop there still. We went further and said 'But then this is our problem; you have also got a problem; and we want to help in the solution of that. So, let us have a look at our procedures'. He said it very clearly that he did not expect us to retain a single Pakistani in our country. He was very unequivocal about this. But he said 'You are sending out of your country Indian Muslims, and there is our report, namely the Jabbar Committee report which says that 95 per cent of the people, after examination, have been found to be Indian nationals'. But I said 'The Jabbar Committee or Commission never listened to the other side. So, how can this *ex-parte* decision be taken as the really proper verdict, because it is not a judicial verdict?'. Then, I said 'We can show you and convince you; you and I may sit together, and let us go through our procedures from the beginning to the end starting from the tribunals; Then, the access to court is open up to the High Court and the Supreme Court; and I shall be able to satisfy you that all those people on whom quite notices are served are not Indian nationals but are foreigners'. But since he had no time, I said 'All right, shall give you a whole statement about all the procedures, and you may go through them'. If the whole agreement had been reached, I do not think that two weeks' or even two months' stay, not of the processes—not of detection of infiltrants, but only of the serving of quit-notices—would have mattered very much, but then there was no agreement, and, therefore....

**Shri Hem Barua:** Mr. Habibullah Khan has made a statement after he has reached Pakistan that India's attitude over this was very unreasonable. Why is that so?

**Shri Nanda:** That is his frame of mind, not mine.

**Shri Basumatari:** Nothing is reasonable to them.

**Shri Nanda:** What do we do now? I shall now state....

**Shri Khadiolkar:** May I ask one question about this point because the statement is silent regarding this question of infiltration? From the census reports, it is clear that the population of Muslims on our side of the border has gone up by 120 per cent, while on the other side of the border in Pakistan, it has come down by 5 per cent, while the average rise is 22 per cent. In the statement of the hon Minister he has not made this clear.

**Shri Nanda:** The statement does not contain all the arguments etc.

**Shri Khadiolkar:** That is proof of infiltration.

**Shri Nanda:** We argued about that. But ultimately it is not the census reports. And it is not question of a certain computation by anybody, but it is a question of fact. It is not a question whether it will be five lakhs or two lakhs or one lakh. We are not going to find out a certain number of persons because the census reports say so—Because the census reports say so, we are not going to say that it is that number. . . .

**Shri Khadiolkar:** But my hon. friend, like Shri Ranga minimise it. Therefore, I have pointed this out.

**Shri Nanda:** I believe that the figures are based on a proper reckoning, but it is actually a question of fact. A person cannot be sent out just in that manner. We have to apply certain criteria and certain tests of nationality and citizenship etc. and only all that the person is told that he has to go. As to how long it will take, I can only say this. I stick to what I have been saying and what I said in Assam, that every Pakistani has to go

[Shri Nanda]

back very soon, and no Indian national by any kind of error, will be forced to go. We will take every precaution to see that no such error takes place. But then I will be asked: what are you doing about it?

**Shri Hem Barua:** When the hon. Minister made this statement in Assam, it created a lot of enthusiasm in Assam and a lot of praise for the Minister. But now our people feel that the entire proposal has been cold-stored because the Home Minister came here and reported the matter to the Prime Minister who put his foot down upon it.

**Shri Nanda:** I do not know whether he knows more about what passes between me and the Prime Minister than I do. I can state very categorically that the steps which we have envisaged which I declare are going to be taken are going to be taken. For example, a belt across the border, half a mile or more, according to the situation, is going to be cleared. Those posts, setting up of a network of new checkposts, rather those border security posts, their number is going to be increased. Along that belt, there will be better communications, roads, facility of movement and greater mobility. All these things are going to be done. There will be barbed wire fences, wherever they are required. All that I said are going to be done. These are decisions now.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Originally, it was to be a five-mile belt. Now it is going to be half a mile. Why?

**Shri Nanda:** If the object is achieved by unsettling a fewer number of persons, whom you have again to rehabilitate, why should it not be so? If we find that a mile is required, we will do that. It may be more than half a mile. It depends on the situation. It may be more than half a mile. In practice, whatever will make this effective, will be done. It may be more than half a mile in certain places; it may be more than a mile in certain others.

These are some of the decisions taken. Internally, in the State, there are other steps to be taken. Among them, is the setting up of a network of police watch posts in areas where infiltration takes place, where they come and occupy vacant land. The idea is to prevent such inroads, because they came in search of land. That is the attraction. We want to detect them and prevent them from doing it—from taking possession of land. Intelligence and prevention posts are going to be set up.

Then the thumb and finger impressions of illegal entrants will be taken to inhibit their movement into other districts. This will also enable the State Government to detect them, when they return to India later. That happens. They go. We send them. But they come back.

These are the other measures that are now being taken. It is very difficult to prevent their entry along a very long border, without these steps.

**Shri Basumatari:** What would be the machinery for taking the thumb impressions? Suppose I am a Pakistani national. You have got the thumb impression on paper. What is the machinery to check it?

**Shri Nanda:** It is exactly for the Pakistani nationals that the thumb impression is required.

**Shri Basumatari:** How do you prove that he is a Pakistani?

**Shri Nanda:** Anybody can detect the thumb impression. Suppose while the processes are through, he goes underground and comes up again?

**Shri Hem Barua:** Detection is difficult—that is the trouble.

**Shri Nanda:** Detection is not so difficult. I can assure the House that Muslims in the area whom I met—a large number of them, told me—this also applies to the Muslim Ministers, because there is a cloud of suspicion created unnecessarily—they told me,



'Do this. Kindly let it be done, because for the sake of a small number we also suffer. We would help in this. We will help in detection'.

**Shri Hem Barua:** Assamese Muslims.

**Shri Nanda:** I am not able to distinguish from the sight.

**Shri Hem Barua:** There is a difference.

**Shri Nanda:** These new battalions are to be raised in areas for purposes of prevention of infiltration. The refugees who have come from Garo Hills would be recruited, subject to their being found fit material for this purpose. I do not want to enter into greater details about it, but this will at least assure the House that what was thought of then is not now being forgotten, has not gone into oblivion. I am repeating that these things are going to be done, and some other things also which I need not mention here.

Coming to this question of communal forces on both sides, Shri Daji talked about the philosophy of communalism and its root causes. He said: "Do not only deal with the surface, there is this communal virus which poisons the life of the community." These forces of evil exist. They have a hand in the communal riots. Of course, mostly these riots were due, as I said, to the disturbing and provocative influence of the reports of disturbances in East Pakistan. These mischievous elements who fan communal passions and spread communal poison are to be found in both the majority and minority communities. Let that be made clear. I know this. I get reports. Every day I get intelligence reports. Therefore, let not one community be tarred with that black brush. I know this, and I warn these elements. I am watching it. Those who incite communal hatred among Hindus and Muslims will not be given any quarter. I am going to call them and tell them: we know what you are doing,

we are aware. Then, the activities on one side becomes the justification for similar undesirable activities on the other. Both have to stop.

There is this question of the discovery of the manufacture of arms here and there and the stocking of arms. It is said that these arms are being kept for the purpose of defence. Then, the suspicion that one community has armed itself becomes itself the cause for the other to do likewise, and it leads to retaliation. I have seen it in a number of cases. I am telling everybody, and my advice to them is that it is the Government's duty to protect them all. They have not to protect themselves by arming themselves. They are creating more problems by this kind of preparation. We undertake the responsibility. Perhaps we may not have been able to do it perfectly, but we are going to do everything possible about it at any rate.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** They are all underground.

**Shri Nanda:** That is right, but they can be detected.

**Shri Hem Barua:** It is the Government's duty to spot out these arms and ammunitions.

**Shri Nanda:** Yes, Government's duty will be done. This is a self-defeating process. I may also invite the attention of the House to a brighter feature of this situation. Muslims testified in large numbers before me at every place, at Rourkela also where very horrible things happened; they said in the camps that it was the Hindus who protected them at the risk of their own lives. They moved them from one house to another. They said that large numbers of Hindus were with them but they could not help it. And they were there because there were other forces which were beyond their control. This happened there, and so we must see things in the proper perspective, and all these facts have to be borne in mind.

[Shri Nanda]

Then there is the question of the emergency. I started at about quarter to five. There are some matters about Kashmir and a number of other things.

Mr. Speaker: Will he be able to finish by 6 o'clock?

Shri Nanda: I think so. I shall try to.

Mr. Speaker: My 6 o'clock he might conclude. The House will show that much of latitude to him.

Shri Hem Barua: He looks tired, very tired.

Mr. Speaker: He must finish by today.

Shri Nanda: I am not tired, but if the House is tired, I can stop.

Mr. Speaker: He must finish today.

Shri Nanda: I will try to do that.

Shri Khadilkar: There are many problems. Why not tomorrow?

Mr. Speaker: No, not in any case.

Shri Nanda: There are other aspects of the security of the State which are of very great importance normally also but they now become matters of tremendous concern to us.

We have been told by some hon. Members, by Shri S. M. Banerjee for example, that we should revoke the declaration of the state of emergency. The reason given is that there is no sign of emergency.

Shri Nanda: I am acutely aware of the state of Emergency all the time. Apart from the communal disturbances—of course it was not that the people deliberately wanted to impede our defence efforts—there is the question of espionage and subversion. It is not a matter which could be treated lightly. We are watchful of such activities and we have to do our part very effectively. We are taking precaution for detection, prevention, etc.

Now, I want to come to the argument of the hon. Member. He brought in the time-worn story of the wolf-cry of the shepherded boy. Today the cry has come and the position is now obvious; the next time when the wolf comes nobody would heed the cry and the boy would be devoured—that was his stand. But the hon. Member forgets. (An Hon. Member: You have forgotten). The wolf is there; it is not a question of the wolf not being there; it is there only at a little distance. It seems he says: wait till the wolf comes near you and devours you; do not make the cry now when the wolf is a little away there.... (Interruptions.)

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I talked neither of the wolf nor of the alarm. As both names end in 'ji', Daji and Banerjee, he is mixing up

An Hon. Member: It was Mr. Daji who said that.

Shri Nanda: He always used to say this and I thought that on this occasion also he has said this.

It was natural that when we were confronted with so many negative features of our national life, Members' minds would not turn to the problem of national integration. We can recall those stirring days, dangerous days of Chinese aggression to our nation. It was an exhilarating experience. It appears only a grave crisis can evoke such an upsurge of enthusiasm and unity and then, afterwards, we again have to sink into old ways and squabbles and difference and these fissures and conflicts emerge. Perhaps Mr. Daji—not Mr. Banerjee—said that we should have a big national ideal which can grip the minds of the nation. It will not be superficial things. I agree with him and that something has to be on a big enough scale so that the narrow, regional, parochial outlook does not prevail. A few villages on this side or that side of the border can lead to big agitations, as if it is a different country to which the villages are to go. The question of caste rules us—

not of course the caste—it is rather the clanish outlook which is one bad form of selfishness. Those goals, those purposes which can unify the nation and integrate it can have a deep and abiding influence; they can be only in terms of social justice, that is an organisation, economic and social organisation which will bring about social justice and give unto the last whatever is due. That is our programme of democratic socialism.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** Even this issue of small villages to this side or that side of the border has something very real to do with the sense of social justice. Only a human approach can solve that problem.... (Interruptions.)

**Shri Nanda:** Justice should be done; there should be no injustice; it should not raise passion like that. It is in this context that I am saying these things... (Interruptions.)

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What happened to the Pataskar formula?

**Shri Nanda:** Enough has not been done for the backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in spite of the fact that my Ministry reports much progress in terms of so much scholarship and this and that. Untouchability remains, and it cannot be eradicated by sermons. The law is there. Much more has to be done, so that those untouchables are no longer the persons on whom one can look down. They have to be looked up. In respect of education and improvement of their economic life, much more should be done. This is the way. Of course, other things have also to be done. I do not go into the details of that.

There is the question of language; again, why, instead of dealing with it in dispassionate terms, it arouses passion. We have a settled language policy. So far as Hindi is concerned, we have to have it for the sake of political and social communication, for bringing the country together, and it has to be developed. There is no

question about it, but not at the expense of anybody and not to cause handicaps to anybody. This is what we ought to ensure and what we are trying to do.

We have found that only a small amount was being spent for the purpose of diffusion of the knowledge of Hindi in the non-Hindi States. The question was why not much more money is spent. Therefore, I think in the course of the year, four times the money has been secured for this purpose. Instead of Rs. 25 lakhs, let it be a crore of rupees. It could be easily done and nobody could object to it.

Then there is the question of examination. There also, the question is, how long can you prevent Hindi coming in as a medium of examinations. But it should be done in a manner that nobody can say that there is going to be any disadvantage for others.

Then there is the question of Kashmir. I take it as part of the problem of national integration. In that sense, in that context, I shall state briefly as I think about the situation. I would not go into the speeches of A. B. C or D. Our policies are not going to shift because somebody has said something somewhere. In recent weeks, Kashmir has been very much in the eyes and minds of the people of India and the Members of Parliament. Some fresh developments are attracting a great deal of attention. Strong sentiments have been expressed in the House regarding Kashmir in the course of the debate. It is a tribute to this House that Members are always watchful, aware and alert with regard to all significant developments in the country.

There are certain factors of history which cannot be undone. The accession of Jammu and Kashmir to the Union of India is a fact of Indian history; it is a fact of world history. There can be no going back on that. Its accession is complete, final and irrevocable. It is

[Shri Nanda]

as complete as the accession of some of the erstwhile States in the heart of India. Kashmir is already an integral part of India. Let the fact that there are special provisions in the Constitution with regard to Kashmir not create any confusion in our minds regarding the true status of Kashmir as part of India. These special provisions were not imposed by any outside power; they became a part of the Constitution of India as a free decision of the people of India. These were intended to be in the nature of transitory provisions, representing a transitional stage. It was visualised then that the content of these provisions will gradually alter so that the administrative arrangements in Kashmir during the course of time come to be fully on par with the rest of India.

There has been considerable progress in this direction during the past few years on the initiative of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Considerable delay also.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Consistent of Jammu and Kashmir, headed by Shri Sadiq, is deeply committed to the same process. I need not say anything more. I have very little time left.

**Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh:** What about the extension of the IPC to Kashmir?

**Shri Nanda:** I will not go into the details, but I will state broadly the policy in this matter. Questions of administration figured in the discussion very largely in the context of speedy and efficient implementation of the tasks undertaken by the Government and also with regard

to the redress of public grievances, and the prevalence of corruption. It will be wrong to assume that no efforts have been made so far to strengthen and improve the administrative set-up during the last several years after the attainment of Independence. My colleague has given some information about the Commissions and Committees which have been set up. It is clearly seen that in the new conditions after the attainment of independence, in the democratic structure, in the social obligations and economic responsibilities undertaken by the Government, there will be need for a radical change in respect of organisation, methods, procedure as well as in the outlook of those who are serving in the administration.

**Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti):** The basis of the change has to be political and not technical.

**Shri Nanda:** It has to be both. It is not necessary to make everything political.

**Shri K. D. Malaviya:** What I meant to say was that a political decision is absolutely imperative if we want to bring about that radical change in the administration to which we, as the Congress Party, are dedicated and committed.

**Shri Khadilkar:** If I have understood him correctly, he has taken the administration because in the appraisal of the Plan, it was clear that the administration to a large extent is responsible for the failure of the Plan. How far has he invigorated or given new orientation to administration?

**Shri Nanda:** I concede and acknowledge the fact that the administrative machinery has not proved to be equal to the tasks set in the expectations of the people after the attainment of independence. It has not given full satisfaction. We have been giving anxious thought to various problems connected with it and certain deci-

sions have been taken. My colleague has given some information about the new set-up of the Department of Administrative Reforms. Fortunately, we have found some officer to look after it.

**Shri K. D. Malaviya:** You are interested in some expert. (*Interruption*). This question has to be taken out of that morass.

**Shri P. N. Kayal:** Honest officers should not suffer. They should be rewarded.

**Mr. Speaker:** He should try to conclude now.

**Shri Nanda:** I will do it; I have my eyes on the clock.

There are three things in view. Of course, there is reorganisation, modernisation and rationalisation of these processes with the help of experts and with the help of those who have experience and with the help of those also who have no experience. This will be done. There are three divisions in that. One is dealing with economic matters and the other with the redress of grievances of the people and the third is about organisation, methods, etc.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** What about coordination?

**Shri Nanda:** Naturally, it is part of organisation. One thing to which I am going to give a good deal of attention is the question of delays, because it is linked up with the question of corruption. Therefore, my immediate task will be to look at it, from this angle and the delays should be eliminated as much as possible.

The last thing I will deal with during the few minutes that remain is the question of corruption.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Not the least!

**Shri Nanda:** But not the least, so far as I am concerned, at any rate.

**Shri Tyagi:** By corruption, you surely mean monetary corruption and not the other one.

**Shri Nanda:** I am at the moment talking of corruption in relation to administration. In the first place, I have denied the benefit of an extension by another year which hon. Members chose to give me. I stick to the two years, of which four months have gone. I could not help it. In the last two months, all my energies were absorbed in the other things. But I am going to address myself to this vigorously and immediately, with the help of everybody. I am sure the representatives of the political parties have given an assurance from their side that fullest help will be offered.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Yes, if you mean business.

**Shri Nanda:** To be a Minister in the Government means something. Is it not?

**Shri Tyagi:** It means a lot.

**Shri Nanda:** I would not be there after that period if I have not done something and given satisfaction. Whose satisfaction? I do not want satisfaction of this side, but I want to do something to the satisfaction of hon. Members opposite. They will decide whether at the end of the period of two years, I have given satisfaction to them. What is the commitment? . . . (*Interruption*). In the sphere in which I am concerned a striking impression will be created, a substantial difference will be made in the practice, in the prevalence of corruption in the country. I am not to judge it. It is you who will judge whether there is a striking difference, whether there is a substantial difference.

[Shri Nanda]

There is one thing which, possibly, hon. Members may take rather lightly. But it is a serious matter. It is not just a craze of mine that I go to the people. I look to them for the purpose of assisting in big things. There is the Samyukta Sadachar Samiti for which I had talks with the leaders of all political parties. The key is this. The Government does things in its own way. People send in their complaints to the Government. Then they again complain that their petitions go down to the people against whom their complaints are and, therefore, they are thrown in the waste paper basket and nothing happens. In spite of the large number of cases which we take up which have resulted in dismissals, prosecutions and convictions, still the people feel that there is no great difference. People like Acharya Tulsi and others also have been trying to do something. Various efforts are being made. Yet the conditions have not altered to any significant extent. The difference is going to be this. If there is a popular organisation representative of all parties, social organisations and others and if it has got a system of recording the grievances of the people, that will make all the difference. Anybody can go there and say what has happened. Then that is recorded, taken notice of, screened and anything vexatious is removed or eliminated. Then it will go to the Government. There is a joint arrangement by which a responsible person here and a responsible person on the side of the Government may meet frequently when whatever has been sent from the people's side is taken notice of and a reply given. Between the two the whole field will be covered. And, I believe that will be the test. The test will be, out of the cases which we have recorded or which have been brought to us, how many were we able to resolve and what was the outcome of it. My faith and hope is that apart from the various efforts that will be made to make some kind of a social change in the country—it may not within

two years become so effective—this system plus the other things must inevitably bring about that substantial change, that striking difference. It is with that hope and with the indulgence which has been shown by the hon. Members to me personally and to the Home Ministry that we continue to deal with the various difficult tasks that are facing us today.

**Shri Bade:** You have said nothing about the utterances of Sheikh Abdullah.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has said that he will not say anything at this moment. (Interruptions).

**Shri Nanda:** I have no time to deal with the other questions.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Next time.

**Mr. Speaker:** Am I required to put any cut motion separately?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** Cut motion No. 43 may be put separately.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is what he has promised you just now. Give him the time that he has asked for.

**An Hon. Member:** We want to press it now.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Home Affairs' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to provide a clear, efficient and incorruptible administration in the country (43)].

The Lok Sabha divided.

[Division No. 21]

] 18.03 hr

## [ EYES

Alvares, Shri	Dwijvelly, Shri Surendranath	Raiaram, Shri
Bade, Shri.	Gauri Shankar, Shri	Ranga, Shri
Banerjee, Shri S. M.	Jha, Shri Jogendra	Sezhiyan, Shri
Barua, Shri Hem	Kachhavaia, Shri Hukam Chand	Suriya Prasad, Shri
Berwa, Shri Onkar Lal	Kamath, Shri Hari Vishnu	Swamy, Shri Sivamrthi
Bheel, Shri P. S.	Laxmi Das, Shri	Vishram Prasad, Shri
Chakravartty, Shrimati Renu	Nambiar, Shri	Yashpal Singh, Shri

## NOES

Alva, Shri A. S.	Kouialgi, Shri H. V.	Rne, Shri
Aney, Dr. M. S.	Lakhan Das, Shri	Rao, Shri Krishnamoorthy
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha	Lalit Sen, Shri	Rao, Shri Ramapathi
Babunath Singh, Shri	Laskar, Shri N. R.	Reddy, Shrimati Yashoda
Basappa, Shri	Mallick, Shri	Sahu, Shri Rameshwar
Basumatari, Shri	Mehrotra, Shri Braj Bihari	Samanta, Shri S. C.
Birendra Bahadur Singh, Shri	Melkote, Dr.	Saraf, Shri Sham Lal
Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri	Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali	Sen, Shri A. K.
Chandrasekhar, Shrimati	Mishra, Shri Bibhuti	Sen, Shri P. G.
Chandrabhan Singh, Shri	Mohiuddin, Shri	Shankaraiya, Shri
Das, Shri . K.	More, Shri K. L.	Shinkre, Shri
Das, Shri N. T.	Muthiah, Shri	Siddnanjappa, Shri
Deshmukh, Shri Shivaji Rao S.	Naik, Shri D. J.	Siddiah, Shri
Dighe, Shri	Nallakoya, Shri	Singh, Shri R. P.
Elayaerumal, Shri	Nanda, Shri	Singha, Shri G. K.
Ganapati Ram, Shri	Nigam, Shrimati Savitri	Subbaraman, Shri C.
Ganga Devi, Shrimati	Niranjan Lal, Shri	Subramaniam, Shri C.
Hansda, Shri Subodh	Paliwal, Shri	Subramanyam, Shri T.
Hanumantnaya, Shri	Pande, Shri K.	Tombi, Shri
Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra	Pandey, Shri R. S.	Tyagi, Shri
Jyorishi, Shri J. P.	Pant, Shri K. C.	Uikey, Shri
Kabir, Shri Humayun	Patel, Shri Chhotubh	Upadhyaya, Shri Shiva Dutt
Kayal, Shri P. N.	Patil, Shri T. A.	Vidyalankar, Shri A. N.
Kedaria, Shri C. M.	Pratap Singh, Shri	Wadiwa, Shri
Keishing, Shri Rishang	Raghunath Singh, Shri	Yadav, Shri Ram Sewak
Khadikar, Shri	Sam, Shri T.	Yadava, Shri B. P.
Khan, Shri Osman Ali	Ram Swarup, Shri	
Kotoki, Shri Liladhar	Ramaswamy, Shri V. K.	

श्री चांडक (छिदवाड़ा) : अध्यक्ष  
महादय, मुझे से गलती हो गई । मैं "नाज"  
में वोट दे रहा था :

Shri Koya: My machine is not  
working. I am for "Ayes".

श्री के० दे० मालवीय : मैं पहुंच नहीं  
सका मुझे देर हो गई ।

Mr. Speaker: The result of the  
division is: Ayes 21; Noes 82.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: Now I will put the  
rest of the cut motions to the vote of  
the House.

The cut motions were put and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not  
exceeding the amounts shown in  
the fourth column of the order  
paper, be granted to the Presi-  
dent, to complete the sums neces-  
sary to defray the charges that  
will come in course of payment  
during the year ending the 31st  
day of March, 1965, in respect of  
the heads of demands entered in  
the second column thereof against  
Demand Nos. 45 to 56 and 128

[Mr. Speaker]

relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs."

*The motion was adopted.*

[*The motions of Demands for Grants which were adopted by the Lok Sabha are reproduced below—Ed.*]

**DEMAND NO. 45—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,15,61,000 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, 1965, in respect of Ministry of Home Affairs."

**DEMAND NO. 46—CABINET**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 42,01,000 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, 1965, in respect of Cabinet."

**DEMAND NO. 47—ZONAL COUNCILS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,16,000 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, 1965, in respect of Zonal Councils."

**DEMAND NO. 48—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,91,000 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, 1965, in respect of Administration of Justice."

**DEMAND NO. 49—POLICE**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,41,85,000 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, 1965, in respect of Police."

**DEMAND NO. 50—CENSUS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,25,15,000 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, 1965, in respect of Census."

**DEMAND NO. 51—STATISTICS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,10,88,000 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, 1965, in respect of Statistics."

**DEMAND NO. 52—PRIVY PURSES AND ALLOWANCES OF INDIAN RULERS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 86,000 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, 1965, in respect of Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers."

**DEMAND NO. 53—DELHI**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,65,87,000 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, 1965, in respect of Delhi."

**DEMAND No. 54—ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,99,18,000 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, 1965, in respect of Andaman and Nicobar Islands."

**DEMAND No. 55—LACCADIVE, MINICOY AND AMINDIVI ISLANDS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 43,58,000 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, 1965, in respect of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands."

**DEMAND No. 56—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,52,43,000 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, 1965, in respect of Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Home Affairs."

**DEMAND No. 128—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,38,000 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, 1965, in respect of Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs."

18.05 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday April 16, 1964|Chaitra 27, 1886 (Saka).*