

**CORRECTION OF ANSWER TO
STARRED QUESTION NO. 1147**

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport and Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): With your permission, Sir, I wish to make a correction to the answer given by me to the supplementary question by Shri S. C. Samanta regarding a note issued by the West Bengal Government on the recommendation of the British Shipyard Mission. I understand that a letter on the subject had been received recently from the West Bengal Government and that the contents of that letter have been brought to the notice of the Inter-Departmental Committee.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that business for the week commencing 23rd March will consist of discussion and voting of Demands for Grants in respect of the following Ministries:—

- (1) Irrigation and Power
- (2) Health
- (3) Information and Broadcasting
- (4) Steel, Mines and Fuel

12.15 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume discussion on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the cut motions moved yesterday. Out of 8 hours allotted to these Demands, 2 hours and 3 minutes now remain. I propose to call the hon. Minister at 1.30. I shall try to call the hon. Members who have not taken part and give them an opportunity.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri G. B. Pant): When you call on me at 1.30, I hope you will allow me to speak beyond 2 or 2.30.

Mr. Speaker: Oh, yes. He wants a full hour evidently. He may have one full hour.

Shri Nausair Bharucha (East Khandesh): Private Members' business will be taken up at 3.30. Why should we not continue this till then? There are so many other hon. Members who want to speak on this.

Mr. Speaker: 3.30 to 6 o'clock—we will start non-official business at 2.30.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): As soon as this is disposed of, non-official business should be taken up.

Mr. Speaker: We shall start. Hon. Members will go away a little earlier.

Shri Warier (Trichur): We are supposed to sit up to 6 o'clock. If some more hon. Members will get an opportunity, it is better. It may start at 3.30.

Mr. Speaker: Time has been fixed for this Demand.

Shri Warier: It is in your discretion.

Mr. Speaker: I will then extend it for half an hour. He will start at 1.30 and go on till 2.30. Or, he can start at 2 o'clock and go on till 3.

Shri G. B. Pant: I will start at 1.30 and finish between 2.30 and 3.

Mr. Speaker: All right. He will start at 1.30. The other work will be taken up soon after the hon. Minister finishes.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam): May I make a submission? Many of our Members would like to be present when the Home Minister is replying because this is one of the most important Ministries. If he starts replying at the Lunch interval, it will be very difficult.

Shri G. B. Pant: It has to be so in any case.

An Hon. Member: There is no lunch interval.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: If he begins at 2 o'clock, we can be here before two.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: No, no.

Shri G. B. Pant: I shall start at 1.30.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: He may take more than an hour.

Mr. Speaker: Occasionally, let them forego their lunch.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: Every day we are foregoing.

Shri Speaker: Shri Padam Dev.

श्री बद्ध देव (बम्बा): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कल यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि आज हमारे गृह मंत्रालय का कार्य मंचालन एक सुयोग्य, चतुर, दीर्घदर्शी, धृतिवान, दयालु, बयोवृद्ध और ज्ञान वृद्ध नायक के हाथ में है।

12-18 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER is the Chair]

कल यहाँ यह बात कही गयी थी कि आज बूढ़े लोगों को कष्ट दिया जा रहा है और उनसे यह बड़ा भार संचालन कराया जा रहा है। अगर कुस्ती का काम होता तो तो ये सहमत हो जाता कि हमको इन बूढ़ लोगों को कष्ट नहीं देना चाहिए, लेकिन यहाँ तो बुद्धि का नाम है और कहा गया है कि बुद्धिर्यस्य बलम् तस्य निबुद्धेस्तु कुतो बलम्। जहाँ बुद्धि है वही शक्ति है! और शासन के लिए इस शक्ति की आवश्यकता है जो हमारे नेताओं के पास पर्याप्त मात्रा में मौजूद है। न सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धाः। बूढ़े लोगों का पार्लियामेंट में होना देश के लिए सौभाग्य की बात है।

इस मंत्रालय के नेतृत्व में अनेक समस्याओं का हल हुआ है। जो देश जीवित है, जो व्यक्ति जीवित है वह समस्याओं

को हल करता है, और नई समस्याएँ जीवन में उत्पन्न होती रहती हैं। दुःख वहाँ पर होता है जब कि समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए कोई किसी किस्म का विचार न हो।

यहाँ पर इस मंत्रालय के सम्बन्ध में बहुत सी बातें कही गयीं। यह कहा गया कि इसमें पक्षपात यानी डिस्टिन्क्शन नेशन हो रहा है। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि जैसे ही देश आजाद हुआ, विधान बना, उसके पश्चात् भारत के हर नागरिक को पूर्ण अधिकार दिया गया, चाहे वह किसी भी संस्था से या किसी भी जाति पात से सम्बन्ध रखता हो, कि वह पार्लियामेंट में और असेम्बलियों में भाग ले सकता है; और अपनी सरकार बना सकता है। अगर पक्षपात होता तो जिन पार्टी के हाथ में राज्य आया था या यदि वह अपने ही लिए नाना प्रकार के भ्रष्टाचार रखती; परन्तु ऐसा नहीं किया गया।

फिर कहा गया कि डिस्टिन्क्शन होता है। जब से हम आजाद हुए तब से इस घर के सुधार के लिए कम प्रयत्न हुआ लेकिन घर में उथल पुथल करने की बहुत बातें हुईं। कल एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में यह विवाद हुआ था कि घरों में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों की एक यूनियन बनी है। उनमें से कुछ लोग भूल हड़ताल कर रहे हैं। उस समय मैं सोच रहा था कि दो मुहकमे बाकी रह गये हैं जहाँ अभी यह अवस्था नहीं आती है एक तो पतियों का है। अभी तक उन की कोई यूनियन नहीं बनी है। भाषा है जीठर लोग जरूर प्रयत्न करेंगे। तो अभी तक तो एक पतियों की यूनियन नहीं बनी है कि अगर उन को घर में स्त्रियों से कष्ट हो तो उन के विरुद्ध प्रदर्शन करे। इसी तरह से स्त्रियों की भी कोई यूनियन अभी तक नहीं बनी है ताकि यदि उन को पतियों से कोई शिकायत हो तो उस के विरुद्ध प्रदर्शन किया जाये। लेकिन आज दूसरे कामों में यह हाल हो रहा है कि कोई काम शुरू नहीं

[श्री पद्म देव]

होने पाता और उस के लिये यूनिवर्सल पहले से बन जाती है। प्रायः देश में भी यूनिवर्सल सरकार है। इसलिये सब तरह यूनिवर्सल ही यूनिवर्सल विलाई देती है। और इन यूनिवर्सल ने क्या काम किया है? मैं सोचता था कि ऐसी यूनिवर्सल बने जो संसार के साथ अपने काम का मुकाबला करने के लिये हो। जैसे सरकारी कर्मचारियों की यूनिवर्सल बने जो कहे कि हम प्रशासन को अच्छे से प्रस्था बनायेंगे। रेलवे के कर्मचारी अपनी यूनिवर्सल बनायें जिस का उद्देश्य यह हो कि हम अपने काम में इतनी उन्नति करेंगे कि संसार भर से अच्छा हमारा काम समझा जाये। पर ऐसी चीज तो नहीं होती। हमारे यहां पहाड़ में एक कहावत है, "टोकरा मिरग बाने पाली"। इस का मतलब यह है कि अभी मूंग को मारने की तो योजना बन रही है, लेकिन उस के बटवारे के लिये झगड़े हो रहे हैं कि सिर किस को मिलेगा, नाफा किस को मिलेगा, बाल किस को मिलेगी, मांस किस को बांटा जायेगा। अभी हम प्रारंभिक अवस्था में हैं। हम को अभी देश को बनाना है। लेकिन इस से पहले ही बटवारे के लिये झगड़े हो रहे हैं।

कल जहाँ पर एक जिम्मेदार सदस्य ने कहा कि अगर किसी जकह हस्पताल हो तो जहाँ पर गोली का इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिये। उन्होंने ने महाभारत का एक श्लोक भी पढ़ा था। वह श्लोक तो मुझे याद नहीं, लेकिन उस का मतलब यह था कि हमें मरुता के साथ सारा काम करना चाहिये। जिन की तरह से यह कहा गया काश कि यह इस सिद्धान्त को अपनी मंशा में भी अपनाते। उन को तर्जबा है। सोसलिस्ट और कम्युनिस्ट दोनों पार्टियों को राज्य करने का सीमाय्य प्राप्त हुआ और मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने ने हाथ जोड़ कर सब जगह काम किया और गोली नहीं चलायी। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि यह ठीक है कि देश में

गोली नहीं चलनी चाहिये, माठी नहीं चलनी चाहिये, लोगों के साथ सत्य और अहिंसा का व्यवहार होना चाहिये। लेकिन अगर लोग भड़कावे जाते हैं और वे अपने देश की सम्पत्ति का विनाश करने के लिये उत्साह हो जाते हैं, उन पर हाथ जोड़ने का कोई प्रभाव नहीं होता, अशु नैस का कोई असर नहीं होता, फिर बतलाइये कि उस के बाद दूसरा क्या तरीका रह जाता है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि इस में दोष भारत सरकार का है, दोषी वह लोग नहीं हैं। दोष भारत सरकार का इसलिये है कि उन्होंने ने इस बक्त देश में हर तरह की उखलकूद के लिये पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता दे रखी है। स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिये। हर एक को अपने अधिकार की सुरक्षा का पूरा अधिकार होना चाहिये। सब के पास रोजगार होना चाहिये और कमाई हुई राशि के इस्तेमाल की पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिये। लेकिन क्या यह भी कोई स्वतंत्रता है कि जो काम कर रहे हैं उन को कहा जाये कि हड़ताल करो, स्कूलों में लड़के बढ़ते हैं तो उन को कहा जाता है कि हड़ताल करो और घर में नौकर काम करते हैं तो उन को कहा जाता है कि हड़ताल करो। प्रायः देश के अन्दर चारों तरफ हड़ताल ही हड़ताल दिलाई दे रही है। एक तो हमारे चारों तरफ प्रायः जल रही है और हमारे देश के अन्दर इस किस्म की बाँटों की जायें तो माननीय सदस्य भली प्रकार समझ सकते हैं कि उस का क्या परिणाम हो सकता है। लोगों को आज शिकायत है कि सरकार बड़ी सक्ती करती है लेकिन मुझे को इस बात की शिकायत है कि सरकार बहुत नर्म है जहाँ तक कि जो लोग नाजायज काम करते हैं उन तक के साथ ठीक बंग से बरताव नहीं करती। यह ठीक है कि यह सरकार सब और अहिंसा की मानने वाली है।

श्री नाथ बार्डे (राजापुर) : तो प्रायः की शिकायत है कि काफी गोबियां नहीं बनाई जाती।

की वकूत होब : परन्तु जो घासन को पीचे गिराना चाहते हैं उन के साथ तो उपयुक्त व्यवहार ही होना चाहिये ।

बंका शास्ति प्रजा सर्वा, दंडै बाभिरसति,
बंका सुप्तोन्वु जागति दंडम् धर्मम् विदुर्बुधाः ।

जैसे लोगों की हिकायत के लिये बंका चाहिये और दुरे लोगों से रक्षा की खातिर भी उसी की धावश्यकता होती है । लेकिन बूकि हमारी सरकार बहुत नर्म है इसलिये लोगों पर समझाने का प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता । जिन लोगों का देश की समस्याओं को समझने का कोई विचार नहीं है, और जो धन्यथा ढंग से काम करते हैं उन के लिये यह स्थिति किमी बचन भी कारगर नहीं हो सकती । माननीय गृह मंत्री जी इस बात को मानेंगे कि आज जितनी नरमी होनी जा रही है, उतनी ज्यादा अनुशासनहीनता देश के अन्दर फैल रही है और जितनी अनुशासनहीनता फैल रही है उतना ही काम कम हो रहा है । इस वचन कोई अचने वायित्व को नहीं समझता । श्रमी का परिणाम यह है कि आज देश का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर खर्चा बढ़ता चला जा रहा है । मैं गृह मंत्री जी की सेवा में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि सन् १९४८ से इस वर्ष तक यह खर्च कितना बढ़ गया है ।

१९४८-४९	३५.५४ करोड़
१९४९-५०	३९.३० करोड़
१९५०-५१	४८.८० करोड़
१९५१-५२	५३.६७ करोड़
१९५२-५३	५६.२३ करोड़
१९५३-५४	७१.२७ करोड़
१९५४-५५	७५.११ करोड़
१९५५-५६	१०५.४१ करोड़
१९५६-५७	१३५.९१ करोड़
१९५७-५८	१९५.७१ करोड़
१९५८-५९	१९७.७२ करोड़
१९५९-६०	२२२.७३ करोड़

लेकिन माननीय गृह मंत्री जी यह सभी भांति जानते हैं कि लोगों के अन्दर संतोष नहीं है । सरकारी कर्मचारी भी खुश नहीं हैं हालांकि खर्च इतना बढ़ता चला जा रहा है । वे क्यों खुश नहीं हैं ? मुझे कुछ ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि लोगों के पाम काम काफी नहीं है । जब काम काफी नहीं है तो फिर यह सोचने का भीका रहता है कि हमारी नरकमी नहीं हो रही । यह दुःख है कि जहा नोहार, बर्द, बुनकर और खेत में काम करने वाले की भ्रामदनी बढ़ी, वहा सरकारी कर्मचारी भ्राज भी वहां ही है, जहा वे कल थे । यह ठीक है कि उन का भने मिल रहे हैं । लेकिन फिर भी वे महान संकट में हैं । काम भी नहीं होता है, यह भी दुःख है, लेकिन उनको जो दिया जा रहा है, वह भी कम है । अचन इन दोनों बातों पर विचार किया जाय कि किमी काम को करने के लिये किनने लोगों की जरूरत है और उतने ही भ्रादमी रखे जाये और सरकारी कर्मचारियों की ठीक व्यवस्था की जाय, तो हमारी यह मशीनरी ठीक ढंग से चल सकती है, वर्ना जो इतना रुपया हमारी योजनाओं पर खर्च किया जा रहा है, वह बेकार जायगा और देश के लोगों की गरीबी को दूर करने के लिये जो इतने आन्दोलन चल रहे हैं, वे असफल होंगे और गरीबी दूर नहीं होगी । सरकारी मशीनरी ठीक नहीं होगी, जब तक कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों के फस पूरा काम नहीं होगा और पूरा काम तब तक नहीं हो सकता है, जब तक कि उन को थोड़ी सी रोटी भी नहीं दी जाती है ।

परिगणित जातियों की तरफ से बहुत बातों की गईं । उन्हें सुनने पर मुझे बड़ा दुःख हुआ । उन्हीं ने दो तीन मिसाले दी । मैं मानता हूँ कि खुमाछूत भ्राज भी देश में है, लेकिन जो धिनीनी तस्वीर उन्हीं ने जाहिर की, वह बिल्कुल गलत है । उन्हीं ने शाही की पालकी रोकने और गृह राम दास के बारे में कुछ बातें कहीं । मैं यह

[जी पद्म देव]

निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हर जगह सब लोग गुरु राम दास का जलसा मनाते हैं। वे उन को कोई चमार नहीं मानते हैं। लेकिन उन्हो ने एक जगह की तस्वीर यहाँ आ कर रख दी। मुझे एक श्लोक उस वक़्त याद आ गया, जोकि इस प्रकार है —

अमरा मधुमिच्छन्ति
ब्रणमिच्छन्ति मसिका
सज्जना गुणमिच्छन्ति
दोषमिच्छन्ति पावरा

अगर हम लोग हर बात में सिकंदर बुराई को ही देखते चले जायें और भलाई को न देखें, तो यह अफसोस की बात है। हरिजनो के उद्धार के लिये, उन की तालीम के लिये, उन के खाने के लिये कितना रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है, इस का अन्दाजा नहीं लगाया जा सकता। समयभाव के कारण मैं छाप के सामने इस सम्बन्ध में धाकड़े नहीं रखना चाहता।

उन्हो ने मनुस्मृति का उदाहरण दिया। मैं तो यह कहता हूँ गायकवाड जी महाराज से कि धाज का मनु तो अम्बेदकर है, जिन के नेतृत्व में कास्टीयूशन, आफ इंडिया बनाया गया। उन्हो ने कहा है —

“‘Untouchability’ is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of ‘Untouchability’ shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law”.

वह मनुस्मृति की इतनी बातें करते हैं, लेकिन वह उस का यह श्लोक क्यों नहीं सुनाते ?
शूद्रोऽस्मिन्नस्मृतेति

ब्राह्मणश्चेतिशूद्रता

अत्रियाजातमेवन्तु

विद्यया वैश्यं तथैव च ।

कोई अंध-नीच इस से नहीं है कि कोई कहीं पैदा हुआ है, क्योंकि “जन्मा जायते धूर्तः”, अर्थात् जन्म से ही एक धूर्त पैदा होता है और जैसे जैसे किसी के संस्कार होते हैं, वैसा ही उस का स्वान होता है। कोई वर्ण-व्यवस्था किसी को बड़ा या छोटा बनाने के लिए नहीं थी। यह तो काम ठीक तरीके से करने के लिए थी। जो ज्ञान में ज्येष्ठ था, वह ब्राह्मण, जो बल में ज्येष्ठ था, वह क्षत्रिय और जो व्यापार में ज्येष्ठ था, वह वैश्य हुआ और जो दूसरा काम नहीं कर सकता, उस के लिए कहा गया कि वह सेवा के छोटे मोटे बड़ई वगैरह से काम करे। मैं गायकवाड जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह कहने का क्या फायदा है कि कल लोगो ने हमारे साथ क्या किया था। वह यह क्यों नहीं देखते कि धाज उन के लिए क्या हो रहा है ? इस मनोवृत्ति से धाज अपने देश में हम एक नई जाति बना रहे हैं, एक नया फिर्का बना रहे हैं। कल कहा गया कि परिगणित जाति के कितने मिनिस्टर हैं। मैं सोचता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान का सब से बड़ा काम करने वाले श्री जगजीवन राम हैं। शायद वह सिड्गुल्ड कास्ट्स के हैं। मुझे मालूम नहीं है। पता नहीं गायकवाड जी को मालूम है या नहीं। भाल्वा जी और दूसरे लोग भी हैं। जैसा कि कल माननीय उपमन्त्री जी ने कहा, प्रफ्त यह है कि जहाँ तक रिक्लूमेंट का सवाल है, वहाँ तक धाया उन को पूरी सुरक्षा मिलती है या नहीं और फिर जो जिन काम के योग्य है, उस के अनुसार उस से काम करवाना है। यहाँ कोई बाटना तो नहीं है। इस लिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह ठीक नहीं है कि धाज भी इस किस्म की बातों की जाती हैं, जिन से मुल्क को फायदा नहीं हो सकता है। हम को ऐसा काम करना चाहिए, जिस से मुल्क को फायदा हो।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय माननीय सदस्य को पंद्रह मिनट हो गये हैं। अब वह समाप्त कर दें उन के बाद मैं इस इस मिनट देने वाला हूँ।

श्री वच हेव : पांच मिनट धीर दे दीजिये ।

उच्चाध्यक्ष महोदय : एक मिनट भी धीर नहीं । धीर माननीय सदस्य साहबान बोलने वाले हैं । उन को भी बक्त देना है । धीर बक्त देना उन के साथ बे-इन्साफी होगी ।

श्री वच हेव : पांच मिनट धीर चाहिएं ।

उच्चाध्यक्ष महोदय : पांच मिनट नहीं दिये जा सकते हैं । एक मिनट में अगर कोई फिकर कात्म करना चाहें, तो कात्म कर दें ।

श्री वच हेव : मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस प्रकार के कटाक्ष, वाद-विवाद धीर प्रतिवाद के लिये स्थान नहीं है ।

मैं गृह मंत्री जी को अन्याय करना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के कुछ पिछड़े हुए इलाकों को अपने अधीन रखा है और उन के उत्थान के लिये काफ़ी से ज्यादा रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है । मैं सास तौर पर हिमाचल के बारे में कह सकता हूँ कि ६०४ लाख रुपया हिमाचल के ऊपर खर्च किया जा रहा है जब कि उस की आयदनी २८५ लाख है । मैं माननीय मंत्री से यह उद्धर निवेदन करूंगा कि वहाँ पर इस बक्त जो दो-अयली है—डायर्की है—टेरीटोरियल कौन्सिल है और दूसरे हैं, उस के सम्बन्ध में यह उद्धर विचार करें, ताकि वहाँ पर ठीक ढंग से काम चल सके ।

अन्त में मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि हिमाचल में उन सरकारी कर्मचारियों को, जिन की योग्यता भी उतनी ही है काम के लिहाज से, और पीरियड भी उतना ही है, आई० ए० एस्० धीर आई० पी० एस्० का मौका नहीं मिलता है, जिस से वे पिछड़े रह जाते हैं ।

तीसरी प्रार्थना: मे टनस यह कर्कांग कि वहाँ पर .

उच्चाध्यक्ष महोदय : तीसरी बेरी, प्रार्थना है कि अब माननीय सदस्य बन्द कर दें । अब हर एक माननीय सदस्य को दस मिनट मिलेंगे । श्री साधू राम ।

श्री साधू राम (जालंधर—रजित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : पंडित जी के लिये पंद्रह मिनट धीर मेरे लिये दस मिनट ?

उच्चाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप ने मुझे कल खुद कहा था कि दस मिनट दिये जायें । अब उस से ज्यादा कैसे हो सकते हैं ?

श्री साधू राम : मेरा कोई दूसरा साथी यहाँ नहीं है । दस मिनट थोड़े हैं ।

उच्चाध्यक्ष महोदय : धीर बहुत हैं ।

श्री साधू राम : मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि आज मुझे भी यहाँ बोलने का मौका मिला है । मिनिल्ट्री आफ़ होम एफ़ेयर्स की रिपोर्ट में सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और सिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के अपलिफ्ट के लिए जो रकम रखी गई है, उस के मुताबिक मैं कुछ खर्च करना चाहता हूँ । हिन्दुस्तान में एक पिछड़ा वर्ग बहुत काफ़ी तादाद में मौजूद है । हिन्दुस्तान की कुल आबादी, ३६ करोड़ कुछ लाख में से तकरीबन १२ करोड़ सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, सिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स एण्ड अदर बैकवर्ड क्लासिज हैं । इन में ७,१३,५१,७०३ तो सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स हैं और २,२५,११,८५४ सिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स हैं । इस बक्त की आबादी के लिहाज से बारह करोड़ आदिमियों का बजट ट्रीकड फ़ाइव थीघर प्लान में ६१ करोड़ रुपये रखा गया है । अगर हिसाब लगाया जाय, तो १८ करोड़ रुपये सालाना बनता है । १९५६ की गिनती के हिसाब से अगर ६ करोड़ के साथ के ३ करोड़ बैकवर्ड क्लासिज को भी मिला लिया जाय, तो इस बक्त १२ करोड़ के लगभग सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, सिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स एण्ड अदर बैकवर्ड क्लासिज बनते

[श्री साबू राम]

है। १२ करोड़ भादमियों के लिये १८ करोड़ रुपये सालाना रखा गया है, जिस का मतलब यह है कि डेढ़ रुपये श्री कस एक साल में रखा गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत बड़ा है। इस लिए देश में सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न कायम करने के लिए, समाजवादी ढंग का ढांचा कायम करने के लिए यह जो पिछड़ा हुआ वर्ग है, जो पीछे रखा गया वर्ग है, उसको जब तक दूसरों के बराबर नहीं लाया जायगा, मैं समझता हूँ, तब तक देश में समाजवादी समाज का ढांचा कायम नहीं हो सकता। आप बचीफे भी उन लोगों को देते हैं और दूसरी तरह की सहूलियतें देते हैं। लेकिन अभी तक उनको ये पूरे तौर पर नहीं मिल पा रहे हैं। हमारी एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री का एक स्कालरशिप बोर्ड है, वह साल में एक भाग बार ही बैठता मालूम होता है। मैं जब अपने हल्के में जाता हूँ, तो मैं पाता हूँ कि सैकड़ों लड़के हैं जो कि बगैर स्टाइपेंड के हैं, उनको स्टाइपेंड नहीं मिले हैं और वे इन के लिए हाहाकार कर रहे हैं। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स भी इस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दे रही हैं। पंजाब में आधी फीस का लागू है शीड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लड़कों का जिस पर अभी तक कोई फँसला नहीं हो सका है। कई लड़के ऐसे हैं जो पिछली फीस भ्रष्टा न कर सकने के कारण स्कूलों में से अपने नाम कटवा रहे हैं या जिनको स्कूलों के हैंड मास्टर या प्रिंसिपल स्कूलों में से बाहर निकाल रहे हैं। ऐसी दशा में मैं समझता हूँ कि उनकी तरफ गवर्नमेंट का जल्द से जल्द ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

आज हमारे देश में गरीबी का बड़ा जोर है। मुल्क का डिबेलेपमेंट भी हो रहा है। आजाद होने के बाद यह हमारा, फर्ज बन जाता है कि हम अपने देश की तामीर करें, देश को बए सिरे से बनायें। लेकिन देश को बनाने के लिए सभी वर्गों में जो वर्ग सबसे पीछे है, जो वर्ग सबसे ज्यादा पिछड़ा हुआ है, सबसे नीचे का जो वर्ग है,

उसकी ज्यादा मदद करना हमारा कर्तव्य होना चाहिये। साथ ही साथ यह भी ध्यान रखना है कि जो बड़े बड़े लोग हैं, जो पूँजीपति हैं, जो बड़े बड़े राजे रखवाड़े हैं, जो बड़े बड़े जागीरदार हैं, उनको कुछ नीचे लाया जाए। एक तरफ तो हमको बड़ों को नीचे बौझा लाना होगा और दूसरी तरफ नीचे वालों को हमें ऊपर उठाना होगा। जब हम ने ऐसा किया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे यहाँ समाजवादी ढांचा आएगा। देश को आजाद हुए बारह साल हो गये हैं लेकिन आज भी लोग यह महसूस कर रहे हैं कि देश आजाद तो हो चुका है लेकिन असली आजादी अभी नहीं आई है। आज भी गरीब लोगों को रोटी नहीं मिलती है, जिन्हें कपड़ा नहीं मिलता है, जिनके पास रहने के लिए मकान नहीं है, वे यही खयाल करने हैं कि देश आजाद हुआ या न हुआ, कोई फायदा नहीं है।

मैं गृह मंत्रालय को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उनमें आजादी के बाद से देश में पिछड़े हुए लोगों पर काफी ध्यान दिया है और काफी उनकी मदद भी की है और काफी डिपार्टमेंट उनकी भलाई के लिये कायम किये हैं, हर एक स्टेट में बैकवर्ड क्लासिस का डिपार्टमेंट कायम किया गया है। लेकिन स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स इन लोगों की तरफ ध्यान बहुत कम देती हैं जिसका सबूत यह है कि पीछे गृह मंत्रालय ने स्टेटों के शीड्यूल्ड कास्ट मिनिस्ट्रों की एक मीटिंग यहाँ पर बुलाई थी और उसमें बताया गया था कि फस्ट फाइव ईयर प्लान में ३६ करोड़ रुपये जो कि इन लोगों पर खर्च करने के लिये रखा गया था, उसमें से कुल २६ करोड़ रुपये ही खर्च किया गया और १० करोड़ रुपये खर्च नहीं किया गया। इससे मैं समझता हूँ यह साफ बाहिर है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स इस पर पूरा ध्यान नहीं दे रही हैं और इसका नतीजा यह ही रहा है कि जो पिछड़ा हुआ वर्ग इस देश का है वह और भी नीचे की ओर जा रहा है और वह महसूस

करने लग गया है कि हमें इस भाजादी से कोई कायदा नहीं हुआ है।

भाजकल हमारे मुल्क में धनाज की बढ़ी कमी है। पंजाब में भी इस वकल लोगों में काफी मूल पाई जाती है। अगर धाप चाहते हैं कि धनाज ज्यादा पैदा हो तो वह जमीन पर ही हो सकता है। लेकिन हम पिछले बारह सालों में भी जमीन का बटवारा नहीं कर पाये हैं और सीलिंग की बात सुनते आ रहे हैं। सीलिंग लगने के बाद भी कुछ जमीन निकल सकती है जो दूसरे लोगों में बांटी जा सकती है, जो सैम्बल लोगों में, हरिजनों में बांटी जा सकती है। अगर इन लोगों को जमीन मिल जाए तो एक तो इनको काम मिल जाएगा और दूसरे जो धनएम्प्लायमेंट है, वह कम हो सकेगी और साथ ही साथ मुल्क की पैदावार में ह्रास भी हो सकेगा। लेकिन धनी तक जमीन का बटवारा देश में नहीं हो सका है। पंजाब में छः सात प्रकार की जमीनें हैं। इसके बारे में मैंने पहले भी एक बार भ्रष्ट किया था और धाप भी करता हूँ एक जमीन तो वह है जो सीलिंग लगने से धापके पास निकल पाएगी। दूसरी वेस्ट लैंड है। तीसरी ग्रामसात है। चौथी जमीन धनएम्प्लायमेंट एरियाज धापके पास है उसमें है जो कि एक लाख एकड़ के करीब पंजाब में निकलती है। पांचवीं जमीन जंगलसात की जमीन है और छठी जमीन जस्तपुरा जमीन है। ये छः किसम की जमीन पंजाब में है। अगर हरिजनों को पंजाब में जमीन दी जाए तो मेरा ख्याल है कि वे देश की पैदावार को भी बहुत बढ़ा सकते हैं और अगर सारे हिन्दुस्तान में, सभी सूबों में ऐसा किया जाए तो मेरा ख्याल है कि भ्रष्ट का जो संकट है, वह नहीं रहेगा; वरना नहीं स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स जो है वे इस धोर ध्यान क्यों नहीं दे रही हैं।

सबसे कोभाप्रेटिव सोसाइटीज का जो रेजोल्यूशन आया है इसका मतलब यह है कि पैदावार अधिक हो, सुधरे हुए तरीके

सेती करने में काम में लाये जायें इत्यादि। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से उन लोगों को जमीन दी जाए और वह धार्त लगा दी जाए कि वे कोभाप्रेटिव बेसिस पर कामिय करेंगे, कोभाप्रेटिव बेसिस पर सेती बाड़ी करेंगे, तो पैदावार अवश्य बढ़ सकती है। पैपू के समय में गवर्नमेंट ने ४५,००० एकड़ जमीन हरिजनों में तकसीम की थी और इस जमीन को कोभाप्रेटिव सोसाइटी बनवा कर इन लोगों को दे दिया गया। कोभाप्रेटिव सोसाइटी में लोग जरा धबधबन महसूस करते हैं, जरा तकलीफ महसूस करते हैं क्योंकि कोभाप्रेटिव डिपार्टमेंट के जो कर्मचारी हैं वे उनको चलने नहीं देते हैं। बात यह है कि कोभाप्रेटिव सोसाइटीज को गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से कोई खास मदद नहीं दी गई है, कोई ऐसी ठोम मदद नहीं की गई है जिससे उनकी हौसला भ्रष्टाई हो और उनको कामयाब बनाने की उनकी कोशिश नहीं की गई है जितनी की जानी चाहिये थी और अगर वे कामयाब बनाई जातीं तो उनको देख करके दूसरे लोग भी इस तरह से काम करने की सोचते और करते। मैं भ्रष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने डिप्टिन में पढ़ा था कि पांच लाख एकड़ जमीन पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के पास है मैं चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्रालय इस धोर ध्या. दे और अगर वह इस पांच लाख एकड़ जमीन को हरिजन लोगों में तकसीम करवाने में कामयाब हो गया तो लोगों की पिछड़े वर्गों की पंजाब के लोगों की दशा काफी सुधर सकती है। इस पांच लाख एकड़ के भ्रष्टावा और भी जमीन पंजाब में हो सकती है जो कि इन लोगों में बांटी जा सकती है। इस जमीन को कोभाप्रेटिव बेसिस पर हरिजनों को दिया जाए और उसमें उनकी पूरी मदद की जाए—सैम्बल और दूसरे लोगों को भी उसमें शामिल किया जा सकता है—और उनको कामयाब बनाने की पूरी कोशिश की जाए, तो न सिर्फ पैदावार ही बढ़ेगी बल्कि दूसरे लोग भी देखा देखी कोभाप्रेटिव बेसिस पर

[श्री साधू राम]

खेती करना शुरू करेंगे। जब हम अपने हुल्कों में जाकर लोगों से यह कहते हैं कि कोओप्रोटिव फार्मिंग करो तो वे लोग इस चीज को समझते नहीं हैं और कहते हैं कि हम अपनी खेती दूसरों के हवाले कैसे कर दें, सामी खेती कैसे बना दें, इसको कैसे दूसरों को काम करने के लिये दें। इस वास्ते मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर गवर्नमेंट की जमीन से ही काम चालू किया जाए और पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये, खेती करने के लिए कुछ मदद दी जाए, ग्राण्ट दी जाये, लॉस दिये जायें और इसको कामयाब यहाँ बनाया जाए जो दूसरे लोग देखा देखी कोओप्रोटिव फार्मिंग पर यकीन करने लग जायेंगे।

अब मैं घरेलू दस्तकारियों के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। इन गरीब लोगों के लिए जो रुपया रखा जाता है या इंडस्ट्रीज डिपार्टमेंट की तरफ से जो रुपया रखा जाता है वह पूरे तौर पर इन गरीब लोगों तक नहीं पहुँचता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन गरीब लोगों की कोओप्रोटिव सोसाइटीज बना करके इनको बैसा देने के बारे में प्रेफ़रेंस दिया जाना चाहिये। साथ ही साथ इन गरीब लोगों की पूरे तौर से मदद होनी चाहिये। मैं मिसाल के तौर पर बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो भट्टे होते हैं इनके जो लाइसेंस होते हैं, इन्हें नहीं दिया जाता है। गरीब हरिजन ही हैं जो कि इंटें बनाते हैं, उनको पकाते हैं तथा दूसरे काम करते हैं। लेकिन किसी भी इलाके में जाकर आप देखें, आपको पता चलेगा कि मट्टे का लाइसेंस किसी हरिजन को नहीं मिलता है, दूसरे लोगों को ही मिलता है। मेरे विचार में अगर इनको ऐसे लाइसेंस दिये जायें तो एक तो इनको काम मिल सकेगा और दूसरे वे अपनी आर्थिक अवस्था में सुधार कर सकेंगे और साथ ही साथ काम में भी सुधार ला सकेंगे। अकूरत इस बात की है कि कोशिश की जाए कि इनको खेती बाड़ी में काम मिले ताकि खेती की पैदावार बढ़े, अनएम्प्लायमेंट कम हो, बेष का भसा हो और जो समाजवादी ढंग का

समाज हम स्थापित करना चाहते हैं, वह जल्दी स्थापित हो सके।

मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि हुकानबारी करने के लिये या दूसरे इम्पोर्ट एक्सपोर्ट व्हीरह के जो लाइसेंस हैं, वे भी इन लोगों को अकूर दिये जाने चाहियें।

हर रोज इस तरह की शिकायतें आती हैं कि सविस्त्रिज में उनके साथ बेइन्साफी होती है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक सविस्त्रिज का ताल्लुक है, जहाँ तक स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स का ताल्लुक है, वहाँ पर कुछ न कुछ बेइन्साफी अकूर होती है। अगर गृह मन्त्रालय इस धोर ध्यान दे तो मेरा ख्याल है यह शिकायत भी दूर हो सकती है। इसके लिये मैं चाहूँगा कि पार्लियामेंट के मन्बरान की एक कमेटी मुकूरर कर दी जाए जो कि हिन्दुस्तान में हर एक स्टेट में जाकर वहाँ इन्व्वायरी करे और देखे कि प्राया स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स शीड्युल्ड कास्ट्स को या दूसरे जो लोग हैं उनको सविस्त्रिज में पूरी नुमाइदगी दे रही है या नहीं। उसके बाद यहाँ से स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को डायरेक्टिव दिया जाए कि वे पूरी नुमाइदगी इनको दें।

जो शिकायतें हमारे पास आती हैं उनको मैंने आप के सामने रखा है और जो मैं कहना चाहता था वह मैंने कहा है लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग गवर्नमेंट की तारीफ नहीं करते उस काम के लिये जिस को उस ने अच्छी तरह से किया है, वह भी एक फलत बात है।

श्री आस्तर (रत्नागिरि) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन में कल से गृह मन्त्रालय के बारे में बहस हो रही है। जो भी बातें यहाँ कही गईं दातार साहब ने उसका जबाब देने का प्रयत्न किया, लेकिन उनके जबाब में, जो बातें यहाँ कही गईं उनके बारे में स्पष्ट तौर पर मन्तव्य नहीं दिया जा सका। इसलिये कई बातों को फिर दोहराने की आवश्यकता है।

बम्बई और महाराष्ट्र का प्रश्न हमारे लिये बड़े महत्व का है। बम्बई सह महाराष्ट्र का प्रश्न बड़ा ज्वलन्त हा रहा है। इस बारे में महाराष्ट्र की ओर से जितने चुनाब हुए उनके अन्दर यह स्पष्ट तौर पर बताया गया है कि महाराष्ट्र का मन्तव्य क्या है। और उसी के परिणामस्वरूप आज जो लोकशाही चलनी चाहिये उस पर बोलना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ। आज लोकशाही ने अपना मन्तव्य व्यक्त किया है। सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि उस मन्तव्य को सुने और उनकी मांग पूरी करने का प्रयत्न करे। मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र का प्रश्न जो कि इतना ज्वलन्त हो रहा है, उस पर ध्यान दिया जाय, मुझे इस बात का दुःख है कि हमारे गृह मन्त्रालय की जो पालिसी है उसके कारण देश के अन्दर असन्तोष बढ़ रहा है। आज इस का असर खाली संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र पर ही नहीं पड़ रहा है, महाराजराज पर भी पड़ रहा है और इस भा दोलन का जोर मारे देश में बढ़ रहा है। हम यदि आज अपनी प्नेन्स को काम-याब करना चाहते हैं तो इसके लिये आज देश के हर भाग का सहयोग आवश्यक है। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि यदि हम जनता के अहोरा की उम्मीद करने हैं तो उसकी इच्छा को भी पूरा किया जाय, जिससे कि सब लोग पूरे मन से प्नेन्स को पूरा करने का प्रयत्न करें।

दूसरा महत्व का प्रश्न सीमा का है। सीमा के बारे में हमारे गृह मंत्री ने बतलाया कि उनकी ओर से जितने भी प्रयत्न करने की आवश्यकता है वह कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आज तीन चार महीने हो गये, मुझे लगता है कि इस बारे में हम ने कोई प्रगति नहीं की है। जहाँ हम बे बैसे ही हैं। इस दृष्टि में, आप को और प्रयत्न करने की आवश्यकता है। कर्नाटक के गवर्नर, बम्बई के गवर्नर पर १२ हजार से १३ हजार तक लोग जेल गये। बड़ा सत्याग्रह किया। वहाँ की जनता की भावना की काज करना हमारा कर्तव्य है। इस दृष्टि से लोगों की मांग है कि एक गवर्नर

कमिशन नियुक्त किया जाय। वेस्टर्न जोनल कौंसिल के जरिये यह सवाल साल्व नहीं हो सकता है। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि एक सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज नियुक्त किया जाय जिस को के कर गवर्नर कमिशन बनाया जा सकता है। उन का जो निर्णय होगा उसे मैं मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ। लोगों की यह डिमांड है कि गवर्नर कमिशन नियुक्त किया जाय जिस के जरिये यह निर्णय ठीक में हो सके।

दूसरा प्रश्न नागाओं के झगड़े का है। हम रोज झलबारी में पढ़ते हैं कि रोज पाकिस्तान के हमले हो रहे हैं। इसी तरह से रोज हम नागाओं के सम्बन्ध में भी पढ़ते हैं। लेकिन उन का जो झगडा चल रहा है उसे हल करने में हमारी सरकार बिल्कुल असफल रही है और हम इस मामले में कोई प्रगति नहीं कर सके। इस का मूलभूत कारण क्या है? इस का मूलभूत कारण यही है कि हम ने उतना प्रयत्न नहीं किया जितना कि हम को करना चाहिये था। स्वतन्त्रता की लड़ाई के बाद आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में विदेशी मिशनरियों का आगमन बहुत बढ़ा हुआ है। वे लोग बहुत बड़ी तादाद में आये हैं और हर जगह घुड़ने बना कर बैठे हैं। परिणाम यह हुआ है कि नागा लोगों के झगड़े में भी विदेशी मिशनरियों का हाथ है, उन की ओर से उन लोगों को प्रेरणा मिलती है। जैसे आज नागा लोगों के झगड़े उधर चल रहे हैं, अगर स्थिति यही रही तो इस तरह के नागा संगठन और भी बढ़ जाने की सम्भावना है। इस दृष्टि में देखते हुये मैं गृह मन्त्रालय से कहना चाहूँगा कि जिस तरह में आज नागा लोगों का झगडा चल रहा है उस तरह से दूसरे झगड़े न पैदा बने। इस के लिये हम को विदेशी मिशनरियों की कार्रवाइयो की पूरी देख भाल करने की आवश्यकता है। वे आते हैं, कहते हैं कि हम जनता की सेवा करेंगे, अस्पताल खोलते हैं और दूसरे इस तरह के काम करते हैं। लोगों को मदद करने का बहाना करते हैं। लेकिन वह केवल एक

[श्री भासर]

बहुना है। उन में से बहुत से तो दूसरे देशों के स्पाइड हैं। वे दूसरे देशों के भादमी हैं जो कि चाहा की स्थिति देखते हैं और उग्र की रिपोर्ट अपने देशों को देते हैं। इस लिये नागा लोगों के झगड़े को खत्म करने की तो आवश्यकता है ही लेकिन जो हमारे देश में विदेशी मिशनरी आते हैं और झड़्डा जमा कर बैठ जाते हैं, उन पर पूरी नजर रखने की आवश्यकता है।

पिछले दिनों जब मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने जस्टिस नेगी और जस्टिस रेगी कमेटी नियुक्त की थी तो उन लोगों ने अपनी रिपोर्ट दी थी। लेकिन बड़े दुःख की बात है कि उस रिपोर्ट का जितनी अच्छी तरह से इम्प्लिमेंटेशन होना चाहिये था उतनी अच्छी तरह से नहीं हुआ। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि उस रिपोर्ट का इम्प्लिमेंटेशन किया जाय। दूसरा प्रश्न माननीय मंत्री जी ने बतलाया कि यहाँ पर पाकिस्तानी जासूसी का है जो कि पहले घाये थे लेकिन बाद में गये नहीं। इस बारे में बार बार होम मिनिस्ट्री से प्रश्न पूछे गये। मसबारा में भी आना है कि बीकानेर सरहद पर और काठियावाड़ सरहद पर से पाकिस्तानी जासूस हमारे देश में आ रहे हैं। हमारा सरकार इस के लिये क्या कर रही है मुझे इस का पता नहीं। लेकिन मुझे यह कहना आवश्यक मालूम होता है कि हमारे गृह मंत्रालय को जितनी अच्छी तरह से इस प्रश्न को लेना चाहिये उतनी अच्छी तरह से इस को उस ने नहीं लिया। यह बड़ी गम्भीर बात है। चारों ओर सेनायें लबी हुई हैं, हर रोज हमले हो रहे हैं। इस मुल्क की डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री और होम मिनिस्ट्री की सीक्रेट्स विदेशों को जाती हैं। उन का परिणाम वहाँ के मसबारा में आता है। इस ओर भी पूरा ध्यान सरकार की ओर से नहीं दिया जा रहा है।

इधर भारत ने कुछ प्रगति करके की है लेकिन फिर भी देश में असन्तोष का

वातावरण रहता है। मैं देश के चारों भागों में गया हूँ। हर एक भाग में कुछ न कुछ असन्तोष है। चाहे आप पंजाब की बेलें चाहे दिल्ली को बेलें। कई कई बातों के झगड़े चल रहे हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि स्वतन्त्र होने से कुछ झगड़े धाबे। हर लोगों को अपनी अपनी तरह से कार्य करना और उनकी दृष्टि दूसरे से पूरक होना आवश्यक है लेकिन हमारे गृह मंत्रालय की सुस्ती के कारण भी देश में असन्तोष फैला हुआ है। दिल्ली का ही प्रश्न ले लीजिये। दिल्ली की राजभाषा का प्रश्न आज बहुत दिनों से चल रहा है। राजभाषा के लिये दिल्ली असेम्बली ने एक कमेटी नियुक्त की थी, यहाँ के कारपोरेशन ने भी एक कमेटी नियुक्त की है लेकिन उस कमेटी के कार्य के अन्दर जो बाधा डालने वाला है वह गृह मंत्रालय है। हमारे गृह मंत्रालय को जिस दृष्टि से इस प्रश्न को देखना चाहिये वह नहीं देखता है। यह एक राजनीति का प्रश्न बन गया है। हर एक बात पर गृह मंत्रालय बाधा डालने का प्रयत्न करता है। उर्दू का अडगना बीच में आ रहा है और इस का परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि इस प्रश्न पर कोई निर्णय नहीं किया जाता और आज दिल्ली में इन बारे में बहुत असन्तोष पैदा हो रहा है। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इस प्रश्न में गृह मंत्रालय कोई राजनीति न लाये और जनता की जो मांग है उस को पूरी करने का प्रयत्न करे। इस के लिये प्रयत्न करके देश में जो अच्छा वातावरण गृह मंत्रालय पैदा कर सकता है वह उसे नहीं कर रहा है।

यहाँ पर संकेत किया गया कि देश में करप्शन बहुत कम हो रहा है। यह बात देश के सामने है कि इस समय स्थिति क्या है। करप्शन इतना बढ़ रहा है कि उस के बताने की सामर्थ्य गृह मंत्रालय में नहीं है इस लिये वह कहता है कि करप्शन कम हो रहा है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि पहले करप्शन

बोड़ा था, लेकिन आज प्राय किसी प्राफिस में जाइये । जो प्रावनी वहाँ बैठे होते हैं, नीचे से लेकर ऊपर तक सब करण्ट हैं । कोई भी काम करवाना हो तो वैसे बिये बिना पूरा नहीं होगा । मेरा तो ऐसा अनुभव है कि यहाँ पर कोई काम कराने के लिये प्रावनी जाय तो सेक्रेटेरियट तक में वसा देना पड़ता है । वसा देने के बाद ही वहा प्रवेश हो सकता है । मुझे यह कहते हुये बडा दु:ख होता है कि मैं तो कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार अपनी भूल को छिपाने के लिये कहती है कि करप्शन कम हो रहा है । उसको नो साफ कहना चाहिये कि करप्शन बढ़ रहा है । यहा बतलाया गया है कि उस को मिटाने के लिये बडी कोशिश हो रही है । हर एक प्रान्त में प्राय चले जाइये, हर एक जगह देखिये, हर एक स्थान पर करप्शन बढ़ रहा है । इस को खत्म करने के लिये जितने कडे हाथो से काम करने की प्रावश्यकता है, उतने कडे हाथो से सरकार काम नहीं करती है । परिणाम यह होता है कि सामान्य जनता में इस से भ्रमन्तोष होता है । सरकार को इस दृष्टि से इस भ्रोर देखना चाहिये ।

सिधी भाषा का प्रचलन भी बडे महत्व का है । अपने देश के लिये कई लोगो ने अपनी जान दे दी, अपनी सम्पत्ति छोड दी पाकिस्तान में । आज उन लोगो की डिमाड है कि जो कुछ हम ने वहा छोड दिया वह तो बना गया है लेकिन हमारी सांस्कृतिक सम्पत्ति को है वह सिधी भाषा है, उस को जिन्दा रखने की प्रावश्यकता है । उन लोगो की डिमाड है कि सिधी भाषा का कांस्टिट्यूशन के प्राठवें सेड्यूल में रखना चाहिये ।

जब १५ भाषाओं को सिड्यूल में लिया गया तो इस १५ वीं सिधी भाषा को भी क्यों न उन्में शामिल किया जाये । मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस भ्रोर सहानु-

भूति के साथ देखे और सिधी को सिड्यूल में १५ वीं भाषा के रूप में शामिल किया जाये ।

दो बातें अब मैं पुलिस के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ । आजकल हम हर चीज को इका-नमिक प्वाइंट प्राफ व्यू से देखते हैं । पर हम देखते हैं कि पुलिस बिभाग का खर्चा बढ़ता चला जा रहा है । जब हम प्रहिमा का नारा लगाते हैं और चाहते हैं कि देश में प्रहिमा रहनी चाहिये तो फिर पुलिस का खर्चा क्यों बढ़ता है । इसका कारण क्या है ? इस पुलिस का क्या उपयोग होता है ? जब देश में शान्ति है और देश में भ्रमन्तोष नहीं है तो पुलिस का खर्चा क्यों बढ़ना चाहिये । मैं पुलिस के बारे में कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि सदन में इसकी काफी खर्चा हो चुकी है । हम पुलिस के उडे की बहुत खर्चा सुन चुके हैं । हर जगह पुलिस का अत्याचार और गडबड चल रही है । साथ ही हम देखते हैं कि जब बाउंडर पर अशांति है और पाकिस्तानी लोगो के हमले हो रहे हैं तो भी हमने डिफेंस पर २५ करोड रुपया कम कर दिया है और पुलिस का खर्चा बढ़ाया है । मैं कहता हूँ कि डिफेंस का खर्चा कम करने की प्रावश्यकता नहीं थी । पर उसको तो कम किया गया है, पर पुलिस का खर्चा बढ़ा है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि पुलिस का खर्चा कम किया जाये और देश में प्रच्छा बातावरण पैदा करने का प्रयत्न किया जाये ।

इसके साथ ही मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि होम गार्ड के संगठन को समाप्त करना चाहिये । बम्बई स्टेट में इसका अंच्छा अनुभव नहीं प्राया है । जिस तरह से प्राहि-बिधान के कारण पुलिस मासिक इस्टालमेंट लेकर काम चलने देती है वैसे ही होम गार्ड भी कर रहे हैं । यह ठीक नहीं है । इनका कोई विशेष उपयोग नहीं है । यह फिजूल-खर्चा हो रहा है । तो मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इस संगठन को समाप्त किया जाये ।

18 hrs.

बी ५- ला० वाक्याल (बीकानेर-रक्षित-प्रनुसूचित जातियाँ) : मन्त्रीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, यहाँ बहुत से सज्जनों ने गृहमंत्रालय की मांगो पर अपने सुझाव दिये हैं। मैं भी कुछ कहने के लिए सड़ा हुआ हूँ।

हमारे पत्र जी जिस ढंग से काम कर रहे हैं, मेरी गृहमंत्रालय के नीचे के अधिकारियों से प्रार्थना है कि वे भी उनसे काम करने की प्रेरणा लें। यद्यपि पन्त जी इतने बूढ़ हैं, पर जब हम उनको पत्र भेजते हैं तब वे अपने हस्ताक्षर से हमको जवाब देते हैं। लेकिन गृहमंत्रालय के जो नीचे के अधिकारी हैं उनके काम में कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ा है।

मैं राजस्थान का उदाहरण आज आपके सम्मन रखना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पर हरिजनों पर होने वाले भ्रत्याचारों और जुल्मों में कोई ज्यादा फर्क नहीं पड़ा है। जब तक किसी मामले में मिनिस्टर साहब या चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब देखल नहीं देते तब तक हरिजनों को न्याय नहीं मिलता। न्याय तो फिर भी नहीं मिलता। मैं उदाहरण के तौर पर कई बातें बता सकता हूँ।

हमारी सीमा के उस पार जनरल धायूब का शासन है। लोग कहते हैं कि वहाँ तस्कर व्यापार बन्द हो गया है। लेकिन राजस्थान में सोना बेचने की मडियाँ खुली हुई हैं। पुलिस न जाने क्या करती है। मैं ने पुलिस वालों से जब पूछा तो वह कहते हैं कि हम तो जब पकड़ते हैं तो सोना पकड़ते हैं पर ऊपर जाकर वह पीतल हो जाता है। तो मैं ने कहा कि पीतल को भी तो पाकिस्तान से बिना लाइसेंस लाने की आज्ञा नहीं है। जो इस तरह भी ध्यान देना चाहिए।

अब हमारे यहाँ डाकू समस्या तो कुछ कम हो गयी है। अब वे लोग जो डाके डालते

वे तस्कर व्यापार करने लगे हैं। उधर पुलिस भी उनके साथ मिल गई है। तो वह आम बात है।

मैं आपकी अपनी तरफ का हाथ बतलाऊँ कि पुलिस स्टेशन के बाहर खड़ी रहती है और अगर किसी जगह का पांच रुपये किराया है तो लोगों से कहती है कि हम तुमको भाबे वाम में पहुँचा देंगे। और इस तरह से कम से कम २५ प्रतिशत लोगों को बिना टिकट पुलिस वाले ले जाते हैं।

हरिजनों के लिए आपने खूतछात का प्रलय से कानून भी बनाया है लेकिन जब हरिजनों पर जुल्म होता है तो उनकी कोई सुनवाई नहीं होती। जब वह दरखास्त देते हैं तो प्रदालत में केस को नहीं जाने दिया जाता और उनको बीच में से ही डिसमिस कर देते हैं।

आज हरिजनों के उद्योग धन्धे उनसे छीने जा रहे हैं। एक टट्टी उठाने का तो एंसा पेशा है जिसको कोई हाथ नहीं लगाता बाकी और सब धन्धे ऊँची जाति वाले को आप-रेटिव बना बना कर अपने हाथ में कर रहे हैं और उनका मुनाफा खुद ले रहे हैं। मेरा खादी कार्य से सम्बन्ध है। आप देखें कि बुनकरो की क्या अवस्था है। उनका धन्धा नहीं पनप रहा है। खादी कमिशन को खूब पंसा दिया जाता है, सर्वमिडी दो जानो है। सारे काम की वे व्यवस्था करते हैं और संचालन करते हैं हरिजनों को तो केवल छे घाना, फाठ घाना या एक रुपया रोज मजदूरी मिल जाती है। जो लोग हाथ से काम करने वाले हैं उनको लाभ नहीं हो पाता। जो लोग स्वयं काम करते हैं उनको आप सोचा प्रमाण पत्र दें तो उनको लाभ हो सकता है। लेकिन ऐसा करने से दूसरे लोगों की टेकेवारी बली जायेगी।

आपने हरिजनों को नीकरियों में सारे शरू पर सेंट का रिजर्वेशन दिया है लेकिन इस

मामले में भी उनके साथ न्याय नहीं हुआ है। जो वे प्रार्थनापत्र देते हैं उनकी छः छः महीने तक मुनवाई नहीं होती। इसी तरह से टाल मटोल करते करते इतने वर्ष बीत गये और अब ढाई वर्ष रह गया है। वह भी बीत जायेगा और हम ऐसे ही रह जायेंगे।

पिछले दिनों यहां चर्चा हुई कि हरिजनों का रिजरवेशन रहना चाहिए या नहीं। अगर गवर्नमेंट ठीक समझती है तो रखे। लेकिन राजस्थान और दूसरी जगहों के बारे में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर कुछ जातियों को पहले अनुसूचित जातियों की सूची में शामिल नहीं किया गया। जब हम लोगों ने काफी शोर मचाया तो पांच साल बाद उनको उस सूची में शामिल कर लिया गया। इससे पहले पांच साल तक उनको न छात्रवृत्तियां मिलीं और न उनको नौकरियों में ही उनका भाग दिया गया। तो इस तरह से उनको केवल पांच वर्ष ही रिजरवेशन का लाभ होगा। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि जिनको आपने पांच साल बाद सूची में शामिल किया है उनका रिजरवेशन बढ़ाया जाये। तो मैं निवेदन कर रहा हूं कि जिस तरह से अभी काम चल रहा है इस तरह हरिजनों की समस्याएँ हल नहीं होंगी।

करफन के सम्बन्ध में मेरा निवेदन है कि जहां आज हम और बीजों में आम बढ़ रहे हैं, वहां नैतिकता में पीछे हट रहे हैं। हम पत्थरों का तो निर्माण कर रहे हैं, नदी नाले बांध रहे हैं लेकिन हमारे यहां मनुष्य का चरित्र गिरता जा रहा है। आज करफन इतना बढ़ रहा है कि किसी जगह भ्रामरी जाये बगैर पैसे के उसका काम नहीं होता। यह कहना कि क्यों पैसे देते हो और कानून तो इसके खिलाफ है एक तरह से ठीक है, और आप ऐसा कह सकते हैं लेकिन कानून कुछ ऐसे बेबीदा है कि बगैर पैसे दिये काम निकालना मुश्किल हो जाता है। तो मेरा निवेदन है कि इस प्रश्न पर विचार विय

जाये और कानून को सरल बनाने का उपाय किया जाये। जो कानून हो वह ठीक होना चाहिये तभी कुछ होगा।

जब तक आप हरिजनों को उद्योग धन्धे और बड़ी बड़ी नौकरियां नहीं देंगे उनकी स्थिति ठीक नहीं हो सकती और उनका उथान नहीं हो सकता। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि जहां हरिजन सैकड़ों वर्षों से रह रहे हैं वहां पर उनकी जमीनों के पट्टे तक ठीक से नहीं बने हैं। आप ने बहुत से सर्कुलर भेज दिये। लेकिन होता क्या है? आज गांवों में रिहायश के लिए उन के पास जमीन नहीं है। शहरों में हरिजनों को जमीन का पट्टा नहीं दिया जाता है—रुपया मांगते हैं। चार रुपये गज जमीन का भाव है, अगर इतना रुपया दो, तो वहां बैठ सकते हैं। उन लोगों के पास इतना पैसा नहीं होता। फिर पाकिस्तान बना दिये जाते हैं। कहा जाता है कि शहर से निकलो, यहां बनिये बसोंगे। कई बार जातीबता के नाम से नहीं उठाया जाता। किसी व्यक्ति विशेष का नाम ले कर निकाल दिया जाता है। कहा जाता है कि यहां पर कारखाना खुलेगा, म्यूनिसिपैलिटी बनेगी, यहां सरकारी दफ्तर बनाया जायगा, यानी किसी न किसी बहाने उन को बाहर खदेड़ना है, निकालना है और उन को जमीन नहीं देनी है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आप सारे हिन्दुस्तान में कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप के सामने क्या अड़चनें हैं, जब कि सरकार आप की है? आप का कहना नीचे वाले नहीं मानते, वह कौसी बात है? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां पर हरिजन बैठे हैं, उन को फी पट्टे दीयें, जमीन दीजिये—मकान दें वा न दें। उन को संतोष हो जायगा कि हमारे लिए कुछ हुआ है। बैसे बहुत कुछ किया है। हम अस्ती वा नब्बे पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर हैं। हमारी आर्थिक हालत दूसरों से अच्छी है। एम० एल० एच० की हालत भी अच्छी है, लेकिन गांवों और शहरों के हरिजनों के लिए कुछ भी नहीं हुआ है। अगर कहा

[श्री. व० सा० व. करार]

जाय, तो बाप बाप के लिए हुआ है। हमारे दो बार प्राइमिरो के पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर या मिनिस्टर बनने से सारे हिन्दुस्तान के हरिजनो की समस्या हल नहीं होने वाली है। अगर इस स्थिति को ठीक तरीके से न समझा जाय, तो घाने वाला जमाना हमारे देश के लिये अच्छा नहीं रहेगा। कांग्रेस ने हरिजनो को जो प्रास्तावक दिये, उन की सामाजिक और धार्मिक स्थिति का उठाने और हल तरीके से उन का उत्थान करने के जो बंद किये, उन को जल्दी पूरा किया जाय, वही बाप से निवेदन है। कहने के लिए बहुत सी बातें हैं, लेकिन ज्यादा कहने से फायदा ही क्या है? अब हिन्द ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री लिय्या ।

श्रीमती श्रुतीरामा बाई (तापर—रक्षित-अनुसूचित जातियाँ) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या मुझे भी दस मिनट का समय मिलेगा ?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : हाय तो नहीं होगा। किसी और मिनिस्ट्री ने जिन बयाने ।

Shri Siddiah (Mysore—Reserved—Sch. Castes) Mr Deputy-Speaker, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Home Affairs. First of all, I will make a few observations regarding the welfare schemes of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As you know, the Government of India is spending crores of rupees for the amelioration of the conditions of these people. In the First Plan, Rs 39 crores was allotted out of which only Rs. 26 crores was spent. In the Second Plan, Rs 91 crores had been allotted out of which Rs 48 crores is meant for Scheduled Tribes, and Rs. 27 crores for Scheduled Castes, and Rs 16 crores for others. But the amount can be spent easily. I want to know whether the real progress achieved so far has been evaluated. The Commissioner of Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been trying his best to evaluate the progress done so far. But he is suffering from two handicaps. The first one is that the State Governments are not sending the necessary data for him to evaluate the progress. Secondly, the establishment that he has got is not sufficient. The first one is that a representation was made to the Home Minister, and he was pleased to announce in this House that the number of Assistant Commissioners will be increased from 9 to 16. Accordingly, the U P S C was asked to select candidates and submit a list. I am told the list was also submitted. But the appointments are not being made on the plea of economy measures. I feel that unless the Commissioner is assisted by at least one Assistant Commissioner in each State it will not be possible for the Commissioner to evaluate the progress.

I am glad that a study team under the leadership of Shrimati Renuka Ray has been appointed to evaluate the progress, not only of these welfare projects in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but of the social welfare projects as a whole. I am also glad that the Estimates Committee of our Parliament has proposed to examine these welfare schemes and submit a report.

In this connection, Sir, I want to make one suggestion. Under article 339 of the Constitution there is provision for appointment of a Commission to make a report regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes only. But there is no such provision for the evaluation of the progress made in the case of Scheduled Castes. Therefore, I appeal to the Home Minister to consider this matter and to appoint a Commission at the all-India level or, preferably, at the State level—because if committees are appointed at the State level they may be able to go into the question in more detail and make an exhaustive report about it.

Then, Sir, I want to make one observation regarding the representation of these communities in the serv.ces. As you all know, the representation is too meagre, particularly in the Central Government. I can give some figures. In class I posts the percentage of Scheduled Castes is 0.7, in class II posts 1.84, in class III 5.03 and class IV 21.61—these are figures as the position stood on 1st January 1956. Similarly, in the case of Scheduled Tribes, also the representation is very meagre. In class I it is only 0.11, in class II 0.06, class III 0.43 and class IV 2.61. It is said that qualifying candidates are not forthcoming. It may be true in the case of class I and class II posts, but in the case of class III and class IV there are so many and they are not being appointed.

In this connection, I may also bring to the notice of this House that some State Governments have taken very progressive steps in making appointments to class III and class IV. For instance, the Rajasthan Government, I am told, has instructed all the appointing authorities in the State that no general candidates will be appointed in the year 1958-59 and 1959-60 until and unless the employment exchanges report that no suitable candidates of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are available for the ministerial posts in class III and IV. In the same way, the Orissa Government has also passed an order to the effect that until the required percentages completely achieved 50 per cent of the vacancies will be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in class III and class IV posts. I must congratulate the Governments of Orissa and Rajasthan for having taken progressive steps in this direction. I appeal to the Home Minister also to consider this matter and make reservation, particularly in class III and class IV posts, without limiting it to 12½ per cent and five per cent respectively. It should be something more than that.

One happy feature, in this connection, that I want to bring to the notice

of this House is that with regard to class I appointments—for example, I.A.S. and I.P.S. posts—the Government of India have formulated a scheme, for giving pre-examination coaching to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students in the Allahabad University. I hope this scheme will be implemented during the course of this year. I am glad to know that about 100 students will be trained in this institution and they will be properly coached to appear for the I.A.S. and I.P.S. examinations.

I also want to say a word about the educational progress of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is true that the Government of India is giving scholarships for students going in for post-matric classes, even though this year it was delayed and the students were put to much inconvenience because the awards had not been finalised. I request the hon. Minister to look into the matter and expedite it. So far as pre-matric students are concerned, nothing has been done to help them. It is said that it is the duty of the State Governments to look into these affairs. What I would like to suggest in this connection is this. The Central Government is spending huge sums of money under the head "Eradication of untouchability" for making propaganda and publicity. I know personally that the amount is not fully utilised. Instead of spending huge sums of money over this propaganda and publicity, I request the Minister to consider the desirability of allotting a portion of the amount exclusively for educational purposes like starting hostels and giving scholarships to pre-matric students from these communities.

Then, Sir, I would like to say that the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that are existing today are not quite correct, in the sense that some of the communities which are not suffering from the stigma of untouchability have been included in the list and some of the communities which are actually suffer-

[Shri Siddiah]

ing from the stigma of untouchability have not been included I may quote one instance In the State of Mysore there are 9 communities which are not suffering from this stigma, but they are included I had brought it to the notice of the Home Minister I am glad that instructions have been issued to the State Government to exclude them and send up proposals. There is no use of telling the State Government to send the list I wish that the Government of India fix up a date within which the State Government should submit the list so that a legislation may be brought forward to revise the list

Finally, I want to say one word about the legal aid that is being given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Even the Law Commission has made a recommendation that this legal aid is a service that any modern State, particularly a welfare State owes to its citizens, especially the poor people and people of limited means. I am glad that the Government of India is giving grants to give legal aid to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But the amount allotted to each State is so meagre that practically it is of no use. For example, in the year 1957-58 the amount allotted to all the States was Rs 7,500 in respect of Scheduled Tribes. For Scheduled Castes it is Rs 22,700. This aid is given only in the case of evictions. I suggest that the amount ought to be increased, and the legal aid be given in all criminal cases and civil cases so that the poor Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people may make use of the amount in the proper way.

Shri B. C. Prodhani (Kalahandi—Reserved—Sch Tribes). Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for calling me after I have waited for these two days. Our Home Minister was kind enough to do good by planning and formulating schemes for the amelioration of the Adivasis but I am sorry to say that the artificial allotment of small quantities of money for the tribal areas is not of any use. From what we know, the living standards of the

tribal people is the same as it was two thousand years ago. Sometimes, the hon Minister of Home Affairs says that they are going to bring up the Adivasis ahead, but the real fact is, in the Adivasi areas, there are schools far distant from the residential colonies, about two to five miles away. We have not got medical aid, because the hospitals, if any, are situated within a distance of 20 to 25 miles. But the Minister is always saying that they are going to give facilities in the matter of communications and so many other things. In our area, the population of the tribal people is four times larger than the rest.

In my district, Phulbani in Orissa before Independence, we had three high schools and a few hospitals. After Independence, we have had no more high schools and no more hospitals. If you want to enquire into this matter, you will come to know how many schools and how many hospitals they have started after Independence in my district, where the population of the tribal people is four times that of the other communities. At the same time, you know that Indian history says that after the civil war the tribals were driven away from the lands to the jungles and forests. From that day the tribal people started collecting forest commodities and began practising shifting cultivation. Now, our democratic Government by the name of the Republic and so many other things, is going to stop our shifting cultivation and going to stop us from going to the forest for collecting the commodities.

Now we are not demanding of you, "Give us lands and give us houses like the refugees." The people from my district—most of them being tribal people—are demanding of you that at least those things we were getting formerly may be continued to be given to us, especially in the harvest time. During Mahatmaji's time, and also during the time of the British your *guru* and even during the time of the Moghuls and the Pathans, we were

collecting the forest produce freely and doing shifting cultivation as there is no plain land in the hills. Now, the Congress Government, under the name of democracy, and by the name of the Republic, are going to stop our age old shifting cultivation and free collection of forest commodities.

We are not gold-sellers like Seth Govind Das and Shri G. D. Somani, we are simple poor wood-sellers. We have no buildings like the Ministers or,—Daljit Singh or some others. We have got houses just made of straws and bamboos and we are just in a position to get worn-out clothes. To save ourselves from terrible cold, we burn the woods and fuels collected from the forests. Such being the case, what the Government are now going to do is that no tribal people can go towards the jungles to collect wood and fuel. From this you can imagine how they are going to help us. Sometimes, Shrimati Alva says that the Government have already abolished untouchability. But there are so many untouchable people in India, and there are many people in India who, if they know that such and such a person is a Minister in charge of the untouchables will not ever touch that Minister. So, even this kind of restrictions is still there. Sometimes the people from the higher levels are always going to cheat the tribal people so that the tribal people cannot move freely. That is the case in India. It is not only your fault but it is there since the very beginning and you have not been able to remove such things from India. So, it cannot be said that by spending money we would be stopping untouchability.

The Government are always saying that they are going to improve the conditions of life of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by sanctioning some money. If they are really going to do that, if that is going to be the policy, and if money is going to be spent on that, then I ask, why the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be such as are mentioned in the report

of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes? From the Commissioner's report you can imagine, what the conditions are?

At the same time, I would like to say that so many things are happening. According to the Constitution, we have got certain preferences in the form of reservation of seats. If the reservation of seats will be abolished, I doubt whether there will be any 'Ram, Krishna, or Murty' in this House. If you are really concerned about the provisions in the Constitution for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, you will please extend it. What is the difficulty? What is the condition and what is the state of affairs of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes? Without knowing that if you are going to spend a lot of money and not going to check how the amounts are being spent in the States, it will be no good. Only, the amounts will be consumed by some others. So I request the hon. Minister who holds a senior position in the Government and in the House to look into all these things to check all the undesirable activities in this regard. While he may be sitting silent here there are a number of persons who, in the name of the Home Minister in all the States, are consuming all the amounts.

Nowadays we have started the ashram schools and the basic schools and so many other kinds of schools for the improvement of education. In my district, we have three ashram schools. What are they doing there? There the students will have to learn cooking, gardening, carpentry work, weaving, etc. But then what is happening is, not only they are to do cowherd and shepherd work, but also especially in the girls' ashram schools, the poor tribal girl students have, apart from learning cooking, gardening, stitching handkerchieves have to do maid-servant's work in the houses of welfare officers. That is why some questions are coming here about such things in our State. Those should not be said here. You can imagine what

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kind of educational facilities we are getting from Ashram schools.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Home Minister.

An Hon. Member: He is to reply at 2 o'clock.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam): I may submit that was the suggestion made.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That was not approved.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: It was not rejected also.

Shri G. B. Pant: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Members of the House for their according a general approval to the work and stewardship of the Home Ministry. I am particularly grateful to them for the very courteous references that some of them have been good enough to make to me personally. On the whole, I have no reason but to be heartened by the manner in which the Home Ministry's demands have been handled in this House. The number of cuts originally notified were formidable, but before the stage for discussion was reached, the number was substantially reduced and ultimately only a few points were touched upon in the course of this debate which has continued for seven hours or even more.

Some hon. Members, particularly Mr. Dwivedi, Mr. Patel and perhaps Prof. Mukerjee referred to the rule of law and some of them also to the necessity of safeguarding democracy. I entirely agree with them. But I think that in the existing circumstances, when we take stock of the situation as it faces us, it becomes all the more necessary to bear the basic fundamentals constantly in mind. Democracy has collapsed in many countries. There have been convulsions and eruptions in several of our neighbouring coun-

tries; constitutions have been abrogated and the rights possessed by the citizens have been altogether wiped out, defaced and eliminated. When the whole world is faced with a crisis more or less of this kind, it is essential that we should bear in mind the demands of stability and tranquility, on which, after all, the entire structure of democracy and progress rests.

In the country in which we live, we have got a vast population, we have also a rich diversity of cultures, languages, creeds, customs and usages. Also, there are sometimes forces which, instead of helping the process of fusion and cohesion, work the other way. So, we have to bear in mind that the supreme need of the hour is the maintenance of stability and tranquility. It becomes more necessary to have these fundamental factors constantly in view when we are forging ahead with our schemes of social and economic reconstruction, which inevitably get at times some jerks and jolts.

If our country has succeeded in winning the confidence to some extent, and the friendship and the respect to a large extent perhaps, of many of the leading countries of the world, it is because we have been able to maintain stability of government, stability of administration and general peace and tranquility in the land. So, the emphasis that was laid by the two speakers sitting on the opposition benches was perfectly justified and we have all to see that the conduct also is in accord with the principles that have been laid down and the policy which has been evolved. The rule of law must prevail. If the rule of law has to prevail, then the law-makers should not be law-breakers, for in that case, if those who are there to make the laws and to see that they are enforced themselves infringe the laws and disregard the collective mandate of Parliament, then the majesty of law must suffer. The rule of law would be impaired.

Mr. Patel referred to Gujerat University. But he had not a word to say about the gross indiscipline and misbehaviour that was noticed there on an occasion very recently. He had perhaps himself violated one of the laws and had been convicted for that. So, when he asks us to see that the rule of law is maintained, I would very humbly, but most earnestly, request him to bear that in mind himself and, so far as he can, desist others, from following a course which involves a breach of the law. In a democratic society, even organised infringement of laws if it is conducted in a non-violent way, is subversive of the very concept of democracy. Democracy trusts to reason; it is based on faith in human nature, on the capacity of man to convert others to the right view. Reasoning, argument, discussion, persuasion—these are the instruments through which democracy functions and have to operate in an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual regard and the desire to appreciate each other's point of view. If we want democracy to function, the plant of which was planted here only a few years ago, it has to be nursed and nurtured tenderly, especially in these formative years. It is necessary that nothing should be done which would upset the even course of events and which would weaken the base on which the democratic structure is built. If we want to coerce people in other ways, when there is difference of opinion, even when opinions are sharply divided and even when strong sentiments about certain matters are entertained, then we depart and deviate from the path of democracy. We have to be patient and we have to see that the stability, which is the foremost need of the hour, is maintained, if we are to make dynamic changes in society. We are trying to achieve a very rapid rate of progress in the economic and in the social field. For all this we need an atmosphere in which progress can be made in spite of the jerks that may be involved. So, I would submit let us accept this basic concept of democracy that law has to

be obeyed and no departure is to be made from the law, and whatever changes are desired, they have to be brought about through Parliament by persuasion, by conversion, by creating an atmosphere in which things may be judged in the proper perspective and proportion.

Sir, in this connection, there was also a reference to the Orissa Ministry. It was said that the Governor had come and also consulted the Home Minister. Well, I do not know whether the Governors are required not to be in talking terms with the Home Minister. If that were so, then my task would be somewhat lighter. But, at the same time, I would be deprived of the pleasure that I get when I meet men of deep culture who are imparting and conscientious, not only in principles but in practice. But what was done? In Orissa the Ministry at a stage, though nothing had happened in the Legislature with regard to any motion or Bill indicating a lack of confidence in the Ministry, offered to resign. The Governor called the leaders of the Opposition and asked them if they could form a majority and if they could, to give a list of names of those who would form the majority. They were unable to do so. In the circumstances, there were only two alternatives: either the Government that is functioning should continue to function or the President's rule should be imposed. He preferred the democratic way of life and he gave preference to the rule by the Assembly and by the representatives of the people to exercising all authority by himself. So, it was with a view to uphold the democratic system, the elected legislatures' right, that he asked the Government that was functioning then to carry on and not to force his hands to dissolve the Legislature and to take up the reins of Government himself. It was, I think, to some extent, an act for which he should have been complimented. And what followed thereafter? There were a number of by-elections in each of which the Government won. There were a number of

[Shri G B Pant]

Bills that were introduced, each of which was passed by the Legislature

In the circumstances, what was wrong with his action? What was against the democratic principle? Was there any other course which was consistent with our democratic profession? So, we should view things in the right manner

There was also some reference to lathi charges, to tear gas and sometimes to firing. All these are most distasteful to everyone in this House and to everyone connected with the administration. No one wants to have recourse to force. We wish that we could persuade the people everywhere under every set of circumstances to function in a manner which would not compel us to have recourse to the use of force. But we regret that occasionally it is not possible. How can it be? If you go round, if responsible leaders go round and lead an organised campaign of "no tax" and when efforts to execute the warrants of attachment for the realisation of taxes are made and they put up resistance and make it impossible for those who are charged with this duty to execute the process of law then what should be done? Should the Government renounce its functions and accept that it is helpless and cannot realise the tax, especially when we need every shell that we have for the economic advancement and for the fulfilment of the programmes that we have chalked out for ourselves?

In the circumstances, I submit that we have to be careful even if we do not agree. And sometimes disreputable is altogether incomprehensible. Because, if you want to advance for progress, then those who benefit would have to pay perhaps equitable share of contribution towards the expansion of the Plan activities. But if obstructions are laid in that way, how can we advance further? So, I submit that in these circumstances the rule of law, respect for law, the execution of the processes

of law and the maintenance of stability should be the creed of every member of this House. There may be differences of opinion, there may be occasions when policies may differ, but the fundamental basis of democracy, as I was reminded by the hon. speakers opposite, have to be preserved and have to be maintained.

In the course of the speeches that were made, there was also a reference to the increase in expenditure. Well, I must admit that there may be room for some economy here and there, but, on the whole, in an expanding Government with an expanding economy, while we are following the road of economic advancement towards a socialistic pattern of society, increase in expenditure is inevitable, and every step that is taken in order to provide social amenities or in other ways to develop and build up the country has an impact on administration and must necessarily involve some expenditure. Suppose you make a new road, buses and cars run on it, then you have to post some sort of police or some traffic inspector or somebody there. If you build a new colony, then there are many problems which arise. There are more cases, so we require more courts, we require more magistrates. In that way, whenever advance is made in the expansion of the economy, of social services, of amenities and comforts, it will also be accompanied by a certain increase in administrative expenditure. That is unavoidable, but we are making every effort to see that no rupee is wasted and that we get full value for every rupee that we spend.

I am also prepared to admit that as we move forward rapidly to build dams, bridges, roads, riverways, hydro-electric works and so on and so forth, sometimes in such adventures and enterprises, some expenditure may be incurred which, had we gained greater experience, could perhaps have been avoided, but that is the way of the world, and nobody can avoid it. Either do not make a

trial, do not try to move fast, or be prepared to take a little risk. But while saying all that, I submit that we have been trying to effect all possible economies.

There is a Central Economy Committee in the Finance Ministry. There are economy committees within each Ministry to see that no money is wasted. There is the Special Reorganisation unit, and there is also the Committee on Plan Projects. Besides these and other things such as the works studies, we have also the benefit of the control of Parliament, and the two Committees, the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee have been helping the Government in an admirable way by the great pains they have been taking on the matters which are laid before them for consideration from time to time. So, the need of economy is fully accepted, but the other difficulties and the inevitable consequences of a growing economy have to be borne in mind.

My friend and colleague Shri Datar yesterday gave certain figures about the numbers that are in Government Service per lakh of population in other countries. Well, comparisons about these matters are not always on all fours, and it is not easy to say that because it is so, elsewhere, therefore we should have something just like that or something near about or approaching it. But there was, at that time, a question put by Shri Nath Pai, I think: what about its relation to our income? Well, I will try to answer that. While in our country the proportion of the expenditure on civil services including the railways comes to 0.9 per cent of the national dividend, in the U.K. it comes to more than 3 per cent of their huge, colossal national income, and in the USA to about 1.8 per cent for the Federal Services. Well, I again do not draw any inference, but as the question had been put, I have attempted to give an answer.

There is the question of the agency which is to carry out all our schemes.

Among other things, we require skill, knowledge of techniques and clean, efficient administration; and for that we are making whatever effort we can. As hon. Members are aware, apart from the normal recruitment, we had emergency recruitment for the Indian Administrative Service. We have also formed an administrative pool here at the Centre, so that experienced officers who are deputed to the Centre may be available not for a limited time, but for as long as their services may be necessary here. We have recently formed a managerial and industrial pool to which selections have just been announced by the Union Public Service Commission. We have also formed a scientific and technical pool to which we expect to invite our young students and others who are being trained in other lands, and who may be useful later in our new undertakings. Similarly, we are having a new economic service, a new statistical service, and we have got the Central Health Service and a Central engineering pool. As Hon. Members are aware, we have also a directorate of manpower which looks ahead, assesses the needs of the country and how these will be fulfilled. Accordingly, efforts are made to prepare the ground, and to be ready for all the tasks that lie ahead.

14 hrs.

I may also submit that we are also making efforts to infuse a new spirit in our services. We intend to set up a Training Academy so that, not only should our public servants be duly equipped for their tasks by their skill and professional knowledge, but they may also develop that outlook which will be in tune with the demands of democracy and the ideals that have been set forth in our Constitution and the Directive Principles that are enshrined therein. It is our hope that not only the I.A.S. but all the others who are successful in the combined examinations and who later take up appointments in the Police Service, in the Revenue Service, in the Income Tax Service and in the Central Secretariat, will be given general training

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or fundamental training as one might call it, so that they might develop the right outlook and thereafter specialise in their respective branches.

At the same time, we feel that we have to make our methods and organisation simpler so that the results may be achieved expeditiously and at the same time, conclusions that are right may be reached without any circumlocution or unnecessary waste of time and energy. For that too, we are making efforts. We have got the Organisation and Methods Division. In our Secretariat we have made several changes for that purpose and we expect that by pursuing this course, it may be possible to adjust the numbers and perhaps even to reduce them and to ensure better results. These too are things which are receiving our attention at present.

In the course of the discussions, some reference had been made to the prevailing evil of corruption. That corruption does exist cannot be denied. If it did not exist, then, we would not have been taking the various measures in order to eradicate it. But, I do not agree with the view that it is increasing. When we have got such vigilant Members of Parliament everywhere, when we have got Members of Assemblies and Legislatures in every State, when public opinion is so vocal, when the Press is there to advocate the cause of the people and to uphold the highest standards of purity and decency, there is no reason why, apart from what the Government may be doing, corruption should become worse and claim still more victims. That would, I think, be more embarrassing to every one who is here or every one who is outside.

All the same, we have to be vigilant, we have to be alert. Accordingly, we have tightened the law. As hon. Members are aware, according to the latest amendment, it has been laid down that no person who is convicted for offences involving corruption, will be sentenced to imprisonment of less than one year. He cannot be let off

with a fine alone or with a sentence of less than one year. Pardon may be given to the bribe giver. Presumption may be made against the person who is charged with corruption under certain sections. Similarly, other steps have been taken. A Vigilance Division, as hon. Members know, has been set up. The Special Police Establishment is working and the number of cases that is taken year by year is rising. This year, it held enquiry into 1100 cases and about 300 or so—the exact figures are given in the Report; what I am saying is only approximately—were sent up to the courts for trial and the convictions came to about 80 per cent. Similarly, hundreds of cases were sent for departmental enquiry and the persons concerned were punished and the proportion was, I think, about 70 per cent. Several of these were gazetted officers and several co-operating them were men of high standing in the services. So, the Government is trying to do what it can. But, it seeks the co-operation of the hon. Members of this House and if any means is devised by which the Members of this House can be more effective in this direction, I would be very happy to consider such suggestions. For, so far as eradication of corruption goes, it does not admit of any difference of opinion. Those sitting on this side or those sitting on that side, those putting on red caps or white caps or no caps, all of them, on that point at least, have a common outlook and a common desire. So, I would be happy if we could have further guidance and assistance in this regard.

In the course of the debate and also previously, some references were made to the observations made by the Law Commission in its report about the appointment of Judges. It is a delicate matter. I wish the duty of commenting on those observations had not been forced upon me. But, in view of what has been said, I regret that I have to make a few remarks in this connection. I am really sad that to some extent, remarks which are not

complimentary either to the Supreme Court or to the High Courts should been made publicly by a responsible Commission. What they have said, and it comes to this, that there are Judges in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts who are not up to the standard or who are not the best that could be selected, does not raise the dignity or prestige of the Supreme Court or the High Courts. I for one have come to regard myself as a Member of the fraternity of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts. I have often intervened in order to restore goodwill between some of the Chief Justices and their Puisne Judges when there have been sharp differences between them. I have also in other ways tried to serve the judges. So, apart from my official connection, I am interested in upholding their dignity and in seeing that the Supreme Court holds such an eminent position in this country, is looked upon by everybody with respect, with admiration and if it be even with awe. So, when some remarks like these are made which are uncomplimentary, I feel distressed, if not hurt.

Then, Sir, it had been said that the Executive have exerted their influence in getting men who were not just of the right type or the best, appointed to the Supreme Court or to the High Courts. I wonder how such an idea could have occurred to any one at least so far as the Supreme Court is concerned. Where to the question of exerting influence? It is said that those occupying the highest positions have exerted influence. On whom? The appointments rest with the highest who are charged with it. Nobody else comes in. There is no provision requiring that someone else should agree or concur. Why should there be any sort of pressure exerted? I really am unable to understand. Then, are our Judges really—whether of the Supreme Court or of the High Court—so supine that they cannot even muster enough courage to express their views as to who should be appointed as a

Judge or that they should see grave perils in taking such a step? Nothing can be more preposterous and more unthinkable; and to say that the Judges are not so bold and courageous as to make appropriate suggestions is to condemn them outright. Nothing else would amount to a reflection on their capacity to administer justice than an observation of this type. But, are they really so? I want to say what has happened the other day. The laws that are passed by this Parliament are declared *ultra vires* every third day. The Judges not only upset what the Government wishes to do but they upset the acts which embody the collective wisdom and decision of this House. And, they do it from day to day. In the matter of the Income-tax legislation, one amendment was introduced, but the Supreme Court turned it down, especially with regard to the investigation of certain old cases. Another amendment was introduced, but even this did not appeal to them and was turned down. I am not complaining. I really appreciate all that they have done. It was their duty, if I may say with humility, to give their decisions in the manner that they did. But, to charge them with lack of courage or to say that they could not even express themselves whether it be here or elsewhere is something which passes my imagination. And, what are the High Courts doing? The High Courts, in their respective States are also declaring many Acts *ultra vires*. My friend Shri Frank Anthony might be knowing the number of such Acts which have been declared *ultra vires*. It may come to a very sizable figure. And then, the Government has to appear before the High Courts in many ways. Cannot they dispense justice? Are the Judges there not possessed of so much of grit at least as to be able to say that this is right and that is wrong? They are not sending anybody to jail. They are not doing anything that would hurt anyone. Simply to make a suggestion as to whether X or Y or Z should be appointed will only be a proposal to be considered by others. Whoever is appointed as a Judge has

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to take an oath saying "I will discharge my duties without fear or favour". "Without fear" is one of the elements that is there. So, it is a matter of deep regret, to me that such observations should have been made.

Now, let us look to the facts whether there is the least justification for these remarks I may tell hon. Members that since 1950, 17 Judges have been appointed to the Supreme Court and everyone of these Judges was nominated and recommended by the Chief Justice of India. What could they do if we had turned down those recommendations? But, when we have accepted everyone of the recommendations of the Chief Justice of India, how does the occasion for the highest in the administration—a word like that has been used there—using some methods which are not above board arise? And, I claim that the Chief Justices of our Supreme Court have commanded respect of all, that the Supreme Court today commands the confidence of everyone in this land. To say that the Judges that have been recruited there have just been thrust on the Court by somebody else is against the facts and is absolutely incorrect.

* Then, Sir, let us go from the Supreme Court to the High Courts. What are the facts there? Since 1950 when the Constitution came into force, I think, 176 appointments have been made. The House may be surprised to know—especially if it has in mind the remarks that had been made by the Commission—that except one, 175 appointments were made on the recommendation of the Chief Justice of India. In the course of the last nine years every appointment that was made, excepting one, had the blessings of the Chief Justice of India. Am I to assume that the Chief Justice of India has not been performing his part well? Under whose influence is he working? But I hope there is no complaint against him. If there is, then, I think the persons responsible for these remarks will have to find

a new tribunal for the trial of their own opinion; otherwise there is nothing like that. Hon. Members know that appointments to High Courts are made in accordance with Article 172 of our Constitution.

14.20 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

The position is this, that the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned makes a recommendation to the Chief Minister; the Chief Minister and the Governor consult each other, and they consider those recommendations; if they have anything to say, they send it to the Chief Justice, and so on. Ultimately, their proposals come here. Then, they are considered by the Home Minister and by the Prime Minister who ordinarily accepts what the Home Minister suggests, so that the guilt, if any, must be fastened on my head and not on his. And then it goes to the President, and the President takes the final decision, so that there are six persons involved in the matter; there is the Chief Justice of the High Court, there is the Chief Minister of the State, there is the Governor of the State, there is the Union Home Minister, there is the Prime Minister, and the President finally.

Shri C. D. Pande (Nani Tal): The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court also

Shri G. B. Pant: I mean the Chief Justice of India, when I say that.

And we here have made it almost a rule to be guided by the Chief Justice of India. Now, can anyone suggest any alternative? Whom should I consult, if not, the Chief Justice of India?

I know that there are other persons in the Bar who are very able and very competent. But after all, the suggestion has never been made by anyone that anyone in the Bar should be consulted. So, I have to seek the advice of the Chief Justice and I am seeking asylum under his name today.

As I said, out of these 176, only one was made with which the Chief Justice of India did not agree—that was before my time. I might also explain that in that case, the advice of the Chief Justice of the High Court was followed by the Home Minister who thought that the Chief Justice of the High Court had given advice which must be preferred.

Well, now, let us go further. There were 161 cases out of these 176 in which all the six agreed; out of 176 cases, in 161, which works out to more than 90 per cent., all the six or seven agreed, and agreed decisions were taken. What was left over came to only 14 or 15 cases. With one I have already dealt. Then, in all these cases, the Chief Justice gave his opinion and we followed it,—I mean the Chief Justice of India. There was a difference between local authorities, that is, the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned and the Chief Minister or the Governor did not agree in all these cases. So, we got alternative proposals here, and one had to consider them, to examine them, and after taking into account everything, decision was taken in accordance with the advice given by the Chief Justice of India; and in several cases, the Chief Justice gave his advice in accordance with the advice given by the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned; and in some cases, he gave his advice in accordance with the name suggested by the Chief Minister or the Governor.

So, I do not see what else we could have done, and how we could have better handled this affair. This was a very responsible task that we had to do. I have stated all this because I want people to know that we are interested in the independence of the judiciary. We try to uphold it, we are taking every step we can to see that these courts are well-manned.

Some people say that these High Courts are not as good as they were in the olden days. Well, I do not know. I am not in a position to com-

pare. They say that the old appointments were very good. Well, I had only to intervene in some cases in which some of the old judges had heard arguments but not pronounced judgements for two or three years. I had to appeal to them to expedite the process of cogitation, and the announcement of their decisions.

I also came across a paper the other day in which the Chief Justice had written to a Governor that so-and-so should be appointed, because he will suit us very well. Well, we did not say that he will suit us very well; we did not take the initiative. It comes from the Chief Justice; it begins with the Chief Justice, and it ends with the Chief Justice of India, and we only carry out their behests. In the circumstances, to say that any sort of influence has been exerted—I would not use a strong expression; if it were somebody else, I would have—is most unfortunate.

Shri Nath Pai: May I say one word, if you will permit me? Since the matter has been engaging the attention of this House and in the press also. It has been taken note of, the matter was raised when the Law Minister was making his reply.

We are very happy to get the assurances which the Home Minister has been pleased to give. Now, he has referred to the Chief Justice. The testimony we would like to put before him is that of the Chief Justice of India himself.

Shri G. B. Pant: I am aware of that. I am coming to that.

Shri Nath Pai: May I then read it out?

Shri G. B. Pant: Let the hon. Member not be too impatient. I know that.

The hon. Member is referring to the fact that according to this report, the Chief Justice said that the Chief Justices of the High Courts did not express their opinions freely, lest they

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suggestions should be rejected by the Chief Minister. I have earlier dealt with that matter fully myself. But I am saying this, if there was anything like that, I can well say that it was for the Chief Justice of India to take that factor into account, of which I had no knowledge, that if anything like that had happened, he should have set it right, and told him, do not do so, do not behave in this manner.

So, so far as I am concerned, I have the highest opinion of the Chief Justice of India. But the facts as they are, I am placing before the House. I am trying to argue things in an objective way. Whatever be my regard or respect, howsoever profound for anyone facts stare us in the face, and they have to be taken into account.

Shri Nath Pai: I am grateful to the Home Minister. Then, we shall be seeking from you one thing; it is of the highest importance that the Law Commission which has reached these findings be directed to lay the evidence before this House, on the basis of which they have thought it fit to cast such far-reaching aspersions on the method the Government employ in the appointment of judges.

• Shri G. B. Pant: That does not arise.

Shri Nath Pai: It is up to the Speaker.

Shri G. B. Pant: I am not concerned with that, whatever be the evidence, whatever be there, so far as I am concerned, I am saying that all these appointments have been made on the advice of the Chief Justice of India, so far as the appointing authority here is concerned. That fact cannot be got over by any amount of evidence. Whatever be there, there may be conjectures, there may be guesses.

And I may just point out to one other instance of a very recent occurrence. If people were to attribute

any motives, well, there were proposals for the appointment of two judges of a High Court in a State, where the Ministry does not own any allegiance to the Congress, and there, certain proposals were made by the Chief Justice which were not quite in accord with the proposals made by the Government of that place; and the final appointments were made with the approval of the Chief Justice of India, which did not quite agree with the proposals of the Chief Justice of that place, but agreed with the recommendations made by the Government of that place. Can anyone in the circumstances attribute any political motive to anyone in dealing with these matters? Does not that contradict it fully? So I am only trying to state the facts. So far as we are concerned, it has been our effort to maintain the independence of the judiciary, to be guided by the Judges and to do everything so far as can be humanly possible in accordance with the advice that we can get from the highest judicial officer in the country who adorns the pedestal of the Supreme Court.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta—Central): I hesitate to intervene.

Shri Nath Pai rose—

Mr. Speaker: What I would suggest is that hon. Members may kindly note down whatever points they have, and if they are of great importance, I will allow them at the end to ask questions.

Shri Nath Pai: His explanations have gone a long way in removing some doubts, but some basic doubts remain.

Mr. Speaker: He may kindly note them down and at the end, if I agree, I shall ask the hon. Minister to explain that matter, if it requires elucidation later on. Let not the thread of his argument be disturbed.

Shri G. B. Pant: I think I have taken too much time of the House.

Mr. Speaker: No.

Shri G. B. Pant: Still, if I am not able to make myself clear and my words do not appeal to the hon. Members opposite, I am at their disposal.

Shri Nath Pai: We have great respect for him. We would like to be convinced. But what he has said run counter to the findings of the Law Commission and of the Chief Justice of India.

Shri G. B. Pant: That is exactly the reason why I have to argue with him. Otherwise, the occasion would not have arisen.

I do not want to pursue this further. It is, as I said, very painful to me. I was in a way to some extent at least responsible for the appointment of the Law Commission. The Law Commission have expressed their opinion freely. They are not afraid of anybody, nor are the persons who had some hand in their appointment. I think the same liberty should also be given to us, and that others also should be trusted. As this House knows, not only in this matter, but in others too we make a series of appointments day by day, and that is on the advice of the Public Service Commission. As hon. Members know—they have read the reports of the last two years—there has not been a single case in which we have departed from the advice of the Public Services Commission. With all that, is there any room for questioning the method of our appointments followed so far?

Then there were certain other matters raised in the course of the discussion here. There was a reference to the rules relating to strikes, 4A and 4B—well known rules. I think it will be conceded by hon. Members that in no country, whether it be the U.K. or U.S.A., are civil servants allowed to go on strike. They do not do so. Then what have we done now? We have only exempted the industrial establishments and certain others from the mischief, if you may call it, or from

the ambit, if you like to use a less offensive expression, of these rules. That is, persons who are serving in a number of establishments will be free from these rules; we have exempted them not only from these rules, but also from a number of other rules which apply to other government servants. We have given them greater liberty and greater freedom. So why should any grievance have been entertained on that account? I am unable to understand. We have done something which gives them the privilege which they did not possess so far; the same set of rules applied to them. Now we have exempted them from those rules.

There was a reference to something that was said by Shri Bhupesh Gupta in some other place. I do not know what he has said, and I do not care to know what he says so far as a matter of this type is concerned, because I will read the reports in the usual course and it will come to my notice. But I do not know if I am required to pry into the secrets of anybody. Secrets are to be preserved as secrets. And there is one thing which came to my notice. I do not know much about this affair. But so far as this particular paper is concerned, Shri Jyoti Basu wrote to the paper in a message complimenting it for its non-partisan attitude.

Shri H. N. Mukherjee rose—

Shri G. B. Pant: If that be so—do not say if that is so, but if that be so—there is certainly no bias in the paper against any party, much less against the party which sent its compliment, through Shri Jyoti Basu.

Shri H. N. Mukherjee rose—

Mr. Speaker: I will allow him an opportunity at the end.

Shri G. B. Pant: Then, Sir, I was told—and I think perhaps the information is not incorrect—that Jansayugam in Kerala, which is Communist paper, got a loan of about Rs. 80,000 or Rs. 75,000 from the Government.

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there. I have no grievance. I do not object to that. The Government is free to do what it likes. I would have no objection even if they wipe out that loan or strike it out after some time. That does not concern me directly and I am not going to arraign them for that. They have done it. That is all.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: If the Home Minister will please concede, what I was interested to know was....

Shri G. B. Pant: I understand the name of the paper is *Deshabhimani*. Anyhow, those who are concerned may find out the correct name.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I wish to seek your help in this matter.

Mr. Speaker: Why not the hon. Member wait until the hon. Minister concludes? Then he can give explanation once for all.

Shri G. B. Pant: My hon. friend, Shri Frank Anthony, referred to a judgment of the Supreme Court. He said it was not a correct judgment, to put it very mildly, and it was not correct because the reference was not correct. If such be the case, I think occasions will arise when abler people will put the matter before the Court in an abler way and the decision of the Court will be available. He is satisfied that the law, as it exists, gives him the right which he wants to exercise. Frankly, I sympathise with him so far as the facts of the matter go, but if the Constitution contains the provision and if because of any error or omission on our part, there has been a mis-construction, then occasions can arise and the Supreme Court can take a revised decision after taking into account all the clauses in the Constitution. It will not then be restricted to the particular specific reference made but will be free to go over the entire ground.

There are many other things. The Ministry of Home Affairs is virtually

the refuge of everything. 'Refuge' may be used in two ways, whichever way you may like to see it. We have not only to deal with services and maintenance of peace and order, but also with various other things such as the Emergency Relief Organisation, the Fire Training Service School, the Detective School, the Finger-print Bureau, the Scientific Bureau and hundred and one other things. And we have the privilege of rendering some service to the backward classes. It is my ambition that they may come up to the level of the highest in the land in the minimum time possible. No chain can be strong unless every link in the chain is strong. So, in the national interest, it is necessary that the Scheduled Castes and the tribal people should be raised to the level which the highest in the land possess and be not left behind any one else in this country. That is what Gandhiji wanted us to do. That is what we are pledged to do and we must do all that we can in that way.

I am not going into details. The Members can see the Report that has been published and it is a very brief document. They may form their judgments themselves. We have been making our best efforts. During the First Five Year Plan the total amount to be spent for the Backward Classes was, I think, fixed at about Rs. 39 crores. Now, we have put it at Rs. 91 crores. And, we are trying not only to help them economically but in all other ways. There are a number of schemes and I have also pleaded with the States in a number of matters.

I want them to have land; I want them to advance economically; I want them to have sites on which they will have their own buildings. I have tried successfully, perhaps, to secure as much sites as possible for them; I have also introduced laws here. Recently, we had the Land Reform Bill relating to Delhi, the Panchayat Act and so on so that they may have an equal status with the others. We must do all we can.

In the matter of scholarships, the amount which they used to get was just Rs. 10 lakhs a few years ago. Now, it has come to more than a crore. In fact, I pleaded with the Finance Ministry and later I made a special contribution from the Home Ministry's funds in order that everyone may receive a scholarship. I have also tried to revise the arrangement so that the amounts may be available before they start the new session after passing an examination or when the schools and colleges reopen. So, these efforts will continue.

We have got our own Welfare Boards here and we have also got the Welfare Boards in the States. We are doing what we can. Much remains to be done. But, I would like Mr. Gaikwad not to make wild statements. To compare conditions here with those of Indians or Negroes in South Africa is not only unfair; but it is outrageous. There, Mr Gaikwad would not perhaps, find a seat even within 10 miles of this place. Here he is sitting as one of our colleagues and he can call us to book; he can criticise us; he can condemn us; he can do what he likes. That is open to him to day. And he has a right to tell us that more has to be done. Wherever we make a mistake, he is specially entitled to set us right. But, to make such comparisons is to create an atmosphere which cannot help anybody.

Sir, apart from this, we have also to deal with the Central territories. So far as the tribals go, I feel that the tribals from the weakest link, Reservation for them is more essential than even for Backward Classes. So, out of the Rs. 91 crores, Rs. 47 crores have been reserved in the Central Budget for the tribal people alone. And, we have introduced a number of schemes.

There is no time. I have already tired out the patience of the House by referring to some of the schemes. But, I do believe that so far as Government is concerned, every possible

effort is being made in a constructive way to raise their standard while preserving their culture and their way of life. That has been our effort and it will continue.

I was just saying that there are Central territories which are under our administration. And, it is certainly true that they have not got any Legislature. That adds to our responsibility. That is why they have a larger representation in the House considering their number than any other parts of the country.

We have also an Advisory Council where we sit together, all as members of Government, and try to settle all matters, I believe, perhaps, to our mutual satisfaction.

Then, you will see that the Budget of these territories has gone up considerably. The Finance Ministry and the other Ministries have been very kind. We are trying to do all we can for the uplift of these people who are living either in the cities like Delhi, where there is an influx of about, at least 1000 a day, which adds to the complexity of the situation as it exists and also in other places like Manipur and Tripura where we have men living in the farthest corner, adjoining Burma, adjoining East Pakistan and, the border people have their troubles there. The Nagas also sometimes create trouble, but I think we have been able to bring about a better and a healthier atmosphere.

Even the Naga problem is much less intractable now than it appeared to be some time ago. Now, in the Naga unit, the Nagas have surrendered hundreds of fire-arms and hundreds of them have surrendered themselves. Peace is being gradually restored and we hope a solution will be reached before long.

So far as the matters under discussion are concerned, though I think I have dealt with some of the points, it is not possible to exhaust all of them. I thank the House for the indulgence which has been extended to

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me and again express my gratitude to them and also the hope that they may continue to save me from mistakes and to help me in discharging the duties which they have entrusted to me.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Sir, I shall ask for your direction in regard to one matter. The Home Minister selects the points which he replies to. But, if he answers a particular point either he gives an answer or tells the House that he is going to have it investigated.

Yesterday I showed a sheaf of papers—I have still got them with me—which I said I would forward to the Home Minister. They purported to say that a Joint Editor of a certain newspaper in Calcutta, which is now wound up, which was supposed to be anti-communist, the Joint Editor says and gives a lot of evidence about it, that the Central Intelligence Department's money was utilised for that purpose. I did not make that averment myself. But in view of the matter having been raised already and left unanswered in the other House I referred to this. May I expect the Home Minister should at least have the courtesy to say that when he gets the material I send he will examine that. But, on the other hand, He went on to say something about which somebody has spoken saying that it was an independent paper.....

Shri C. D. Pande: Jyoti Basu is not somebody.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: ...and Kerala getting some money from God knows where. I wish to know what you direct him to do in regard to this kind of thing.

Matters pertaining to the Home Ministry are reported in the papers because they are mentioned in the other House and all the papers flash it. I also get the papers and I am told to do something about it, by the

Joint Editor concerned and I am making an allegation on the basis of certain papers which have been sent about which I cannot vouch. Now, the Home Minister has not even the courtesy to say, when I had offered to send him all that material, to suggest to the House that he is at least ready to have it examined and give us an assurance that moneys belonging to the Central Intelligence Department or any government department would not be utilised for financing newspapers of one party or of the other.

For the time being I am not concerned with what is happening in Kerala. The Home Minister has no business to refer to what is happening in Kerala because we do not know how we can sit in judgment over that here. I want your direction, Sir. Here is a point which I raised and he tries to drown it under a flood of a variety of oratory which we are not in a position to appreciate.

Shri G. B. Pant: I have not received any papers from Professor Mukerjee. I am sorry if I have caused any annoyance or irritation; that was far from my intention. He is such a good man and I would not like in any way to do anything that would cause him any irritation. No papers have come to me. I do not know as yet if they relate to matters that are secret or matters that can be the subject of an enquiry. When the papers come to me, I shall look into them. Everybody is free to send any papers to me... (Interruptions.) No one needs an invitation from me. It is open to anyone to send these papers to me... (Interruptions.) If some one makes an allegation here that something has been done about which there is no authority or evidence before me, I cannot say I am going to investigate into it. Someone may say that the Speaker was last night threatened by ten goondas in his house and he ran away, I am not going to enquire into that... (Interruptions.) It is open for anyone to send anything and it is for

me to see whether that matter calls for investigation and whether the whole question can be legitimately looked into.

Shri Nath Pai: Sir, today the Home Minister in a very dignified manner and .

Mr. Speaker: What is the point?

Shri Nath Pai: It is very unfair to me, Sir. Before I begin a sentence

Mr Speaker: But what is it that he wants?

Shri Nath Pai: Today, I repeat, Sir, the Home Minister in a dignified manner and yesterday the Law Minister in not so dignified a manner

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow him to express his condemnations

Shri Nath Pai: I just want to say

Mr. Speaker: Well, I agree with the earlier part

Shri Nath Pai: Perhaps you will agree with the other part if you were in the Chair then. These are the words he had used yesterday

Mr. Speaker: What is it that he wants?

Shri Nath Pai: I want to know this from you Sir. He has done his duty. You have some duties to us and we, to you. We want this now. Is it that the Law Commission is trying to mislead this House, or is it the Home Minister and the Law Minister? It is too serious a matter. I had raised it yesterday and a reply was given.

(Interruptions) Today the Home Minister has gone a long way in suggesting, or shall I say, indicating that these remarks are not warranted. Therefore, we want from you this guidance. We must be given this protection: that the people who are appointed under the Law Ministry do not mislead this House. Will you be

pleased to give a ruling that the evidence on the basis of which the Law Commission gave these findings will be placed before this House? It is not a party matter. I, therefore, plead that the evidence on the basis of which the Law Commission reached its conclusions which are of such importance as the Home Minister himself has acknowledged, be placed on the Table of the House. Alternatively, we may be given the assurance that we were not being misled by these two senior Cabinet Ministers. In this matter we need your guidance and protection.

Shri G. B Pant: I have stated certain facts. To say one is being misled is to attribute that the facts that I have placed here are not correct. That would be uncharitable, I think. As to the Law Commission making any remarks, nobody misleads anyone. One expresses a certain view about a certain matter. The other person may hold a different view. There is no question of misleading. But I have placed the facts before the House. If those facts are disputed by anyone, it is open to him to lead evidence and say that these facts are incorrect. So far as the Law Commission's report is concerned, it is open to the Government or to anyone to consider it or for the House to consider it, if it so chooses, at any time. But how does that affect my statement in the House? That is entirely different. I have given specific facts. (Interruptions)

Shri H N Mukerjee: The Home Minister may technically be completely right in saying what he has done about the manner of appointment of Judges and all that. From the observations of the Chief Justice and the other Judges, as incorporated in the Law Commission's report, there seems to be some kind of a trouble some where, behind the scenes, so that in an informal manner or perhaps non-technical fashion, perhaps certain executive interferences are inferred by the Law Commission. That being so, I wish the Home Minister to tell us that he will go, into the matter more deeply and not depend upon

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

that formal and technical approach to the matter.

Mr. Speaker: This is what I have read earlier when I was a law student. That is what is called the leading question: when did you give up beating your mother? If he said: 'yesterday', then it is admitted that he had been beating his mother. If he says: 'no', then it means that he is still beating his mother. Again and again the hon. Member wants a statement from the hon. Home Minister that he will enquire into the matter. He gave an instance pertaining to me also; I was a little afraid. If some goonda should really break into my house, what shall I do?.... (Interruptions.) Order, order. Enough has been said on both sides. Ultimately the Law Commission's report is a report that is submitted to the Government. We did not, the Parliament did not, appoint that Commission. Government appoints various commissions and reports are sent to it. There can be difference of opinion and the hon. Minister who is responsible to us has made a statement categorically saying what exactly his view is. Therefore, there is no good again and again pitting the Law Commission against him. Further, the hon. Home Minister has also said that if they have got anything to prove that his statements are incorrect, he will abide by the decision of this House.

So far as the other point is concerned, I have no immediate jurisdiction over the Law Commissioners and I cannot say as to what ought to be done. Fortunately or unfortunately, they are not Ministers here... (Interruptions.) Order, order. The fact is that the Law Commission was not appointed by this House. Therefore, the report was not submitted by them to this House and I have no jurisdiction over the Law Commission.... (Interruptions.) The hon. Members had invited attention, not once or twice, but thrice. (Interruptions.) Order, order. I must be allowed to state what I feel. Ulti-

mately, whoever it may be, whether it is the Law Minister or the Home Minister to whom the report was sent he has got a right to say whether he agrees or disagrees. We cannot force them to say this or that. He has taken pains to explain categorically that so many cases have come and except in one case there was absolutely no difference and that also did not take place during his time.

Material is placed before a court. They come to some inferences. The inferences may be right or wrong, may be drawn only from one instance or many instances and the statement may over-emphasise a particular difference. These are things which any lawyer knows, and more particularly Mr. Nath Pai who is himself a lawyer, knows. In these circumstances, there is absolutely no good pressing this matter. If really anything is so directly and vitally inconsistent that one can be pitted against the other and if here is an incorrect statement deliberately made, the House knows what it can do in those circumstances. We shall leave it at that. I am not competent to give any advice to the hon. Member as to what ought to be done. I am here sitting as a Judge. Do they want me to put any cut motion specifically to the vote of the House? No. Then, I shall put all the cut motions to the vote of the House.

The cut motions were put and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Members who want to say 'Aye' have said 'No'. Those who want to say 'No' have not said 'No'. I am happy that after all we are just laughing over this matter as to what could have happened.

The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sums neces-

sary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 46 to 60 and 123 relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs".

The motion was adopted.

[The motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the Lok Sabha are reproduced below—Ed.].

DEMAND No. 46—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,63,73,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 47—CABINET

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,22,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

DEMAND No. 48—ZONAL COUNCILS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,38,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of 'Zonal Councils'."

DEMAND No. 49—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,23,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of pay-

ment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

DEMAND No. 50—POLICE

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,98,18,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of 'Police'."

DEMAND No. 51—CENSUS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,97,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Census'."

DEMAND No. 52—STATISTICS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,73,29,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Statistics'."

DEMAND No. 53—PRIVY PURSES AND ALLOWANCES OF INDIAN RULERS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,86,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers'."

DEMAND No. 54—DELHI

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,99,02,000 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

of 'Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands'."

[Mr. Speaker]

31st day of March, 1960, in respect of 'Delhi' "

DEMAND NO. 55—HIMACHAL PRADESH

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,34,33,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Himachal Pradesh'."

DEMAND NO. 56—ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,85,44,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'."

DEMAND NO. 57—MANIPUR

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,14,40,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Manipur'."

DEMAND NO. 58—TRIPURA

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,41,57,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of 'Tripura'."

DEMAND NO. 59—LACCADIVE, MINICOY AND AMINDIVI ISLANDS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,26,000 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, 1960, in respect

DEMAND NO. 60—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS AND EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,68,87,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1960, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 123—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 74,27,000 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, 1960, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs'."

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up Private Members' Business.

15 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

THIRTY-EIGHTH REPORT

Sardar Hukam Singh (Bhatinda):

Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Thirty-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 18th March, 1959."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Thirty-eighth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 18th March, 1959."

The motion was adopted.