

***DEMANDS FOR GRANTS— contd.**

Mr. Speaker: Today the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of States are to be discussed. As Members are aware, one and a half days have been allotted for both the Ministries together, that is, four hours today and two hours tomorrow. If Members desire the two Ministries may be discussed separately, or they may be discussed together.

Several Hon. Members: Together.

Mr Speaker: So I take it the sense of the House is that they should be discussed together. As the two Ministries are to be taken up together I shall place Demands Nos. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58 and 126 relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs and Demands Nos. 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95 and 134 relating to the Ministry of States before the House. The Minister will reply on behalf of both the Ministries tomorrow.

Members and Leaders of Groups may hand over the numbers of the cut motions which they select to the Secretary in fifteen minutes. I will treat them as moved if those hon. Members in whose names those motions stand are present in the House and those cut motions are otherwise in order.

The usual time-limit on speeches will be observed. I shall formally place the Demands before the House.

DEMAND No. 52—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,43,36,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 53—CABINET

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,78,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

DEMAND No. 54—DELHI

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,44,60,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Delhi'."

DEMAND No. 55—POLICE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,64,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Police'."

DEMAND No. 56—CENSUS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,86,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Census'."

DEMAND No. 57—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS AND EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,71,000 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, 1955, in respect

* Moved with the previous sanction of the President

[Mr. Speaker]

of 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 58—ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,80,54,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'."

DEMAND No. 126—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,06,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 88—MINISTRY OF STATES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,74,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Ministry of States'."

DEMAND No. 89—PRIVY PURSES AND ALLOWANCES OF INDIAN RULERS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,96,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers'."

DEMAND No. 90—KUTCH

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,07,22,000, 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, 1955, in respect of 'Kutch'."

DEMAND No. 91—BILASPUR

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,85,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Bilaspur'." —

DEMAND No. 92—MANIPUR

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 75,82,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Manipur'."

DEMAND No. 93—TRIPURA

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,20,81,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Tripura'."

DEMAND No. 94—RELATIONS WITH STATES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,35,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Relations with States'."

DEMAND NO. 95—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF STATES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,86,000 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, 1955, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of States'."

DEMAND NO. 134—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF STATES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,96,83,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of States'."

I have received the numbers of the selected cut motions which the hon. Members may formally move.

Absence of Civil Defence measures

Shri U. C. Patnalk (Ghumsur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to relax provisions of Indian Arms Acts and Rules

Shri U. C. Patnalk: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Lack of adequate support to Rifle Associations etc.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Control over Administration of Part 'C' States

Shri Anandchand (Bilaspur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of States' be reduced by Rs. 100"

Inefficiency in administration in Bilaspur

Shri Anandchand: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Bilaspur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Proposed merger of Bilaspur with Himachal Pradesh

Shri Anandchand: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Bilaspur' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Upliftment of Sch. Castes and Tribes and backward classes

Shri Deogam (Chaibassa—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Inadequate representation of Sch. Tribes in Central Services

Shri Deogam: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to safeguard Tribal Panchayats of Chotanagpur under Tribal headmen

Shri Deogam: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure of Government to protect tribal people against economic exploitation

Shri Deogam: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure of Commissioner etc. for Sch. Castes and Tribes in ameliorating condition of backward communities

Shri Deogam: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to enumerate exact number of Sch. Tribes during last census

Shri Deogam: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Census' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to stop corruption

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy of redistribution of States on a linguistic basis

Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura East): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Liberalisation of Government Servants' Conduct Rules

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Repealing of National Security Rules

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Misuse of Preventive Detention Act

Shri N. B. Chowdhury (Ghatal): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to introduce radical reforms for cheap and speedy justice

Shri Madhao Reddi (Adilabad): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Central Secretariat Employees' grievances.

Shri Madhao Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to appoint an Anti-Corruption Commission.

Shri Madho Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Abolition of office of Rajpramukh and Governor

Shri Madhao Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to remove social barriers etc.

Shri Madhao Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to effect radical administrative reforms

Shri Madhao Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Reduction of High Courts and Public Service Commissions

Shri Madhao Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to speed up separation of judiciary from executive

Shri Madhao Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Status of displaced Government servants from Punjab (Pakistan)

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Fate of highly qualified displaced persons absorbed in Central Secretariat

Sardar Hukam Singh: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to reserve vacancies for Backward Class candidates in Union Services

Shri Boovaraghasamy (Perambalur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Need to arrest corruption in Government services

Shri Boovaraghasamy: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Interim report from the States Reorganisation Commission regarding Karnataka Province

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Christian Missionaries' activities and scope of religious freedom

Dr. Krishnaswami (Kancheepuram): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Special Police Establishment's activities

Shri Madhao Reddi: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Police' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to introduce Legislative Assemblies in Tripura, Manipur and Kutch

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of States' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Introduction of Legislative Assemblies in all Part 'C' States having no Assemblies

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand, under the head 'Ministry of States' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Ordinance in Tripura to prevent requisitioning of land from tribal peasants

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of States' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Urgent non-official inquiry into conduct of police at Agartala

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of States' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Illegal arrest by Tripura Police of peasants under West Bengal Security Act

Shri Biren Dutt (Tripura West): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of States' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Urgent promulgation of Ordinance for stopping eviction of peasants for growing more food

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to properly rehabilitate refugees in Tripura

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Curtailment of civil liberty at Agartala by frequent promulgation of Section 144.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to restore civil liberty in Tripura

Shri Biren Dutt: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to rehabilitate Jumias of Tripura

Shri Biren Dutt: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to introduce land reform in Tripura

Shri Biren Dutt: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to provide cheap air freight for exporting pine apple.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tripura' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Mr. Speaker: All these cut motions and Demands for Grants are placed before the House and discussion on them may now proceed.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara): The reports of the Working of the Ministry of Home Affairs, which have been circulated to the Members of this House, I am sorry to say, have been meagre, indefinite and very pretentious. For example, it was claimed that the Special Reorganisation Unit has examined and disclosed over-staffing, duplication of efforts and defects in office procedure in the Ministries of Communications, Commerce and Industry, and Transport, and the Office of the Union Public Service Commission. On page 7 of the Report it is stated that many of the recommendations have been accepted and implemented in a large measure by the Ministries. This is very vague. This House would like to know how many of these recommendations have been accepted and what benefit it brought to the exchequer, how many of these recommendations were rejected and why, as a matter of fact, they were rejected by the various Ministries. From a perusal of the Demands of the various Ministries, I find that instead of the recommendations bringing in any cut in the overall expenditure in the various Ministries, all the Ministries show a rise in the overall expenditure. Even in the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Demand is Rs. 1,56,39,000 for the year 1954-55 whereas the actuals of the year 1952-53 were of the order of Rs. 92,00,000. In the Ministry of Transport, the Demand is Rs. 14½ lakhs more. In the Ministry of Communications, the Demand is two lakhs and odd rupees more. The expenditure of the Union Public Service Commission is about Rs. 200,000 more. The only Ministry wherein an attempt has been made to bring about some cut in the expenditure is the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. There also we find a very queer procedure being followed. By means of two lump cuts to the tune of Rs. 3,58,000, the Ministry has shown a fall of Rs. 40,000, in the Demand. How they are going to implement the recommendations, and

[Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

whether it is at all going to materialise has to be seen from experience. In short, I feel that the money spent on the Special Reorganisation Unit is more or less a waste and the attempt at reduction of the expenses of the various Ministries is only an eyewash to perpetuate the pyramidal structure of the Government of India offices. I feel that this is an attempt to maintain permanently the bureaucratic bosses at the helm of affairs, getting thousands of rupees every month, and also to maintain the lower grade staff at starvation wages.

As regards the All-India Services, I think that it is a matter on which there can be difference of opinion. It may be very satisfactory to those fortunate people who get themselves selected to the All-India Services. But, as a matter of fact, the special remunerations they get and the amenities and perferences they get have caused heartburning among the Government servants in all the States including Travancore-Cochin. There is also another aspect: the divided loyalties naturally create difficulties for the State Governments and also lead to indiscipline and lack of efficiency. Therefore, it is high time to review our entire policy towards government servants as a whole with a view to bringing down the highest salaries and raising the remuneration of the lower-paid services. In this connection, I may also be forgiven for pointing out that this Government has done a great injustice in taking away the Privilege Ticket Order. The lower Government servants used to get the facility to go back once a year to their homes. You know, Sir, the people of every State have got a right to be recruited to the Government Services, and generally they are posted far away from their homes. If they are not allowed some facilities to travel back to their homes once a year at some concession rates, naturally, these Government servants will be cut off from their homes for good. I think this is the only case where Ram Rajya gets worked out in this Republic because these

Government servants naturally fall out with their wives and start suspecting the fidelity of their wives who are living in their distant homes. So, this suspicion develops into family feuds and also leads to litigation and civil and criminal offences in the State. If this Government does not want the poor Government employees to suffer in their family relations and naturally to bring their venom into the entire service, then we have got to revive this Privilege Ticket Order.

Another question dealt with at length in the report is the concessions given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is suggested in the report that great attempts are being made to do full justice to these unfortunate sections of the people of this country. As a matter of fact, I do not believe that this Government is very sincere in their attempt to uplift the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If they had been very anxious, I do not understand why the Bill to penalise untouchability should take such a long and tedious course. It is seven long years since the Congress came to power. This is not a new concept. The Congress organisation, almost from its very inception, is pledged to the implementation of the removal of untouchability. Then why do they not legislate, and legislate in time, to see that it is removed? I come from a State where untouchability does not exist and has been removed for the last 20 years, but even then we feel that in out of the way places human dignity is affronted and the Scheduled Caste people are put to shame by reactionary elements in society. And there is also an opinion that this Government at the top containing so many Brahmin Ministers is a reactionary Government and that is why these steps are not put into practice effectively.

Another matter in which the hon. Minister takes pride is the promulgation of the Press (Objectionable Matter) Ordinance..

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member there will not speak directly. He interferes with the argument.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Who intervenes? I was talking with Mr. More, not with him.

Mr. Speaker: He should not talk. If he wants to talk, he may go outside and talk. It disturbs the proceedings, considerably.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: That has been enacted into law very recently. There is also the Preventive Detention Act which has been passed by both the Houses. These two enactments are certainly not matters of which the Congress Government can be or should be proud of. According to me, these are the two black Acts that tarnish the name of the Congress administration and organisation and history will certainly give its verdict against these.

Another very important factor which I bring to the notice of the House is the appointment of the Commission for Reorganisation of States in India. Regarding the personnel of this Commission we the exponents of the linguistic States both inside the House and outside are very anxious and very pessimistic. One of them is definitely known to be having anti-linguistic bias, and another is certainly a typical Indian bureaucrat of British-make. Naturally, we feel that this Commission will cater to the ideas—the preconceived notions and ideas—maintained by the people at the top. To add to our fear, recently some Members of this House have started—some of the yes-men have started—an organisation called the National Unity Platform. That organisation is intended to sabotage the attempts at the formation of linguistic states. All these tend to make us believe that the Government of India is not serious about the formation of linguistic States and that the Commission has been set up rather to

sabotage the idea of linguistic states than to further it.

Coming to the Ministry of States, I have to admit that the President's rule in PEPSU has really allowed the Congress to come back to power. But, so far as Travancore-Cochin is concerned, they have to admit that the tactics adopted has been a failure. The Ministry of States supported the discredited Ministers of Travancore-Cochin, and upheld them in power. They also attempted several other measures to win a majority for the Congress, such as utilising governmental machinery, government force and government money. During the seven days' tour of the Prime Minister of India, they have put up hundreds of platforms, thousands of wire-fencings, and protected areas, for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur): What is the harm in doing that?

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Our State money is spent, our poor State's finances are being depleted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*

I do not understand why the Prime Minister of India should be protected with wire-fences. Will he attack anybody? I would also like to know why the people who went to have his *darshan* were lathi-charged at Ranni. In spite of all these attempts, in spite of all these measures, in spite of the fact that a lot of money has been spent, in spite of the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advocated openly the enforcement of the sanctions by the Catholic Church there in bringing their flock to come and vote for the Congress, in spite of all this, the Congress did not get a majority.

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt.—South): Did you get a majority?

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: We kicked the Congress out of power. That is the first thing. We shall get majority as time passes. After all, Rome was not built in a day. (*Interruptions.*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Let there be no talk across the benches.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkana-West Cuttack): They are heckling him, and taking up his time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This time will be taken away from the hon. Members, when they speak.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: It is regrettable that such interference in elections should have happened for the first time in the history of India, and as a matter of fact, for the first time in the history of any democratic country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would make an appeal to hon. Members not to come to the Chair with the request that they should be allowed to speak. If any hon. Member wants his name to be included in the list of speakers, or wants to catch my eye, he may pass on a chit to the Table here, and they will communicate it to me. I find it very embarrassing to go on talking to hon. Members this side as well as that side, and at the same time continue to hear the hon. Member speaking. If I have to do all this, and if a point of order is raised, I will have to blink.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Very good of you to have said that.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: After the results of the elections have been announced, in order to swell the ranks of the Congress members, an Anglo-Indian has been nominated by the Rajpramukh to the State Legislature. It is only now that I understand the connection between the Rajpramukh, and the *badshas* ruling in Delhi. The Rajpramukh called upon a party of nineteen people in a House of 118, to form a Government. This is indeed a wonderful state of affairs, and this is how a democracy of the Congress type is working in that State.

Shri Nambiar: That is an experiment.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): We take precedents. (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Hon. Members should not talk across the benches in this manner.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: By these measures, the Congress hoped to win power; by their unconditional support to the P.S.P. they thought they would be able to dominate first, and then swallow up the P.S.P. If they support the P.S.P. Ministry in that spirit, we have no complaint against them. But I would only point out that the attitude of the toiling people of my State is very definite. We are prepared to tolerate any Government, any set of usurpers, any set of adventurous experimenters to rule the country, provided they do good to the people, they tackle the live problems of the people, and they tackle the problem of unemployment effectively. We welcome them provided they keep in check all the vested interests, and resist the attacks of the Catholic Church on the poor believers in the State. They must also do another thing: they must fight with the Central Government against the encroachments on the rights of the people of the State. We feel that during and after the integration, justice has not been done to Travancore-Cochin.

Assam, West Bengal and Bihar got a portion of the duty on jute. There is no reason why Travancore-Cochin should not get a portion of the duty on pepper.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are on the Home and State Ministries, and not on the Finance Ministry.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: Ours is a Part B State and therefore, I am speaking on this subject during the discussion on the States Ministry. We maintain that we have not been treated well, because the Krishnamachari Committee report has not been implemented. In 1952, Travancore-Cochin got Rs. 3 crores by way of food subsidy. In 1953, this amount was reduced to Rs. 1½ crores. In 1954,

there is no subsidy at all. This is unfair and unjust. At the time of the integration, we believed that the Krishnamachari Committee had laid down a correct criterion and that it would be followed. After that, there was the Finance Commission. We had no special provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935, to help us to get some special provisions being made in the Constitution and thereby get some additional allowance as in the case of Assam, West Bengal and Bihar. We claim that we should get a good portion of the duty on pepper.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is over, and I am calling Prof. Mathew to speak.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: With these words, I conclude.

Prof. Mathew (Kottayam): I wish to refer to a matter which has been causing deep concern to a certain number of Members of this House and to a still larger number of people outside, I mean primarily members of the Indian Christian community. While I do speak specially in reference to the Indian Christian Community, I am not speaking with any exclusive reference to it. I do not claim anything for that community which I would not easily concede to any other community in this land.

I wish to refer to the statements which have been made, from time to time, by our Home Minister in reference to the work of foreign missionaries in this country. Let us clear one or two possible misunderstandings. If any particular Christian missionary or any kind of foreigner in this land is working in a way which is injurious to the interests of this country, nobody would hold any brief for him. I would go further and say that if the members of any particular foreign nation are unwelcome to our country at the present juncture, then of course it is immaterial whether they are Christian missionaries or not. We who belong to the Christian

faith claim that we have as much at heart the interests of this country and the safety of this nation as anybody else. Subject to this proviso, I wish to raise the question why in our secular State there should be any discouragement of the activities of Christian missionaries, of whatever nationality they may be.

It is, sometimes, said that they are free to propagate the teachings of their religion, but they are not free to convert. I fail to understand the meaning of this statement. What is meant by propagation? It means the commending of a message by words and deeds. It is only an appeal. It is only a persuasion. It is only an argument. It is only teaching and helping and praying for people. When it is said that Christian missionaries are free to propagate, but nevertheless they are not free to convert, what exactly is meant? Is it meant that we can only argue, but not convince? Is it meant that we can only appeal, but there should be no response to that appeal? If that is so, it is a very strange logic. Strictly speaking, of course, no person can convert another. He can only appeal but not convert; he can only persuade but not convert; he can only help and pray, but not convert. For, conversion, if it takes place, is something which takes place in the minds of people who are converted. Others can only help in the process. This is not what the Home Minister means. Therefore, when the Home Minister or anybody else makes such a statement as the above one, some meaning is conveyed or rather intended which I cannot understand! It seems to me pointless to say that we can propagate the teachings of Christianity but we ought not aim at conversion.

Shri V. P. Nayar (Chirayinkil): The conversion is to the gospel of Eisenhower, and not to the gospel of Jesus Christ!

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Many others have also become new prophets.

Prof. Mathew: I did not hear the remark of my hon. friend, or even your remark, Sir. If what is meant is that the conversion should not be by illegitimate methods, I can understand. Nobody will hold a brief for the adoption of any illegitimate methods.

Again, it is said that deeds will speak for themselves; helpful ministrations will speak for themselves. Deeds of mercy certainly do speak loud, but does that mean that they ought not to be supplemented by verbal explanation and propaganda? It is the distinctive privilege of man to give verbal expression to his aspirations. Is any political party satisfied with saying, "Let our deeds speak for themselves". In this modern world, verbal propaganda has to supplement, explain and draw attention to the deeds.

Again, I submit that to say that Christian missionaries of whatever nationality, Indian or non-Indian conceive of education or medical assistance only as a means to spiritual conversion is misleading. The very category of "means and end" is inapplicable here. The simple truth, as I feel it, is this. All these form one indivisible and complex whole. What is it that a father desires for his children? What he desires first is their physical and bodily welfare; at the same time, he is also interested in their mental enlightenment and their spiritual enlightenment. All these form one complex whole. Therefore, if at all a category is to be employed here, it is the category of "part and whole" and not "means and end".

I have heard it said that in our Constitution this privilege of propagating one's religious faith, which simply means giving expression to one's spiritual aspirations and ideas and desires and placing one's point of view before others, is a right that is to be enjoyed by only Indian citizens.

I am not a lawyer and therefore I do not want to go into that question. But if this right is reserved only for Indian citizens, I wonder what are the rights of foreigners who happen to be here. Anyhow, that is not the point which I wish to stress. I wish to take my stand on something deeper than that, namely, the very conception of a secular State, which views all religions on the same footing and allows the freedom to preach, to all religions on the same footing. From the point of view of such a State, I do submit in all sincerity that if all Christians in Travancore-Cochin are won over to Hinduism, as an Indian citizen I have no right to protest. As a Christian, I may not like that, but that is a different question. If all the Muslims are won over to Hinduism, no Muslim has a right to protest.

Shri Velayudhan: Is there any disability for the Christians in Travancore-Cochin?

Prof. Mathew: That is not my point. My contention is that from the standpoint of a secular State, the conversion of people from one faith to another, so long as the method used for the purpose is legitimate, is not something which should be viewed with disfavour.

In reply to some questions put to him during the last session, the Prime Minister answered straight that with regard to missionaries going out from this country, Hindu missionaries or Christian missionaries, to several western countries, no special restrictions would be placed in those countries upon them. It may be that the number of people who go out is rather limited, but that does not make any difference in principle. I submit, again, that it is against the great traditions of this land if any special restrictions are put upon missionaries today, because very many centuries ago Buddhist missionaries went out beyond the confines of India. If the people of those foreign countries had taken up the attitude, "No, we do not

want missionaries from another country to come to our shores", it would have been a great misfortune. When Christianity was planted in India some nineteen centuries ago, no such unsympathetic attitude was taken up. Therefore, I appeal to the past traditions of our country which are the best traditions in this respect. I appeal also to the best traditions of many modern civilised countries of the West and of some in the East too. In the realm of literature, in matters of science, in matters of culture, in the deeper realm of the spirit, no national barriers are to be taken as absolute barriers: that has been our message from time immemorial. Our great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, very often used to point out forcibly that a narrow nationalism is inimical to our best traditions and to our best interests.

If newspaper reports are to be relied on—if they are wrong, I shall be happier than anybody else—it has been said by the Home Minister that while the present missionaries now working in India may claim the constitutional right of propagation of religion, missionaries in future will not be able to enjoy that right. Sir, I fail to understand why such a distinction ought to be made or can be justified.

One more point in conclusion. It may be asked, are we Christians, afraid to do our duty by ourselves without the help of foreigners? No, Sir, I am not afraid of that. But I look at the question from the standpoint of the nation. Not that we are afraid that we Christians shall not be able to discharge our religious duties including the propagation of faith, but I think, Sir, it will be unworthy of any Government to put barriers in the way of the legitimate aspirations of any community or any party or organization—political, scientific, philosophical or religious—to place its views before others but leave it to others to decide as they think best. I wish very much the Home Minister.

the Government which he represents. will be able to make some clear statement which will dispel these fears, and Sir, with that hope and with that strong confidence, I do support the Demands for Grants placed before the House by the Ministry.

श्रीमती मणिषेन वर्तल (कौरा दीक्षण) :
उपाध्यक्ष जी, अभी मंत्र पहले जो सदस्य बोले हैं उसके बारे में मुझ कुछ कहना है।

हमारी स्टेट सैक्यूलर है यह बात सही है और इसमें हर एक को अपने धर्म को प्रोपेगेट करने की रजा है यह बात भी सही है। परन्तु इसका मतलब क्या है? इसका अर्थ यह तो नहीं हो सकता कि जो बेचारे समझते नहीं हैं, जो हिल द्राइव वाले हैं, जो गरीब लोग हैं उनको किसी न किसी तरह कनवर्ट किया जाय। इसका यह मतलब नहीं हो सकता कि जो बच्चे हैं उनको कनवर्ट किया जाय। इस तरह से तो इसका लाभ नहीं उठाया जा सकता है। यह मैं ठीक समझ कर कहती हूँ और जो मंत्र पास वाले आती हैं उन से कहती हूँ। अब त्रावनकोर-कोचीन में हमको एक प्रकार से हार मिली। एक वोट्स की दृष्टि से अगर देखा जाय तो हमको मालूम होता है कि हमको ज्यादा मत मिले, लेकिन हमारी मॅजोरिटी नहीं है। इस बारे में भी मैं गृह मंत्री को जरा सोचने और जांच करने को कहती हूँ कि आप इतिहास और तलाश कीजिये कि पिछले दो तीन साल में कितने मंदिरों का नुकसान हुआ है और नाश हुआ है और आप यह भी सोचिये कि अगर इतना नुकसान और नाश ईसाइयों के चोपलों या मुसलमानों की मस्जिदों का होता तो आप क्या करते। तो सैक्यूलर स्टेट का मतलब यह है कि सारे धर्म वालों को और हर कॉमन वालों को एक सा न्याय मिले।

दूसरी बात में यह कहती हूँ कि अगर मिशनरी हमारे यहां ठीक तरह से काम करें तो हमको उनसे कोई भयान नहीं है। मेरा सम्बन्ध इस प्रश्न से काफी है इसीलिये मैं यह बात कहती हूँ। हम दीक्षण में कस्ट्रबा ट्रस्ट की

(श्रीमती मणिबेन पटेल)

आर से कुछ बहनों को नर्सिंह की ट्रेनिंग दते हैं। हम उनको कुछ अस्पतालों में ट्रेनिंग के लिए भेजते हैं और जब वह ट्रेनिंग पा जाती हैं तो उनको दहातों में भेजते हैं। तो दीक्षिण में एक मिशनरी अस्पताल में यह हालत है कि हमारी बहनों टीका लगा कर जाती हैं उनको तंग किया जाता है और उनका अपमान किया जाता है और हमसे रोज भगड़ा होता है। इसलिये हमने अपना दूसरा अस्पताल खोलने का तय किया। तो क्या इस तरह रिजिजन प्रोपेगेंड किया जाता है ?

मैं आपको एक और उदाहरण देना चाहती हूँ। मसूरी में एक मिशनरी स्कूल है, वुड स्टार्क स्कूल। वहाँ बच्चे पढ़ते हैं। एक दिन मां बाप को मालूम हुआ कि उनकी लड़की को बैपटाइज कर दिया गया तो क्या रिजिजन प्रोपेगेंड करने का यह मतलब है ? मैं कहती हूँ कि हम जो यहाँ ५०० सदस्य बैठे हैं और जो अपर हाउस के सदस्य हैं उनको सबको समझा कर कनवर्ट कीजिये मेरा कोई भगड़ा नहीं है। मैं खुद मिशनरी स्कूल में पढ़ी हूँ और मैं ने दो साल बाइबिल का प्राइज लिया है। मुझ अनुभव है कि वह किस तरकीब से कनवर्शन करते हैं और किस तरह से छोट बच्चों पर असर डालने की कोशिश करते हैं। इसीलिए मेरी आपसे खास विनती है कि प्रोपेगेशन के नीचे इस तरह का काम नहीं होने दें। यह तो स्टेट का काम है। हम तो थोड़ा बहुत ऊपर से देखते हैं। ऐसी बात कर के आप छूट नहीं सकते आपके पास तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान की बातें जरूर आती होंगी और न आती हों तो आपको जांच करनी चाहिए। यह बात मुझ खास कहनी पड़ी है क्योंकि मैं ने यह देखा है।

अभी पिछले साल मेरी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी में एक दहात में मिशनरी अस्पताल खोलना चाहते थे। वहाँ के लोगों के बहुत शोर मचाने पर उन्होंने छोड़ दिया। कुछ दिन पहले मैंने

अखबारों में पढ़ा कि फिर अस्पताल खोलना चाहते हैं, तलाश करने को लिखा है और हमारे यहाँ जो कनवर्शन होता है वह हरिजनों का होता है और फिर उनको अपने यहाँ से वह निकालने नहीं दते और किसी से मिलने नहीं दते। इस तरह से उनको रखते हैं। मुझ कोई भगड़ा नहीं है। अगर यह सारे हाउस को क्रिश्चन या मुसलमान कर लें। लेकिन समझा कर करें। और मेरी विनती है कि इसके लिए कोई रास्ता निकाला जाय कि बिना स्टेट के किसी अधिकारी की इजाजत के किसी को कनवर्ट न किया जाय। हमारे स्वतंत्र होने के बाद इस तरह कितने क्रिश्चियन बनाये गये हैं और दीक्षिण में कितने क्रिश्चियन और मुसलमान भी इसी तरह बनाये जा रहे हैं। इस चीज को आपको देखना है। जो लोग सरकार में काफी इज्जत पाते हैं, जिनके साथ आप मशीवरा करते हैं और जिनको आप कभी भी कम्युनल नहीं कहेंगे ऐसे लोगों के साथ मेरी आठ दस दिन हुए बातें हुई हैं और उन्होंने यह बात मुझ से कही है कि इस तरह से दीक्षिण में चल रहा है। मेहरबानी करके इस चीज को देखिये।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि इधर हमारे यहाँ आइ० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० का आब में ट्रेनिंग स्कूल है। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह कहा भी है कि हमारा जो अधिकारी वर्ग है वह लोगों के साथ मिल जुल कर रहे। और वह जहाँ कहीं भी जाय वहाँ यह पता न लगे कि वह फारिन एलीमेंट है। तो मैं परसों का आपको उदाहरण देती हूँ। मैं खादी और गाम उद्योग प्रदर्शनी में गयी थी। तो वहाँ पर जमीन पर बैठने का इन्तजाम था। अब एक भाई वहाँ आये और चीक वह पतलून पहने हुए थे, इसीलिए घंट भर खड़े रहे, बैठ नहीं सके। अगर बैठते तो एक तो पतलून के क्रीज बिगड़ जाने का डर था और दूसरे पतलून के कारण आसानी से बैठ भी नहीं सकते थे। मेरा आपसे यह कहना है कि यह जो आप आफिसर्स को ट्रेनिंग दते हैं तो इनको हाथ से खाना खाना

सिखाइयें, खाली छुरी काटें से खाना मत सिखाइयें। अब जमाना पलट गया है और वे आपके अफसर दहातों में जायेंगे तो यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि उनको बगैरे छुरी काटें की मदद लिये हाथ से ठीक तरह खाना खाना आता हो। दहात में मैं जाती हूँ जब आफिसर्स के साथ खाने का मौका पड़ा है तब मैंने देखा है वह हाथ से खाना खाते हैं तो अपने कपड़े खराब कर लेते हैं क्योंकि उनको नैपकिन लेकर खाना खाने की आदत पड़ी हुई है और हम तो दते नहीं। अब वक्त आ गया है जब आप इन अफसरों को जमीन पर बैठ कर दो हाथ से खाना खाने के बजाय एक हाथ से खाना खाना सिखलायें और भोजन समाप्त करने के बाद हाथ धोना भी सिखायें, नैपकिन तो हम दते नहीं तो वह खाना खाने के बाद अपनी जेब से रूमाल निकाल कर उस से हाथ मुँह सिर्फ पोंछ लेते हैं। दहात में काम करने के लिये उनको वह सब सिखाना पड़ेगा। अब हम लोग और आप तो जमीन पर जहाँ जायें आसानी से बैठ जाते हैं, लेकिन पतलून पहनने वाले लोगों को जरूर दिक्कत आती है, आपने (close button) कोट और पतलून रखा है ठीक है पतलून रक्खेंगे तो यही हाल होगा। इसीलिये आपको इस चीज की तरफ भी गौर करना होगा।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि हर तरफ से जो यह आवाज उठायी जाती है कि तनखाह कम करो, तो मेरा कहना है कि ऐसा करने के लिये हमें अपना ढंग बदलना पड़ेगा, उनके पोशाक और रहन सहन का ढंग बदलना पड़ेगा। मैं यह बात साफ कर देना चाहती हूँ कि मुझे कोई उनसे नफरत नहीं है, उनसे मुझे कोई तकलीफ नहीं है, लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहूँगी कि उनको जीवन व्यतीत करने का ढंग बदलना होगा। उनके जो मकान बनते हैं तो उसमें कूलर्स और एयर कंडीशनिंग का इन्सजाम रहता है, लेकिन पानी का मटका रखने का ठिकाना ही नहीं मिलता। यह सब आपको बदलना पड़ेगा। आपको उनके घर में प्रवेश करना होगा उनके रहन सहन को बदलना होगा। हमारे भाई लोगों को जो पीरियम का मोह लगा है, उससे उन्हें

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निकलना होगा। क्लबों में जाना और शराब पीना ये क्या हमारी संस्कृति है? पुस्तकों का तो क्या कहें परन्तु हमारी कुछ बहिनें भी पारचायत्य सभ्यता के रंग में इतनी रंग चुकी हैं कि क्लबों में जाती हैं, और सिगरेट और शराब पीती हैं। मुझे यह देख कर बड़ा दुःख होता है और मैं तो इसीलिये शाम को किसी ऐसी पार्टी में जाती नहीं हूँ। क्लबों और जिमखाने में ये चीजें चलती हैं, मुझे तो शर्म आती है जब कोई लोग हमारी बहिनों को सिगरेट ऑफर करते हैं, लेकिन जब पीने वाली निकलती है तो सिगरेट दिखाने वाला बंधरा क्या करे, उसका भी क्या कसूर है। हमें यह चीज समझ लेनी चाहिये कि अगर उनको दहातों में सफलतापूर्वक काम करना है तो यह जरूरी है कि हम वहाँ के लोगों के साथ मिल जायें। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम अपने भाई और बहिनों में यह जो पारचायत्यपन आया हुआ है उसको बदलें और वे हमारे आफिसर्स जब गाँव में काम करने जायें तो वह उनको अलग न मालूम हों। आपको इस ओर ध्यान देना होगा।

तीसरी बात जो मुझे करनी है वह यह है कि इस क्लब प्रेस के लिये हम को ठीक तौर पर प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। आप सब यहाँ पर इतने पकील लोग जमा हैं, आप इसकी ब्लैकमैलिंग रोकने की कोई तरकीब कीजिये, उपाय निकालिये। यह जो ब्लैकमैलिंग होती है, टेलीफोन करते हैं कि हमारे पास आप के बर्त में यह खबर आई है, हम यह छापते हैं, वह बेचारा अपनी (prestige) के लिये डर के मारे कुछ पैसा भेज देता है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि इस तरफ की ब्लैकमैलिंग जो यलो प्रेस द्वारा की जाती है उसका पूर्णतया अन्त किया जाय और उसके लिये सक्रिय कदम उठाये जायें। मुझे अफसांस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस ब्लैकमैलिंग को प्रेस एंडवाइजरी बाडी तथा एंडीटर्स बोर्ड रोकने को कुछ नहीं कर पाया है। उनकी कुछ नहीं चली है। वह इसको रोकने की दिशा में कुछ भी नहीं कर सकी इसीलिये सरकार को इसके लिये कोई उपाय निकालना चाहिये।

(श्रीमती मणिषेन पटेल)

इसके अलावा जो आपके इंडस्ट्रीशन्स हैं जहां आपकी चलती हैं जैसे रेलवे, टेलीफोन हायरकटरी और गवर्नमेंट पब्लिकेशन्स उनमें कोई advertisement एंसी नहीं होनी चाहिये जिससे हमारी वेलफेयर स्टेट को कोई धब्बा लगे और जिससे हमारी संस्कृति आगे बढ़ने के बजाय, संस्कृति अच्छी होने के बजाय उल्टी हो जाय ।

आखिरी बात मैं कह कर बन्द किये एंसी हूं । यह जो मद्य निबंध का मामला है यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है और आज जब कि कितनी ही स्टेटों में हल्के हल्के मद्य निबंध हो रहा है, तब सेंटर इस बार में रीपेथेंटक है, एंसा जो असर है उसको हटाना बहुत जरूरी है । आप को कम से कम इतना तो जरूर सेफगार्ड कर लेना चाहिये कि नये जो ऑफिसर I.A.S. I.P.S. के हों तमाम विभागों में जो सरकारी कर्मचारी नये लिये जायें वह शराब पीने वाले न हों । इसके अलावा आप वह जो यहां स्टाफ रख रहे हैं, मैं सुझाव देना चाहती हूं कि जिस तरह से आल इंडिया सर्चिसेज में हर प्रान्त के लोग लेते हैं उसी तरह से आप सेंट्रल सेक्रेटरीयट का जो इतना सारा स्टाफ है, इसमें हर एक प्रान्त के आदमी लें । आज यह अक्सर देखा जाता है कि जब कोई स्वास प्रान्तीय भाषा के जानने वाले अफसर की जरूरत होती है तो वह मिलता नहीं है कारण यहाँ पर अधिकतर दो, या तीन प्रान्तों के कर्मचारी भर पड़े हैं । मुझ आपने बोलने का समय दिया, इसलिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूं ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): We have been supplied with two reports by the Ministry of States and the Ministry of Home Affairs. We were originally given four hours to discuss the Demands under the Home Ministry for which the report is of 36 pages and we were given 2 hours to discuss

the Demands under the States Ministry, the report of which covers 376 pages. I do not know why this difference of ten times is there. I do not know why the Home Minister wants to run away at this time. Anyhow, Sir, since the Speaker has decided that we can speak on the Demands of both the Ministries together, I will be able to offer some criticism.

First of all, I will draw the attention to the anomalous position about the administration of the Indian Arms Act in Part A States and in part B States. In Part B States, the Collector is not given the power to issue licences covering the whole of the State and certainly is not allowed to give any licence covering the whole of India. He may be an I.A.S. officer; he still wields the same power under the Criminal Procedure Code and he has got jurisdiction over an equally extensive or more extensive area than is obtaining in the A States. Yet, he is deprived of that power. These B States, originally, when they were Indian States, were enjoying greater facilities in the matter of obtaining arms and using those arms. They are now being deprived of it by virtue of this anomalous position. Why should this preferential treatment be there? I cannot understand it. Those of us who have been living in the former States and who have been unfortunate now to join the Indian Union are deprived of this little privilege. We have to approach the Chief Secretary of the State to get a licence for the use of our arms all over India. I hope the Minister will take note of it.

I was just reading the reports of the two Ministries and trying to find out whether I can find any mention anywhere of the big force which is maintained by the Home Ministry, known as the Central Reserve Police Force. There is absolutely no mention either in the report or the summary of either of the Ministries. Why is it that there is absolutely no

mention about this big police force? What is happening? Why have you made this law, Act No. 66 of 1949 under which the Central Reserve Police Force was created and stationed at Neemuch? People are suffering for the last 6, 7 or 8 years because they are not being confirmed. They are government servants, they have got certain ranks and all that. But, even at the time of retirement they are not able to know whether they are permanent or not. It has been brought to my notice that several persons have retired and their pensions have not yet been sanctioned. I know the specific case of an Assistant Commandant, the second in command. Though he retired in the year 1948, and it is now 1954, he has yet to receive his pension.

4 P.M.

The Central Reserve Police Force Act provides for the highest officer being in command. Under what provision of law is the I.G.P. of Delhi allowed to administer that Unit? Why is the D.I.G.P. of Ajmer asked to intervene? These people in the Part C States of Delhi and Ajmer have got greater hold on the Central Reserve Police Force, which ought to be administered directly by the Central Government. I want that in future note must be made of this position and every indication must be given to the House as to how the police force is being used. It is being used all over India. I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that armed police forces are maintained all over India in the various States, but unfortunately, if they are maintained by the Central Government, the salaries drawn by the members of the force are much higher than those drawn by their counter-parts in the Part B States, so much so the Bhill police force, which was a well-organised force before the Union came into being, is now relegated to the position of an armed force of a Part B State because as Bhill their salaries have been reduced to Rs. 42, whereas the salary of the ordinary sepoy in the Central Reserve Police is Rs. 67. Why should there be this differentiation between the two?

I urge that this point must be looked into very carefully.

We have got a provision in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution that in the State List the Railway Police is to be maintained by the various States through which the particular Railway passes. Unfortunately for us who are living in the Part B States like Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, we have still the Railway Police maintained by the Government of India. Why should the Government of India bear these expenses? Even in a Part C State like Ajmer, the Railway Police is paid and controlled by the State itself in all its railway stations, but in the case of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, it is not so. This anomalous position must be removed immediately and the Home Ministry must explain in clear terms why the expenditure on this account is being met by them and not by the Governments of the States concerned. I do not know why Madhya Bharat should not pay for it and should not control it, and why Rajasthan should not pay for it and should not control it. When you are writing the report, you have got a certain responsibility towards the Part B States. You simply go and visit those places, see the beautiful things there and come back. Have you looked at the condition of the police force in the Part B States? Police constables in these States have no shoes to wear and have got tattered clothes and you do not ameliorate their condition, and you do not point out to your Adviser to look into the position so that everywhere in India the same position may obtain for the police people. Unfortunately, these are the persons who are not allowed to form unions. Those who form unions can get better amenities for themselves, but the police force suffers on account of its loyalty. It will be your duty to apply your mind to the problem and see what you can do for ameliorating their condition.

While reading the report, I came across a particular passage regarding displaced persons stating that Government had done something for the

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

grant of interim pension to displaced Government servants, but what I actually find is something else. I have received complaints that about 700 *patwaris* from Sind and Baluchistan are running from one place to another and not one of them has secured any employment. They are still suffering a great deal of privation in Jaipur so much so they are driven to feel that they must create some sort of trouble whereby the Government may be brought to open its eyes. Before it is too late, I request that efforts should be made so that these people are properly employed. As regards the pension, it has been brought to my notice over and over again that pensions are not being sanctioned to them. Not only that. Able-bodied persons who have merely reached the age of superannuation do not receive orders that their services will continue, till the last day. This sort of attitude must change.

While on the Home Ministry's report, let me say a few words about the Delhi Special Police Establishment. If you read page 15 of the report, you will find yourself puzzled with the manner in which this table is prepared. What is the Delhi Special Police Establishment doing? I remember the cases of railway employees who are alleged to have committed certain offences. They are arrested and then put under suspension, and then things go on as merrily as before, and months and months pass before those men are told that they are going to be challaned or not going to be challaned. At whose cost all this luxury is being enjoyed? In the year 1952, the Delhi Special Police Establishment had registered 330 cases and in the year 1953, 376 cases, which, ordinarily, one police station will be able to do. Why such a heavy expenditure is incurred on this Establishment I do not know, but I dare say these people are not doing anything except increasing the cases of corruption. I, therefore, urge that it must be scrapped immediately.

While reading the report, I was thinking that something very creditable must have been done by the Home Ministry, but when I looked at the summary of the report, I found that the achievement of the Ministry was practically nil, except for the fact that it says that the Government is preparing a bill for untouchability, that the Government is preparing a bill to do something about passport facilities and so on and so forth, but all the bills are in the offing—the Absorbed Areas (Laws) Bill, the Prisoners (Attendance in Courts) Bill etc. All these bills are the achievements of the report and I do not know why the pages of this report are filled up with such material. We must be told what has been done and not what the Government is intending to do. Of course, it is all very good puffery which is indulged in by people who want to sell their goods. This sort of thing must stop and Government must take care that the report must present facts before the House, that is, what has actually been done already rather than what is intended to be done.

On the question of administration of justice also, the Government have done something so far as the Travancore-Cochin High Court is concerned and they have yielded to political pressure to provide for a seat of the High Court at Trivandrum, but they have not looked at the clamour for such facilities in Rajasthan. I am of the opinion that if the Government does not want to yield to political pressure, then certainly it must exert itself for providing only one seat of High Court in every State and not two seats of High Court, or it must do away with the system and provide for circuit courts. People in Rajasthan are suffering a great deal on account of the High Court not being located at one place and also on account of its being located at a place where rich people live. Apart from this, the work in Madhya Bharat High Court and in the Rajasthan High Court is suffering very much on account of the lack of a sufficient number of Judges. We have got only six

judges three in Jodhpur and three in Jaipur, and about 3500 cases are pending in Jaipur and about 1800 cases are pending in Jodhpur. It is high time that the Union Government applied its mind to the appointment of an adequate number of Judges in the Rajasthan as well as in the Madhya Bharat High Courts.

श्रीमती गंगा देवी (जिला लखनऊ व जिला बाराबंकी--रीढ़त-अनुसूचित जातियाँ): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी तथा अन्य सदस्यगण, आज हाउस में होम एफेअर्स पर जो चर्चा चल रही है उस पर मुझे भी अपने कुछ विचार प्रकट करने की इच्छा हुई। आज हमें यह दर्श कर बड़ी प्रसन्नता होती है कि हमारा देश एक स्वतंत्र देश है। अपना संविधान है अपनी सरकार है। यह सब दर्श कर बड़ी प्रसन्नता और बड़ा गर्व होता है, लेकिन दूसरी ओर जब हम देखते हैं कि हमारा गरीब तबका, खेतहर मजदूर किसान आज स्वतंत्र भारत में भी भुखमरी, गरीबी, बेरोजगारी से परेशान हैं तो हमें बड़ा दुःख होता है। सन् १९४७ से ले कर अभी तक हमारी सरकार रचनात्मक कार्य में जो कुछ कर रही है वह एक प्रशंसनीय कार्य है। इतना सब कुछ होते हुए भी हमें संतोष नहीं है क्योंकि आज देश में भुखमरी, गरीबी और बेरोजगारी का जो सवाल है वह सरकार के सामने है। वह किसी से छिपा नहीं है। हमारा देश सदियों से गुलाम बना हुआ था। पूज्य बापू ने इसको अपने त्याग और तपस्या से सिद्ध करने में चली आ रही दासता से मुक्त किया। यह उन्हीं की तपस्याओं का परिणाम है, कि आज हमारी सरकार एक बड़े देश का शासन कर रही है। लेकिन उनकी आकांक्षाएँ पूरी नहीं हुई थीं। पूज्य बापू की इच्छा थी कि हमारा देश में अमीर और गरीब एक हों, हमारा देश से भुखमरी बेरोजगारी का अन्त हो, ऊँचाई का अन्त हो। लेकिन यह उनकी सारी आकांक्षाएँ अधूरी ही रह गयीं। जो कुछ रचनात्मक कार्य हरिजननों के उत्थान के लिये हुआ था पिछड़े वर्ग के लिये हुआ वह उनके जीवन काल तक ही रहा। उसके बाद कांग्रेस ने अपनी नीति बदल दी। पूज्य बापू ने देश को गुलामी से

छुड़ाया। देश में जो गरीब और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग थे उनको आगे लाने का वह निरन्तर प्रयत्न करते रहे और अन्तिम समय तक भी इसी कोशिश में रहे। उन्होंने जो आन्दोलन जारी किया उसमें वह पूर्णतः सफल हुए। भारत को आजाद किया। लेकिन साम्प्रदायिकता को मिटाने में वह असफल रहे और अन्त में उसी साम्प्रदायिकता के शिकार हुए। आजादी आने से पहले भारत के सभी वर्ग इस आशा में थे कि अपनी सरकार के आने पर हमारी सारी तकलीफें दूर होंगी, हमारी सारी मुसीबतें दूर होंगी, हमारी सरकार होगी, हमारा भाई बड़े बड़े पदों पर पहुँचेंगे, हम अपनी तकलीफें दिल खोल कर उनके सामने कहेंगे। लेकिन जब यह नहीं हुआ तो चारों ओर बंचेनी फैल गई।

संविधान में बहुत सी धाराएँ ऐसी बनाई गई हैं जिन से हमें बहुत आश्वासन मिलता है। हम लोगों को यह सांत्वना दी गई कि आप लोगों की राजनीतिक, आर्थिक और सामाजिक कुरीतियाँ दूर की जायेंगी। लेकिन यह धाराएँ धाराएँ मात्र ही रह गईं। यह आज तक भी कार्य रूप में ला कर नहीं दिखाई जा रही हैं। इस समय जो हमारा विशेष विषय है वह है इस देश के गरीबों को, इस देश के बेरोजगारों को रोजगार दिलाने का। सबसे गम्भीर और आवश्यक प्रश्न हमारा सामने आज बेरोजगारी का है। राष्ट्र की इस गहन समस्या का हल तभी हो सकता है जब कि देश की बेरोजगारी को सरकार पूर्ण रूप से खत्म कर दे। इस समय देश में दो प्रकार की श्रृंखलाएँ हैं, अनपढ़ और पढ़े लिये जिनकी बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न है। बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स जैसे कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स, डेवेलपमेंट ब्लाक्स आदि योजनाएँ बनाई जा रही हैं। इन साम्प्रदायिक योजनाओं से उनको कुछ रोजगार मिल सकता है। लेकिन इन बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स से कुछ चन्द हजार पढ़े लिये लोगों को ही रोजगार मिल सकता है लेकिन उन लोगों की तरफ, जो छोटे छोटे किसान हैं, खेतहर मजदूर हैं, छोटे बमीदार हैं जो कि गाँवों में रहते हैं उनकी ओर सरकार

(श्रीमती गंगा दंबी)

का ध्यान भी नहीं गया है। उनको इन सामुदायिक योजनाओं के द्वारा कोई रोजगार नहीं मिल सकता। इन योजनाओं से दश की गरीबी दूर नहीं होगी। दश का धन अवश्य बढ़गा लेकिन यह धन बढ़-बढ़ एंजीपितियों का और सरमायंदारों का ही हो सकता है। इन से दश के खेतहर मजदूरों को, जो कि गांवों में रहते हैं और जिनको ६ महीने, तीन महीने और कुछ को तो दो महीने भी काम नहीं मिलता, कोई फायदा नहीं हो रहा है और वे परेशान हैं। उनके पास घर नहीं है, कपड़ा नहीं है और न उनके बच्चों की शिक्षा का कोई समुचित प्रबन्ध है।

जमींदारी उन्मूलन से छोट-छोट जमींदारों और किसानों को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ। वह तो बेचारे अपनी खेती को भी दुस्त नहीं कर पाये। उन पर पुलिस और द्विजातियों का अत्याचार हो रहा है और वह बहुत परेशान हैं। करोड़ों एकड़ जमीनें जो कि आज बंजर पड़ी हैं यदि वह इन भूमिहीनों को बांट दी जायें जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है, जो दुनिया का मुंह ताक रहे हैं, तो बहुत अच्छा हो। यदि निष्पक्ष रूप से सभी पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों में जो कि बेरोजगार हैं, गरीब हैं, यह जमीन बांट दी जाय तो बहुत हद तक उनकी बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न हल हो सकता है और वे इस जमीन को पा कर दश की सरकार को बहुत कुछ मदद पहुंचा सकते हैं। इससे खाद्य स्थिति की उन्नति हो सकती है, दश का गल्ला बढ़ सकता है और वह लोग रोजगार में लग सकते हैं। मैं चाहती हूँ कि सरकार इस तरफ शीघ्र से शीघ्र ध्यान दे और उनको भूमि बांट कर रोजगारमन्द करे। अनपढ़ लोगों की बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न भी बहुत ही गम्भीर प्रश्न है। यह मसला तभी हल हो सकता है जब कि गांव गांव में घर-घर दस्तकारियों के लिये कॉर्टेज इंडस्ट्रीज खोली जायें और उनको हर तरह से प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय। लोगों को ऐसे काम सिखाये जायें जैसे कुरसी बुनना, दरी व निवाड़ बुनना, बँत के मुँड़े बनाना इत्यादि। इस तरह की और अनेकों घर-घर

दस्तकारियां हैं जिनको वह अच्छी तरह से सीख कर अपना जीवन सुगमतापूर्वक निर्वाह कर सकते हैं। इस तरह के कार्य सिखाने के पश्चात् उनको सरकार की तरफ से इतना धन देना चाहिये जिससे कि वे अपना काम आगे चला सकें, और बढ़ा सकें और उससे धन उपार्जन करके दश की सम्पत्ति को बढ़ायें। इस तरह की घर-घर दस्तकारियों के केन्द्र हर दस गांव के क्षेत्र के बीच में कायम होने चाहियें ताकि यह लोग मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों से अपने को बचा सकें। जो पुराने ढंग के काम होते हैं उनमें छोटी छोटी जापानी मशीनों को काम में लाया जा सकता है जिससे काम शीघ्र और सुन्दर तरीके से हो सके।

दूसरी समस्या हमारे सामने पढ़-लिखे लोगों को रोजगार दिलाने की है। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकारी नौकरियों का सवाल आता है। सरकार से मुझे विशेष शिकायत इस बात की है, कि आज जो सरकारी नौकरियां दी जाती हैं, उनमें सिफारिशों को सबसे ज्यादा तरजीह दी जाती है, और यह अक्सर देखा जाता है कि जिनकी जितनी ज्यादा सिफारिश होती है उसको सबसे पहले नौकरी मिलने का चांस रहता है। दूसरी चीज है रिश्ततख्तारी की। जहां पर कोई बँकेन्सी होती है, कोई एक जगह खाली होती है, हजारों की तादाद में वहां पर अच्छे अच्छे योग्य और क्वालीफाइड लोग पहुंचते हैं लेकिन होता यह है कि जो ज्यादा रिश्तत देता है उसी को वह जगह मिलती है। इससे हमें पता लगता है कि वे लोग रूपया दे करके उन स्थानों को और उन पोस्ट्स को खरीद लेते हैं और उनकी क्वालीफिकेशन, और टैस्ट व इंटरव्यू जो होते हैं वह सब बेकार हो जाते हैं। मैं चाहती हूँ कि इसको चेक करने के लिये ऐसी कमीटियां और नियम होने चाहियें जो इन बातों की अच्छे तरीके से जांच कर सकें ताकि कोई बेइमानी इस सम्बन्ध में न हो सके।

जहां तक शैक्षिक कास्ट की सीटों के रिजर्वेशन का सम्बन्ध है, मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि

यह घोषणा केवल हमें प्रसन्न करने और हम लोगों के बहलाने के लिये की गई है, लेकिन वास्तव में हमारे लिये नौकरियों में कोई रिजर्वेशन नहीं होता है। हम देखते हैं कि पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग बावजूद वेल क्वालीफाइड होने के हालाँकि उन्होंने उच्च वर्ण के उस हिन्दू उम्मीदवार के साथ एक ही कालिज में पढ़ा है और डिग्री प्राप्त की है जो उसी के साथ एक ही पोस्ट के लिये उम्मीदवार है, लेकिन शोइयूल्ड कास्ट वाला कैंडिडेट फेल कर दिया जाता है और अगर कहीं टैस्ट में पूरा उत्तर जाता है तो इंटरव्यू में उसको रोक लिया जाता है, और उच्च वर्ण को वह जगह दी जाती है, आज इस तरह का पक्षपात हमें देखने को मिल रहा है। मैं स्वयं इस सिलसिले में आपको बतलाऊँ कि मेरठ में नायब तहसीलदारी की टेम्प러리 पोस्ट खाली हुई, वहाँ के ९० डी० एम० से मैंने उस पोस्ट की बाबत बातचीत की और उस पोस्ट के लिये एक शोइयूल्ड कास्ट कैंडिडेट का जिक्र किया। उन्होंने मुझे बतलाया कि इसके लिये इंटर और ग्रेजुएट होना जरूरी है, लेकिन दूसरे ही दिन मुझे पता लगा कि वहाँ पर मैट्रिकुलेट कैंडिडेट ले लिया गया है, यह जान कर मुझे बड़ा अफसोस हुआ और इस प्रकार के अनेक दृष्टान्तों के आधार पर मैं यह कह सकती हूँ कि हमारे साथ इस तरह की पक्षपात-मय नीति बर्ती जा रही है, जब तक हमारे प्रति यह नीति जारी रहेगी, अछूत समाज कभी उन्नत अवस्था को प्राप्त नहीं हो सकता और पिछड़े वर्गों को समान स्तर पर लाने की जो योजना है, वह कभी भी सफल नहीं हो सकती है। आज हमें कहा जाता है कि क्लासलेस और कास्टलेस समाज की स्थापना होगी, लेकिन यदि इसी प्रकार का हमारे साथ व्यवहार जारी रहा तो यह कैसे सम्भव हो सकता है। इसीलिये हमारी सरकार को यदि देश को उन्नत करना है और आगे बढ़ाना है तो इस पक्षपात को खत्म करके पिछड़े वर्ग के परिगणित जाति के जितने भी कैंडिडेट्स आगे जाते हैं उनके साथ सहानुभूतिपूर्ण और न्यायपूर्ण

बर्ताव होना चाहिये और उनकी गलतियों और कमियों को उस नजर से नहीं देखना चाहिये जिस दृष्टि से देखा जा रहा है, क्योंकि यह सोच लेना चाहिये कि यह लोग बहुत बड़ी तपस्या करके और गरीबी के कष्ट झेलते झेलते आज यहां तक पहुंचे हैं और अगर आज उनमें कोई कसर रह भी गई है तो यह उनका कसर नहीं है, बल्कि यह कसर उन उच्चा वर्ण के हिन्दुओं का है जिन्होंने उनको आज तक दबा कर रखा है, उनकी भाषनाओं को बुरी तरह कुचला गया है। इसी गत वर्ष हमारे सेंट्रल सेक्रेटरियेट में कुल 1075 Permanent Gazetted Officers की पोस्ट्स थीं, जिनमें से शोइयूल्ड कास्ट को कुल तीन जगहें मिलती हैं जब कि वहाँ सैंकड़ों एप्लीकेशन्स आई हुई थीं। उसके बाद हमने देखा कि ऐसी कितनी ही पोस्ट निकलती हैं वहाँ किसी न किसी तरीके से फोर्थ ग्रेड में वे लोग इस reserved कोट को पूरा करके दिखा देते हैं, जब दूसरी जगहों में जैसे फर्स्ट ग्रेड थर्ड ग्रेड में रिजर्वेशन के कोट को दूसरे हिन्दू कैंडिडेट्स द्वारा पूरा करते हैं तो फोर्थ ग्रेड में क्यों नहीं पूरा करते जहाँ कुलियों की और भीगियों की जरूरत होती है वहाँ क्यों नहीं सवर्ण हिन्दुओं को लेकर उस फोर्थ ग्रेड के कोट को पूरा करते हैं? बस चूंकि अब मेरे पास समय नहीं है, इसीलिये मैं अपनी स्पीच खत्म किये देती हूँ।

श्री सी० के० नाथ (बाह्य दिल्ली): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस अवसर से फायदा उठा कर देहली राज्य जो कि पार्ट सी स्टेट है वहाँ पर जिस प्रकार से कार्य चल रहा है, उसके बारे में कुछ रोशनी डालना चाहता हूँ। आपको मालूम है कि दिल्ली उन पार्ट सी स्टेट्स में से एक है जिसके वास्ते दो साल पहले यह पार्ट सी एक्ट बना था और आपको यह भी मालूम है कि वहाँ एक ऐसे किस्म का शासन जारी है जिसको डिशासन ही कहा जा सकता है। आपको यह भी मालूम है कि यह पद्धति १९२२

(श्री के० सी० नायर)

में मांटगू चेंसफोर्ड रिफार्मर्स के मातहत हिन्दु-स्तान को मिली थी, उसी का रिपीटिशन यहां पर किया गया है। आपको यह भी मालूम है कि उस द्विशासन के खिलाफ लड़ते लड़ते हमारे बड़े नेता स्वर्गीय सी० आर० दास और मोतीलाल नेहरू स्वर्गवास कर गये, उसी चीज को दहली में एक वनजैस के साथ लगाया गया। उस विधान के मातहत शासन पद्धति के दो हिस्से किये गये, एक रिजर्व और दूसरा ट्रान्सफर्ड सबजेक्ट्स। आप यह सुन कर ताज्जुब करेंगे कि उन ट्रान्सफर्ड सबजेक्ट्स में एक सबजेक्ट लोकल सेल्फ गवर्नमेंट का भी मौजूद है, यानी दहली की जितनी म्युनिसिपैल्टीज, और नॉटीफाइड एरिया कमेटिज हैं, उनके ऊपर भी शासन का अधिकार सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का है। आपको यह भी मालूम होना चाहिये कि उस मांटगू चेंसफोर्ड रिफार्मर्स के नीचे सबसे पहले जो अधिकार हिन्दुस्तानियों को दिया गया उस में लेकिन सेल्फ गवर्नमेंट था, उस एक से भी दहली वालों को महारूम रखा गया। इसके अलावा जितनी भी स्टैचुटरी बाडीज थीं, यानी इम्प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट, दहली ट्रान्सपोर्ट आदि कई चीजें ट्रान्सफर्ड सबजेक्ट्स में रखी गई हैं यहां के लोकल कोर्ट्स भी गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के मातहत रखे गये हैं। पुलिस के ऊपर तो दहली गवर्नमेंट का कोई अधिकार ही नहीं था, लेकिन जब यह शासन दहली में दो साल पहले शुरू किया गया था उस वक्त हमारे गृह मंत्री ने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि यह एक्ट प्रोविजन्स में पक्षपात के बिना यानी किसी तमीज के बगैर चलाया जायगा यानी ट्रान्सफर्ड और रिजर्व सबजेक्ट्स में कोई एक्सीज नहीं की जायगी, लेकिन अमल में हमने देखा कि जो बायदा किया गया था उसके विरुद्ध अमल हुआ। यानी जितनी दफा पुलिस के इन्सुचार्जमेंट में खराबी पाई गई, हमारे मंत्रियों ने कांग्रेस की कि उसके ऊपर कुछ अनुशासन की कार्रवाई की जाय या अनुशासन का जोर डाला जाय, लेकिन इस के लिये उनको अधिकार नहीं था।

इसके अलावा अब आप इम्प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट को लीजिये। इम्प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट तो बहुत बड़ी संस्था है, दिल्ली जैसे यूनिशन कॉपीटल के लिये इस पांच साला योजना के नीचे एक मास्टर प्लान तक अभी नहीं बना, यानी अब तक एक ओवर-ऑल डेवलपमेंट (overall development) पिक्चर दिल्ली के लिये नहीं बनी। जो भी इम्प्रूवमेंट हो रहा है, अन्धाधुन्ध हो रहा है। हमारे रिफ्यूजी भाइयों के वास्ते कई कालांजीज बनी हैं। हमको उनके साथ हमदर्दी है, लेकिन इसके माने यह नहीं कि दिल्ली की सफाई को बिल्कुल नजरअन्दाज किया जाय और दिल्ली के डेवलपमेंट को बिल्कुल नजरअन्दाज किया जाय। मैं समझता हूं कि यह सबसे बड़ी चीज है कि दिल्ली के वास्ते मास्टर प्लान बनाया जाय, और इसके अन्दर जो भी इम्प्रूवमेंट, जो भी डेवलपमेंट हो, वह उस प्लान के मातहत होना चाहिये। आपको यह भी मालूम है कि बिड़ला कमिटी नाम की जो मशहूर कमिटी बनी थी, उसने अपनी रिपोर्ट में शान्स की थीं इम्प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट की सही वॉकिंग के वास्ते, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से यह भी बतलाया गया है कि उस के प्राविजन्स को इम्प्लीमेंट किया जा रहा है, लेकिन मैं यह जानता हूं कि उस में से एक बात भी अब तक इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं की गई है। यह गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के मातहत रहने वाली दिल्ली ड्यूकमट की गति है।

मैं समझता हूं कि इसके अलावा भी जो हमारे ट्रान्सफर्ड सबजेक्ट्स हैं, मिसाल के तौर पर हस्पताल हैं, बड़े अच्छे अच्छे हास्पिटल्स गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के नीचे ले लिये गये, जैसे विलिंग्डन हास्पिटल, लेडी हार्डिज हास्पिटल्स, और सफदरजंग एनेक्सी वगैरह, सब ले लिये गये। इसीलिये जो ड्यूकमट दिल्ली के अन्दर चल रही है, वह बरायनाम है और एक फिस्म का मजाक सा है। इसके बारे में हमें जरूर सोचना चाहिये और होम मिनिस्ट्री को भी इस पर गौर करना चाहिये।

चूँकि दिल्ली की पुलिस हमारी होम मिनिस्ट्री के मातहत नहीं हैं, इस कारण हमारे इलाकों में और शहर के अन्दर भी जितने धाने हैं, उन में करप्शन बहुत बड़ी हद तक पहुँचा हुआ है। यही हालत अदालतों की है, अगर यह सब हमारी होम मिनिस्ट्री के नीचे होते तो उस के ऊपर हमारा ज्यादा कंट्रोल हो सकता था। दिल्ली में जहाँ कि जिम्मेदाराना हुकूमत, रिस्पान्सिबल गवर्नमेन्ट हो गई बताते हैं, बावजूद इसके सेंट्रल पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० का राज्य चलता है। दिल्ली के वास्ते इंजीनियरिंग का एक अलग यूनिट नहीं है, इस वजह से हमें बहुत तकलीफ उठानी पड़ती है। मैं एक खास मिसाल आपके सामने रखूंगा जिस को सुन कर आप हैरान होंगे। चार साल पहले, दिल्ली के इलाकों में कोई १५० से ज्यादा नये बीसक स्कूल खुलने थे। पहले भी करीब १५० स्कूल थे। इस तरह से कुल ३०० से ज्यादा स्कूल हो गये, लेकिन गवर्नमेन्ट के पास पैसा नहीं था। इसके लिये मौलाना साहब ने एक अपील गांव वालों से की कि भाई, तुम भी कुछ मदद करो, हम भी कुछ मदद करें जिससे कि सब गांवों में स्कूल बन जायें। अपील का नतीजा यह हुआ कि कई गांवों ने अपनी यथाशक्ति फंड इकट्ठा किया और ट्रेंजरी में जमा किया। गवर्नमेन्ट ने भी कोई ४ लाख रूपया मंजूर किया इन स्कूलों के वास्ते। यह सन् १९५१-५२ की बात है। लेकिन वह ४ लाख रूपया इसीलिये लैप्स हो गया कि सेंट्रल पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० ने स्कूलों का पॅटर्न बनाते बनाते एक साल से ज्यादा निकाल दिया। जब फाइनेंशियल ईअर निकल गया तो पता चला कि ४ लाख रूपया हज्म हो गया और स्कूल भी नहीं बने। दूसरे साल गवर्नमेन्ट ने और ढ़ढ़ लाख रूपया मंजूर किया। अब चूँकि पॅटर्न बन चुका था कि एक स्कूल में पांच कमरे हों, छः फुट का बरामदा हो, इससे कम बन ही नहीं सकता, अगर कोई गांव वाला तीन कमरों का बनाना चाहे तो नहीं बना सकता, इसमें से हर एक के लिये ३२ हजार रूपये रक्खे गये। मतलब यह हुआ कि

गांव वालों ने जो लोगों से चार, पांच हजार रूपया इकट्ठा किया उससे दो कमरे वाले तीन, चार स्कूल जरूर बना सकते थे, लेकिन उनमें से एक भी स्कूल बनने का मौका नहीं मिला। खैर, बड़ी मुश्किल से सात स्कूलों के लिये सॅक्शन मिली, लेकिन आप सुन कर हैरान होंगे कि उसमें से १ लाख २० हजार रूपया फिर लैप्स हुआ क्योंकि उसके लिये टॅन्डर वगैरह लेने में देर हो गई। इसके बाद सन् १९५२-५४ में उन्होंने और ढ़ढ़ लाख रूपया सॅक्शन किया। इस गवर्नमेन्ट की सॅक्शन के लिये हमने फिर लिखा पढ़ी और तकाजा किया। अगस्त-सितम्बर में हम ने अपने यहाँ से पेंपर रवाना किया, लेकिन जब पांच महीने के बाद जनवरी के आखिरी हफ्ते में सॅक्शन आई, तो उसके एक ही हफ्ते के बाद यह भी इतला आई कि अब चूँकि इसके लिये टॅन्डर वगैरह लेने का वक़्त नहीं है, इसीलिये १ लाख ४७ हजार रूपया फिर लैप्स हो गया। आप जरा गौर से सुन लीजिये कि यह हालत दिल्ली के अन्दर है और सब कुछ गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया की नाक के नीचे हो रहा है। इतनी आवश्यक चीज से फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेन्ट इतना इनिडिफरेंट है, सेंट्रल पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० इतना इनिडिफरेंट है और लोग परेशान हैं।

अब दूसरी बात सुन लीजिये। हमने चाहा कि गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इंडिया से पैसा वापस लें और अपने स्कूल बनायें। मैंने सोशल वर्क्स और गांव वालों से कहा कि तुम अपना पैसा सरकार को मत दो क्योंकि जनता में सरकार के ऊपर भरोसा नहीं रहा है। तुम जो पैसा देते हो वह भी हज्म हो जाता है और स्कूल भी नहीं बनते हैं। इसीलिये विचार किया गया कि जो पैसा गांव वाले इकट्ठा करें उसे वह अपने पास रक्खें, लोग खुद मकान बनायेंगे। इस तरह से हमने ७, ७, ५, ५, गांवों में दो, तीन और चार कमरों के मकान बनाये, लेकिन गवर्नमेन्ट की तरफ से अब तक १५० स्कूलों में से सिर्फ ७ स्कूल बनने हमारी यह मंशा थी कि तीन, चार साल के अन्दर सारे गांवों में स्कूल बन जायें। यह हो सकता था कि जितना पैसा

(श्री सी० के० नायर)

यथाशक्ति गांव वाले दंत, उत्तना ही पैसा गवर्नमेंट दं दंती और इसका इन्तजाम बजाय सेंट्रल पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० के गांव वालों के सुपुर्ण कर दंती, तो हमारा काफी काम बिना दिक्कत के पूरा हो सकता था। लेकिन हम लाचार हैं, हम परेशान हैं, यह काम हम नहीं कर सके। हम सामने देख रहे हैं कि हमारा रूपया लॉस हो रहा है, लेकिन क्या करें। आप खुद सोच लीजिये कि इस तरह से हुकूमत कैसे चल सकती है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और खास कर हमारे गृह मंत्री जी के डिपार्टमेंट का बहुत बड़ा कर्तव्य है कि पार्ट सी की जो स्टैंड्स हैं उनकी तरफ ध्यान दें। वैसे ही उनके पास बहुत ज्यादा हुकूक नहीं हैं, लेकिन जो कुछ भी वह कर सकती हैं, अगर वह भी न कर पायें तो यह उनके साथ बड़ा भारी अन्याय हो जाता है। इसके बारे में गृह मंत्री को अच्छी तरह से सोचना चाहिये और हमारी दिल्ली गवर्नमेंट का हाथ बटाना चाहिये। यह मेरी उन से प्रार्थना है।

इस के अलावा, अब तक दिल्ली स्टैंड के अन्दर जो १२ या १२ कानून बने हैं, उन के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि उनमें ५, ६ तो मीत्रियां और दूसरे लोगों की तनखाहों के बारे में हैं, टूबीलिंग एलाउंस वगैरह के बारे में हैं। असली कानून दो या तीन ही बने हैं। उस में से लैंड रिफार्म्स के बारे में जो कानून बना वह तो बहुत जरूरी चीज थी। सारे देश में सभी स्टैंड्स में इस के बारे में कुछ न कुछ कानून बन चुका है, एक किस्म से बीच वाले समय के लिये यानी इंटीरिम पीरियड के लिये कुछ न कुछ कानून बना कर किसानों को कुछ रक्षा दी गई है। हम ने भी एक कानून बनाया और उसका ड्राफ्ट गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के पास भेजा। उस में उनकी कुछ तरमीम करने की तजवीज थी। फिर तरमीम को मंजूर करके और उसके मुताबिक फिर कानून बना कर हम ने सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के पास भेजा। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने पास किये हुए कानून को फिर प्लैनिंग कमीशन के पास भेजा। प्लैनिंग

कमीशन ने उससे दो तीन नक्स निकाले और खास कर यूनियन के खिलाफ। सारे कोई बात नहीं। उसके बाद वह वापस आया। दिल्ली हुकूमत ने फिर उसको असम्बली में पास करके भेजा। अब पास करके भेजने के बाद भी कई महीने हो गये हैं। कुल पाँचे दो साल पूरा हो रहा है पर अभी तक हमारे राष्ट्रपति की मुहर उस पर नहीं लगी है और गांव वाले बहुत परेशान हैं। यह कानून बहुत जरूरी कानून था और यह बहुत जल्दी चाहिये था लेकिन पाँचे दो वर्ष हो गया। न मालूम किस वक्त यह पास होगा। लोग बहुत फिक्र के साथ इन्तिजार कर रहे हैं।

मेरा समय पूरा हो रहा है पर मैं एक बात जरूर कहूंगा। यहां की पुलिस सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के मातहत है और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट इस बात का बहुत दावा करती है कि हम हरिजनों को बहुत फायदा पहुंचाते हैं। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि यहां सात हजार से ज्यादा पुलिस फोर्स है। पर उसमें हरिजनों की संख्या नहीं के बराबर है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि उस में कितने हरिजन हैं। उनमें सब इंस्पेक्टर, असिस्टेंट सब इंस्पेक्टर और हवलदार तो अंगुलियों पर गिने जा सकते हैं। एंसी पोस्टों में एक भी पुलिस अफसर की नई भर्ती नहीं होनी चाहिये जब तक कि हरिजनों का कौटा पूरा न हो जाय। दिल्ली शहर के अन्दर और बाहर भी बहुत से अच्छे तगड़े और पढ़े लिखे हरिजन के नौजवान हैं, उनको क्यों नहीं लिया जाता? मैं मानता हूं कि उनको भर्ती करने वाले हमारे गृह मंत्री या मिनिस्ट्री नहीं हैं। लेकिन जो आदमी वहां भर्ती करने वाले हैं वह ऊपर की जाति के लोग होते हैं। उनके अन्दर हरिजनों के खिलाफ अब भी नफरत है। वह यह नहीं समझते कि इनको यह अधिकार दिया जाय। मुझे सचमुच इस मामले में बहुत बड़ा असंतोष है और अफसोस है। मैंने बहुत कोशिश की कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा हरिजन इसमें भर्ती हों। मैं इस सदन में भी देखता हूं कि हरिजनों के हक में बोलने वाले कौनसे हरिजन

ही हूँ। इसीलिये मैं इस पर जोर देता हूँ और गृह-मंत्री से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अब से कोई नई भर्ती न हो जब तक कि हरिजनों का कोटा अच्छी तरह से पूरा न हो जाय। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

Shri Madhao Reddi: I rise to speak on the cut motions which I have moved. There is a good deal of talk these days about the reform of public administration. I do not want to say only this much. I believe that much on this subject. But I want to possible unless structural changes in no reform of public administration is The present set-up does not suit the the administrative set up are effected. democratic administration with a backward economy. The whole structure is based on two pillars and the power is concentrated at the Centre and the States. We believe that the power should be decentralised and that there should be proper devolution of the executive and legislative authority, and that the State should be made to stand on four pillars: the Centre, the State, the district and the village. We further believe that the district magistracy or district commissionership or the district collectorate that has assumed enormous executive powers, should be abolished and they should be replaced by the district panchayat and these panchayats should have full control over the district police administration also. We believe that since independence, no attention was paid to this problem. There were some changes here and there; but the basis remains the same. The present service cadre though remodelled, cannot fulfil the tasks of a democratic administration. A new cadre with a burning anxiety for national service has got to be evolved and new methods of public administration and public service have got to be found out. I am glad that an Institute of Public Administration has been sponsored by the Home Ministry. I hope that this Institution will go into the question fully. I would like to point out that the problem of public administration

cannot be studied in the secretariat or in the libraries. This problem should be studied at the lowest functional level where the administration directly comes into contact with the people.

Coming to the more important point; in the report published by the Home Ministry this year, it has been claimed that the Delhi Special Police Establishment has continued to do useful work. Certain figures have been given to substantiate this statement. I think that these figures are misleading and give a wrong impression that corruption is being rooted out. In fact, corruption has increased after bribe-giving was made a substantive offence. The reports are that corruption cases are not coming to light. It is time that we amend the Prevention of Corruption Act.

Again, the results achieved by this Establishment are very meagre. They are nothing when compared with the chronic and all-pervading evil. Certain steps have been taken in the recent past to improve the efficiency of this establishment. Its jurisdiction has been extended to the Part C States. The Central Recovery Organisation and the Central Enforcement Directorate now form part of this Establishment. But, the steps are quite inadequate and they will not make it effective and useful. If we really want that this Establishment should do some useful work, I suggest that this Establishment should be made to work under an independent permanent Anti-Corruption Commission. Then only we can expect some useful work from this Establishment. It seems that the hon. Minister of Home Affairs does not believe that corruption can be rooted out. Government seems to have taken it for granted and wants to get on with this evil. There is a tendency on the part of the Government to tolerate this evil also. There are certain cases that are hushed up for Party considerations. The hon. Minister has given certain figures. But, it would have been very interesting to know if we

[Shri Madhao Reddi]

were told in how many cases the Home Ministry has refused to accord sanction for prosecution recommended by the Special Police Establishment and in how many cases permission was refused without any valid reason.

I am amazed at the reports that sometimes appearing in the press about the Congress High Command enquiring into corruption charges against Congress Ministers and exonerating them. I do not understand what business this Congress High Command has got to enquire into corruption charges against Ministers and give them a certificate of honesty. What is the Home Ministry doing? I do not know what explanation the Home Minister will give. Is it not the duty of the Congress High Command to forward such complaints to the Home Ministry and get them investigated officially? What is the remedy? We believe that the appointment of an independent Anti-corruption Commission is the only remedy. This Commission should be independent of the executive and should be responsible to this House. I am glad that the Praja-Socialist Ministry in Travancore-Cochin has decided to set up such a Commission. I hope the Home Ministry will not come in the way and will follow the example of Travancore-Cochin and will advise the other State Governments also to do the same.

There should be some incentive for these ordinary servicemen for being good, honest and above corruption. You have this Bharat Ratna, Padma Vibhushan, Ashoka Chakra and I do not know what else. What are they meant for? They should be awarded for those servicemen whose honesty and integrity have proved to be unshakable. These awards are meant for those who render exceptional national service. I think at present the greatest national service I can imagine is being honest and above corrupt.

Coming to the Central Detective Training School, I welcome the proposal to have such a school at the Centre, and I would request the hon. Minister to advise the State Governments also to have such schools. The present crude and inhuman methods of detecting crimes should be changed and new civilised methods should be found out. There are thousands of cases in which citizens are subjected to severe torture on suspicion, only to find out later that they are innocent. The democratic spirit rebels against such practices still being continued.

Coming to the States Reorganisation Commission, I am glad that at last a commission has been set up to go into this question of the reorganisation of States. This question has unnecessarily been delayed, and now when the Government have made up their mind, even though unwillingly, under the pressure of public agitation, Government should not go back and should not postpone this issue with the excuse of some imaginary emergency or worsening of the international situation. People living in the North perhaps do not understand the importance of this problem. There are people who are opposed to these linguistic states, and there are people who are holding high offices here who are reported to hold the view that Hyderabad State should not be disintegrated. If there is no integration of Hyderabad, then there are no linguistic states in the South. Hyderabad State must be disintegrated and Telengana must form part of Andhra to make it a more viable and more self-supporting unit. I know there are certain forces that are working against disintegration of Hyderabad State and the Central Government might favour Hyderabad remaining a separate unit, only to appease the Nizam of Hyderabad who is now the *गारे बकाद* of the Central Government. I am surprised that the Home Ministry did not take a very serious note of a mischievous booklet entitled *The Nizam—From*

Ruler to Rajapramukh published by the notorious Financial Adviser to the Nizam. The silence of this Ministry over this booklet only confirms the mischievous conclusions drawn in that booklet by that Financial Adviser, and I would urge upon the hon. Minister to take a very serious note of this booklet.

Then, coming to the Reorganisation Commission, I strongly deplore the attitude of one of the Members of the Commission who is reported to have been expressing views against linguistic states.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Why one, all the three.

Shri Madhao Reddi: Mr. Panikkar, addressing the annual convocation of the Patna University on the 26th February, said:

"One significant development of linguistic nationalism which has caused much heart-searching has been the demand voiced in many quarters for State units based on language."

Earlier, he was condemning the linguistic nationalism or regionalism, as he called it, and he was linking up these two with the demand for the formation of linguistic States, and the whole speech there created the impression that he is definitely against linguistic states. Commenting on the speech, the *Hindustan Times* in its "University Notes" on the 1st March, says:

"As a member of the States Reorganization Commission, Mr. Panikkar was not perhaps expected to say anything on the controversial issue of linguism. But, while preaching adventurous ideas to others, he could not perhaps help venturing into this field.... These views may not tell us how far Mr. Panikkar is going to support the claims of aggressive regionalism and the demands for linguistic States. But we are

definitely assured that one of the three members of the Fazl Ali Commission is keenly aware of the danger to national life and unity and will not favour any rearrangement that encourages separatism."

Mr. Panikkar, as we all know, is well known for his opposition to linguistic states, and in the past he has been expressing his learned views for the benefit of the nation, but now when he is serving on this Commission, it is not fair on his part to express such views and the Home Ministry should take a very serious note of it.

Lastly, a word about the Osmania University. In the report it is said that another Committee is set up to go into this question. Long ago, the Central Government decided, or proposed rather, to take over this Osmania University, and a committee of educational experts was set up with Acharya Narendra Deva as Chairman. In the terms of reference it was stated that this Committee should first ascertain the views of the State Government on this matter, and then proceed. Acharya Narendra Deva, as Chairman of the Committee, repeatedly requested the State Government to send its views on this matter, but the State Government was silent. It did not send its views and the committee could not meet. In the report it is said that this Committee could not meet even once and Acharyaji resigned because of reasons of health. It is wrong. The State Government did not send any views and that is why there was no agenda before the committee and the committee could not meet, and because of that Acharyaji resigned. Now, another committee is going into that question, but I would request the hon. Minister, in view of the opposition to this proposal of the State Government and also the people, to drop this idea and allow this University to serve the cause of the regional languages.

***Shri Chaitan Majhi** (Manbhum South cum Dhalbhum—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Sir, I am a representative of the *Adivasis* of Manbhum. Santali and Bengali are my mother-tongues. I cannot speak in any other language, and so I speak in Bengali. If I could speak in Hindi, I could reach larger numbers of people—that would have been for me and for them an advantage. But that is not possible for me and so I speak in Bengali.

As I stand here in the House, I feel deeply grieved that my dear colleague, **Shri Bhajahari Mahata**, is not here. He is in jail because he was fighting for the right of the people of his district to unfettered use of their own language as the medium of instruction.

I am deeply sorry that he does not have the opportunity of raising his voice in this House on behalf of hundreds of thousands of his people in Manbhum. But I am happy he is honoured by his own people and it is my duty to report to this House that he suffers today in performance of his task of asserting the fundamental rights of the citizens of free India.

In my district the mother language of most of the permanent residents is Bengali. But the State Government is trying to use its financial pressure and compel the schools to have Hindi as medium of instruction, the affiliation of Bengali schools is being withdrawn on trifling or no excuse. I may give you lots of such instances. Many Bengali schools have been turned into Hindi schools. The people protest, but Government refuses to listen. In my own area there are many such examples.

The *Adivasis* of Manbhum District are all Bengali-speaking. Only the Santals are bi-lingual; they speak Santali and Bengali. The State Government is trying to prove that the *Adivasis* are Hindi-speaking. This is not true, but this is why Hindi is being forcibly introduced into the

Adivasis system of instruction and the result is to their detriment.

The Bihar Government does this on account of fear—the fear that Manbhum will pass over to West Bengal. And so repression is being practised on the people as well as on education. The setting up of the Boundaries Commission has led the State Government to increase the repression.

That is why the district's undisputed leader, **Shri Atul Ghosh**, than whom there has been no more devoted disciple of Gandhiji, is in jail today. That is why, apart from our colleague, **Shri Bhajahari Mahata**, three M.L.A.'s and many well-known leaders and workers are in jail.

The Home Minister should be told how men like **Atul Babu** have been deliberately humiliated. **Shri Bhajahari Mahata**, Member of this House, was tied with a rope at the waist and made to walk, handcuffed, like the worst of criminals, from the jail to the court-room quite a distance away.

5 P.M.

Shri Jajware (Santal Parganas cum Hazaribagh): The case is *sub judice*. Can it be discussed here?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The other day, when **Shri N. C. Chatterjee** referred to this matter, he said that there was some case against some arrest or some conviction of some person in Manbhum. **Shri N. C. Chatterjee** also said that though directly the person affected did not prefer a writ petition, still some other person had preferred a writ petition to the High Court, and that the same was pending. It is not right that the hon. Member should refer to any of those matters, as it is *sub judice*.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: They have been put in jail. The hon. Member is just referring to the fact.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: A discussion of the circumstances under which they were put in jail would involve the question of throwing aspersions on the judgment. So long as the

*Original speech delivered in Bengali.

matter is *sub judice*, it cannot be discussed here. It is not as if no man ought to be put in jail, for law and order may require that a man should be put in jail, and Government are entitled to put him in jail. The hon. Member cannot go into that matter at all, because some way or other, it will prejudice the trial of the case in the High Court.

Dr. Krishnaswami: He has been put under detention under the Preventive Detention Act.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The other day, Shri N. C. Chatterjee said that some person was convicted, but there was a writ petition in the meanwhile.

The scope of the Home Ministry is wide and big. The hon. Member can refer to any other matter.

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri (Gauhati): The hon. Member is making his maiden speech.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: A 'maiden' also cannot enter into *sub judice* matters.

Shri Chaitan Majhi: When people were practising *Satyagraha*, properties were being sought to be forfeited in the name of collection of fine. A reign of terror is, as a matter of fact, let loose in Manbhum.

What I see is that under Government direction, people are being intimidated even in regard to the use of their mother tongue. Our Constitution guarantees to all citizens of India the right to their own language and to education in their own language. The Bihar Government is trampling that right under foot and I demand that the Central Government intervenes in the matter. I ask the Home Minister to give his mind to this question at once and to see that the constitutional guarantees which it is the duty of the Central Government to uphold are not repudiated in the manner it is being done in my part of the country.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh (Inner Manipur): At the outset, I should like to express my thanks to you,

Sir, for allowing me to speak on the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of States. I was prepared to speak only tomorrow, but fortunately or unfortunately, I have been called upon to speak today.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member need not speak today.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central): Let him speak today.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: I have got a lot of quotations to place before the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: My difficulty is this. Hon. Members come and tell me they have not spoken at all. But when I give them an opportunity for the first time, I find that they want to choose the hour, the minute and even the second.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Let the hon. Member speak.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let the hon. Member say today what he wants to say tomorrow.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: I have got a lot of quotations to place before the House. I have not brought those quotations with me today.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Leave alone the quotations. Speak for yourself. Quotations may be elsewhere, but we would like to hear you.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: I shall continue my speech.

Several Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am really at a loss to see how I can distribute the time. I have got about twenty-five back-bencher's names in my list. They also want to be called, and they have come and occupied the front benches. Even the back-benchers want to choose their own time. In that case, I will have to ignore some of these back-benchers.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: I shall continue my speech.

This is my maiden speech, and this is the first time that I am going to

[Shri L. Jogeswar Singh]

express my views on behalf of the people of Manipur. For the last two years, I tried my best to speak in this House, but unfortunately I could not get any time, and more or less, I was an "untouchable" in the Congress Party. So, today I am very fortunate in having got an opportunity to say something about the problems of Manipur and Tripura.

These two States have set up two Advisory Councils. Manipur has got one Advisory Council consisting of five non-official members, while Tripura has got an Advisory Council consisting of three non-official members. From the experience so far gained of the working of these Advisory Councils, I think these Councils have developed a certain convention whereby the Chief Commissioner abides by the majority decisions of the Advisory Council. But the question is whether the people in these States are satisfied with these Advisory Councils. The answer to this question is a very big no. These Advisory Councils may be taken as analogous to the British system of government particularly that of dyarchy that obtained in India earlier. There are transferred subjects, as well as reserved subjects. Subjects such as P.W.D., forests, transport, education, etc. are handled by the Advisory Council, while police, appointments, etc. are in the hands of the Chief Commissioner. But the people of Manipur and Tripura have been demanding responsible form of Government for a number of years.

In this connection, I should like to refer to the note, which the hon. Prime Minister laid on the Table of the House. I do not know whether Dr. Katju has gone through that statement which explains elaborately the condition obtaining in Manipur and Tripura. I hope he has gone through it, because it is the bible, so to say, of the States Ministry, so far as Manipur and Tripura are concerned. In that note, the Prime Minister can imagine is being honest and tion obtaining in these two border

States, and has agreed to something much more than an Advisory Council being given to the people in these two States.

The people of these two States are against merger with the neighbouring State. Merger with the neighbouring State will be a great misfortune to these two States, because these two States are linguistically and culturally different from the neighbouring State. So, it is necessary that they should be kept intact, and the people in these States should be given a responsible form of government.

So far as responsible government for these two States is concerned, the Prime Minister, according to his note, was not in favour of full responsible government, which meant an Assembly, Ministry and presumably all the paraphernalia that accompanies them, but he agreed that something much more than the present Advisory Council should be given. The sense of his note was that the administration should be run by elected Ministers and not by nominated advisers. This is the implied meaning of the Prime Minister's note. So, I would urge upon the States Minister to focus his attention on the problems of these two States, so that they may be democratized before the election is due to be held again sometime during 1957-58. Otherwise, due to frustration, the people of these two States will go beyond control. These are States situated 1,500 miles away from here. They are also on the Pakistan-Burma-China border.

One grievance of the Manipuris as also of the Tripuris is that people who were at the helm of the Government have now been displaced and outside officers have been imported and given key-posts. There is strong resentment among the local people that key-posts which were filled by them before the integration have now been given to outsiders. In this connection, it is necessary to mention that some 4,000 tons of rice were sent out of Manipur

State. For the export, the Deputy Commissioner was responsible, and he was not a Manipuri. Due to this export, there was scarcity created in the State. Therefore, in the matter of appointments, you should appoint such people as have sympathy with the people of that State, whether it be Manipur or Tripura. I have requested and other political parties in Manipur have requested time and again that all appointments to key-posts in the State should be given to Manipuris themselves, but, so far Government have not paid any heed to the legitimate demand of the people. People have become frustrated, and if in their places outsiders are appointed, there will be *gol mal*.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): *Zyada gol mal*.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: That is my humble submission. Therefore, you should apply your mind very seriously to this problem.

Regarding food, it was a self-sufficient unit before integration. It was a surplus State; and now, it has become a deficit State.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: What happened to the food?

[SHRIMATI KHONGMEN *in the Chair*.]

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: It was due to the mismanagement of the officials. If this is allowed to go on, I think there will be more trouble in this State. So under the present circumstances, I should like to say that mismanagement and want of proper administration are partly responsible for the flood and for the famine conditions that have occurred there for the last two years. For the prevention of these floods, the Manipur Government and also the people of Manipur requested the Government of India for more funds for erecting embankments and for damming the turbulent rivers of Manipur State. But they paid no heed to this demand. The result is this: there was scarcity. Last time

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also, there was flood. A considerable number of the paddy growing areas were submerged and a considerable number of the paddy fields were destroyed due to the flood. For the prevention of flood, a request has been made a number of times. The Government said that they were going to appoint a Superintending Engineer to look into it. But after how many months they are going to appoint, we do not know. They say he is being appointed. They said this six months ago—'He is being appointed, he is being appointed'.

An Hon. Member: The promise holds goods.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: So when the administration is being carried on here in Delhi, the people are suffering there for want of attention. This is a serious matter of which the States Ministry should take note.

Shri Nambiar: They are forgetting it.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: If they are forgetting it, I think it is to their own peril.

So regarding appointment, I have said something. Regarding the flood problem also, I have said something. But there is one point more, regarding the merger. The States Reorganisation Commission is now beginning its deliberations. But the problem before us now is whether Manipur and Tripura will be as intact as they are now, and what will be their future status. In this connection, I would request this hon. House to minutely study the problems of these two States and I would also request the Government, specially the Prime Minister, to circulate his report on the North-East Frontier areas to all Members of the House. If this is widely circulated, I think people will know what study the Prime Minister has made of the problems regarding men and matters in these frontier States. I have gone through it, but almost all the other Members have not gone through it. If it is widely circulated, I think that

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the Members will go through it and understand what the Prime Minister's attitude is in regard to the merger of these two States, in regard to the future status of these States and as regards the setting up of a responsible form of government or continuation of the present Council. Except to mention the possibility of a common Governor; or a Lieut. the Prime Minister has rightly said: "But I feel sure that it would not be desirable to merge them (Manipur and Tripura) in any greater degree in a bigger State". So I earnestly appeal to the hon. Dr. Katju to go through the note of the Prime Minister written after he had fully studied the problems of these two States during his two tours last year.

Last of all, I would appeal to the hon. Dr. Katju that the next election is coming sometime in 1957-58 and before that steps should be taken in right earnest so that a democratic form of Government is set up in Manipur and Tripura. One thing I will say. I am vehemently opposed to the merger of Manipur in some other State. This is also true....

Shri Nambiar: If not, what is to happen? (*Interruptions*)

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: I want to have set up a responsible form of government in Manipur as in Coorg, as in Himachal Pradesh, as in Bhopal, and not a step-motherly treatment to be meted out to Manipur and Tripura.

An Hon. Member: It will be liquidated.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: My point is that don't try to liquidate first before you know what you are going to liquidate, and we are united in this demand of democratic form of Government.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. I think the hon. Member has not got any new point. He is only repeating the same thing. His time is up.

Shri L. Jogeswar Singh: With these words I resume my seat.

Dr. Krishnaswami: I regret that I do not have sufficient time to deal with all the topics and policies that have been implemented by the Home Ministry during the past year. I should like, however, today to refer to one particular aspect which has not received sufficient attention at the hands of hon. Members in this House. The Home Minister by his recent utterances on the place of foreign missionaries and their right to propagate religion has created a difficult and a dangerous situation in our country. In another place he affirmed that missionaries should confine themselves to professing and practising religion and should not propagate religion at all. The Home Minister has remarked—and I suppose I do not need to apologise for making this quotation, as it is necessary in order to understand the whole theory and policy of the Government of India fully—the Home Minister has remarked:

"The Constitution provides the fullest freedom for the propagation of ideas. But it must be remembered that this applies to only Indian nationals. The Constitution of India does not govern the rights of foreigners in this country."

Speaking on March 14 at Raipur, the hon. the Home Minister pointed out further:

"Missionaries residing at present have got the right of religious propaganda. But others coming over to India hereafter would not enjoy that facility at all."

There is widespread fear and apprehension in the minds of millions of our countrymen that the utterances of the Home Minister represent a new and dangerous trend in the policy of the Government, a trend which is subversive of the spirit of our Constitution, and which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, would destroy the essentials of a secular State. I am afraid that the

Home Minister's policy is in flat contradiction to the tenor and spirit of our Constitution. Even our Constitution which has not been overtly generous to minorities has affirmed its faith in liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and has also added its belief in "equality of status and opportunity." This means that individuals whether they work either as citizens or through denominations, will have the same status and opportunity in the matter of belief, faith and worship.

May I remind my hon. friend opposite that when the Constitution came into being, we had all religions of the world in our country. Realising, perhaps, that it was necessary to build a new fabric, the makers of the Constitution in their wisdom pledged themselves to the creation and maintenance of a secular State. In order to create and maintain a secular State, they affirmed their faith in two articles which deserve perusal and which I recommend to my hon. friend the Home Minister to re-read and understand them aright. Those articles are 25 and 26. It ought also to be clear to hon. Members that so far as citizenship is concerned, considerations of religion are wholly out of place in citizenship in our country. Articles 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 definitely emphasize and crystalize the thought of the Constitution makers on this point.

I am concerned with my hon. friend's emphasis on the indigenous missionaries alone having the right to propagate. I am afraid that the Home Minister—I regret to have to say it—has done a positive disservice to the cause of minorities in this country by this utterance. It is clear that the Constitution assures not only citizens but also all those who are residents here and are aliens, the freedom to profess, the freedom to practise and the freedom to propagate religion. The moment the right to propagate is conceded, that moment the right to convert is also admitted. I cannot, believe that the Constitution makers thought that propagation meant merely

the enunciation of doctrines by missionaries to the waves of the ocean so that the waves might echo back to them the doctrines propagated. Propagation involves a right to conversion. Of course, there are many limitations on the right to convert. It has been pointed out in these very articles that subject to considerations of public order, health and morality, the right to propagate is recognised.

Here let me make a particular reference to the far-reaching right conceded in our Constitution. The Constitution does not discriminate between aliens and citizens of this country and the right to profess, the right to practise and the right to propagate. Had the makers thought otherwise, the expression 'persons' instead of citizens would not have been employed in article 25. It is a significant thing which has to be taken into account; and it certainly has been taken into account, by our representatives at international conferences. Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, on behalf of the Government of India, signed the clause relating to religious freedom drawn up in the Charter of Human Rights by the United Nations. (*Interruption*)

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: May I point out that questions of security might be involved?

Dr. Krishnaswami: I am dealing with this question presently. I am more keenly conscious of considerations of security than my hon. friend. I shall deal with questions of security and indicate where and how the line should be drawn.

But, as I am elaborating my argument on this particular point of public order, I would wish my friend to hold his soul in patience. I know, that security, considerations of security have loomed large in certain speeches of his. But, unfortunately, since he has not as yet attained eminence of a Home Minister of the Government of India, I do not propose to pay particular attention to his views. In the limited time at my disposal, I can

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only refer to the Home Minister of the Government of India. But I should like to point out that this particular point has been brought out in very emphatic language in our Constitution.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): He is also a Doctor like you.

Dr. Krishnaswami: It is said that our State is a secular State. What does this imply? The State, as such, has no religion whatsoever. But, nevertheless it is bound to respect all religions and no religion as well. We have definitely no right, as it has been pointed out, to favour any particular religion or treat any religion or denomination with suspicion. Interference with the right to propagate being on the grounds of either public order, or health or morality being infringed, it is clear that if the security is imperilled by the propagation of ideas then the State has an inherent right to intervene. But may I place before my friend the hon. Home Minister certain aspects of his utterances so that it might be possible for him to re-think his policy on these matters. I am one of those who holds the view that missionaries have contributed a great deal to the weal and welfare of our country. In many parts of our country, missionaries starting medical institutions, educational institutions and other such social welfare institutions, have brought torch of learning and comfort to the backward areas and many communities which were otherwise denied education have necessarily benefited as a result of their efforts. It would be most ungracious and ungrateful on our part not to recognise the great services that has been done by missionaries and I feel that it is artificial to suggest that those who have the right to perform this service to society have not the right to propagate their faith. The hon. Home Minister on one occasion is reported to have said that he could understand missionaries propagating their religion, but he could not understand their right to convert. What is the meaning of propagation if it does

not carry with it the idea of conversion? Is religion meant to be propagated only to those who have been already converted?

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): May I interrupt the hon. Member. I never said such things. I do not rely on newspaper reports.

Dr. Krishnaswami: I stand corrected and I do not wish to give offence to my hon. friend by indulging even unconsciously in a misinterpretation of his views. As a matter of fact, I should like to give as beneficial an interpretation to my hon. friend's utterances as possible, because I realise that his utterances are invested with greater importance than the utterances of ordinary Members like myself. But to proceed may I affirm that when once we have allowed these people to perform social service, it would be doing a great disservice to the spirit of our Constitution to treat the public service done by denominational institutions as a subtle form of forcible conversion and, on this ground, to curtail their freedom. You are aware that in the Lushai Hills and in other areas, where civilization had not penetrated, and head hunters abound, foreign missionaries, at great risk to their lives went over there, managed to start welfare institutions and tried to bring them within the pale of civilisation. If in this process, conversion took place what is wrong with it? I know that it is a difficult matter, especially in a country where there are many faiths, to hold a balanced view. I want to make this personal appeal to my hon. friend the Home Minister and I would like him to consider whether the time has not arrived for him to take a balanced view. After all, we are the majority community, and are in office. Unless we create a feeling of confidence, unless we inspire the minorities with a sense of confidence in our justice what is to be the future of our secular Constitution to which we boast our

allegiance and which we glorify times without number? I want my hon. friend to realise that, especially when it concerns the treatment of minorities, we ought to proceed with extreme caution. I do not, for a moment, hold a brief for those who indulge in forcible conversion; but, obviously, whenever forcible conversion is resorted to, that is brought within the prohibition envisaged by article 25.

My hon. friend, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, in the course of his interruption pointed out that I did not deal with the question of security. I shall deal with that question. I know as well as many of my hon. friends here that we have to distinguish between aliens and citizens in our country. As a matter of fact, article 19 which enshrines the liberties of the subject is meant to be applicable only to the citizens of India, whereas articles 25 and 26, as I pointed out, are meant to be applicable to aliens and citizens as well. I know aliens have their responsibilities....

Shri U. M. Trivedi: On a point of information. The learned Doctor has not read the Preamble to the Constitution which provides only social, economic and political justice, and liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship only to citizens of India and not to all. (*Interruption*)

Dr. Krishnaswami: I am not willing to adopt the restrictive interpretation of my hon. friend. Article 25 refers to 'persons' and if the Constitution had intended to make it applicable only to citizens, then why in the name of reason did not the makers of the Constitution put 'citizens' in article 25? I rather feel that those who have been most critical of the Constitution are in a better position to judge its merits than those who have been mouthing platitudes and singing its glories. I only want to point out that the Preamble is an affirmation of faith.....

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: When interpreting law, you need not go to the preamble.

Dr. Krishnaswami: I go to the articles to interpret specific rights. The Preamble is an affirmation of faith. I want the Government to live up to the ideals envisaged and I do not want members to assume that the Preamble is of no significance. The Preamble has to be referred to in cases where doubt arises. When we are in charge of this administration, and when we belong to the majority community, there is an imperative duty cast on us to be most scrupulous in our consideration of the claims of the minorities that profess a different faith. I do not for a moment hold a brief for alien missionaries who have interfered with our rights and who by their deeds are alleged to have imperilled our security. But obviously such activities fall within the category of but unnatural activities, and there are ample safeguards envisaged on our law for Home Minister to take action against such activities. For instance my hon. friends are aware of a particular sect which is known in the United States of America, as Jehovah's Witnesses. According to this creed, its followers should not bend their knee to any earthly power. In our country, supposing for argument, an alien, propagated the doctrine of disrespect to the Union flag on the footing of its being the flag of an earthly power, then although such conduct may be justified on religious grounds, it may nevertheless be a serious matter, particularly because advocacy by an alien may have other repercussions and there might be need for taking action against this individual. Let me warn my hon. friend that unless he inspires confidence and trust in the minds of the minorities, unless he makes them feel that the spirit of the Constitution is being respected by those who are in power and authority, the Constitution would be brought into disrespect, and it would do no good to appeal to us in the Opposition to be responsible for the maintenance and preservation of the Constitution. I know that the Home Minister has a tender heart, and I therefore make a personal appeal to him to consider

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what exactly the implications are of his policy and to revise it. So far as the South is concerned,—I hope my hon. friend would not mind my making the distinction between north and south—we have a vested interest in the maintenance of a secular State, because long before you propagated the idea of a secular State, we had fought for secularism, achieved it, and had built up a healthy and sound tradition during the past three decades and half. I venture to suggest that in all these matters, the wisest policy would be to respect the spirit of the Constitution, allow foreign missionaries to propagate religion and take action against them only when they indulge in unnational activities. Even when such action is taken, I suggest to my hon. friend, the Home Minister, that he would be on strong ground if he could place before Parliament a white paper detailing the unnational activities of such foreign missionaries, so that we, as the final High Court, might have the power of approving and if necessary reproving the action of the Government. Surely this offer cannot and should not be turned down on the ground of being unreasonable. A popular Government blessed with a conscience should welcome the opportunity of taking this House into its confidence; the mistrust and suspicion which surround the actions of the Government would be dispelled, and we of the Opposition would be in a position to understand more clearly the intentions of the Government.

Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah): I have very great pleasure in supporting these Demands, and in doing that I do not hesitate to support my hon. friend, Dr. Krishnaswami, in his remarks made today about the missionaries and their contribution to India's social and literary progress. But I am not here to speak about it; in fact, what provoked me to speak this afternoon were the remarks of my friend, Mr. Sreekantan Nair. He said some unkind words about the Fazl Ali Commission and also about the National Unity Platform, to which

I have the honour to be attached. If any commission has received the confidence of a wider section of the people of India for its integrity and impartiality, it is the Fazl Ali Commission, and the Press all over India has given its support. I know my friends, Mr. Sreekantan Nair and others in the Opposition, who have been very keen on the linguistic states agitation, are afraid that the Commission may not support them *in toto*. Anyhow, all of us have sufficient faith in the integrity of the Commission and I think it is the duty of all, including Mr. Sreekantan Nair and myself, to give our support to it.

I have my responsibility to say something about the National Unity Platform. It is not a political party, nor is it inspired by anybody from the Congress High Command or the Government. As a matter of fact, when I listened to the speeches on the Andhra Bill, I said in the House that this tendency is so much exaggerated that it may be dangerous unless the saner section of the House take notice of it and do something to counter it. Somehow, several hon. Members of the House voluntarily came to me and said "Mr. Matthen, you are right and we are with you." As a matter of fact, when I started this movement, I was really afraid of the reaction of the Congress, and their first reaction was not very kind either. When I said that our object is only to strengthen national unity and to counter the fissiparous tendencies and explain to them the whole thing, they allowed us to continue.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: The cat is out of the bag!

Shri Matthen: I can assure my friend, Shri Sreekantan Nair, that we are not against any linguistic state but we are only against fissiparous tendencies at a time when we are confronted by problems inside and outside, at a time when we are to think of our entity and to maintain our integrity and I think there are more important matters than the agitation for a state on petty, narrow, parochial

basis. In fact, I would take the liberty of quoting from the circular letter I have written and I shall be glad to give a copy of it to my friend, Mr. Sreekantan Nair:

"It is well known that for some time fissiparous elements which are interested in the formation of small political units on linguistic, communal and other parochial considerations leading practically to the disintegration of the country, have been gaining momentum. With the appointment of a High Power Commission of the Government of India, for the purpose of reorganisation of the States, these elements have become highly vocal and are trying to bring pressure on government to concede their demands."

No doubt, it is this that prompted me and several others to start this Unity Platform, and I may tell my friend, Mr. Nair, that a very large majority of the House are thinking like me that at this time, when we are perfectly conscious of the United States-Pakistan pact on the one side of us, and the Sino-Russian pact on the other side, we cannot afford to think of anything that dissipates us.

India is a nation only geographically. History will testify to the fact that fissiparous tendencies and disunity have been the cause of our downfall. As soon as we attained freedom, we had the problem of the refugees and other repercussions of Partition. Then we had a succession of national calamities like floods and the consequent food shortage. In the face of all this our Government have taken up a very ambitious programme of the Five Year Plan. In fact, the implementation of the Plan during the Plan period is so important to the stability of India that we want nothing at this time to interfere in the slightest way with the implementation of the Plan during the Plan period.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Gulberga): Then, where was the necessity for the appointment of a high power

commission? If it is for the reorganisation of the States, how does it temper with the integrity of India?

Shri Matthen: It is a question for the Government to answer. It is because friends like the hon. Member have been agitating for linguistic States and the disintegration of the country.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: And fasting unto death!

Shri Matthen: Yes, it is because some people resorted to these, that Government were actually forced to appoint that Commission. Otherwise, they could very well have waited for some time. That would have given the people of the country an opportunity to consider the question of redistribution of States in an objective manner. We are now so biased and prejudiced, that I doubt whether we are at all competent to consider this very important question dispassionately. Because of this background of agitations, we are practically obsessed that we are incapable of making an objective approach in the matter of realignment of States. It would have been very good if these agitations and these fasts unto death had not taken place at all.

I wish to tell my hon. friend Mr. Sreekantan Nair that all that we are asking for is that we do not want these 'A', 'B', 'C' Class States. We want one kind of States; one kind of citizenship, and no man, to however small a minority he may belong in his State, should feel that he is an unwanted man. As my hon. friend Dr. Krishnaswami, rightly pointed out just now, the majority has a duty to infuse confidence in the minorities that their interests would be safe. That is all the objective of the National Unity Platform. One of the prime duties of the Platform is to counter the activities of persons who resort to methods like fast unto death over the issue of languages and linguistic states.

Madam, I became a politician only recently.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: Overnight!

Shri Matthen: I was in business, spread all over India and Ceylon. I knew that I was an unwanted man in politics. But after coming to this House, I find the Bengali on one side, the Andhra on the other and the Malayali on the third—I have yet to see an Indian in the House!

At a time like this our security and our strategy are very important. These are matters which ought to be considered much more than linguistic or any other communal considerations. We are not against anything. We are not anti-linguistic, definitely not. I know what actually happened in Andhra soon after the formation of that State. They did not want anyone who was a non-Andhra. Even in the case of subordinate staff,—persons who had been serving that part of the country all their life—they did not wish to have any non-Andhra. In fact, the very thought of an Andhra State is not a cohesive thought—it is a fissiparous thought. Take, for instance, Bombay. Naturally it will have a majority of Marathas, if a new State were to be formed. But why do you call it a Maratha State? Bombay will be perfectly all right. Let us, not therefore, think in terms of Bombay, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh or Dakshin Pradesh. We want to create a feeling in everybody that he is an Indian.

Take, for instance, the case in the United States of America. A man or woman of another nationality, who goes and settles there, whether he be a Japanese, or Turk, or German, calls himself a citizen of the United States.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): What about the Negroes of the South?

Shri Matthen: I hold no brief for America.

So far as we are concerned, I find fissiparous tendencies raising their head in all directions. This is a time when we have to consolidate our

national unity. The demand for hundreds of States are on the lips of persons who till now were not aware of such an idea. The main object of the National Unity Platform, I can assure my hon. friend Shri Sreekantan Nair, is to make viable States which will have respect for the minorities, where every man and woman will feel safe and proud of the citizenship.

Shri Velayudhan: What about non-viable States?

Shri Matthen: Our object is only to enunciate these general principles. It is for the people of the States to agitate and submit their memorandum to the high power commission. I may assure my hon. friends that we have nothing against anybody. Let them not carry any suspicion. Our main interest is to safeguard the national unity of the country.

Mr. Chairman: I will call the hon. Deputy Minister to speak at 6 o'clock. In the meanwhile Mr. Kakkan may begin his speech and stop at six. He may resume his speech after the Minister finishes his speech.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): It is better that he finishes his speech and the Deputy Minister intervenes later.

Mr. Chairman: If that is the sense of the House he may finish his speech and the Deputy Minister may intervene afterwards.

Shri Kakkan (Madurai—Reserved—Sch. Castes): At the very outset I wish to say a few words about conversion. The House is not aware of the conditions obtaining in South India. There, the Christian missionaries first come to preach among the Harijans. They slowly put up a school in a village and ask the people to send their children. Then they begin converting not only the children, but also the parents. For example in the Madurai District, the Harijans of a whole *cheri* by name Kallimanthian have been converted. This matter was reported

to the Collector of Madurai. I wish to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister, that if any permission is accorded to the opening of schools by the Christian missionaries, a condition must be imposed that they should not indulge in these conversion activities. Then only should the permission be given. I therefore request the hon. Minister to ask the Madras Government to impose this condition.

These missionaries go into each and every village and make propaganda to convert the poor Harijans. As you know, they do not go to the educated people, the Brahmans or the forward classes. They go only to the *cheris* and convert the Harijans.

Then I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the hon. Minister for Home Affairs for introducing the Untouchability (Offences) Bill in this House some days back. By introducing this Bill he has fulfilled his promise. We the Harijans take the untouchability offence Bill as a boon. Untouchability is existing in every nook and corner of the villages, and some of the Caste Hindus are oppressing the Harijans by means of social boycott. Government must take all the necessary steps to eradicate untouchability from every nook and corner of our villages. I request hon. Members of the House and also the public to help in the eradication of untouchability in our villages and help the Harijans to improve their conditions.

Especially in the matter of housing, the Harijans are having great difficulty. They have great difficulty in getting even housing sites. I do not stand against single-storeyed or double storeyed houses for the industrial labourers, but I request the hon. Minister to instruct the State Governments to at least assign house sites to the Harijans. Even for acquiring lands there is a delay of months. Some of the poor Harijans have been given some portions, but they did not get the acquisition in time. I therefore request the hon. Minister to refer this matter to the State Governments—not only the Madras Government but all

the State Governments—and ask them to modify the Land Acquisition Act in a suitable manner so as to get acquisition in time and help the poor people to get land for their houses.

For the eradication of untouchability I consider that the most important thing is propaganda. The Government has done its best to eradicate untouchability by giving funds and loans for the provincial governments and grants for some of the institutions and agencies. But I think printed posters must be put in each and every police station, post office and *panchayat* Board. When the Panchayat Boards give licences to hotels they must give them a wall poster containing the Acts relating to the removal of civil disabilities and ask them to place it in front of the hotels. In this way we can make propaganda to eradicate untouchability. In the cinema also we can ask the cinema owners to exhibit slides before the audience asking the people to help the Congress Government to eradicate untouchability in every nook and corner of the village and fulfil the good mission of the Father of the Nation to eradicate untouchability from this country.

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If we want to help the Harijans we must first take the necessary steps for the economic improvement of the Harijans. Since we are passing through a revolutionary period, we must also make revolutionary changes among the Hindu society and revolutionary changes in the matter of agrarian reforms. In most of the places the poor Harijan labourers do not get their proper share or wages for their labour. So I think agrarian reform must be brought about in time to help the Harijans in getting their proper share or wages.

I say this as a Harijan worker and also as a Congress worker that apart from the Christian missionaries some of the anti-social elements are approaching Harijan labourers and misleading them. So I request the hon. Minister to make all these reforms in time, for we should not give any room for

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the anti-social elements who are giving false hopes and misleading the Harijans. The reforms must come in time and I request him to inform all the State Governments to bring about these reforms in time.

I am very glad that the welfare of Harijans is in the hands of the hon. the Home Minister here. But in most of the States the Harijan Welfare Department is not in the hands of the Chief Minister or even the Police Minister. They consider the portfolio of Harijan Welfare as an unimportant one. I think this is an important portfolio and I request the hon. Minister to advise the State Governments that either the Chief Minister or, failing that, the Police Minister should take this portfolio and carry out the good mission started by the Father of the Nation to eradicate untouchability in this country, in a very short time.

In the Five Year Plan four crores of rupees are earmarked for the uplift of Backward classes. In 1953-54 the Government has spent nearly fifty lakhs of rupees, and for 1954-55 they have allotted a sum of Rs. 125 lakhs. I beg to submit that this sum of Rs. 125 lakhs for Harijan uplift is very small. I do not like to say it is a drop in the ocean because the Government has done something for Harijan uplift. I appreciate it. Government has made some effort, but it is not enough. Even in a small State they have allotted more than Rs. 150 lakhs for Harijan uplift. As such, the allotment of only Rs. 125 lakhs from the Centre is very small. I request the hon. Minister to increase the amount to at least two crores in each and every Budget and help the Harijans to improve their social and economic conditions.

I know that some of the Members are criticising the prohibition policy. Even the Andhra Government is re-considering their decision and I understand that they have introduced *neera* system. I absolutely condemn it. The Father of the Nation fought for it and also preached by going to

each and every village. In public meetings he asked our people not to drink. Some of the Congress workers died for the cause of prohibition. So, I request the hon. Minister to look into the matter. Our Congress Governments must not reconsider it and if any Government wants to scrap the prohibition Act, we must stand against it. We must not allow any Government to reintroduce toddy and other intoxicating things.

Lastly, as a Harijan I want to appeal to my Harijan brethren who are really oppressed and suppressed, to follow the footsteps of Congress leaders and support the Congress Government because I think the Congress Government alone can bring in a measure of happiness for the poor people and give them more facilities.

Shri Nambiar: There you are mistaken.

The Deputy Minister of Home affairs (Shri Datar): Sir, we had a very interesting discussion today and some of the hon. Members have struck a new ground. I was prepared for the usual attack in respect of corruption, tardy and inefficient administration, Preventive Detention Act and a number of other things. Fortunately, hon. Members this afternoon have struck a new ground and a number of very valuable suggestions have been made.

The only controversial point on which some Members spoke, each side espousing the other, was with regard to the activities of the missionaries and therefore, before I deal with other topics, I want to point out how some part at least of the criticism was ill-informed. I would say a few words so that there should be no misapprehension at all about the work that has been done by the missionaries and also about the attitude that Government have taken so far as these missionaries are concerned.

It was very vehemently argued by the hon. Member, Dr. Krishnaswami that under the Constitution it is open

to any person, national or non-national, to propagate his or her religion. Now, so far as that is concerned, it is covered by the Constitution. This Constitution has been given to the nation by the people of India. They say: "We have given this Constitution unto ourselves", and if that is so, then naturally the Indian Constitution can deal with the rights and obligations only of the Indian nationals. Therefore, whenever any general words are used like 'people' or 'citizens', they have to be understood as only those persons in India who are governed by the Constitution. Article 25 points out that the Indians have a right to propagate religion the exact words are:—

"all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion."

Now, so far as the last expression 'propagate' is concerned, the matter was debated before the Constituent Assembly and at that time it was very clearly pointed out that that word does not mean conversion at all. I would read to you from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. It has been clearly stated:

" 'propagation' again, does not mean conversion but conveyance of one's own beliefs to another by exposition or by persuasion without any element of coercion."

Therefore, this is what is called 'propagation'. So far as the Indian nationals are concerned all the nationals, including Christians whose number is in the neighbourhood of 81 lakhs, are governed by the Constitution and they have a right under article 25. Now, so far as the Indian Christians as also members of other religions are concerned, this right has been conceded subject to certain reservations in the interest of the stability of the nation. Apart from that, article 15 can only apply so far as the nationals are concerned. So far as non-nationals or missionaries and others concerned, it should be understood very clearly that

the Constitution has not been made applicable to others except when they come and stay in India or settle in India for the time being and carry on their work; then they are subject to certain obligations which are laid upon them by the Indian nation or by the Government of India—they are subject to these obligations. So long as these obligations are carried out, they are allowed to carry on their own activities. Government of India have no prejudices against the missionaries as such; also against the foreign missionaries, because you would find—it has been pointed out to this House on a number of occasions—that we have recognised a number of missions who are carrying on their work and whose total number is nearly 100 or 105. All these missions are carrying on their work, and be it said to their credit that some of the missionaries have been carrying on very good work. They did carry on good work and even now a very large portion of these missionaries are carrying on good work; but the question that arises is whether they are entitled to all the rights to convert people in the way they like. This is a question on which there is bound to be difference of opinion. The obligations that have been laid down are, that they are not allowed to enter into political alliance or carry on any political work. There are certain regions where the missionaries have to carry on their work very carefully because there are backward people. There are also certain strategic areas where it is necessary that these foreigners carry on their work with as much of circumspection as possible, and it is therefore that whenever we allow them to carry on their work, they are to do so subject to these obligations which are placed on them in the interest of the nation.

Therefore, we have to understand it very clearly that the Government of India have not been unfair to these people, and whenever the Government finds that any of these people, either nationals or non-nationals, carry on certain activities which are harmful to the interests of India, or it smacks

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of coercion, then we are entitled to take action. Only to that extent Government would step in; otherwise they have no desire to interfere with the private religion of a man, with his worship or with his right of propagating his own religion without, as I have stated already, having recourse to conversion by forcible or coercive methods.

That is all so far as the attitude of the Government to these classes is concerned. I may submit to you that this attitude is perfectly consistent with the secular character of the Government. Oftentimes, this expression has been misunderstood if not also misrepresented. It only means that the Government as it has been established under the Constitution either at the Centre or in the States, has no established religion of its own just as England has the Protestant religion as the State religion. The Government stands by that. That does not mean that the Government expects all the people to be without any religion altogether. In fact, Government respects all religions and the Government has been helping all legitimate religious and other pursuits to the extent that they can.

Passing on to the other subjects, something was said regarding the Special Police Establishment. I may submit that the Special Police Establishment's functions have not been properly understood at all. This body has been established and it is still on a temporary basis. Government are watching the results. For the first time, when an Act was passed called the Delhi Special Police Establishment Act, the object was this. There were certain serious cases of a grave nature and there were certain offences which were committed by certain classes of people so far as the properties of the Government were concerned. Therefore, when the Act was originally passed, this body had to deal with graver cases of corruption and also offences regarding the property of the Government either in Delhi or in the whole of India. Only for this purpose, this Establishment was brought into

existence and it has been carrying on its work extremely efficiently. Hon. Members should not be misled by the so-called smallness of the number of cases. You cannot have and you should not have a larger number of cases of corruption because it is the object of the Special Police Establishment and also of the Government to root out corruption. There are also other agencies; the State Governments also are entitled to take action against corruption. They have got anti-corruption departments in all the States including the Part 'C' States. It should be understood very clearly that the Special Police Establishment is a special establishment dealing with larger corruption cases and cases of misappropriation, criminal breach of trust or damage to Government properties. Therefore, the criticism that was made that they were carrying on very little work is not entirely correct at all. In fact, this Establishment has been of great use to the Government not only in respect of having prosecutions but also in other respects. There are certain acts of a government servant which may not amount to a commission of a crime, but which might bring him within the orbit of what is known as departmental proceedings. Departmental proceedings can also be taken and various kinds of punishment imposed upon the guilty person. It is for this purpose that the Special Police Establishment has been brought into existence. It has been doing very good work. It is the opinion of the Government that to a large extent, so far as corruption in the higher quarters is concerned, it has been halted. Therefore, I should submit to this House that this body has been doing very good work.

Shri Nambiar: It is a complacent attitude. It has not halted that extent.

Shri Datar: It is not a complacent attitude; it is a responsible attitude.

Something was said about the Government's inability to absorb all displaced government servants. Reference was made to 100 *patwaris*. So

far as *patwaris* are concerned, the number is not 100 or 1000 as the hon. Member pointed out. The number is fairly small. But, there are certain peculiar difficulties with regard to these *patwaris*. They do not know English at all, they do not know Hindi at all. Most of them are Sindhi people and the kind of work that they were carrying on either in the villages or in the States was such that there is no corresponding or equivalent work that they can do under the Government of India. Government have the greatest sympathy for these people. But it is for them also to learn Hindi. Had they learnt Hindi to the extent that it was necessary instead of merely carrying on propaganda perhaps by this time they would have been absorbed to a considerable extent. Government have taken up this question not only with their own different Ministries but also with the departments at Delhi and elsewhere. We have also requested the State Governments like the U.P. and others also to absorb these poor uprooted people, because, whatever may be the disabilities, we have to provide them out of sympathy for them. I would assure the House that we are doing all that is possible for absorbing as many of them as we can either under the Centre or under the States.

The next question that was raised was the one over which Government are also as anxious as the hon. Members of this House. I refer to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is true that they are extremely backward. For centuries together, these people have not received the fruits of education or the benefits of civilisation. Therefore, it is the duty of a popular Government to do all that it can. Now, the first task in this respect is to educate them to the fullest extent possible. Here, you should say it to the credit of the British Government also that in or about 1942, they took up this question and they started two very important steps which are being carried on by us on an extremely enlarged scale. One was, they started giving scholarships so far as the students in the colleges

were concerned. Now, it would surprise this House to know that whereas in 1942, in respect of all backward classes including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and others, the Government spent Rs. 200,000, in the last year Government have spent Rs. 65,00,000 and in the current Budget, we have made a provision of Rs. 75,00,000 for distribution amongst Harijans, Scheduled Tribes, etc., so far as their college career is concerned. Secondly, we are doing whatever is possible so far as securing as large a measure of representation as possible in the services is concerned. Here also the difficulty to a certain extent arises due to the backwardness of these people. This backwardness can only be removed as early as possible; but it is a gradual process. As I stated to the House, in 1942 the Government of India also introduced a step by means of which some reservations of places were made in the services, for the first time. These two things have to go together. A minimum amount of educational qualification naturally is essential. The Constitution also points out in article 335 that consistently with the maintenance of the usual standards of efficiency, it is the duty of the Government to provide for an adequate representation of these communities in the government services. Subject to the maintenance of minimum efficiency, Government are trying to do their best to increase their representation to the fullest extent possible. In this respect, I would bring to your notice that so far as the lower rung of the ladder of the services is concerned their number is gradually rising, though, so far as the higher posts are concerned, naturally some time has to elapse. As on 1st June, 1951, in respect of class IV servants of the Government of India throughout India, out of a total of 7,16,000 government servants—this does not include the Railways or Defence—we had 1,53,000 Scheduled Caste employees and 10,000 Scheduled Tribe employees. In class III, out of 5 lakhs, their number is 22,441 in one case and 1,514 in the other. As we

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go up, their number is extremely small, but we are trying our best to introduce or to give to them a number of concessions. So far as fees, the usual tests, exemption from various kinds of requirements etc., are concerned, we are trying to do whatever is possible. Therefore, I would submit to this House that the Government is extremely sympathetic, if not anxious, over this section. They believe that the progress of India cannot be achieved without the proper advancement of a large portion of the population—like 5 crores and odd so far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, and one crore and odd so far the Scheduled Tribes are concerned. Therefore, Government are committed to the question of advancing the interests not only in respect of service and education, but in respect of all matters so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned.

Then, one or two other points remain. In respect of untouchability, Government also have taken a step and only the other day a Bill was introduced. That Bill will be debated, I hope, during this very term and it would become law, but after all, it is a penal measure. Untouchability has gone under the Constitution, but it has got to be rooted out and entirely eliminated so far as the rural population is concerned. There are certain parts, especially in Part B States where I know conditions are extremely miserable, and even ordinary human rights are denied to these people, but we are trying our best. With the co-operation of the people, with the co-operation of the caste Hindus and the higher people also we hope that the condition will gradually improve. I would appeal to the members of the Scheduled Castes to have some patience provided they are satisfied that we are doing all that is necessary to take them along a gradual process to complete enlightenment so far as Indian democracy is concerned.

Shri Velayudhan: Six years we waited.

Shri Datar: We are trying our best.

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): He is wrong. For two thousand years we have been waiting.

Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur): It is only six years passed.

Shri Datar: It is now only six years.

Shri Syammandan Sahaya: Say what you have done in these six years.

Shri Datar: Then, so far as administration is concerned, I would not cover the ground at all because we are having a four-hour discussion on a private Member's Resolution. I am happy that this question has now been mooted, but I assure you that we are trying our best. We have got sufficient material before us to improve the tone of the administration, and all that is necessary is being done.

So far as Part C States are concerned, an hon. Member complained very bitterly about the conditions in Delhi. There are certain historical reasons why we have to maintain the Part C States. It is for the future, for Parliament as well as for others to consider whether the Part C States should continue or should be merged. Now, that question is before the high-power commission and they would give us proper directions so far as the Part C States are concerned. But I would point out that after the Part C States Act was passed, Government have been doing all that is possible in respect of all these States where popular Ministries have been introduced to give them not only under the Act, but by convention, as large a measure of power as possible, and therefore, at least so far as we are concerned, we are trying to make this experiment of popular government extremely successful not only in the Part A and B States but also in the Part C States.

Shri L. Jageswar Singh: What about Manipur and Tripura?

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri rose—

Mr. Chairman: Shri Patnaik.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: We had a hearty laugh this afternoon when the

hon. the Prime Minister referred to the want of discipline among the people during the traffic jam at Tilpat. Some time ago we had also been listening to the harrowing tales of what happened at the Kumbh Mela. These are not things which should so much excite our laughter as require some amount of cool consideration and deliberation as to what we have to do in such circumstances, because these were functions to which people or the invited guests—directly invited as well as indirectly invited—came in large numbers. There was propaganda, advertisement and publicity, and the result was that in spite of arrangements made—maybe due to indiscipline, maybe due to lack of knowledge of traffic control, maybe due to various other circumstances the situation could not be controlled. In this context, let us also conceive of times when things go beyond our control, when due to some extraneous circumstances there is some exodus from the towns to the cities or from the cities to the towns. What will be our position?

This brings us to the three cut motions that I have moved, *viz.*, the need for training our people for such contingencies.

Of course, I will not take up the time of this House with cut motion No. 623 which deals with inadequate support to various organisations connected with man-power training, *viz.*, rifle organisations and the like, because we are thankful to the Minister that on the 5th March, after the non-official Resolution, he gave an assurance to the House of the reactions of Government and we are happy over that.

I will not also take the time of the House on cut motion No. 622, about the need for relaxing the provisions of the Arms Act with a view to giving our men on a nation-wide basis training in the use of small Arms, because a Bill has come up before the House on 26th last and will come up again on the 9th instant for relaxing the provisions of the Indian Arms Act.

But, with your permission, I will refer to cut motion No. 619. By referring to item 23 of the subjects for which various Ministries and Departments of the Government of India are responsible, we find that the Home Ministry is responsible for "Civil Defence". I draw your attention to Demands for Grants which shows that not a pie has been allotted under that particular head for which the Home Ministry is responsible, but only an amount of Rs. 1,26,000 has been allotted under the head 'Labour Ministry' being expenditure connected with a War Injuries Scheme. That is the only amount that has been allotted and therefore I feel it my duty to bring it to the notice of the House and the Government that it is a very important branch of our work that has to be taken notice of, particularly in view of these traffic jams and other happenings in normal peace time which disclose a lack of discipline, control and proper arrangements.

Therefore, I would deal with this particular aspect, namely, lack of provision and lack of arrangements for what is called 'Civil Defence', in spite of the fact that there have been objections taken to the phrase "civil defence" in the present setup. I do concede that in this Hydrogen and Atom Age we have to feel that our old system is outmoded and that our defence arrangements have to be re-orientated. That is no doubt true, but there is no gainsaying the fact that every country today, in spite of the Atom, Hydrogen and Cobalt bombs, is trying to attend to this very vital side of national defence, namely the home defence problem. I do not necessarily advert to this trouble with Pakistan and other countries, but even apart from it, it is the normal duty of Government to see that there is proper arrangement for defence on the home front, namely by the training of the civilians for national emergencies, and in the present set-up, the training and disciplining of them for developmental purposes also, as a Labour Force. Today conscription for military purposes has

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gone out of date; so, if there is conscription at all, it should refer to conscription for purposes of mobilising a labour force. I do not think that there is any necessity to dilate further on this aspect of the matter any more.

Let me now come to the subject proper, namely the absence of civil defence measures in this country for the last six or seven years. You know that during the war, during the period 1939-45, we had a sort of skeleton civil defence organisation in this country, consisting of civic guards, fire-fighting squads, first-aid squads, R. P. P., A.R.P's etc. In 1945, when the United Kingdom disbanded its civil defence organisation, though temporarily, we also disbanded ours. But in 1947-48, the United Kingdom restarted its civil defence units, but we have not yet tried to do anything in that direction. I would also submit that in other countries, civil defence has not become outmoded, as some of us think, but is being given very high priority. I may point out that the United Kingdom, during last year, spent nearly £20 million on civil defence organisation. Civil defence does not necessarily mean only gas-masks and other things, but it means a variety of things, and more particularly, training the entire civil population to keep peace, to maintain law and order, to be properly disciplined, not to be panicky, not to create a situation of chaos, but to keep up their morale, and to see that everything goes on all right. It is possible to do so without much of expenditure thereon.

We need not adopt the systems that other countries have adopted, but so far as our country is concerned, we can adopt many measures, by adapting the various organisations that exist at present in our country, and utilising them for our national needs. For instance, we have got the rifle organisations, to which the hon. Minister has already promised help. Then we have the scouting organisation,

the old Sevadal Organisation, the Ex-Servicemen's Association, the Home Guards, the physical culture institutions, the *Talimkhanas*, the *Akhadas* etc. On a nationwide scale, we have these institutions in various forms, in our towns as well as villages. It is the business of the Home Ministry, which is responsible for civil defence, to see that all these institutions which are thriving as a result of the voluntary efforts of the local people, are utilised, co-ordinated, and so correlated that with the minimum of expenditure, we have the best possible training, and the best possible civil defence organisation in our country. The hon. the lady Minister (the Minister of Health) is smiling over my suggestion, but she will realise that health squads and first-aid squads could also be built up at no cost. In fact in U. K. £5 million are spent for Civil Defence under Health. Similarly we can have fire-fighting squads not only in towns, but even in the villages. Fire is a major problem in our villages, with the thatched roofs, which catch fire in the intolerable summer, or as a result of carelessness with the kitchen fires. So, we are absolutely in need of a fire fighting organisation throughout the country. We have to see how far we can co-ordinate these various organisations that are there thriving on local efforts, depending upon the voluntary efforts of enthusiastic people, so that we can have a proper civil defence organisation, without much of expenditure.

I would therefore suggest that various organisations of this nature, which are being run by private individuals, beginning with home guards, village guards, *prantiya raksha dals* run by the State Governments, the rifle clubs, the scout organisations, flying squads, gliding squads, yachting squads, the Ex-Servicemen's Association, etc. should be co-ordinated and correlated for purposes of national well-being. Of course, some kind of special training may be necessary, in addition to the respective training which each category is having at present. Besides

the fact that the Home Ministry is responsible for civil defence, I would submit that the Home Ministry which is concerned with departments like police etc., which acts as the liaison between the States and the centre and has the all-India cadres under itself, would be best suited to take up the work.

I would request the hon. Minister to see that additional funds are obtained for this purpose, and the activities of these various organisations are co-ordinated and correlated.

श्री उद्दक (मंडला---जबलपुर दक्षिण---रीढ़ित-अनुसूचित आदिमजातियां) : मुझे आदिवासियों के सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ कहना था लेकिन यहाँ हाउस में एक नया विषय उठ खड़ा हुआ है उसके बारे में भी बिना कहे मुझे नहीं रहा जायगा। यहाँ पर क्रिश्चियन मिशनरियों के बारे में बहुत कुछ चर्चा हुई। क्रिश्चियन मिशनरियों के बारे में मुझे गृह मंत्री जी को यह बतलाना है कि जिस इलाके में अधिक आदिवासी लोग रहते थे उस इलाके को ब्रिटिश के जमाने में पार्शियली एक्सक्लूड्ड एरिया या एक्सक्लूड्ड एरिया बनाया था। इन एरियाज को अब अनुसूचित और घोषित एरियाज बनाया गया है। ब्रिटिश के जमाने में इस एरिया में किसी भी प्रकार के धर्म प्रचार की मनाही थी। १९४४ में पार्शियली एक्सक्लूड्ड एरियाज में रोमन कैथोलिक मिशनरियों ने मध्यप्रदेश के दो चार जिलों में धर्म परिवर्तन शुरू किया। धर्म परिवर्तन करने वाले मिशनरियों को बहुत सी ग्रांट दी गई और उनके बहुत से स्कूलों को रिकॉगनाइज किया गया। लेकिन जब यह मामूला हुआ कि इन स्कूलों के द्वारा यह मिशनरियां धर्म परिवर्तन कर रहे हैं तो जोर की कंट्रोवर्सी शुरू हुई। उस समय ब्रिटिश सरकार के सामने डा० वील्यर-एलाविनन यह बतलाया कि पार्शियली एक्सक्लूड्ड एरियाज में और एक्सक्लूड्ड एरियाज में धर्म परिवर्तन करने वालों को शिक्षण के नाम पर कोई सहायता देना अनुचित है। एंसी सोसाइटीयों को जो कि शिक्षण के नाम पर पार्शियली एक्सक्लूड्ड

ईड एरियाज में धर्म परिवर्तन का काम कर रही हैं बन्द करना चाहिये। उसके बाद एक ही साल में जो २४५ मिशनरी स्कूल इस क्षेत्र में शुरू किये गये थे और जिनको मध्यप्रदेश सरकार ने एड दे रखी थी उसको वापस ले लिया और ट्रेनिंग स्कूल को जो ५० हजार की ग्रांट दे रखी थी वह भी वापस ले ली और जो उनके उस एरिया में स्कूल खुले हुए थे और जो धर्म प्रचार करते थे उनको बन्द कर दिया गया। वही एरिया अब अनुसूचित और घोषित कहलाता है। क्या उस पर वह कानून उठा दिया गया है और अगर नहीं तो गृह मंत्री जी उसको क्यों नहीं काम में लाते। हाल में रोमन कैथोलिक्स ने जसपुर जिले में धर्म परिवर्तन किया है। उसको वहाँ के सन्त तुकड़ो जी ने जोकर देखा और उस पर अपनी रिपोर्ट दी है। वह मध्यप्रदेश के सार्व पेंपर्स में प्रकाशित हुई है। यह रिपोर्ट डा० कृष्णमूर्ति की नजर में नहीं आई कि मिशनरी इस तरह से धर्म परिवर्तन करते हैं। इसी इलाके में जो हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने भाषण दिया उसकी उन्होंने बहुत नुकताचीनी की और यह नहीं देखा कि किस परिस्थिति में वह भाषण दिया गया था। हमारे विधान की धारा ४६ में यह दिया गया है कि इस देश का जो वीकेस्ट संकशन है उसका हर प्रकार का एक्सप्लाइडेशन होने से बचाव करना सरकार का कर्तव्य है। मैं उसी धारा की तरफ आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ यह जो आदिवासी लोग हैं यह वीकेस्ट संकशन हैं। इनमें मिशनरियों द्वारा धर्म प्रचार को एक दम रोक कर हम लोगों को इस धारा का लाभ देना चाहिये। हम शिक्षण के नाम पर अपनी इन्सानियत को नहीं खाना चाहते। हमारे वहाँ के एक सदस्य मुचाकी कोसा यहाँ पर हैं। वह इस संसद के सदस्य हैं और वह अभी तक ४० रूपया रोज लेते थे। लेकिन वह अनुभव करते हैं कि मैं कुछ काम नहीं करता इसीलिये मुझे यह रूपया नहीं लेना चाहिये और इसीलिये वह दो सेशन से नहीं आ रहे थे। वह कहते हैं कि यह मेरे पसीने का पैसा नहीं है। वे कहते हैं कि उनके आठ इमली के झाड़ उनके पसीने के हैं और वह उनके फलों को

[श्री चहूके]

झाड़ने के लिये जानें की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। तो हम आदिवासियों में यह इन्सानियत है। हम इन्सान की इन्सानियत को धर्म मानते हैं। हम अपनी इन्सानियत को खोकर ज्ञान और विद्वता नहीं चाहते। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जसपुर और ससूजा जिलों में जो धर्म परिवर्तन हो रहा है उसको आप अविलम्ब रोकिये।

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

अब मैं अपने एक्सप्लाइडेशन के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारा एक्सप्लाइडेशन तो कई प्रकार से होता है। पर मालूम होता है कि हमारा गृह मंत्री जी उधर कम ध्यान देते हैं यह जो कमीशनर की रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हुई है उसकी तरफ शायद सरकार का ध्यान नहीं गया है। खासकर हम आदिवासियों में यह मिशनरियां क्यों जाती हैं? इसका एक कारण यह है कि हम अत्यन्त गरीब हैं। हमारी गरीबी उनको हमारे धर्म परिवर्तन में लगाती है, और हमारी गरीबी का कारण क्या है? हमारी गरीबी का कारण यह है कि जो हमारा एक्सप्लाइडेशन हो रहा है वह बन्द नहीं होता है। अगर सरकार हमारे लिये और कुछ न कर सके तो कम से कम वह यह तो कर सकती है कि हमको अपने अफसरों के एक्सप्लाइडेशन से बचावे। आपके फोरस्ट विभाग के अफसर हमसे फोर्ट लेंबर लेते हैं। हम आदिवासी ज्यादातर जंगल विल्डनेस में रहते हैं। आपके फोरस्ट विभाग का यह हम लोगों के लिये नियम है कि हर घर से एक आदमी १२ आने रोज लेकर अवश्य ही काम पर जाय चाहे उसके घर में कोई मर गया हो, चाहे शादी हो, चाहे मेहमान आया हो। एक आदमी हर घर से अवश्य काम पर जाना चाहिये। अगर दो चार मर्तबा ऐसा हुआ कि कोई एक आदमी किसी घर से काम पर नहीं गया, तो उसको उस गांव से निकाल दिया जाता है। यह फोर्ट लेंबर है जो कि गवर्नमेंट का विभाग हम से लेता है। कैबल यही नहीं है। आपकी एनक्वायरी कमेटी ने फोर्ट लेंबर का एक दूसरा तरीका भी बतलाया है। मैं उसका एक उदाहरण आपको देना

चाहता हूँ। यह उदाहरण मध्यप्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में है। वह इस प्रकार है :

“*Mauza Kodmi, patwari circle No. 10, Warasconi Tahsil.*—Binne Gond, about 30 years old, is the son of Bhure, who for some two years before his death, served the malguzar as a farm-servant, like his father Gumani, who had served the malguzar and his father for 30 or 40 years without a break. Gumani at some time in his service is said to have borrowed Rs. 10 from the father of Mohanlal, the present malguzar; today the sum shown as due from Binne, secured by a stamped document, is Rs. 100, though not only has no fresh advance been taken, but neither Bhure nor Binne has ever been given the Rs. 4 annual cash payment or *baz* which every farm-servant paid otherwise in kind is supposed to get. Just before his death, Bhure left Mohanlal's service, but by dint of threats to expel the family from the village Binne after a break of barely a year in the family's service found himself compelled to return to the yoke and has now served Mohanlal for nearly eight years. Mohanlal charges no interest, but also renders no account of advances and repayments. Binne owns 4.59 acres of occupancy tenancy land rented at 10½ annas, but though yearly he tenders the rent, Mohanlal for years has refused to take it, presumably showing it as arrears, as another means of retaining his hold on the family. Binne's wife and other relatives also work as daily labourers for Mohanlal”

इस तरीके से इस इनक्वायरी में बहुत सी एग्जाम्पल्स भरी हुई हैं जिससे साबित होता है कि यह दूसरे प्रकार की फोर्ट लेंबर हमारे आदिवासियों पर है। इसके सम्बन्ध में अभी तक गवर्नमेंट ने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया।

इसके अलावा मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि मेरे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र के मेरे पास बहुत से आदिवासियों

की शिकायतें आई हुई हैं, समयाभाव के कारण मैं सबको तो नहीं पढ़ूंगा लेकिन उनमें से एक दरखास्त जो कि आपके डिपार्टमेंट के साथ सम्बन्ध रखती है जिसे करूंगा, क्योंकि यह जो आपका सोशल ट्राइबल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट है उसका काम है कि हमारे आदिवासियों का एक्सप्लाइडेशन न हो। रामगढ़ निवासी आदिवासियों ने मेरे पास यह दरखास्त भेजी है कि जैतपुरी का हैडमास्टर हम गरीबों को बहुत सता रहा है। बच्चे पास होते हैं, हर एक बच्चों के मां बाप को डरा धमका कर मवेशी और पैसा हमसे वसूल करता है। मैं कुछ नाम जिनसे मवेशी अथवा रूपय वसूल किये गये पढ़ कर सुनाए दूँता हूँ :

धरम् गाँड	१	गान्ही यानी गाय का बच्चा ।
मुरसीग गाँड	१	गान्हा ।
मोतीराम महाजन	१	गान्हा ।
रामलाल महाजन	१०	बुडोचाल ४ सेर घी ।
माहरू गाँड	१	गान्हा ।

उपाध्यक्ष महाशय: यह तो बहुत लम्बी लिस्ट मालूम होती है। The hon. Member is going on reading a list. He may just illustrate by reading one point.

श्री उद्दे: मैं यह बतला रहा था कि स्कालरीशिप् में भी किस तरह का एक्सप्लाइडेशन होता है और मैं अपने गृह मंत्री का ध्यान उस सब एक्सप्लाइडेशन की तरफ दिलाना चाहता था कि संविधान के आदर्शों का इस सम्बन्ध में पूरी तरह पालन नहीं हो रहा है, संविधान में इसके लिये कानून और दफा तो मौजूद है लेकिन अफसोस की बात यह है कि उस पर आज अमल नहीं किया जाता। मैं सरकार और मंत्री महोदय को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि परिस्थिति हर क्षण बिगड़ती जा रही है और अगर शीघ्र कोई उपाय नहीं किया गया तो वह समय दूर नहीं है जब कि सारे आपके आदिवासी ईसाई धर्म को अंगीकार करने पर बाध्य न हो जायें। आज ईसाई पादरी लोग प्रचार कार्य में लगे हुए हैं और इस बात

की बड़ी जरूरत है कि हम जो आदिवासी हैं और काफी पिछड़े हुए हैं उनकी तरफ ध्यान दें और उनकी दशा सुधारने का प्रयत्न करें, उनको उनके अधिकार दें और उसके लिये मैं सुझाव देता हूँ कि एक बिल्कुल अलग मंचालय हो जो इन बातों की तरफ अपना ध्यान लगायें और काम करें। आज मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि हमारे हरिजन भाई हालांकि सवर्ण हिन्दुओं के मुकाबले में बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं लेकिन वह हमारी बनिस्बत काफी जागे आ चुके हैं, इस हाउस में हम लोगों की आवाज बहुत कम उठती है और यह दुनिया का कायदा है कि सुनी उसकी जाती है जिसकी आवाज होती है। मैं अन्त में अधिक न कह कर मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम आदिवासियों की संस्था पॉने दो करोड़ के लगभग है और यह बात निश्चित है कि अगर आपने समय रहते उनकी ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया तो वह सब ईसाई होने वाले हैं। इतनी बात कह करके मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I will call only those hon. Members who are sitting on the back benches.

Shri Velayudhan: Then, shall I go there?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Rachiah.

Shri N. Rachiah (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, I am very happy to note that you have given me an opportunity as one of the back-benchers. I rise to support the Demands made under Home Affairs. While supporting the Demands, I want to confine myself to the problems of Scheduled Castes in the country. Gandhiji sacrificed and also fought for the emancipation of the poor masses, particularly of the Scheduled Castes. I know that the Home Ministry and also the Congress have got very great sympathy for us, but, I am afraid, that sympathy has not been translated into action. Whatever I speak now is not for the purpose of casting any aspersion or insinuation

[Shri N. Rachiah]

against anybody. I am honest in my opinion and am putting forward the real facts about the treatment that our Harijans, unfortunate and less fortunate brothers, are receiving under the banner of a popular Government, a secular State and a democracy. I would request the Home Minister to refer to the statement or the writings of Shri L. M. Shrikant, Scheduled Castes Commissioner, appointed by the Government of India under article 340 of the Constitution. In the last chapter he has said that if the Government and the people of India are really honest in their efforts to emancipate the poor people, then only it is possible; otherwise, it is not, and he has made that definite statement about the Scheduled Castes people. If the Government takes that statement into consideration, I am sure they could certainly do all possible things to assist the unfortunate Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They have appointed at least 44 I.A.S. officers and 3 I.P.S. officers from the various "B" States after integration, but not even one Scheduled Caste officer has been taken among them. This is an injustice and disrespect to Harijans. According to the reply given by the hon. Finance Minister during the debate on the taxation proposals, 99.9 per cent of the people of India are poor and only 0.1 per cent are rich, and if that is a correct statement, the general standard of the whole country is very low. Whenever the cases of the Scheduled castes come up before any Public Service Commission, or any Committee or any Ministry, they are always considered as inefficient and not up to the mark. The *viva voce* examination of the Union Public Service Commission is only an anomaly of the fundamental rights of the people which are provided for in the Constitution. Equal wages for equal work and equal opportunities for all, etc. are provided for in the Constitution, but in the *viva voce*

examination, they want the elimination of those whom they do not like and I am definitely of this opinion. We, the Harijans, have been conferred degrees by the very Universities where the Ministers and the Chairman and Members of the Public Service Commission got their degrees. They prefer an undergraduate or a ~~matriculate~~ matriculate or even an under-matriculate Caste Hindu to a double-graduate Harijan, like me. You take any political field or any official field and you will see that preference is given to a lady or a Caste Hindu matriculate or even under-matriculate over a Scheduled Caste graduate or even a Scheduled Caste double-graduate. Gandhiji took up the cause of these unfortunate people. He did not sacrifice his life for the sake of the Caste Hindus; he did not sacrifice his life for the sake of the Muslims, nor for the Christians; he definitely sacrificed his life for the sake of the Harijans and he had even said that if he were to be born again, he would like to be born as a Scheduled Caste member, and as a member of the untouchables. I can give you a hundred quotations and statements out of the book which is now in my hands and from another book—in fact, I have mastered many quotations. I would say that if these Ministers are really Congress Ministers, they should undergo a test in the books which I just mentioned and which Gandhiji has written, and pass in that test.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does the hon. Member wish to continue?

Shri N. Rachiah: Yes, I wish to continue.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: In that case, he may continue for five minutes more tomorrow.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Tuesday, the 6th April, 1954.