

routes from 1-3-57 to 28-2-58 was as given below:—

From Assam	
Via Assam Rail link	.. 41,758
Via Pakistan Rly.	.. 113
By steamer Companies	.. 15,654
	Total. 57,525

(b) Works in connection with development of capacity of the Assam Rail Link are in progress to achieve a daily clearance of about 450 M.G. wagons between Katihar and Siliguri Jn. and 400 M.G. wagons on the section east of Siliguri Jn.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE  
AMENDMENTS TO DELHI MOTOR  
VEHICLES RULES

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport and Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of Section 133 of the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939, a copy of Notification No. F. 12/44/57-MT/Home, dated the 30th January, 1958, making certain amendments to the Delhi Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940. [Placed in the Library. See No. LT 656/58].

CLARIFICATION OF REPLY TO A  
SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION

The Deputy Minister of Railways (Shri S. V. Ramaswamy): In answering a supplementary question by Shri S. C. Samanta on 5-4-1958 arising out of Starred Question No. 1456, I had said that facilities to railway staff for learning Hindi are given generally outside office hours. I should clarify that this is so only in the case of workshop staff. Staff, other than workshop staff, are given such facilities during office hours.

EMPLOYEES PROVIDENT FUNDS  
(AMENDMENT) BILL

The Deputy Minister of Labour (Shri Abid Ali): I beg to move for

leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952.\*

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: Until all hon. Members sit down I will not rise in my seat. I have been repeatedly saying that no hon. Member should stand while I am standing.

Shri Abid Ali: I introduce the Bill.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demands Nos. 51 to 65 and 122 relating to the Ministry of Home Affairs for which six hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members desirous of moving cut motions may hand over at the Table within 15 minutes the numbers of the selected cut motions.

Hon. Members are already aware of the time-limit for speeches.

DEMAND NO. 51—MINISTRY OF HOME  
AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,50,76,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 52—CABINET

Mr. Speaker:

Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,40,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum

\*Published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary Part II—Section 2, dated 14th April, 1958.

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

necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1959, in respect of 'Cabinet' ".

**DEMAND NO. 53—ZONAL COUNCILS**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,07,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Zonal Council' ".

**DEMAND NO. 54—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,06,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1959, in respect of 'Administration of Justice' ".

**DEMAND NO. 55—POLICE**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,32,54,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1959, in respect of 'Police' ".

**DEMAND NO. 56—CENSUS**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,65,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1959, in respect of 'Census' ".

**DEMAND NO. 57—STATISTICS**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,66,03,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Statistics' ".

**DEMAND NO. 58—PRIVY PURSES AND ALLOWANCES OF INDIAN RULERS**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,68,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers' ".

**DEMAND NO. 59—DELHI**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,08,83,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1959, in respect of 'Delhi' ".

**DEMAND NO. 60—HIMACHAL PRADESH**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,28,87,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Himachal Pradesh' ".

**DEMAND NO. 61—ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,54,75,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands' ".

**DEMAND NO. 62—MANIPUR**

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,98,66,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Manipur' ”.

**DEMAND NO. 63—TRIPURA**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,01,34,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Tripura' ”.

**DEMAND NO. 64—LACCADIVE, MINICOT AND AMINDIVI ISLANDS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,10,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands' ”.

**DEMAND NO. 65—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS AND EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,02,74,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1959, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs' ”.

**DEMAND NO. 122—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,03,23,000 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, 1959, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Home Affairs' ”.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** In dealing with this Ministry I am reminded of a story from the life of Confucius. When the great master was once going on a pilgrimage, he noted that a woman was bending over a grave. Naturally, the great master was moved to pity and he asked one of his disciples to proceed and make enquiries. The disciple went and asked: “Sister, great must be your grief as so bitterly you are crying and shedding tears.” And the woman replied: “Brother, I lost my father. He was killed and eaten by a tiger. I lost my husband here. He was killed and eaten by the same tiger. And yesterday, my only son was killed and eaten by the same tiger”. Then, the disciple enquired: “If it be so, why not leave the place?” Then, the woman gave the reply: “Well, it is true, but here the Government is a bit good, a kind Government”. Confucius says that people are more afraid of bad governments than man-eating tigers.

This has got a great relevance to the Home Ministry which deals with law and order, peace, preservation of freedom etc.

Last year, the hon. Home Minister in his reply to the debate on the Demands asked me to read his speech of the previous year. I did so, and it was a very rewarding effort. The speeches make very good reading and display a very high standard of rhetoric, but after reading them I was reminded of one experience the House of Commons often had. It was said of Mr. Churchill during the war that he won debate after debate and lost battle after battle. The Home Minister is parliamentarian who will leave his mark as a great parliamentarian of this House and country. He wins the debate, but nothing happens with regard to the suggestions that we have to make and the deep convictions which we often find reflected in his own speeches.

If we carefully scrutinize the Demands of his Ministry, we find an exorbitant increase under every head. Under Home (Police) we find that the Demand for 1958-59 is

Rs. 4,98,58,000 as against Rs. 3,79,00,000 for the previous year. It has shown an increase of 25 per cent. Let us look at some other interesting services under this Ministry. The Central Reserve Police was costing the nation Rs. 68 lakhs in the previous year. Within a year it has jumped to Rs. 131 lakhs. It means an increase of more than 100 per cent. The Police Training School cost us Rs. 9,60,682 in 1957-58. Now it is Rs. 21 lakhs—again an increase of more than 100 per cent. The Training College, for Police again, cost us Rs. 6,51,000 in the previous year, and this year it is costing exactly 100 per cent. more.

Have these additional expenses, these increases in the spending of the Ministry, led to any enhancement of the efficiency of the Ministry? If it were so, the House should be glad to sanction these increased demands of the Minister.

Now I should like to point out something which I had said previously, which has been corroborated by one of the topmost police officers of this country. Shri Kanetkar has been writing a series of articles giving his experiences in the *Times of India*. He narrates his encounters with the now famous or notorious Bhupat. He tells this incident.

He detailed some of his policemen because he expected Bhupat to make an attack in that area, and he himself was taking shelter somewhere near. In the night the police came and reported: "We saw Bhupat pass." And he asked: "What did you do?" They replied: "We came to report to you". They saw Bhupat pass and they came to report. That is the typical degree of morale and courage.

He cites another incident. Bhupat having passed through the area, caught hold of a truck, robbed the man of it, used the truck and then left the truck and went away. The Police came to give rescue, and what did they do? They removed from the truck what was left by Bhupat.

This is an example not given by any demagogue, any mob-orator. This is given by a very cold-blooded top-ranking police officer of the rank of an Inspector-General on how the police functions.

I will now come to the methods the police still continue to use. We should, of course, express a degree of satisfaction, though not unqualified satisfaction, on the development that on the whole the quota of police firing has been reduced. That is a good and welcome thing. We hope the day will soon come when we shall have no longer to complain in this House against police firings. But here is one example. This is the Golathkar case.

A young man was beaten to death by the police. And what did the police claim? They claimed that the young man had committed suicide because a girl had jilted him. Some kind of letter was found, I do not know if it was not forged, but that was the Police case. The Coroner of Bombay found that the man was done to death as a result of brutal beating. This is a serious case.

Have things improved in the year under review? This Ministry will be justified in coming to this House and asking for increased demands to the extent that it can proudly claim that during the year under review the boundaries and frontiers of civil liberty in this country have been enhanced, have been expanded, but if we prove to the contrary, it has no right to ask for increased demands.

I have already referred to one case which I investigated personally and spoken about it in connection with another demand. That was on the Goan border near Khanapur. The Police had severely beaten a man for the big crime of having been found with Rs. 200 of Indian currency. They assaulted him, they beat him. What was his case? He wanted to go to the other village to buy a bullock cart, but he was assaulted and severely beaten by the police. When we heard

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hold of the records from the hospital which is run by the Government, and the doctor said: "Many are the unhappy cases which come to this hospital like this". I would like to ask: has there been any change?

Last year I pleaded that we try to substitute more scientific methods. We have a Prime Minister who has got a great flair for everything that is scientific. Why not employ these methods in the detection of crime, in the prevention of crime? Why cannot these outmoded, medieval methods of beating, torturing and third degree methods be done away with, and some better and more human methods adopted in the detection and prevention of crime. That is one aspect of it.

Let us look at Delhi. The total expenditure for Delhi is Rs. 7,78,27,000. How big is the slice of this favourite baby, the police department? It is Rs. 178 lakhs. How do some other departments fare under this? Let us have a look. How much are we going to spend on culture in the city which is the capital of the country which is run by the Home Ministry? It is going to cost us Rs. 1,16,000 and you will be surprised to know that one single hospital run for the police alone costs Rs. 112,000. Perhaps somebody high up in the office believes that it is better to have healthy, sturdy policemen than bother about the cultural development of the people.

Now, how much does labour get in this socialist country? For welfare centres in Delhi under the Delhi Administration, a huge, staggering sum of Rs. 43,000 has been reserved. And the entire labour department will be given Rs. 2.97 lakhs; and remember the figure of Rs. 1.78 crores for the police. Now, what about some other things in this Administration? It remains a shameful fact that the water we drink, though it does not lead to diseases, is sillage-contaminated water. Why not do something

about it and see that we get pure water in this capital? You can drink dirty water and still not be affected because it has been sterilised in some other way, but the water supplied remains as bad as that. And this is a fact about which the people very often raise a hue and cry; it is there from the press and from the public, but nothing has been done. But still the only department which is very much cared for and very much provided for continues to be the police.

I would like to ask one thing here. It is a good thing that we have got a corporation for Delhi. But there has been a spate of rumours that those holding offices in the Administration will be removed. When the States' reorganisation came, the Home Minister was good enough to give a categorical assurance and allay the fears of all the staff that they will be continuing in their jobs. But an incident has recently happened that a translator in the Administration was removed with one day's notice. I hope he can go to the Supreme Court; he cannot be removed like that by one day's notice; not even a private servant can be removed like that in these days. He is an official of the Administration and he requires normally thirty days' notice. But this in an incident, a practical case, which illustrates the policy. What are you going to do about it? I would invite and request the Home Minister to assure categorically that after the corporation comes, those who serve in the Administration will not be losing their jobs and there will not be a large-scale retrenchment.

Again, can we not try to do something to make Delhi which is run by the Central Government a model in many respects for the States? There is the case of land reforms. Recently, a research book published by the Gokhale Institute of Politics showed how the land reform has been failing, in spite of, perhaps, very often genuine and sincere intentions on the part of Government, in the country

as a whole, because very often the States do not co-operate. Why not show in Delhi, which the Home Minister rules, what can be done with regard to land reforms, because that can act as a model and an inspiration to the other States? Has something been done in this direction? Nothing. In 1954, we had a legislation to that effect. Has it been implemented. Again, there will have to be a negative answer. That is with regard to how unbalanced is the spending on the police, how little is the reward, and how we continue to ignore other departments which in a welfare socialist State should receive a higher consideration.

Now, I shall turn my attention to another aspect, and that is the general administrative efficiency for which the Home Ministry is responsible. Shri Nijalingappa has brought out a case which everybody here knows; there is a hue and cry about it. I trust and sincerely believe that those tears had nothing to do with the crisis that is hanging over his head, and that those were actually moved by the pity of the whole case, the tragedy of the whole case. A man could not get his pension after a devoted life of service to the State for eighteen years after he retired. This case has come to light, but how many such cases remain? The inordinate delay in India is a thing that is unique in the administration. I know the certificate that Mr. Appleby has given to our civil service. So far as intelligence goes, an average Indian, we can proudly claim, is as intelligent as any citizens in any other country. So far as intelligence is concerned, we have nothing to say about our civil servants. They impress the foreign visitors here by their good training, by the inherent good Indian intelligence, and they get certificates for something else, that is, their administrative efficiency. Now, let us remove the part of their intelligence which exists, and of a very high calibre. But what about the way they function? And this is one example. Apart from Shri Nijalingappa's case, that is, a citizen

failing to get his pension for eighteen years after his retirement, there is another irrefutable evidence that we have got from a good witness, and that is, Shri S. K. Patil. He disclosed how wonderful is the system and how smoothly it functions! He said in Bombay recently that a thing had to go through forty-four different processes—maybe, forty—before it got really moving. How creditable, and how wonderful indeed. Then, he reduced it to eleven. Why does it require eleven different departments to go through at different times, and eleven different people handling the file for a simple thing? But this is our glory; this is our pride! How foolproof is our system! That is what they claim. It is not foolproof because we have to shed tears for it, and the country has to bear a very heavy burden for these sorts of matters. That is with regard to the efficiency.

Now, I come to the delays. Here, I shall be telling something to the Home Minister which I think he will take some interest in looking into. Many foreigners come to this country, and their first encounter is with our customs officials and the police there. If you land at Zurich—I am not exaggerating—you are cleared through the customs in less than seven minutes. I have counted more than once; simply as an Indian, I was interested in seeing why and how it gets done. In London, where every minute at least one plane is either landing or taking off, they clear you within eight to ten minutes, and the maximum time I have seen there was about fifteen minutes for all the formalities. But you fly from Karachi to Delhi; the flying time is sometimes less than the time taken by our efficient customs officials to clear you through. The minimum time is anything between one and a half hours to two hours. And there are hordes of policemen. What do they do? What a bad impression! How bad it is! I do not say they are always offending; they are not; often, they are polite. But why not something be done so that the whole machine

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will be geared up in keeping speed of today? Why not minimise formalities? Why not see that there is some more efficiency and expedition on their part? I would like that he looks into this matter too.

Now, I would like to turn to some other problems. First, I take up the judiciary which comes under his Ministry. Last year, we demanded that the process of separating the judiciary from the executive would have got an extremely good judiciary, is the only guarantee of the freedom of the individual in this country, and the hands of the judiciary will have to be strengthened in every case. Now, I am in a position which he does not deny. In the first place, though we have got an extremely good judiciary, the processes of law in this country are terribly, and sometimes killingly, slow, and something has got to be done about it. I know that the Minister himself is not responsible for that. But he is responsible for introducing the necessary reforms in the processes and the procedures of this country. He has stated himself somewhere or perhaps quoted a well-known judge, that justice delayed is justice denied. And that is precisely what happens to an average Indian.

Let us remember that the encounter or the contact which an average Indian makes with the liberty of the country is not at the level of the Supreme Court or the Parliament of this country; he makes the contact, and he enjoys his liberty at the level of the constable and the magistrate. And how slow is the process there? Can we do something about it? How long shall we complain? And how long shall we be told 'We are considering this matter'? The matter has been considered for long. Judges after judges have said that something has got to be done. I hope the Home Minister will be giving his attention to this too.

Then, there is one aspect to which we have referred. There is a happy development. He spoke very recently of the formation of an all-India panel

for judges. I would like only to remind him of the words of Justice Chagla, I think, who is held in high regard by every section of the House. He said some time in May, 1957 that often there is a tendency to bring political pressure in the appointment of judges. I shall not be labouring this point very long, but it is true. Mysore, for a long time, a big State with 15 million people, had only three judges. And what were the reasons why the Full Bench was not being constituted? Again, there is a piling of cases in Gujarat. We do not appoint judges there. Many considerations come, apart from the qualifications and the merit of the judges to sit on the Bench. This is a very serious matter. An independent judiciary....

Mr. Speaker: I have allowed the hon. Member to refer to the administrative details in every other department. I do not know whether even the judiciary comes within the purview of the Home Ministry. I think this may be taken up after the Law Ministry comes up for discussion.

Shri Easwara Iyer (Trivandrum): The question of administration of justice comes within the purview of the Home Minister. So, we can speak on the judiciary only under the Demands of the Home Ministry.

Shri Nath Pai: If you had given me time, I would have pointed out to you that the entire law department and the judiciary comes under him. That is why these criticisms and suggestions are being submitted to you under this head.

Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar): May I point out one thing? This year, there is no opportunity provided for discussing the Demands of the Ministry of Law.

Mr. Speaker: Perhaps, hon. Members are not aware of what is done. If this is the attitude, then I would not divide and devote the time among the various Ministries.

I appoint a sub-committee consisting of leaders of various groups, at any rate, spokesmen; and I entrust the entire matter to them. It is not as if every subject or everyone of the seventy-eight or ninety Ministries and Departments can be taken up every year; some Departments can be gone through in a particular year. Therefore, they choose. This year, they have not chosen the Law Ministry. On that ground, if hon. Members bring in all that is to be spoken on law under the Demands of every other Ministry, it will be defeating the very object of choosing particular departments for discussion. That is not the intention.

Shri Nath Pai: I agree with the latter part of the ruling. But I submit to you that the judiciary and its administration come under his purview.

Now, Sir, I should like to invite his attention to another matter. He gave an assurance when the service conduct rules were amended. But I do not think that so good a lawyer and so good a fighter for freedom as he will say that they were amendments. They were distortions of the conduct rules. It has been made an offence—I would like to tell the House that to whatever section we may belong, we should look at matters which constitute an encroachment on our civil liberties from a dispassionate point of view, from the point of view of the preservation of our democracy—it is made an offence to say, 'I am a hungry postman'. How do we enhance his loyalty to this country, how do we satisfy his demands by just gagging him and preventing him from saying, 'I am hungry'.

These were the creation of the Home Ministry. He pleaded for them and he defended them on the ground that there was an emergency. But the emergency has disappeared long since. We have been having comparative tranquillity throughout the country. Why then continue

I would like to point out—to belong to any union which is not recognised by Government. Now, if you had a law that you recognise a union irrespective of the political complex of the leader of the union, if only the union satisfied certain conditions, then that law would have been a good law. There is no law in the country which compels Government to recognise and register a union, if it is a representative union but it is an offence to belong to a union which is not recognised. Now, it can happen that I form a union which is a *bona fide* union, which is supported by the majority of the workers, of the employees, is not recognised and it becomes an offence to belong to such a union! This is very sinister, this is very invidious.

Therefore, I plead with him that if there was—I never thought there was—any justification for these service conduct rules, the time has come to think whether they have done any good and to withdraw them. This kind of denial of basic liberty was perhaps justified in an emergency—according to me it never was—but now no such emergency exists which can give a semblance of justification to the continuance of these rules. So I plead with him that these rules may be withdrawn.

Now, there is one thing to which I would like to draw his attention. There is this head 'Zonal Councils'. Many hopes were raised when the Zonal Councils were formed. In his own manner, he had indicated that they could be the basis for solving many knotty problems, and he cogently pleaded for time being given for working out solutions to knotty problems. I would like to tell him; very patiently the people in our area have waited so that such a solution could be found to their problem—I mean the people of Belgaum. He knows the whole case as good as any champion on any side probably knows. What has the Zonal Council done about it? We were happy to



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ed to know—that the tricky problem between Andhra and Tamil Nad was eventually solved on the basis of the Pataskar formula. Why not apply the same kind of formula to Belgaum. The Municipality, as he knows, on more than 8 occasions passed a resolution with 38 against 6, asking for the incorporation of that city in Maharashtra, that is now, for the time being, bi-lingual Bombay. These people have satisfied every criterion that can democratically be applied. All the 6 seats were fought on this issue and the Congress Party lost all the 6 seats and also one seat for Parliament. What further evidence do we need? The local elections, municipal elections, the census report, all point to one thing: that a people cannot be forced to do a thing which they do not want, and it is no use going to tell them all the time 'this is done and forget about it'. If there is one thing which the people do not want, it is injustice. But I think no heat be generated about a solution of the problem. If we approach it in a spirit of co-operation, goodwill and trust, a solution can be found. He is eminently endowed with these qualities for such a solution. The only thing is: how long is the people's patience to be tried?

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):  
Would he be satisfied with Belgaum?  
Or would he ask for more?

Shri Nath Pal: I never asked for anything that was not legitimate, anything that was not to be given on the standards which he himself applied.

Therefore, I make this plea. There is no question of threats or intimidation. We should not use vile language, and I refrain from doing so. But I would like to draw attention to a very cogent sub-editorial in the Times recently telling Government that it is no use doing a good thing when it is too late. We must do a good thing in the right time. A good thing done too late is no longer a good thing; it loses all its charm, all

its grace and all the inherent justice it has.

Before I conclude I would like to say a word, and it is about the wider issue of Maharashtra. There have been three elections and there have been clear indications of what the people of that State expect of Government. You have been telling them that there is an Act of Parliament. We respect it and that is precisely why we come here to plead that you take the initiative. What did Jaina show? It was a Congress stronghold. The bye-election was fought on this simple issue. You used all your Party's tremendous resources, and what was the verdict? The Party lost the seat by a tremendous majority. Recently two bye-elections were held in the City of Bombay. The Party lost both of them. Throughout the State of Maharashtra, how many seats has the Party won? Why go on sitting tight upon a wrong decision, because we took it? We make mistakes; sometimes, we make wrong decisions. Why not have the courage of saying that it was wrong, times have changed, we take note of the new experiences we are having and we do justice? That is the only thing required.

I know the Home Minister, master of debating art, will once again tell me: 'Would you agree with Mr. somebody,—whom he will point out in the House—of some other Party?' I would say: would you agree first to grant the principle of unilingual States for Maharashtra and Gujarat? Do that first and then differences can be discussed, as they have and as they can. And why should you not help in ironing out the differences?

Once Government make this determination themselves, that this justice cannot be delayed and cannot be denied, the problem can be solved. It is a festering wound. It may burst sometime. It is not healed for ever.

But the only way of healing it is by doing justice on that problem. I plead with the Home Minister.

I sometimes say that the administrative machinery is a robot. He may infuse it with some of his own patriotism, some of his sense of justice. We have too long had this kind of machinery. I have said very harsh things. Nobody need take offence, nobody has anything but respect for the intelligence of the civil service which runs the administration of the country. But it is the lack of imagination and lack of elasticity that we do not want. We do not need a robot for creating a socialist State. We need a machine that is immediately elastic and totally responsible, totally responsive to the needs, feelings, emotions and dreams of our people. He should do something. That is the only way he can leave a mark on the Home Ministry; otherwise, the Ministry may degenerate into a Police Ministry.

श्री सरजू पांडे (रसड़ा): अध्यक्ष महोदय, गृह विभाग के जिम्मे मुख्य रूप से लोक-सुरक्षा और कर्मचारियों को हिन्दी पढ़ाना आदि और दूसरे काम सुपुर्द हैं। लेकिन अगर इस मंत्रालय के पिछले दिनों के कार्यों को देखा जाय, और आज भी जो बधा इस कार्यालय की है, उसे दृष्टि में रखते हुए मुझे यह कहने में संकोच नहीं है कि नौ वर्षों की आजादी के बाद भी इस कार्यालय में अंग्रेजों के जमाने से कोई खास फर्क नहीं है। स्वयं सरकार का यह घोषित उद्देश्य है—और उसने इस बात का एलान किया है—कि हमारा उद्देश्य देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना है। उसके बावजूद गृह मंत्रालय के जो कार्य हैं और जिस तरह से देश में जनवादी अधिकारों को दबाने की कोशिश की जा रही है, उसको देखते हुए यह कहना पड़ता है कि गृह-मंत्रालय का कार्य जनवादी अधिकारों की सुरक्षा नहीं बल्कि जनवादी अधिकारों को कुचलना रहा है। गृह-मंत्रालय की

जो रिपोर्ट उपस्थित की गई है, उससे यह मालूम होता है कि—और इसमें उन्होंने गर्व अनुभव किया है—देश की सुरक्षा के लिए बहुत से कानून बनाए गए हैं। लेकिन इनसे देश की सुरक्षा तो नहीं होती, बल्कि उल्टे इस किस्म के कानून बनाए गए हैं जिनसे देश के जनवादी अधिकारों पर हमला होता है। मिसाल के लिए सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिए जो गवर्नमेंट सर्विस कन्डक्ट रूलज बनाए गए हैं, वे इस बात को साबित करते हैं कि अब देश में कोई गवर्नमेंट कर्मचारी अपनी मांगों के लिए आवाज नहीं उठा सकता है, चाहे उसकी मांगें कितनी भी सही क्यों न हों। ५ (ए) के मुताबिक किसी भी तरह के प्रोसेशन, जलूस, किसी भी तरह की मांग करने पर बन्दिश लगाई गई है और इस बात की रोक लगाई गई है कि सरकारी कर्मचारी उन यूनियनों के मेम्बर नहीं बन सकते हैं, जो रजिस्टर्ड तो हैं, लेकिन जिनको सरकार से मान्यता नहीं मिली है। मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिन हकूक की गारंटी भारतीय संविधान में की गई है, जैसा की १९ वीं धारा में इस बात का विश्वास दिलाया गया है कि हर नागरिक को यूनियन बनाने का, अपनी मांगों को पेश करने का अधिकार है, उस अधिकार को उससे क्यों छीना जाता है? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस किस्म के कानून, इस किस्म के रूलज देश में क्यों बनाये जा रहे ? इतना ही नहीं बल्कि देश में जो दूसरी राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ हों और जो विरोधी लोग हैं उनको प्रियेंटिव डिटेन्शन एक्ट बना कर तथा उसका उनके खिलाफ प्रयोग करके कुचलने का क्यों प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है? इस कानून की कम्युनिस्टों ने, दूसरी पार्टियों के लोगों ने और यहां तक कि बुद्ध ट्रेडरी बेंचों पर जो सदस्यगण बैठे हुए हैं, उन्होंने विरोध किया। माननीय गृह मंत्री जी यह समझते हैं कि लार्ड यॉ के चोर से तथा जोर जबर्दस्ती कानून बना करके चोर के सब

## [श्री सरजू पांडे]

नागरिकों के अधिकारों को दबा लेंगे, उनकी मांगों को कुचल देंगे लेकिन ऐसा कभी नहीं हो सकता है। इतिहास इस बात का गवाह है कि इस तरह से किसी भूखंड को कुचला नहीं जा सकता है। किसी भी तरह से लोगों की उचित मांगों को दबा सकना आपके लिए तथा किसी के लिए भी मुश्किल होता है। इस तरह की बातें दुनिया के किसी भी अजातीयक देश के अन्दर नहीं होती हैं। जिस तरह से हमारे देश में पुलिस विभाग काम कर रहा है, जिस तरह से सी० आई० डी० विभाग काम कर रहा है वह अत्यन्त शोचनीय है। आजादी के दिनों में आप ने जो वचन लोगों को दिये थे और उनको भ्राज तोड़ा जा रहा है। यह कितनी अजीब बात है कि आज उन लोगों के हाथों में शासन सूत्र अपने पर भी जिन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई को लड़ा है और पुलिस तथा सी० आई० डी० के महकमों में सुधार के वादे भी किये हैं, आज वे उन सब को भूल गये हैं। आज सी० आई० डी० तथा पुलिस कर्मचारी इस तरह से काम करते हैं, इस तरह के भ्राज कायदे कानून बनाये जाते हैं जिनका सीधा असर देश के नागरिक अधिकारों पर पड़ता है, उनके अधिकारों पर हमला होता है।

मेरे भाई ने अभी कहा है कि यहाँ लोग भेड़िये से भी ज्यादा इस हकूमत से डरते हैं। बार बार इस सदन में अहिंसा का नाम लिया जाता है और यह कहा जाता है कि हम अहिंसक हैं। लेकिन जिस ढंग से पुलिस काम कर रही है उसकी जिन्दा मिसाल इसी सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य श्री विशम्भर दयाल त्रिपाठी हैं जो कि उन्नाव से चुने गये हैं और जो कांग्रेसी हैं। उनको मालूम है किस तरह नैनीताल में पुलिस ने जुल्म किया है। जंगल काट कर वहाँ आजादी बनाई थी और सरकार से बार बार मांग की गई कि हमें बसने के लिए जमीन दी जाए, पहले के लिए घर दिये जायें लेकिन

उनको इसके बदले में साठियाँ मिलीं और उनको कहा गया कि ये क्रिमिनल्स हैं, बाकू हैं। दूसरे सूबों में भी आए दिन इस तरह की घटनायें होती रहती हैं। कानपुर में या दूसरी जगहों पर जहाँ कहीं भी कोई मांग उठती है, वहाँ पर उनकी मांगों को तो बंधूँर नहीं किया जाता है लेकिन पुलिस से कह दिया जाता है कि जाओ और उनको कुचल दो। किसी की कोई बात सुनी नहीं जाती है।

इसी तरह से अपराधों की संख्या में वृद्धि हो रही है। रिपोर्टों को अगर पढ़ा जाये तो उसमें तो यही पता चलता है कि उनमें कमी हो रही है लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि उनमें वृद्धि हो रही है। अगर आप पूरे देश की इस पीरियड की एक साल की भी फिगरस को देखें तो आपकी पता चल जाएगा कि दिनों दिन अपराधों में बढ़ती हो रही है। इस किस्म के लोग जो अपराध करते हैं जो अराजकता फैलाना चाहते हैं समाज में, उनका दमन न करके पुलिस की ओर से प्रोत्साहन मिलता है। स्वयं पुलिस उनकी मदद करती है। अगर माननीय गृह मंत्री जी तथा यह सदन इस सम्बन्ध में कोई जांच समिति नियुक्त करे तो सारे तथ्य सामने आ जायेंगे और पता चल जाएगा कि किस तरह से आज जनता की जान व माल खतरे में है और किस तरह से पुलिस चुपचाप खड़ी तमाशा देखती रहती है और अपराधियों को नहीं पकड़ती है। इसका एक मुख्य कारण यह है कि पुलिस के सिपाहियों को आज भी वही तनख्वाह मिल रही है जो उनको अंग्रेजों के जमाने में मिलती थी, उनके अधिकारीगण उनसे बेसा ही व्यवहार करते हैं जैसा व्यवहार कि वे उनके साथ अंग्रेजों के जमाने में करते थे। पुलिस अधिकारियों के नैतिक स्तर को उठाने का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया है जिसकी कि अत्याधिक आवश्यकता थी। विभाग में कोई इस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। जिद्द प्रकार से अंग्रेजों के जमाने में पुलिस का वह ध्येय हुआ करता था कि "जूटो और बाबो"।

वही पालिसी इसकी आज भी बनी हुई है। आज भी पुलिस के सिपाही जो रात बिन कड़ी मेहनत करते हैं, उनकी किसी भी शिकायत पर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है और न ही उनकी बात को ही सुना जाता है। उत्तर प्रदेश में पुलिस ने हड़ताल की थी और उसने मांग की थी कि उसकी तनख्वाहों को बढ़ाया जाए, भ्रष्टारों के और दुनिया भर के काम करने से हमें बचाओ और हमारी शिकायतों को दूर करो लेकिन उनकी मांगों को स्वीकार न करके उनको जेलों में बन्द कर दिया गया था। ऐसी हालत में पुलिस के सिपाहियों की हालत नहीं सुधर सकती। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि उनकी हालत को सुधारा जाए। उनकी हालत को सुधारने के लिए मैं देखता हूँ कि बजट में कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। जब तक उनकी माली हालत को नहीं सुधारा जाएगा देश में भ्रष्टारों की संख्या बढ़ती जाएगी और भ्रष्टाजकता फैलती जाएगी।

मैं मिसालें दे कर बता सकता हूँ कि पुलिस के अधिकारी जान बूझकर क्राइम्स को बढ़ाते हैं और यह सोचते हैं कि हमें तो कुछ करना नहीं है और वही काम करते हैं जिससे पैसा मिलता है। आपने इस बजट के अन्दर सेंट्रल इंटेलेजेंस डिपार्टमेंट के लिए काफी रुपया रखा है। इस डिपार्टमेंट का मुख्य उद्देश्य यह है कि देश में भ्रष्टारों में कमी हो, देश में भ्रमन और घान्ति रहे। लेकिन यह काम न करके मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि यह डिपार्टमेंट क्या करता है। इस तरह के भ्रष्टारों में कमी तो नहीं होती है और न इस तरह के केसों में जो लोग भ्रष्टाधी होते हैं, उनको ही पकड़ा जाता है और इसके बजाय जो उसका काम रह गया है वह यह है कि जो विरोधी लोग हैं, जो राजनीतिक विरोधी हैं सरकार के, उनकी बातों की जांच करे और उनके बारे में गलत सलत रिपोर्टें भेजता रहे। मेरे पास इस किस्म की मिसालें मौजूद हैं जहाँ पर इस किस्म के अभियोग लगाये गये हैं। इस तरह के अभियोग मेरे ही खिलाफ लगाये गये थे और उन बातों का खिन्न कर दिया

गया था जिन का कमी मैंने अपनी तकरीरों में खिन्न तक नहीं किया था। फिर भी डिपार्टमेंट के भ्रष्टारान के इन्स्ट्रक्शन पर मेरे खिलाफ गलत रिपोर्टें तैयार कीं और मुझे जेल में बन्द कर दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय गृह मंत्री महोदय कोई भी ऐसी मिसाल नहीं बता सकते हैं जिससे यह जाहिर होता हो कि जिस आदमी को डिटेन किया गया है वह समाज में भ्रष्टाजकता फैलाता था। इसके बजाय यह होता है कि उन लोगों को जो किसानों की मांगों को पेश करते हैं, जो यजदूरो की मांगों को उठाते हैं, विद्यार्थियों की मांगों को उठाते हैं उनके ऊपर रिप्रेशरल होता है, उनका दमन होता है और उन लोगों को कोई पूछता तक नहीं जिनको पूछा जाना चाहिये। अभी हमारे भाई ने बतलाया है कि भूपत जैसे डाकू हैं, हमारे बलिया में सैकड़ों डाके पड़े हैं, राजस्थान में सैकड़ों डाकू हैं, उनका न तो दमन किया जाता है और न ही उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई की जाती है और उनको कुछ पूछा जाता है। इसके विपरीत राजनीतिक विरोधियों को जेल में डाल दिया जाता है। पता नहीं यह कैसा तरीका है? किस तरह से इस तरह देश में प्रगति हो सकती है, किस तरह से भ्रमन कायम रह सकता है।

बहुत से सूबों के अन्दर सीमाओं के झगड़े चल रहे हैं। बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश में झगड़ा चल रहा है। इसी तरह से मद्रास के एक मंत्री ने भी प्रार्थना की है कि सूबों के झगड़ों को निपटाया जाए, सरहदों के झगड़े बन्द किये जाएं। इसके बावजूद भी इस रिपोर्ट में यह कहा गया है कि इसके बारे में एक कमेटी का गठन हो रहा है और जो रिपोर्टें वह कमेटी देगी, जो सुझाव देगी, उनको माना जाएगा। इस तरह की कमेटियां तो आप बहुत दिनों से बनाते आ रहे हैं। खुद उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के अन्दर सीमा सम्बन्धी जो झगड़े हैं वे सीरियस होते आ रहे हैं। दूसरे सूबों में भी वही हाल है। इसना होने पर भी हमारा

### [श्री सरजू पांडे]

गृह मंत्रालय सिर्फ कुछ कमेटियों को बना कर सब करना चाहता है। मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इन झगड़ों को जल्दी से जल्दी निपटारें और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वह ऐसा करेंगे भी। मैं नहीं चाहता कि सरकार एक्सप्रेस या आव्वासन देकर इस मामले को टाल दे।

रिपोर्ट में यह भी कहा गया है कि संविधान में भाषायी अल्पसंख्यकों को दिए गए संरक्षण से सम्बद्ध सब मामलों की जांच करने के लिए संविधान की धारा ३५० (क) के अन्तर्गत अलाहाबाद उच्च न्यायालय के अवकाश प्राप्त न्यायाधीश को भाषायी अल्पसंख्यकों का आयुक्त नियुक्त किया गया है। भाषा का प्रश्न हमारे देश में बहुत जटिल है। पंजाब के अन्दर झगड़े हुए हैं तथा दूसरे प्रांतों में झगड़े हुए हैं। इस तरह से भाषायी अल्पसंख्यकों को परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ रहा है और वे समझते हैं कि बहुमत के लोग उनके ऊपर उबर्दास्ती अपनी भाषा को लादना चाहते हैं। फिर भी हमारे मंत्रीगण इस सिलसिले में चुप बैठे हैं और हमारे गृह मंत्री महोदय यह सोचते हैं कि जब भी पंजाब के अन्दर या बंगाल के अन्दर झगड़ा उठ खड़ा होगा तो वहां पुलिस भेज देंगे, दमन करेंगे और एक भाष बयान शायद कर दिया जाएगा। इस सिलसिले में मैं समझता हूँ कि भाषा के प्रश्न को हल करने में यह विभाग पूरी तरह से नाकामयाब रहा है और इस सिलसिले में जिसकी भी कार्रवाई उसे करनी चाहिये थी वह नहीं कर पाया है।

इस रिपोर्ट में हरिजनों के कल्याण की बात भी कही गई है। आज हमारे देश में हरिजनों को बहुत बड़ी बाधाओं का सामना करना पड़ रहा है और यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। मैं आपको भिसालें दे सकता हूँ और बता सकता हूँ कि कितनी दूरी हालत इन लोगों की है। मेरे अपने सूत्रों में ही हरिजनों को घाब भी होती है से मिट्टी लेने की भी

इजाजत नहीं है ताकि वे उस मिट्टी से अपने घर बना सकें। उनके लिए सिर्फ कमेटी बन गई है। हरिजनों की आज इतनी दुर्दशा है कि उनको पानी तक लेने की इजाजत नहीं है उनके लिए सुरक्षा का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है और इतना होने पर भी हमारा गृह मंत्रालय मौन है। वह कहता है कि इस सिलसिले में सूबाई सरकारों से पूछा जाता है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आजादी का मतलब यह नहीं होता है कि जिस के सिर में तेल पड़ा है उसके सिर में और तेल डाल दिया जाए। जैसा की गांधी जी ने कहा था स्वराज्य का मतलब यह है कि आजादी का पैमाना वहां से होना चाहिये जहां आजादी नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है। हरिजनों की दुर्दशा किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। जिन को पहले से आजादी मिली हुई है उनके लिए आप पहले ही कमेटी बिठा देते हैं और जिनके पास आजादी नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है उनके लिए आप बाद में .....

श्री नवल प्रभाकर (बाह्य दिल्ली-रक्षित-अनुसूचित जातियां) : आपने हरिजनों के लिए क्या किया है ?

श्री सरजू पांडे : हम मिनिस्टर नहीं हैं यह आपकी ड्यूटी है कि आप बतायें कि आपने क्या कुछ किया है।

श्री स० म० बनर्जी : आपने ठेका ले रखा है।

श्री नवल प्रभाकर : आप ले लीजिये।

श्री स० म० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : दे दीजिये।

Mr. Speaker: Order, order, it does not matter. That is the non-official point of view: "what is it that you have done?" It is proper to ask.

श्री सरजू पांडे : जहां तक हरिजनों का सम्बन्ध है उनको ऊपर उठाना इस विभाग

की जिम्मेदारी है। सब से पहले हरिजनों के लिए मकानों की आवश्यकता, तासीम की आवश्यकता को पूरा करना शासन का कर्तव्य है। जितनी भी सुविधाएँ उनको दी जानी चाहियें उनकी गारंटी करना शासन का काम है। मैं आज भी देखता हूँ कि हरिजनों की दशा जानवरों से भी गिरी हुई है। उनके लिये कमेटीयाँ बनाने, भाषणासन देने और मीके मीके से उनके साथ धोखा धड़ी करने की बातें की जाती हैं। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि सबसे पहले उनके ऊपर ध्यान देना चाहिये। उनके लिये घर कमेटीयाँ बनाने का मौका नहीं बल्कि उन के लिये ऐक्नुप्रल प्रैक्टिस का मौका प्रा गया है कि प्राप उन के लिये क्या करते हैं।

इसी तरह से कहा गया है कि जेल मैनुअल को सुधारने के लिये कमेटी बनाई गई। प्राजादी के जमाने में यहां पर सैकड़ों लोगों ने भूख हड़तालें कीं। धंयेजों के जमाने में यहां पर कई प्रादमी जेलखानों में मरे। जेलों को सुधारने के लिये एक कमेटी बनाई गई लेकिन उनकी दशा प्राज भी ज्यों की त्यों है और राजबन्दी लोगों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जाता है। कमी कमी तो हमारे मंत्री कहते हैं कि प्राज के प्रान्दोलन करने वाले तो राजबन्दी हैं ही नहीं। यहां तक कहने का साहस करते हैं कि प्राज कोई राजबन्दी नहीं है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि हमारे देश के प्रान्दर जो करपान अर्थात् अष्टाचार है, भुखमरी और गरीबी है, या देश के प्रान्दर भी परेसानियां हैं, उनके खिलाफ प्रावाज उठाने वाले अग्रर राजबन्दी नहीं हैं तो क्या हैं? अग्रर उनके लिये कुछ नहीं किया गया तो उनका क्या होगा? अमी हमारे एक आर० एस० पी० के भाई भूख हड़ताल कर रहे थे १७, १८ दिन से। उनकी मांग थी कि जेलों में लोगों को प्रादमियों का सा बर्ताव मिले। लेकिन प्राज भी जखों में बबला लेने की भावना से काम किया जाता है। अंपराधियों के सुचार का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं। कहीं नहीं देखा जाता कि किस तरह से अंपराधियों की प्रवृत्ति को सुचारा जाए।

उल्टे जेलों में उन को तकलीफ दी जाती है। मारा जाता है, पीटा जाता है और यह कोशिश की जाती है कि उन का मोरेल तोड़ा जाए जो कि हमारी परम्पराओं के विरुद्ध है। लूट हमारे राष्ट्रीय प्रान्दोलन में इस बात को समाप्त करने के लिये बड़ी बड़ी कुर्बानियां दी गईं। फिर भी हमारे मंत्रिगण धर ध्यान नहीं देते। भारत सरकार ने ६ वर्षों के बाद एक कमेटी बनाई है। पता नहीं वह कमेटी भी क्या करेगी। प्राज अकरत इस बात की है कि जेलों को सुधारने के लिये जल्दी से जल्दी कदम उठाये जायें और जेलों में जो कानून है वे बदले जायें, लोगों से बदला लेने की भावना से उनको न रक्खा जाए बल्कि कैदियों को सुधारने के लिये कुछ किया जाये क्योंकि प्राज यह बात सब पर जाहिर है, सब लोग इस बात को जानते हैं कि प्राज हमारे देश में अंपराध होने का कारण क्या है। उसका कार मुख्य रूप से गरीबी है। यदि गरीबी को कानूनी तौर पर न्याय नहीं मिलता, और अदालतें तनी महर्गी हैं कि गरीब प्रादमी वहां नहीं जा सकता, तो वह लाजिमी तौर पर कानून तोड़ेगा, और तोड़ता है। इस लिये सिर्फ जेलों में बन्द कर के लाठियां और गोलियां चला कर, लोगों को सुचारना मुमकिन नहीं है। इस लिये स सिलसिले में गृह मंत्री स्वयम् कदम उठावें। अंपराधों की रोक थाम तभी हो सकती है जब कि लोगों को मालूम होजाये कि वह कम से कम पैसें में अदालतों से न्याय पा सकेंगे। लेकिन जब कोई गरीब प्रादमी अदालतों से न्याय पा नहीं सकता, उसके पास इतना पैसा नहीं कि वह किसी तरह से हाई कोर्ट में जाए, सुप्रीम कोर्ट में जाये या किसी तरह से जज की अदालत में ही जा सके, जब उसको कानून का संरक्षण नहीं मिलता तो मजबूर हो कर वह कानून को अंपन हाथ में लेता है।

इसी तरह से अग्रर पूरी रिपोर्ट को पढ़ा जाये, तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि सब कुछ ठीक है और सारी बात ढंग के चल रही हैं।

## [श्री सरजू पांडे]

हिन्दी पढ़ाने का कार्य भी इस विभाग के जिम्मे है और इस में कहा गया है कि हमने बहुत से अहिन्दी भाषी लोगों को हिन्दी सिखा दी। मैं समझता कि इस विधा में जो कुछ भी कार्य हुआ है वह बहुत थोड़ा है। हिन्दी पढ़ाने का काम आप ने बहुत थोड़ा किया है। आज भी जी कर्मचारी खुद यहां पर काम करने वाले हैं हिन्दी का उनको जो तन्खाह मिलती है, उनको जो सुविधायें दी जाती हैं, जो प्रोत्साहन दिया जाता है वह नगण्य है। यह कहा जाता है कि उनको पढ़ाने के लिये हम ने बहुत से सुपरवाइजर और टीचर रख छोड़े और हिन्दी के सिलसिले में हम इतना काम कर रहे हैं। पिछले दिनों हमारी सरकार की यह पालिसी थी कि लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा हिन्दी सिखाई जाएगी, लेकिन फिर भी उस के सिखाने का कोई नतीजा नहीं निकला और यही नहीं कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा काम अंग्रेजी में होता है बल्कि सारा कार्य अंग्रेजी में होता है, कागजात भी अंग्रेजी में छापे जाते हैं। फिर भी कहा जाता है कि हम ने लोगों को हिन्दी सिखाने का प्रयत्न किया। मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि यह प्रयत्न कहां तक सफल आ है और किस ह तक आप ने लोगों को हिन्दी सिखाया। आज तो जरूरत इस बात की है कि आप अपने कर्मचारियों को बड़ो तेजी से हिन्दी सिखाते, उनकी तन्खाह बढ़ाते और उन के लिये ज्यादा सुविधायें देते। तब तो मुमकिन था कि वह हिन्दी सीखें। लेकिन आज भी हिन्दी सीखने और सिखाने वाले मुल्क में जाहिल समझे जाते हैं। ऐसी दशा में सिर्फ यह कहना कि हम ने कोशिश की नाकाफी है, उस पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा खर्च करने की जरूरत थी और ज्यादा से ज्यादा सिखाने की जरूरत थी, लेकिन वह काम हो नहीं रहा है।

अभी भी प्रान्तों के अंगरक्षकों को आप देख रहे हैं। महाराष्ट्र की पूरी जनता ने संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र की मांग की, बड़े बड़े

आन्दोलन किये, बन्दई की सड़कें बून से रंग गईं, फिर भी आपके अन्दर इस बात की जिद है कि हम संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र को तसलीम नहीं करेंगे। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि मंत्री जी को क्या परेशानी है अगर देश की जनता इस बात की चाहती है, अगर आप की यह पालिसी बन गई हो कि आप कतई कुछ न करेंगे, लोगों के मुंह को बन्द करेंगे, तब तो कोई बात नहीं लेकिन प्रजातांत्रिक सरकार की यह बूटी होती है कि वह देश की आवाज को सुने और देखे कि जनता क्या चाहती है। लेकिन यदि आप सोचते हैं कि आप अपने मन की करेंगे, संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र बनाने के विरोध में यह कहेंगे कि वह कभी बनने वाला नहीं है, बोझे से स्वार्थी लोगों की आवाज भी सुना जायेगा और करोड़ों लोगों की आवाज का जवाब गोलियों से दिया जायेगा और उनकी कोई वाजिब बात नहीं समझी जायेगी, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आप को यह पालिसी बदलनी चाहिये। अगर आप देश में समाजवाद लाने की बात करना चाहते हैं, या जनवाद को बढ़ाने की बात करना चाहते हैं तो आप को उनकी बातों को मानना चाहिये।

गवर्नमेंट कर्मचारियों की यूनियन नहीं। जैसा मैंने पहले बताया पुलिस की यूनियन है यू० पी० में लेकिन यहां क्यों नहीं उसे बनाने दिया जाता है? मंत्री जी को जानने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि उनकी क्या परेशानियां हैं। उनको उन लोगों से बात करने में शर्ष क्यों आती है? अगर किसी के पास कोई पुलिस का आयामी चला जाता है तो सर्कुलर निकाल दिया जाता है कि मंत्रियों से मत मित्रो, अपनी परेशानियों को बयान मत करो, तुम हमारे पास मत आओ, तुम जुबुस न निकालो। मैं पूछता हूँ कि यह कौन सा तरीका है? वह तो हिंडल का ही तरीका हो सकता है। कब

और चीन जिन को आप टोटेलिटेरियन कहते हैं, वहां भी ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। वहां तो हर विभाग की यूनियन्स हैं, और उनकी प्रभुविधाओं को मंत्रिगण सुनते हैं। वहां यह कायदा है लेकिन अगर हमारे वहां यह बात की जाने लगे तो शायद आप की प्रतिष्ठा को ठेस पहुंचती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह कोई बुरी बात नहीं है अगर विभागीय कर्मचारियों की यूनियन बना दी जायें। इससे मंत्रियों को सङ्गलियत होंगी और उनका काम करना भी आसान होगा। इसी तरह से देश में तरक्की भी हो सकेगी। लेकिन अगर आप इस से उनकी बातें नहीं सुनेंगे, उनसे कहेंगे कि हमारे पास दरबारिस्तें मत लाओ, तुम इस तरह का कोई बात मत करो, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि :से प्रच्छा यह है कि आप कहें कि हम ही मुल्क के सर्वेसर्वा हैं किसी की कोई बात नहीं सुनते हैं। इस सिलसिले में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कर्मचारियों की यूनियनों को मान्यता दी जाए और वर्तमान पालिसी को बदला जाये। कंडक्ट रूल्स के ४ ए और ४ ई धाराओं को बना कर जो उनको क्रश करने की पालिसी आपने रखी है वह गलत है और उसे ठीक करना चाहिये। अगर आप से एसेन्शियल सर्विसेज बिल को वापस ले लिया तो इसे आपको प्रतिष्ठा का प्रश्न नहीं बनाना चाहिये। इन धाराओं को भी वापस ले लिये। माननीय मंत्री बहोदय का मालूम है कि ५ लाख आदमियों ने इसके लिये हस्ताक्षर किये हैं, इसी प्रकार इस सदन के बहुत से जिम्मेदार आदमियों ने भी उन का विरोध किया है। फिर भी मैं नहीं समझता कि मंत्री जी क्यों उन्हें वापस लेने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। यह चीज बिल्कुल संविधान के खिलाफ है, साथ ही उससे झगड़ा और असन्तोष होगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप बहुत शान्तिपूर्वक और और से खोज और इसे वापस लें। यह न केवल आपकी प्रतिष्ठा के खिलाफ

है बल्कि हमारे संविधान के खिलाफ है और देश के नैतिक अधिकार के खिलाफ है, जिसका अधिकार संविधान ने दिया है और देश के तमाम प्रजातंत्रवादी भी इस तरह की चीजों को पसन्द नहीं करेंगे। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस कानून को वापस लिया जाए।

जहां तक आपके विभाग की बातों का सम्बन्ध है, इस सिलसिले में मुझे एक चीज कहनी है। इस सदन में भी कहा जाता है कि इस गृह विभाग की पालिसी जो होनी चाहिये वह यह नहीं होनी चाहिये कि किसी को क्रश किया जाए। उसकी पालिसी यह होनी चाहिये, जैसा कि किसी भी देश में होता है जहां पर जनवादी अधिकार ज्यादा से ज्यादा हासिल हैं, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हमारे देश में सब से ज्यादा हासिल हैं, फिर भी जितने हासिल हैं उनमें यह होना चाहिये कि प्रजातंत्रात्मक अधिकारों की रक्षा करो। उनको खत्म करो जो प्रजातंत्रात्मक अधिकारों पर हमला करे। अगर हमारे देश में यह होता है कि अगर मिल मालिक पर किसी का हमला होगा तो पुलिस पहुंच जायेगी, जमीन छीननी होगी तो पुलिस पहले पहुंच जायेगी, लेकिन अगर किसान का मर्दर हो गया तो पुलिस जाने वाली नहीं है, डाकू घर में आ जाएं और लूटने लगे तो कोई पुलिस जाने वाली नहीं है। यह पालिसी मेरी समझ में नहीं आती कि किस समाजवादी राष्ट्र की पालिसी हो सकती है। अगर गरीबों पर हमला हो, अगर हम कहें कि जमीन दे दो और मुआवजा ले लो, तो कहते हैं कि हम नहीं मानेंगे। आप किसी देश को लीजिये वहां पालिसी यह होती है कि अगर कोई गरीब पर हमला कर वे तो उसे रोकने के लिये फौरन पुलिस मौजूद हो जाती है। यहां भी भाष्य जरूरत इस बात की है कि अगर सचमुच आप समाजवाद



[श्री सरजू पांडे]

दिलाना चाहते हैं, दिल में आपके सफाई की और गरीबों के लिये सुख सुविधायें देना चाहते हैं, तो उनको सबसे पहले प्रोटेक्शन दिया जाय। लोगों को आपको विश्वास दिलाना चाहिये कि अगर तुम्हारे ऊपर हमला होगा तो हम पुलिस का इस्तेमाल उसके खिलाफ करेंगे जो कि हमलावर होगा। हम पुलिस का इस्तेमाल उनके लिए नहीं करना चाहते जो कि सताये जाते हैं और जो कि दबाये जाते हैं बल्कि आज हमारे देखने में यह धाता है कि अगर कहीं उद्योगों में पूंजीपतियों और श्रमिक वर्ग में कुछ झगड़ा होता है तो हमारी पुलिस पूंजीपतियों की पुस्त पर पहुँच जाती है और मजदूरों को दबाती है और उनको डराती व धमकाती है। आज जरूरत इस बात है कि यह पालिसी बदली जाए और पुलिसको आज एक समाजवादी और कल्याणकारी राज्य के अनुरूप आचरण करना है।

इसी तरीके से मैं आपकी सी० आई० डी० के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज बहुत बड़ी धनराशि इस विभाग के लिए खर्च की जा रही है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर कौन सी ऐसी बड़ी बगावत इस देश में घाने वाली है और कौन बम बन रहे हैं जिसके कि कारण इस पर इतना अधिक खर्चा आप खर्च कर रहे हैं? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कौन सी विशेष ट्रेनिंग आप अपनी सी० आई० डी० को दिला रहे हैं और जहाँ तक उसकी कार्य-क्षमता का सम्बन्ध है हमें उसका कुछ अनुभव प्रतीत में हो चुका है सन् १९५० में जब कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के कार्यकर्ता अंडरग्राउन्ड थे, तब मोलोटोव के नाम से गिरफ्तारी का वारंट निकाला गया और उन्होंने कहा कि इस नाम का एक कम्युनिस्ट फरार है, स्टालिन के नाम

से वारंट निकाला गया। जब बाद में उन्हें मालूम हुआ कि मोलोटोव तो रूस का फारेन मिनिस्टर है तो बड़े धरमाये और परेशान होकर कहने लगे कि भ्रष्टे यह मालूम नहीं था। अब ऐसे डिपार्टमेंट पर खर्च करने से क्या फायदा? जहाँ तक पुलिस विभाग की जानकारी का तात्लुक है उसका तो कहना ही क्या। जेलों में कुछ राजनैतिक बंदी भूख हड़ताल कर रहे हैं और सड़कों पर उसके बारे में ऐलान हो रहा है लेकिन सी० आई० डी० वालों को यह पता नहीं है कि जेल में कौन कौन लोग भूख हड़ताल कर रहे हैं। इस डिपार्टमेंट का क्या काम है? अपराधियों का पता लगाना इसकी जिम्मेदारी है। अपराधियों का पता लगाने के सम्बन्ध में उनको कुछ ट्रेनिंग अथवा टेकनिकल जसूल भी बतलाये जाते हैं जैसे उंगलियों को छाप की मदद अथवा अन्य तरीकों से अपराधियों का पता लगाना। आज देश में कर्प्शन है, लूट है, बेईमानी है और चोरी है लेकिन सी० आई० डी० विचारे को इसका पता नहीं रहता कि हमारे देश में कितने भूदण्ड हैं। खुफिया विभाग को इसका पता नहीं रहता कि टैक्स के चोर कौन-कौन हैं। खुफिया विभाग को इसका पता लगाने की चिन्ता सवार रहती है कि कम्युनिस्ट्स लोग क्या कर रहे हैं हमारे पीछे लगे रहते हैं जबकि हम बार बार इस बात का ऐलान कर चुके हैं कि हम डेमोक्रेसी में बिलीव करते हैं और डेमोक्रेटिक तरीकों पर चलते हैं तब भी सरकार को इस पर विश्वास नहीं होता और वह सी० आई० डी० हमारे पीछे लगा कर इसकी जांच करती है। मैं आपसे अपील करूँगा कि खुफिया विभाग को बचाव इसके कि वह राजनैतिक कार्यकर्ताओं के पीछे लगे उसको देश में से जो अप्रत्याचार और बेईमानी फैली हुई है उसको हटाने की दिशा में प्रयत्नशील होना चाहिए।

आपको पुलिस विभाग को यह हिदायत देनी चाहिए कि वह सही माने में देश की सेवा करे और यहां के लोगों के जान व माल की हिफाजत करे। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि पुलिस विभाग में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों का नैतिक स्तर ऊंचा हो तो आप छोटे कर्मचारियों की तनस्वाह बढ़ायें, उनको एजूकेट कीजिये ताकि आपकी पुलिस सही मानों में देश की सुरक्षा और यहां के लोगों की जान व माल की हिफाजत करे और देश के लोगों के भलाई करने की दिशा में लोचें। पुलिस का काम डकैतों को प्रोटेक्शन देना नहीं होना चाहिए बल्कि इस देश के लोगों को उनसे पूर्ण रूप से सुरक्षित रखना होना चाहिए।

जहां तक हरिजनों का सवाल है मैं मंत्री महोदय से अपील करूंगा कि वे शीघ्र उनको मकान व जमीने दें और इस बात की गारंटी दी जाय कि यह पुलिस तुम्हारी भलाई करने के लिए खड़ी है और तुम्हारी सुरक्षा के वास्ते खड़ी है। हरिजनों में इस चीज का विश्वास दिलाया जाने की आज बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है।

अपराधों को रोकने के लिए इस बात की जरूरत है कि गरीबों को प्रोटेक्शन मिलना चाहिए। उन्हें यह विश्वास दिला देना चाहिए कि वैज्ञानिक रीति से वे अपने मामलों को अदालत में ले जा सकते हैं और कम से कम खर्च में वे अपने मुकद्दमों को अदालत से फसला कर सकते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में केरल गवर्नमेंट से एक मिसाल आपके सामने और सारे देश के सामने रक्खी है। आप भी एक इस प्रकार का कानून बना दें कि गरीब लोगों को जिनकी कि आमदनी इतनी होगी और वह आमदनी आप फिक्स कर दें उतनी आमदनी तक वाले लोगों को मुफ्त वकील दिये जायेंगे। यह बात बिलकुल साफ होखानी चाहिए कि इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की क्या पसिंदी है, बोड़े से घारी है यास

से ? अगर आप कैपिटलिस्ट लोगों का साथ देते हैं तो उसका मतलब होगा कि आपने अभी तक जो समाजवादी समाज के श्रीर लोक कल्याण के नारे लगाये हैं वे भर्षहीन हो जाते हैं और इस देश के करोड़ों लोगों की मुसीबतों और दिक्कतों में आप कोई कमी नहीं करते हैं और अगर आप उनका साथ न देकर चन्द मुट्ठी भर सरमायेदारों के साथ जाते हैं तो फिर यह चीज बिलकुल साफ हो जाती है कि आप इस देश में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना नहीं करने जा रहे हैं और इसका नारा महज जनता को धोका देने के लिए लगाया जा रहा है।

आखिरी सुझाव मेरा यह है कि कर्म-चारियों के बारे में आपने जो रूल बनाया है उसे आप वापिस लीजिये। इसी में आपकी प्रतिष्ठा है और इस देश की और इस सदन् की प्रतिष्ठा है। आपको यह चीज साबित कर देनी चाहिए कि आप जबदेस्ती किसी के ऊपर अपनी बात लादना नहीं चाहते। अगर कर्मचारियों की हालत सुधरेगी, अगर उनको प्रोटेक्शन मिला और अगर उनकी जस्ट मांगें आप तसलीम कर लेंगे तो मैं समझता हूं कि कर्मचारी पागल नहीं हैं जो आपसे पूर्ण रूप से सहयोग नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन अगर आप कानून के बल पर उनको दबायेंगे और इस तरह से उन पर रोक लगायेंगे तो उनमें असंतोष फैलेगा।

मुझे विश्वास है कि मंत्री महोदय मेरी इन तमाम बातों पर गौर से विचार करेंगे और अपने जवाबी भाषण में यह आश्वासन देंगे कि उन सब दिशाओं में सुधार किये जायेंगे और वे तमाम कमियां दूर की जायेंगी जिनका कि मैंने जिक्र किया है।

Shri C. E. Pattabhi Raman (Kumbakonam): Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the Demands of the Ministry of Home Affairs, may I, in all humility, offer my praise to the

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doyen of the Party who has been silently and unostentatiously preserving the very cherished freedom we have got and is building up a sound State in India.

With regard to Public Service, we are steadily building up a fine Civil Service. In the olden days, by and large, they were efficient but they had little touch with the common people. There is no doubt that the civil servant of today is having more and more touch with the common man. A Service which is not suited to the genius of the country ceases to be a Civil Service, and I am glad that the new entrants are always made to bear in mind the prime importance of keeping in touch with the people. I am glad, also, that the special recruitments are now over and we are now slowly getting into canter on the track so far as the Civil Services are concerned.

Politically, Sir, I am very glad that the Zonal Councils are becoming very alive and, in fact, they are leading to more and more collaboration between various States. Already with regard to the judiciary statements have been made that most of the States have agreed to having part of their judicial officers from other States. This will help in preserving the homogeneity of the country. Not only will it do so, but it will also tone up the system of justice.

While strictly it is not germane to the issue, I want to say that the Zonal Councils should soon take up the question of big rivers being exploited fully. They must be declared as National Waterways as envisaged in our Constitution. That will help, so far as the dry States are concerned, in getting surplus water from adjacent States.

I am very glad that Rifle Clubs and the Reserve and Auxiliary Forces are being maintained and augmented. We have no conscription

in India. Therefore, all able-bodied citizens have to get some little rifle practice so that they may be able to form a second line of defence in case the security of the country is threatened, in case any outside danger threatens us. I am very glad that these rifle clubs are being encouraged. I hope many citizens will join them and equip themselves as they should for the sake of the nation.

I am glad that in the *Rajadhani*—capital—the Delhi Municipal Corporation has come into being, and we have a Development Board so far as the capital is concerned. There will soon be a Mayor of Delhi, and I hope that the capital will reflect the culture of India and the homogeneity of India. Delhi can no longer be called a "Punjab City" or "Uttar Pradesh City". It is a cosmopolitan city of India, and I have no doubt that fine traditions will be built up in this city so that citizens coming from all over the world—from the southern-most part of Cape Comorin, from Gujerat, from Assam and other places—will feel happy and will not be stifled on account of language and other difficulties. I am very glad that under the firm handling of the Home Minister, squabbles have settled down and fanatics at either end are being treated as they should be treated. I have no doubt that there will be peace restored, and so far as the capital is concerned no minority, linguistic or other, will suffer, and everybody will feel at home in this great capital of India.

So far as the security of the State is concerned, it may not be realised that crime is going down, as that is a tribute to the Ministry. Dacoits are being put down. There were days when it was not safe to go by road through certain parts of Central India—to go to Bombay, for example, from Delhi. That is not the case today. At any rate, harm is being lessened, and I have no doubt that with the passage of time all that will be a thing of the past.

When I came to Parliament last year, there were dark clouds in the horizon. We had the Ramnad riots in the Mudukulathur area. An year has passed and there is all quiet now so far as the southern front is concerned. That itself is a very happy achievement so far as our internal situation is concerned.

It is no doubt true that there are perennial skirmishes on the North-Western and North-Eastern borders of India. But those too will subside, because the moment the gentlemen on the other side of the border who are very keen on skirmishes realise that we are also prepared at our end to give them a fight, I have no doubt that in course of time they will learn their lessons and will have respect so far as our security is concerned.

Sir, there is a Tamil proverb which says that you must have a wall before you start writing on it. That is most important. All thinking persons should be grateful to the Ministry which has administered home affairs well and given us peace. It is, no doubt, true that some of our neighbours are jealous of us. I can only quote, Sir, with your leave, from Shakespeare and say that to them the situation is as Iago says: "There is a beauty about you which makes me look ugly." That is the reason why, as I have said on another occasion, other people are very jealous of us. That will not in any way affect our interior situation.

So far as India is concerned, eternal vigilance is a *sine qua non*. We will have to preserve our hard won freedom and preserve it with all fervour. It may not be realised that there are many many countries around us where in the hotels of the capitals you will see a notice: You may go out, but come back before dusk, otherwise we are not responsible for your safety. That is not the case in India. The only country

comparable with India in this respect is England and certain towns of the U.S.A. We should therefore realise that it behoves us to see to it that nothing is done to detract from the position that we occupy in the Eastern world.

Many countries of the Eastern world are looking up to India and India alone not only in regard to our progress, but also in regard to the manner in which we are working our democracy. All of them have come to realise that India is the only stabilising force in the East and even those who came to scoff have remained to pray. They realise that there is something in Indian culture which endures all ravages of time, which is something more or less eternal and that, Sir, is worthy of preservation. I have no doubt that that culture will be preserved and will grow from strength to strength.

In so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned, they are looked after by the Home Ministry in a way in which no other minority has been looked after in any parts of the world. (*Interruption.*) I repeat that there is no doubt that a sincere attempt is being made to look after interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It may not satisfy all of them. But a serious and an honest attempt is being made without any mental reservation, without any equivocation to see to it that their conditions are improved. We feel that they have been neglected, who feel sorry that they have been treated badly in the olden days. It is in that spirit that the Government are now approaching them. I repeat that they are being looked after well and more care is being given to them now than is being given to minorities in any part of the world. We may not take the extreme case of South Africa. There are other parts of the world where the minorities have gone to the wall and if they get some little concessions they have to thank themselves. In India a genuine attempt is being

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made, though according to some of my friends it may fall short of their expectations. Therefore, it behoves us all to build up a strong India; I have no doubt that any fissiparous tendency will be checked under the able guidance of our Home Minister.

The trouble in India is that people forget that it is only ten years since we got freedom. They forget that in the olden days we had the comic spectacle of various independent States one fighting with the other. There was no peace in the country and very often the chieftains sought the help of persons from outside. That will never be the case hereafter and I am very glad that we have a strong and united government in India. I am sure that the Zonal Councils will augment this unity and homogeneity rather than detract from it.

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

شری اے۔ ایم۔ تاریقی—(جموں اینڈ کشمیر): جناب اسپیئر صاحب۔ میں آج پہلی بار اس ایوان کو خطاب کرنے کا موقع حاصل کر رہا ہوں۔ میں وزیر داخلہ کو ان کی پیشگی کی ہوئی رپورٹ پر مبارکباد پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔

اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ ہمارے ملک میں جرائم کی رفتار روز بروز کم ہوتی جا رہی ہے۔ جہاں تک ہمارے ایڈمنسٹریٹیشن کا تعلق ہے ہم ملک کے معاملات میں اس پر بجا طور پر نظر کر سکتے ہیں لیکن مجھے وزیر داخلہ سے تھوڑی سی شکایت اس سلسلے میں ہے اور وہ یہ ہے کہ دلی میں ہتھیار

ہماری ریاست یعنی کشمیر کے بارے میں جس طریقے پر اور جس رفتار سے پروویڈنڈا کیا جاتا ہے اس کے بارے میں وزارت داخلہ نے اب تک کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھایا ہے۔ بہت سے اخبارات میں اور ہندوستان کی بہت سی جماعتوں کی ریلیوں نے مختلف مواقع اور اکثر موقعوں پر وزارت داخلہ کی توجہ اس طرف دلائی۔ مہری سمجھ میں یہ بات نہیں آتی کہ اس سلسلے میں کبھی کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھایا جاتا۔ آپ میں سے بہت سے لوگ اس بات سے واقف ہونگے کہ پچھلے سال دلی میں کئی جگہ بم پھینکے گئے اور ابھی تک وہ ہماز یہاں گرفتار نہیں ہوئے ہیں۔

ہمارے یہاں ایک مستحکم بہن جس طریقے سے ہماری ریاست کے خلاف روز پروویڈنڈا کرتی ہیں اس ایوان کے زاہد ممبر اس سے واقف ہیں۔

ایک مائلڈہ سڈسٹے ان بہن جی کا نام کیا ہے۔

شری اے۔ ایم۔ تاریقی: آپ نے ان کے ساتھ بہت کام کیا ہے۔ ہم تو آپ کی وجہ سے ان سے روٹھاس ہوئے ہیں۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ آپ نے اس طرف بھی توجہ کی ہوگی کہ اس خاتون کی طرف سے جو مولو یہاں شائع ہوتا ہے وہ اس

دن یا اس کے دوسرے دن پاکستان کے اخباروں میں حورن یا حورن شائع کیا جاتا ہے۔ اس سلسلے میں جیسا کہ میں آپ کی خدمت میں عرض کر رہا تھا ہماری ریاست پر اور ہماری ریاست کے رہنماؤں اور ہمارے ایڈمنسٹریٹیشن پر طرح طرح کے الزامات لگائے جاتے ہیں۔ ان الزامات سے کس کو فائدہ پہنچتا ہے اور ان الزامات میں کوئی حقیقت ہے یا نہیں اس کو وزارت داخلہ بطوری جانتی ہے۔ جہاں تک ہمارے نظام حکومت کا تعلق ہے جہاں تک کشمیر کے ایڈمنسٹریٹیشن کا تعلق ہے اور جہاں تک کشمیر کی وزارت داخلہ کا تعلق ہے۔ یقیناً ہم اس پر فخر کر سکتے ہیں۔ آپ کے سامنے چند ایسی مثالیں ہیں۔ جب کشمیر میں پاکستان کی طرف سے آئے ہوئے کچھ لوگوں نے ہم پھیلنے تو ہماری پولس نے انہیں گرفتار کرنے کا فخر حاصل کیا۔ لیکن اس کے مقابلے پر جب ہم یہاں دلی کی طرف آئے تو انہیں دیکھتے ہیں تو ہمیں مایوسی کے سوائے اور کچھ حاصل نہیں ہوتا۔ میں اپنے رہنما وزیر داخلہ سے یہ پوچھنے کی جرات کروں گا۔

کہا اس واسطے تقدیر نے چنوائے تھے تاکہ کہ بن جائے نشیمن تو کوئی آگ لگا دے

کچھ مثالوں سے ممبرس : بہت خوب !

شری اے۔ ایم۔ تاروق: میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس آگ کو کب تک برداشت کیا جائے گا۔ اس آگ پر فوری طور پر قابو کیوں نہیں پایا جاتا۔ اس کا اثر ہمارے یہاں جو پڑتا ہے آپ اس سے بھی ناراض نہیں ہیں۔ آپ جانتے ہیں کہ پاکستان ہماری سرحدوں پر کھڑا ہے۔ پاکستان کے پھچھے بہت سی فہر ملکی طاقتیں ہیں جو چاہتی ہیں کہ کشمیر کو اٹھا کر پاکستان کے حوالے کیا جائے۔ اس مہر جہاں فہر ملکی طاقتیں ہیں وہاں ہمارے کچھ بھائی بہن بھی ہیں۔ دیکھنا یہ ہے یہ بھائی بہن جو کچھ ہمارے خلاف کرتے ہیں اس کے لئے پھسے کہاں سے آتا ہے اور اس میں کون کون سی جماعتیں ہیں جو کہ اس کے پھچھے ہیں اور اسے کون سے لوگ ہیں۔ تو آپ پائیلٹ کے ان میں سے وہ لوگ جانیں کشمیر نے امن کو تباہ کرنے کے لئے کوئی جگہ نہیں ملتی ان کو یہاں دلی میں پیدا ملتی ہے۔ بھلے ہی وہ بہن جی ہمیں فلدا کہیں کہیں اور چاہے ہمارے لیڈروں کو برا بھلا کہیں لیکن وہ کافی عرصہ تک کانگریس کی رکن رہی ہیں اور ہم ان کو اپنے خاندان کا ایک خود سمجھتے ہیں۔ لیکن خاندان کا فرد ہوتے ہوئے بھی کسی خاندان کے فرد کو خاندان کو تباہ اور فلدا کرنے کی اجازت نہیں

[شری اے۔ ایم۔ تارقی]

دی جا سکتی۔ آپ نے دیکھا ہوگا کہ پچھلی جنگ میں سوکریٹری، آف سٹیٹ لڑا ایمری کے فرزند نے جب برطانیہ کے خلاف ہرلن کے ریڈیو سے خبریں نشست کیں۔ وہ پھر ملک میں بھتے ہوئے تھے۔ لیکن انہیں پھانسی کے تختہ پر لٹکایا گیا۔ اسی طرح لڑا ہاھا کی مثال آپ کے سامنے ہے جن کو تختہ دار پر لٹکایا گیا صرف اس لئے کہ وہ دوسرے ملک میں بھتہ کر اپنے ملک والوں کے حوصلوں کو پست کرتے تھے۔ لیکن یہاں ہمارے ملک میں بھتہ ہوئے ہمارے ملک کے لوگ ہمارے ملک کی امن۔ ہمارے ملک کی آزادی۔ ہمارے ملک کی جمہوریت کو دوسروں پر قربان کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور قربان بھی ان لوگوں کے لئے۔ جن کو ہم نے نہیں۔ وزیر داخلہ نے نہیں۔ اس ایوان کے کسی ممبر نے نہیں۔ بلکہ خود ان خاتون کے دوست شیخ عبداللہ نے جن کو دشمن ملک قرار دیا تھا۔ شیخ عبداللہ نے پاکستان کو ملک کا دشمن قرار دیا تھا۔ اور آج یہ خاتون اسی پاکستان کے ہاتھ کشمیر کے خلاف مضبوط کر رہی ہیں۔

آپ نے دیکھا ہوگا کہ ہمارا جو انہیں ہے اسے ہمارے لوگوں نے پاس کیا۔ ان لوگوں نے جو کہ ووٹ کے ذریعہ الیکٹ ہو کر اسمبلی میں

آئے تھے۔ آپ نے بھی ایک انہیں پاس کیا۔ لیکن ہم میں اور آپ میں ایک فرق تھا۔ کہونکہ آپ کے ایوان کے ممبر دوسری اسمبلیوں سے جن کو بھیجے گئے تھے۔ ہم اپنے انہیں کے مطابق عمل کرنے کی پوری کوشش کر رہے ہیں۔ ہمارے انہیں کو ختم کرنے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے۔ لیکن ہماری بساط ہی کیا ہے ہمارے پاس اتنی فوجیں نہیں ہیں لیکن ہمارا اپنا عظم ہے۔ ہمارے لوگوں میں ہم جانتے ہیں کہ ہم نے آزادی کی کتنی بھاری قیمت ادا کی ہے۔ ہم نے کسی ملک کی طرح آزادی کو چنگے کی طرح حاصل نہیں کیا ہے ہم نے آزادی کو خدوات کے طور پر نہیں لیا ہے۔ ہم نے آزادی کی جنگ لڑی ہے۔ ہم نے آزادی کے لئے قربانیاں دی ہیں۔ اور ہم اس آزادی کو ہر قیمت پر قائم اور دائم رکھیں گے۔ کشمیر ہندوستان کا حصہ ہے اس میں کسی کو شک نہیں۔ بلکہ میں تو یہ کہنے کو تیار ہوں کہ ہندوستان کشمیر کا حصہ ہے۔ اب یہ کون کہہ سکتا ہے کہ سر جسم کا حصہ ہے یا جسم سر کا حصہ ہے۔ کہونکہ دونوں سے ملکر ہی جسم بنتا ہے۔ ہم ہندوستان میں کسی قسم کی بدامنی کو برداشت نہیں کر سکتے۔ میں امید رکھتا ہوں کہ وزیر داخلہ جب اپنی تقریر کریں گے تو

بتائیں گے کہ ایسے لوگوں کو فوری طور پر ختم کیوں نہیں کہا جا رہا - ختم کرنے سے میری مراد یہ نہیں کہ ان کو جسمانی طور پر ختم کہا جائے - بلکہ میری مراد یہ ہے کہ اس چھوٹے کا تدارک کیا جائے - ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہماری سی - آئی - ٹی - بہت اچھی ہے - یہاں پر بہت مسدودوں نے اس کے بارے میں کہا ہے - لیکن اس معاملے میں خلاف معمول یہ پتہ لگانے میں ناکام رہی ہے کہ اس کام کے لئے پیسے کہاں سے آتا ہے - اس پیسے کو کون دیتا ہے - آخر اس قسم کا جو مہنگیرویل بھجوا جاتا ہے - صرف آپ پارلیمنٹ کے ممبروں کو ہی نہیں - بلکہ ہندوستان کے ہر کونے میں - پاکستان کے ہر شہر میں جاتا ہے - اور کم سے کم ہندوستان کی تمام ریاستوں میں - ریاستوں کی اسمبلیوں میں بھجوا جاتا ہے - اس کی وجہ کیا ہے - آخر یہ بہن ہندوستان میں کسی اور طرف بھی توجہ کر سکتی ہیں - گورنر کا سوال ہے - اور یہی بہت سے معاملات ہیں - لیکن ایک خاص مقصد کے تحت صرف کشمیر کے بارے میں اس پیسے کو شائع کیا جا رہا ہے - میں اس کے بارے میں وزیر داخلہ سے پوچھ سکتا ہوں - اور جو دوسرے ممبران اس ایوان کے تقریریں کریں گے میں چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ بھی حکومت پر زور دیں کہ

چلتی جلدی ہو سکے اس تحریک کو ختم کیا جائے -

ایک آنرہبل ممبر : ضرور ضرور -

شری اے - ایم - تابق : اس کے علاوہ مجھے یہ بھی کہنا ہے کہ آپ کو اس صورت میں یہ بھی دیکھنا ہو گا کہ یہ لٹریچر مختلف ملکوں کے اخباروں میں ہمارے خلاف ہر روز چھپتا ہے - یونائٹڈ نیشن میں پچھلے سال اس خاتون کا نام یہیں کیا گیا اور ان کے ایک خط کو جو مختلف ممبروں کے نام تھا بطور گواہ کے ہمارے خلاف پھیل گیا - اب بھی پاکستان کے نمائندے نے جو شکایت کشمیر کے بارے میں کی ہے اس میں جو اعداد و شمار دئے گئے ہیں - گو وہ غلط ہیں - لیکن وہ تمام اسی خاتون کے لٹریچر اور رپورٹوں سے دئے گئے ہیں - مجھے امید ہے کہ ہندوستان کی آزادی کو مدنظر رکھتے ہوئے اور کشمیر کے لوگوں کی خوشحالی کو مدنظر رکھتے ہوئے اس تحریک کو اور اس قسم کے گروہوں کو ہندوستان میں روکا جائے گا - چاہے وہ مسٹر ویلی ہوں - انہوں نے یہی ایک تازہ پمفلٹ شائع کیا ہے خاص طور پر فارن کارپوریشنز کو دیا گیا - اور اس میں اس قسم کے الزام کشمیر کی حکومت کے خلاف اور بھارت سرکار کے خلاف ہیں - میں نہیں سمجھ سکتا کہ ہمارے آئی میں کہوں یہ گنچائش رکھی ہے کہ



[شری اے۔ ایم۔ تارقی]

ہمارے لوگوں کو اجازت ہو کہ وہ ہمارے آئین کی توہین کر سکیں ہمارے آئین کی مخالفت کر سکیں وہ آئین حقیقتاً پرزور نہیں کہا جا سکتا جو اپنے ملک کی سوشلسٹوں کی جو اپنے ملک کی ترقی اور خوشحالی کی حفاظت نہیں کر سکتا۔ اگر ہمارے آئین میں ایسا کوئی قانون نہیں ہے جس کے ذریعہ ہم ان لوگوں کو گرفتار کر سکیں تو ہمیں فوراً اس آئین میں کوئی ترمیم کرنی چاہئے۔ اور اس قسم کے لوگوں کو چاہے وہ کسی بھی جماعت سے تعلق رکھتے ہوں۔ چاہے وہ کسی بھی خاندان سے تعلق رکھتے ہوں۔ چاہے وہ کوئی بھی ہوں۔ فوراً پابند کرنا چاہئے۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں۔

[\*Shri A. M. Tariq (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I have got the opportunity for the first time to address this House and I congratulate the Home Minister for the report he has presented.

There is no doubt that the incidence of crime is gradually decreasing in our country and we can rightly feel proud of our administration. But I would like to draw the Home Minister's attention to the fact that no steps have been taken to check the tremendous propaganda being carried on against Kashmir from Delhi with the help of large amounts of money. Many papers and leaders of various parties have drawn the Ministry's attention towards this

matter. I am unable to understand as to why no steps are being taken in this direction. Many of the hon. members must be knowing that a number of bomb-explosions took place in Delhi last year but the culprits have not been arrested so far. Hon. Members of this House are aware of the methods by which a venerable sister of ours has been carrying on propaganda against our state.

An Hon'ble Member: What is the name of that sister?

Shri A. M. Tariq: He has worked with her for a long time and in fact we know her only through him. I think he must have paid attention to that also. Whatever material she publishes here is published word by word the next day in all the Pakistani papers. All this material contains various kinds of allegations levelled against our State, our leaders and our administration. As to who benefits from such allegations and whether there is any truth in them, is very well known to the Home Ministry. So far as the administration of Kashmir is concerned so far as the home affairs of that State are concerned, we can rightly feel proud of them. You know when some of Pakistani agents threw bombs in Kashmir, our police arrested them, but when we see the state of affairs in Delhi we are disappointed. I would ask the hon. Home Minister as to how long such things will be allowed to continue and how long we will go on tolerating such activities. Why can we not firmly deal with them? You are also not unaware of its effects on the people. Pakistan is there on our borders and has a backing of a number of foreign powers, because they desire that Kashmir should be handed over to Pakistan. Apart from these foreign countries, some of our own brothers and sisters are working against us. It will be worthwhile if we find out the sources from where these people, carrying on propaganda against

us, are getting money and which are the parties supporting them. You will see that such persons are not getting any place anywhere but they get shelter here in Delhi. The lady may not agree with me. She may say anything against our leaders but she has been a Congress worker for long and we take her as a part of our family. Nevertheless nobody can be allowed to work for the destruction of the family, even though he or she may be a member of that family. You might be knowing that during the last world war when the son of Lord Amery, the then Secretary of State, was found broadcasting anti-England news from Berlin, he was hanged, although he was in a foreign land. Similarly the example of Lord Haw Haw is before you. He was also hanged because he used to demoralise his own countrymen, while he was in a foreign country. But here some people in our own country are going to sacrifice our hard won freedom, our peace, our security for the sake of those selfish people, who were declared as enemies of our country by no other person than Sheikh Abdullah himself, the friend of that lady. And today that lady is strengthening the hands of Pakistan by her anti-national activities.

You know our constitution was framed by our own representatives who were elected by our people. You have also framed a Constitution, but there is a difference between the two. Here people have been sent by other legislative assemblies. So, we are trying to act according to our own Constitution. Now attempts are being made to sabotage our Constitution and we have to deal with such attempts. We have no armies, but we have faith and firm determination. We know that we have paid a heavy price for our freedom, we have not begged for freedom; we have fought for it, we have made sacrifices for it and we will preserve this freedom at every cost. There is no doubt that Kashmir is a part of India, rather I will say that India is

a part of Kashmir, because you can say that head is a part of the body or that body is part of the head—both of them jointly constitute the body. So we cannot tolerate any disorder in India. I hope, Sir, that the Home Minister will certainly let us know as to why such elements are not being liquidated here and now. By liquidation I do not mean that they should be physically liquidated but what I mean is that such activities should be stopped. We say that our C.I.D. is efficient and so many members have also spoken about it but we have failed in getting a clue as to the sources from which these people are receiving money. After all such material is sent not only to Members of Parliament here but to every corner of India, to every city of Pakistan and at least to every State Assembly in India. What is the reason? She can just divert her attention towards any other problem in the country, there is the problem of Goa and there are other problems too. But all this money is being directed on one single matter, that is Kashmir. I would like to request the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and all those Members of the House who will speak here, to press this point so that such activities are put an end to.

Besides this, you have to take into account another thing. This anti-Kashmir and anti-national literature is published daily in the foreign papers. In the United Nations also the name of this lady was mentioned last year and one of her letters was also produced there as evidence. Even now the complaint which has been lodged by the Pakistani representative in the U.N. contains some figures etc. which, though entirely baseless, have been taken from this lady's literature and reports. I hope that in the interests of our country's freedom and also in the interest of the welfare of the people of Kashmir, the activities of such elements, whatever they may be, will be stopped in India. He may be Mr. Vedi—

[Shri A. M. Tariq]

he too has published a small pamphlet and it was circulated among foreign correspondents. It contains similar allegations against the Government of Kashmir and the Government of India. I do not know why no provision has been made in our Constitution to deal with persons who commit a contempt of the Constitution and go against it. A Constitution which makes no provision for defending the country's borders and for safeguarding the progress and welfare of the people, cannot be called an effective Constitution. If there is no provision in our Constitution to deal with anti-national elements, we should forthwith amend it and we should at once take action against such persons, whoever they may be or to whatever party or group they belong.]

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): Mr. Speaker, after Independence, the social objectives which we are trying to implement are dynamic and revolutionary in character; so that they can be practically implemented, we have planned for them through our Five Year Plans, and these, even if there be some things which have not been correctly assessed, have been drawn up with caution and care. But I do feel that so far as the machinery through which we are to implement these plans are concerned, though there have been changes, they have not been sufficient. It is more like a patchwork on an outmoded administrative machinery with the consequent result that though we are endeavouring to go forward, this machinery and these procedures in many ways and forms become a stumbling-block.

I have already spoken on some aspects of this during the general discussion on the budget, but today I should like to draw particular attention to those matters which come within the purview of the Home Ministry. Sir, in the first place, the question is about the administrative services. I am glad that the Home Minister announced the other day that they have accepted the recommendations of the

Public Services (Recruitment) Committee, both in regard to the lowering the qualifications for the lower grade services and age. But there are some points which I would like to bring to the notice of the Home Minister. First of all, instead of there being a greater mobility there seems to be less mobility now in the higher administrative services as between the Centre and the States and between the State Secretariats and those who work in the districts. This does cause not only inconvenience but it does mean that those who come in the junior ranks in the Central Secretariat remain here for years on end and are out of touch with things as they operate elsewhere and merely visiting down in the districts does not help. It is the same between the State Secretariats and the districts. I do feel that greater mobility in this matter is required.

I would like the Government to pay particular attention to the role of the district authority, the man on whom we really depend to a large extent for implementing the diverse development plans that we have to a large extent. It is true that we want decentralisation. Decentralisation does also mean some amount of co-ordination, and co-ordination can, at best, be proceeded from the district level. Recognised and accepted today, the District Magistrate or Collector who today has to fulfil the role not only of looking after a police State but all the activities, increasing and expanding, of a welfare State.

I will take just as an illustration a border district like Malda where the law and order is of vital concern. It is a border district where clashes take place all the time with Pakistanis who come across the border. There, a District Magistrate has an important role, apart from the fact that the man in authority there has to look after so many new welfare services, and every responsibility of the Centre here is really his. Both the reports, the Appleby Report and the Gorwala Report, say that the responsibility which is so wide leads to no responsi-

bility ultimately because he really cannot be pinned down when he has so much to do.

I would like to make a humble suggestion in this matter. I suggest that the status of the man or the woman who takes up the job of a district head—a very great, responsible position—should be raised, and it should at least be interchangeable with that of a Joint Secretary in the Central Secretariat. Let a person who takes charge of the district come to know, before he has to take charge, the mysteries of the Secretariat system, because, if he does not know them, more hurdles will be there which he has to overcome in order to get the sanction for schemes, he has to execute: I would ask the Home Ministry to look into this matter which is vital and necessary.

I turn to another important matter. Today our social objective is to see that everyone has equality of opportunity and we are trying to make an advance towards that end. But I do not understand why in the very administration itself, the grades are so immobile. I know the hon. Home Minister will say that there are changes in recent years, but there should be more changes. It is true that today a man who is recruited in the lower rung of the ladder, if he can show competence, can rise to the next grade or maybe even to a higher grade. But that happens only at the end of his service, according to seniority, when he has no longer the same fire and enthusiasm left in him.

Why should there not be a system, as there is, for instance, in the United States of America, that from the lowest grade a man can go to the highest grade if he has merit and competence. This is only possible, if he is given some opportunity of holding responsibility and if there are proper arrangements for his education and training. There should be evening classes and other facilities even in the grade in which he works and he should be trained to hold a position of responsibility. It is true that the

civil services at the top have a reputation for great competence. They enter service after a competitive examination and so, of course, from the educational point of view, they are more qualified. But I say that in the service itself, they should be given training and experience in different posts of responsibility. Today when we have to have an expanding service and when we recruit also from outside and not merely from the lower levels, if there is talent and ability, should we not give them the very best chances? It would lead to a more contented service and more satisfactory work, if a man knows that he has a chance to rise from the bottom to the top if he shows merit and talent. Such persons should be given a chance. I have dwelt on these points at length because I do feel that this matter does require some attention, more especially as we have to expand our work. I know that in recent years some chances have been given, but it is not so systematic as it should be and it is not that every man who has the talent gets a chance to rise to the top.

Then, I want to raise one or two points in regard to the conditions of service. Why should there be this strange anomaly, which is a relic of the past, that after a man enters permanent service, seniority is almost the only criterion for promotion and all that? On the other hand, we have an expanding number of temporary hands. It is true that we have temporary departments and projects which come to an end. But surely we can have this much vision that the service itself should not be temporary. We have many kinds of expanding and developing services. Rehabilitation department, for instance, is a temporary department. I know that in the Centre there is a quasi-permanent tenure given to them, which does not exist under the State Governments. When the service is temporary, the result is that we do not know from year to year or even sometimes from three months to six months, whether they are going to be secure at all. How can we get the

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best work from them under such circumstances? Surely, this could be made into a permanent service.

In the case of persons allotted to temporary departments or projects, when such projects or departments come to an end, they can be drafted to new social welfare development work. There are so many things that are expanding today. I think this particular thing needs special attention, because one cannot expect to get the best work out of persons who do not know whether they are going to be secure in any manner at all. I would particularly request the Hon. Minister to look into the matter, not only in regard to the central services, but also the services in the States where there are these temporary sections, and lay down an all-India criterion by which they can be put on a permanent basis.

This leads me to another point which also I think should be looked into. Here in this House an announcement was made some time back that a Pay Commission would not look into the all-India services only, as it is known to us here that the services in the States and local bodies are much worse than those who work in the central services. It is so in regard to every grade of service. I do not see any reason for this disparity. A teacher is worse paid in the village than the village postman. Simply because some people threaten, because they are more vociferous, because they have behind them interested persons who find it easy to exploit organised labour moves, we have succumbed to a Central Pay Commission with only this direction that this Pay Commission should not forget entirely that there are other services in the States. There are certain things which we should do because of their justice and not because someone threatens or because we feel at a later stage that we might as well look into them. I feel very strongly that this is not a fair attitude and because of this the teachers have gone in for strikes. The whole country

is being demoralised. We talk about indiscipline. What is the sort of environment in which they live, that there may be anything but indiscipline?

I feel very acutely on this matter and also on the matter regarding improvement in service conditions and removal of legitimate grievances. I know that now arrangements are being made to look into legitimate grievances. But this should be done in time. All legitimate grievances of employees should be looked into in time. If that is done, there is no cause for any strikes. If such strikes still occur, if any indiscipline takes place, we shall and can put it down with a very firm hand. This should be done because at the present moment, there are in this country many persons who find that if only they can disrupt the services, they can put at naught our plans. That is their intention. Let us not fall into this trap; let us be wary of it. Let us be certain that on our part, we have taken all the necessary steps in time, so that we can have a contented service.

Often sweeping generalisations are made about corruption, inefficiency, irresponsibility and bureaucratic control in the services. While there may be such elements and while I know that the Home Ministry and the Government of India have done a great deal and are doing a great deal to do away with it, I do feel that sweeping generalisations have a very bad effect on the morale of the services, because there are many people who are enthusiastic and who are working with the fullest sincerity of purpose. This fact should certainly be given due consideration and we should not here or elsewhere make sweeping generalisations about corruption, inefficiency, etc., in the services.

Here I would like to give some example, though not a detailed example of what takes place when people talk about corruption. Firstly, it is difficult enough to get evidence in a country where the prerogative of

corruption is not confined to the services, but is all-round. When the Government does get some evidence, unless it can stand in a court of law, it is difficult to take action. Then, when they go in for some departmental enquiry, sometimes the very people who made the complaint in the first instance, when they find that the Government has taken action, turn round and say: this is victimisation. And this has happened not once but many times for purposes of exploitation. When the Government take action, they say: you are victimising. When the Government do not take any action, they say: you are encouraging corruption. This is something which we cannot tolerate. At a time when it is very essential that we go ahead to provide this country with all the amenities, all the services that we want for them, when we want that the people of this country to have food and education, when we want to give them training in a proper manner so that we can raise their living standards, when these things have got to be given to them, we cannot be deflected from our purpose by those who want to exploit our services. We, on our side, must look at it with the same caution and care as we do in regard to planning itself. If planning is important, the machinery with which we are to implement the Plan, is equally important, if not more important.

13:32 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

I do not say that in a few years' time it is possible to do everything. It is not possible. But when our objectives are dynamic, as I said in the beginning, our machinery of administration must be geared to that and we must make that approach. I do not say that the Home Minister or the Prime Minister or anyone else in this country has got a magic wand or Aladdin's Lamp with which they can make changes overnight. It is not possible. But changes are being made. I do feel that we have not

paid as much attention to the change of the administrative machinery as we should have done.

There is one other point that I want to mention before I end and that is the objective stand of our services. It is a good thing that they do not enter into any party or factional politics. But, while not entering into party or factional politics, they should not be so impersonal, so objective, that they do not even understand or enthuse or are inspired by the purposes of the Constitution and the Directive Principles of State Policy. That is rather important. Today there is some confusion of thought. I do not say that all of them are not inspiring. It is not so; we have seen that. But, at the same time, there is confusion of thought about them. While they should remain outside the sphere of party politics, as they invariably do, at the same time, they should not remain outside the enthusiasm; that should be within them in their hearts for implementing the Directive Principles and the Constitutional objectives for which this country is striving.

It is a great adventure that we have gone in for, an adventure and experiment in democracy in an undeveloped country, a democracy in which the individual freedom is kept intact. In the success or failure of our democracy lies the success or failure of democracy itself.

Although I have spoken of details—the details are very important—the machinery through which we work is more important. Not only planning, but the machinery, the services who are going to work for us, all these things are equally important. With public co-operation, we should be able to go ahead, provided we can smoothen out these difficulties of ours. With these words, I support the Demands of this Ministry.

Shri Yajnik (Ahmedabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I make no apology at the outset for assessing the work of the Ministers themselves, as their charges are included in the budget estimates. And I deeply regret to state that the performance of the

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Ministers inside and outside this House leaves much to be desired.

Taking first the Question Hour, which we enjoy daily, may I ask if, with the exception of the Prime Minister and a few others, the rest are not playing the game of fencing with us, playing the game of hide and seek with us, trying to withhold as much as it is possible and trying to dole it out by drops as we go on prodding them with questions? I submit that the Ministers should treat Members irrespective of their parties as partners and brothers in this House and should welcome every opportunity afforded by every question to give as much information as they possibly can, in a genuinely true, co-operative and sympathetic manner, for they must remember that they are not merely speaking to one here or the other there, but they, through us, are speaking to the millions in the land who are looking up to this House of Parliament as the beacon light of their freedom.

So far as the other work is concerned, I can only say that it is more flat and stale than that of the Prime Minister who, of course, exudes the best of strength and hope and faith, which we see on the Ministerial benches, the Treasury benches. But I have a very serious complaint to make about the joint responsibility of the Ministers and the inter-Ministerial affairs.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: A more suitable occasion for this would be under the heading "Cabinet".

Shri Yajnik: Cabinet comes under the Home Ministry. It was only the other day that our then Minister for Irrigation, Shri S. K. Patil, opened the lid and let us into an amusing spectacle of non-coordination between several Ministries. Now, regarding the simple question of the shortfall in the use of waters provided by our Irrigation Department and the use made of it by the villagers, I personally feel that there is no fault of the farmers, who know the difficulties that

they have in paying the enormous and excessive charges that they have to pay for the irrigation facilities. But, apart from that, the point was that the two Ministers—the Minister of Food and Agriculture and the Minister of Irrigation—though they have the best chances of meeting each other, have not yet been able to come to any conclusion regarding the kind of enquiry that should be made. Now, the other day we found this difficulty. For instance, there was the question of the Government Inspector of Railways. The Government Inspector of Railways is a very important person, because he looks into all kinds of railway accidents, and railway accidents often create panic in this House and we have to ask for enquiries. But when the Railway Minister is asked about it, he turns it over to the Government Inspector, who is working under the Minister of Transport. Now, the Minister of Transport is different from the Minister of Railways and we are bandied about, as it were, from pillar to post. We do not know who is responsible, and without that what can we do? Therefore, I say that if it is a matter of further import of fertilizers, then the Commerce Ministry and the Finance Ministry should be consulted. It should be the same if it is a matter of tractors. There is hardly a subject which would not pertain to more than one Ministry. I, therefore, submit that there should be some kind of a co-ordination Minister, above or beyond the present holders of the Ministries, so that we might have some better co-ordination between the Ministries and there will be somebody who can answer for more than one Department.

I quite see that the hon. Prime Minister is the Head of the Government, but the hon. Prime Minister is a very busy man, overburdened with cares and responsibilities. I would make another suggestion and that is to follow the good example of the Prime Minister of Britain, who goes to Chequers, his week-end resort, and invites all the ministers and many experts as they are required to sit down

with him from dawn to dusk and thrash out all kinds of inter-ministerial problems and matters of high policy and then comes back refreshed to London and makes his pronouncements and gives his decisions on many complicated questions. It is a pity that many of our hon. Ministers are rather too busy, sometimes attending their own Party functions or other non-official functions, with the result that they are not able to discharge thoroughly the responsibilities that they owe to this House and to the people of this country.

Now I must come with profound regret, to the question of firing. As I see the report, I see a lot about rifle clubs. I see a lot about auxiliary forces. I see a lot about Police and jails. Rifles are being supplied to all and sundry. Government wants people to learn the use of rifles and, of course, the Police and the other forces are not wanting in them. But when you supply arms and rifles, do you place any restraint on their use? That is what has been troubling us.

For ten long years since the advent of freedom in 1947, I submit that no restriction has been placed and no directives given on the use of rifles either by the Police or by the jail authorities. For ten long years we have been suffering from indiscriminate firings and from the spilling of innocent blood.

The Chief Minister of Bombay was very loud in proclaiming: "Never mind the life but the bullet should not be wasted." That was spoken in a country that has produced Mahatma Gandhi, where liberty is considered very sacrosanct. We have seen an orgy of firing for which we cannot find a parallel in any other country in the world during peace time. So, after ten long years we had indiscriminate firing in the streets of Gujerat and Bombay and elsewhere—also at Ramnathapuram. Therefore I have been respectfully asking the hon. Home Minister to definitely proclaim from the housetop and from every market square in India a character of liberty for the people of India so that their

lives and limbs will remain immune from Police atrocities and indiscriminate firing.

But what have I been given instead? When first I put the question, the hon. Deputy Minister evaded it. The hon. Home Minister himself then opened his heart and told us that the rules that obtained under the British regime were unfortunately perpetuated till the present time. These rules did provide for firing about indiscriminately. It is a matter of the profoundest shame and regret that the rules continued in operation till they have been amended now. Now, we are told that a directive has been given that firing shall take place below the knee. I am very glad to hear that. But I am not satisfied if such an important matter is to be dealt with by the Home Ministry and by our great Home Minister, Shri Pant, in such a way. Is it not necessary for him to draft uniform broad Police firing rules that might be available to every citizen of India so that he knows exactly how he stands with relation to the Police? We do not want the Police and the people to be enemies of each other. Our whole Administration must depend on a harmonious co-ordination between the people and the Police. But unfortunately in the present conditions, the people take the Police to be their enemies and the Police reciprocates that feeling. I want harmony and concord but there will be no harmony and there will be no concord, rather there will be continuous infringements by the Police on the private lives of the people and continuous assaults on their lives and limbs, so long as we do not have a detailed Police rules manual. When I asked for a manual, I was told that it was only for the use of the department. The Government of Bombay could not give it and the Central Government only said that they have given a directive and that there were no detailed rules. I submit that if there is any difficulty so far as the law and order, being in the sole sphere of the State Government, is concerned, let the Constitution be amended and let it be a concurrent subject, for it is a matter of life and



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limb. After all, we are free. Freedom is good, but the security of life is really essential for the true benefit of the continuation of our life. Therefore I earnestly request the hon. Home Minister to consider this matter seriously and devise ways and means for ensuring the safety of the lives and limbs of the people and thereby inaugurating a new era of co-operation between the Police and the people.

Then I cannot help coming to the subject that makes us all the more anxious, i.e., the subject of the break, up of the bilingual State. Here the problem is that the word 'linguism' has been coined—it is a new word, I think, that has been coined during the last few years. There may be fanatics who may be the enemies of the nation, but an agitation for a linguistic province, I think, is the right of everybody in India. What is language, after all, if not the voice of the soul? Is it not the medium of art and literature, culture, religion and philosophy? Do we not talk here in a language that can be understood by all of us? Does not the unity of language make for achieving emotional and intellectual integration between those who speak the same language? This desire for unilingual provinces was satisfied in the main by the S.R.C. Report. Unfortunately it was only denied, except for Punjab, to Gujerat and Maharashtra—the land of Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the land of Tilak and Gokhale. The Government feel that they have passed an Act and that is all that has to be done about it. But I remember the words of the hon. Prime Minister when he addressed a big meeting in Poona and said: "It is open to you to convert." I am here to convert the hon. Home Minister and all Congressmen who would open their ears to us. Let them read the writing on the wall. What is happening? It is not a mere question of a few elections here and a few elections there. I may tell you that even persons in Government employ, including high officers, are gradually mooring to the opinion, with their embittered experience about the

Government operating from Bombay, that there is no stability about it. This cannot last for any length of time. This has to go and if it has to go, the sooner it goes the better it is. I will not dilate on the results of the elections.

I will not dilate about the results of the elections. There can naturally, be two sides of the question. Of course, in Maharashtra they have been winning in most of the elections. (An Hon. Member: All). But in Gujerat it is a sign of the times that while we have been defeated in some local board and rural elections, we have secured big majorities in the biggest towns of Gujerat. Ahmedabad, Cambay, Baroda, Nadiad are not within the power of the Congress any more. And let them see what is happening in Saurashtra which was supposed to be the citadel of Congress influence and power. If you see the signs aright, you will find that municipality after municipality is proclaiming its independence of the Congress, is proclaiming its protest against this bilingual State, and is adopting resolutions for the establishment—the sooner the better—of Maha Gujerat. Look at Kutch. All the municipalities of Kutch have proclaimed, have emphatically announced their protest against the policies of the Congress. And so, if you go from place to place, and if you go to Bombay and to Maharashtra, all over there is the same feeling.

It has been called an experiment of course, sanctified by law—there is a law. But again and again we have also been told that "after all the law has been recently passed, it is not a very long experience that we have had about its working, let us wait and watch". So everybody feels that this is an experiment. And who is happy with the experiment? The Maharashtrian members in the Bombay Assembly state that they are not happy over it—they are afraid of our capitalists—, while we feel that we are being ruled by a 66 per cent majority. But in the circumstances they and we have shaken hands together, and we have

decided to see the end of this bilingual State, not breaking away with each other but like two brothers who, feeling the difficulty of living under one roof, gladly separate. (*Interruptions.*)

An Hon. Member: Never mind.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. For the present the House is in possession of a Gujarati. Why should there be these interruptions?

Shri Yajnik: So, Sir, I would earnestly request the Home Minister, who is a senior statesman, to read the writing on the wall, to take time by the forelock, to cut the Gordian knot and to settle all questions that are related to the division of the State.

The bogey of Bombay City has always been trotted out before us. But have not there been elections? And have not the elections told us anything? Don't you see what is happening in the municipalities? Don't you see the victories that have been attained by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in the recent Bombay elections? How long will you go on trotting out this bogey? How long will you make it an excuse for keeping Gujarat and Maharashtra under this bilingual set-up?

I would therefore say that all questions are capable of being solved. I assure the Home Minister on my behalf and on behalf of many others who are sitting with me here that once the Government take a decision to reopen this question, there will be no difficulty for all of us to get together to settle all our differences—some few that remain outstanding—and to present him with our joint solution for the establishment of Maha Gujarat and Samyukta Maharashtra. With this I would request the Home Minister to look up the matter again.

There are the boundary questions. As linguism has been a bogey, so all language questions have been muddled and messed up. For instance, take the question of boundaries. What is the difficulty? Bengal and Orissa have been formed. Why could not the

settlement of the boundary disputes be taken in hand immediately? There are other boundary disputes—Belgaum is one—between Maharashtra and Karnatak. A friend has spoken today about the integration of Belgaum with Maharashtra—Shri Nath Pal. I entirely agree with him. What is standing in the way of the Government? Why should not this question be taken up? Why should the Zonal Council take such a long time to come to a settlement on this matter?

Therefore, I say that these disputes are long drawn out and create differences and discord between the people and the Government, because they are not scientifically and quickly handled. In the Punjab and in Andhra the Constitution provides, under article 371, for the inauguration of the Regional Councils. But it took too long. And just as the saying goes "justice delayed is justice denied", the matters go out of your hand and then you hurriedly appoint these Regional Committees which fail of their purpose.

I would, therefore, request that the question of regional languages, their use in all the State Governments, the question of the separation of the Bombay State should be considered in a calm, dispassionate and objective fashion.

And, finally, I may say that the sands are running out. Our love and loyalty towards the bilingual State are not infinite and are going to be tried out. And if the Home Department and the Home Minister and this Government at the Centre do not take steps within a reasonable time to divide this bilingual State, then, Sir, some of us will have no alternative left but to take to an agitation that can either end in undoing the bilingual State or undoing ourselves, some of us going to jail, receiving bullets and going to jail, and undergoing any kind of hardship. I would, therefore, say that this is a serious matter. It is not a bravado; it is on the cards; agitations have been planned in advance. I would, therefore, request the Home Minister

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to take this matter seriously and to arrive at a statesmanlike solution of this language problem.

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi (Ludhiana): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, there are many things for which the Home Ministry deserve our compliments and for which they can take credit. But the main thing for which, I think, the Home Ministry is entitled to credit is for what they have done in the last few years to face the disintegrating and disruptive forces in the country.

But there is one aspect to which I would particularly draw the attention of the Ministry, and that aspect pertains to the public services in the country. As you know, Sir, the public services must always play a very important role in the construction of the country. In fact, they constitute one of the wheels of the chariot of the State, and I feel a more important wheel; for whereas on the people (who constitute another wheel) lies the sanction, the force for the construction of the country, on the public services lies the duty of implementation of that policy. Therefore, the public services constitute a very important machinery in the developmental stage of the country.

14.00 hrs.

In this connection, we have got to see whether in the last 10 years, they have withstood the test of time and we feel satisfied about what they have done. I concede that there are very intelligent people in the public services, they have done a creditable job and they have discharged their duties well. But, on the whole, we have to see whether they have created a climate in the country, conditions in the country whereby the man in the street or the man behind the block has got confidence in the public services, and he feels that they are a part of his own, they are akin to him, and they take an interest in his beneficial activities. Is that feeling there? My submission is that that feeling has not been generated during the last

ten years. This, clearly, must be conceded.

What is the reason why there is no feeling of confidence, of faith, of the man in the street or the man behind the plough in the public services? Whereas confidence is necessary between the people and the Ministry, I think it is more necessary that there should be confidence between the people and the services. That is lacking at present. If we look into the reasons, I feel one has not far to see. It is easy to find the reason. The reason is that the structure of services remains as it was previously. Still we have got the L.A.S., the I.P.S., the P.C.S., etc. These services feel themselves something apart from the people, very much above them, patronising in spirit, I will go to the extent of saying, pulsating with a sense of pride. This itself, I consider, is corruption. Therefore, something has to be done to bring the services nearer the people. How can that be done? That has to be seen. Therefore, I say that it is necessary that we should look into the structure of the services.

As we find it today, I submit for the consideration of the Minister of Home Affairs that greater emphasis in the daily social life of the individual and society is on a particular kind of services, the magistracy which convicts and sentences, and the police which investigates and challans. They are looked upon with awe and fear by the people and as such given more respect. It means that in the administration, we lay more emphasis on services of that kind, whereas in a welfare state, my respectful submission is, that the emphasis should be on the importance of those services which contribute towards the beneficial activities of the welfare state, that is, the Engineering service, Educational service, the Medical service, etc. They contribute more to the construction of the country than the I.A.S., the P.C.S. and the I.P.S., etc. The emphasis in a welfare state

should be more on the services that contribute to the construction of the country. Does that exist? Do we, in the present social structure, give that respect to a doctor, to an engineer, to a teacher to which he is entitled? I submit that we do not give him that importance. The importance at present is more to the executive side as it was at the time of the foreign rule. It was quite different at the time of the foreign rule. The foreigners' interest was to encourage such services which contributed to the strengthening of the steel frame on which they relied. The conditions have changed very much now. The emphasis should be more now on the utilitarian services. Importance should be given to such services that contribute to the construction of the country. A climate and condition should be created whereby the people belonging to such services feel that they are really honoured and they are looked upon with respect.

I submit that we have reached a stage when the Ministry of Home Affairs may be kind enough to look into the question, probe into it, and appoint a committee to go into this, to see how emphasis can be shifted from the executive side of the services to the utilitarian side of the services, and an employee of the Government who contributes towards the construction of the country is looked upon with honour and is given what is due to him. That is the first point to which I wish to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister.

My second point to which I would like to draw his attention pertains to those very disruptive forces and the disintegrating forces to which I drew the attention of the House at the outset. It is unfortunate that despite the fact that we are in the 10th year of freedom and each one of us wants the country to be strong and one, when we talk in this House, from different quarters, the voice comes of one State against another, and division of a State. We know very well how intelligently, rather shrewdly, in a

very statesmanlike manner the problem of the Punjab was solved some time back. There were two contradictory demands of a Punjabi suba and a Maha Punjab. I think our leaders must be complimented on the clear vision that they had of the situation and they brought in the regional formula which has brought in satisfaction in a border state. I feel that an overwhelming majority of the people, rather I would say, leaving aside a very microscopic minority, the rest of the people of Punjab feel happy and satisfied about it. But, there is one thing to which I crave your indulgence to draw the attention of the Ministry.

The Regional committees have been created and in the Regional formula, as you know, greater emphasis was laid on the fact that the two regions are to work themselves in certain developmental activities. Paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Regional formula are in point. Para 4 says that legislation relating to specified matters will be referred to regional committees and in respect of specified matters recommendations may also be made by the Regional committees to the State Governments for legislation with regard to questions of general policy not involving any financial commitment other than expenditure of a routine or incidental character. Para 5 of the Regional formula says that the advice tendered by the Regional committees will normally be accepted by the Government and the State legislature and in case of difference of opinion, reference will be made to the Governor whose decision will be final and binding. These paragraphs postulate that the emphasis was on the function of the Regional committees as certain deciding bodies about certain matters which are of a developmental nature, which pertain to each region. The function was of the Regional committees and they were given, though it was not actually mentioned, the importance of a legislature type, where their decision would be final. Of course, it was stated that in a certain contingency, in the matter of differ-

[Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi]

ence of opinion, the matter will be referred to the Governor. But primarily it would be conceded that the emphasis was on the importance of the Regional committees which would decide and would have the final voice in certain matters of the Region. This was also later further emphasised by the hon. Home Minister in his speech on the 31st July, 1956 in which he said the following about the regional formula:

"It provides that there will be one court, one legislature, one high court, one public service commission and two regions that will function not on any communal basis but on regional basis. Do we not want every citizen to have full scope for the blossoming of his own genius? Will the country benefit if any one is routed or suppressed? So, let us take a view of things that will redound to our benefit and to the credit of the country."

Here again, the emphasis was that each region would work as such in such matters which were entrusted to the regional committee.

The rules have been issued last year, but what is the status that the regional committees have been given? About that I have got doubts. They have been made into purely select committees functioning primarily and principally for making recommendations. That was not the original object or intention of the regional formula. The regional committees are not select committees of the House. They are committees by themselves. Of course, they belong to the House, they are part of the legislature no doubt, but they are committees by themselves entrusted with certain functions, having a deciding voice in their subjects, which should be normally accepted.

But unfortunately what do we find? The regional committees in the Punjab have been given no secretariat, no office, and when the Chairman of

the regional committee asked the Speaker to provide him with an office, he was told—I am speaking subject to correction—that he could not be given an office at all. Even the committees of this House like the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee, which are important committees have an office, and their own secretariat to some extent whereas very important committees like the two regional committees in the Punjab are not being given a secretariat.

My grouse, and my complaint to the Home Ministry is this, that some elements in the Punjab are trying to whittle down this and are creating an apprehension in the minds of some, an atmosphere, which is not conducive to the interests or the betterment of the country. Therefore, I request that this matter should be looked into. Both the regional committees should be given that importance, that status which was the original intention of the framers who made this formula.

There are certain things about Punjab which are said here and elsewhere also, as if the border State is full of crimes and all that. I want to disabuse that impression which prevails here and elsewhere.

During the last eight or ten years, you will agree with me, Punjab has progressed a great deal. I would not deal with the economic aspect. It is already there, and the hon. House is very much aware how much the Punjab has progressed in that direction. I will not deal with the social aspect too. That too is there. But let me deal with the crime situation. I will give some figures which will show that Punjab is not the State as depicted, having a lot of crime which has not been and cannot be controlled. You will find that Punjab, if anything, is rather more peaceful than other States. There may be an incident here or there, but the Punjab Government is trying to improve the situation in a clever and calm manner.

Dacoities in Punjab in 1952 were 49, while in 1957 there were only nine cases. You can see the improvement in the situation. In 1952 there were 414 robberies, while in 1957 it is only 100. In 1952 there were 577 murders, while in 1957 the figure was 442.

Now I shall give some figures regarding PEPSU which was at one time outside the Punjab. In 1952 there were 366 murders, but in 1957 there were only 160. During the Rau regime, dacoities had been brought down to 94, but in 1957 there was only one case. From 291 in 1952, robberies have come down to 52 in 1957.

**Dr. Krishnaswami (Chingleput):** What do all these figures prove?

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** I could not hear the hon. Member.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should not be anxious to hear the interruption. When he has not heard it, he might ignore it.

**Shri Nath Pal:** Not only is he anxious. He is determined to have it.

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** I have not understood what the interruption is about.

My only object in giving the figures is to show that the conditions in Punjab are not as have been depicted by some. Shri Vajpayee made a reference to it once when he spoke on the President's Address. My object in bringing these figures to the notice of the House is to show that conditions in Punjab, so far as peace is concerned, are much better. Punjab is very peaceful. I challenge that if the crime situation of Punjab is compared with that of any other State, it will be found that it is very much less in the Punjab.

**Shri Nath pal:** That does not apply to the Congress Party. What are the conditions in the Congress Party?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Conditions should be peaceful at least here.

**Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi:** I only want to disabuse the minds of others, and my main emphasis is on my second point, i.e., the importance of the regional committees.

**Shri Jaganatha Rao (Koraput):** My hon. friend Shri Nath Pal referred to the question of Maharashtra.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Perhaps he never expected that his chance would come.

**The Minister of Health (Shri Kar-markar):** He did expect, but I am sorry I kept him here.

**Shri Jaganatha Rao:** I quite appreciate the feelings and sentiments expressed by him, but I disagree with him that this question should be taken up now. He says that several unilingual States have been formed, therefore why not Maharashtra and Gujarat also be formed accordingly. The real point was there could be no agreement between the two linguistic groups, and therefore the best possible solution was the creation of the bilingual State of Bombay.

Let this decision of the Parliament and the Government of India be given a fair trial. There is no reason why at this stage, in less than two years' time, this question should be raked up again. There is no harm if people belonging to different linguistic groups live together. I appeal to my Maharashtra friends who hold this view that there should be a unilingual State of Maharashtra, not to come up again and again in this House with this problem.

Likewise, I find some cut motions—I am sure my hon. friend would move them—regarding the boundary disputes. It is true that several of the boundary disputes raised by several States have not been gone into by the States Reorganisation Commission. The main reason given by them is that they never wanted to unsettle settled facts. Apart from the question whether they are right or wrong, the Government of India readily agreed

[Shri Jaganatha Rao]

to the decisions made by the Commission and implemented them. What harm is there if a certain border area claimed by one State has not been given to that State? Language and culture know no boundaries. Let us all feel that we are Indians first, and then only think of the regional loyalties. For instance, I belong to a particular minority linguistic group in Orissa, and I am not sorry that these border problems have not been decided by the States Reorganisation Commission. I feel that the time has now come when we should not think of these minor problems of boundary disputes, but think that we are Indians first. The country is in the midst of the Second Plan, and we are trying to build up our national economy and raise the standard of our people. Let us not lose sight of this important task ahead and think of these minor problems which lead to fissiparous tendencies.

Next, I would refer to the work of this Ministry in respect of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. What has been achieved by this Ministry to ameliorate the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes is really commendable. In the Second Five Year Plan, as seen from the Ministry's report and also the Second Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 91 crores has been allotted for various ameliorative measures. In respect of the development of the tribal areas and the tribal people, several schemes have been taken on hand, and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been doing good work. There is some slackness on the part of some of the States to implement his recommendations, but the Government of India have been doing all that they could to implement the various proposals and also to finance them to the maximum extent.

The most important thing in the development of the condition of the tribal people is to develop the communications in the tribal areas. We find

that the communications have been improved to a great extent, and I who come from an area where the tribal people reside in large numbers find that the communications have been improved, and this has led to the opening up of the area with the result the tribal people are able to come in contact with the non-tribal people.

Another important thing in respect of this programme is the housing schemes, such as the rural housing schemes and the slum clearance schemes which have been implemented and which are being implemented by Government. While implementing these schemes, Government have rightly borne in mind that any solution to the problems of the tribal people has to be based on respect and an understanding of their culture and an appreciation of the social psychology and the economic problems with which they are faced. To achieve this end, an attempt has been made by Government to train the tribal people by giving them education, so that the tribal people who are educated can themselves move with the tribal people and educate them.

Another thing that has been recommended and implemented also to a certain extent is the establishment of certain *ashram* schools and *sevashram* schools in these areas. We find that most of the tribal children are going to these schools and learning various vocations which will stand them in good stead. About 4,50,000 tribal students have received education.

Soil erosion in these areas has also been controlled by Government. These areas are mostly hilly tracts where the people are accustomed to a sort of shifting cultivation; they denude the forests; they cultivate the area for a year or two and then leave the land and go to another place. For preventing the denudation of forests and creating in them a spirit of liking for the land that they cultivate Government have been able to give them financial aid and teach them how to stop the erosion of the soil so that they can

improve their land and improve their agriculture. To achieve this end, they are also giving financial assistance, supplying bullocks, improved seeds etc.

Another important thing that has been done is the establishment of forest co-operative societies. Now, these people live in the forest areas. It is really a regrettable thing that forest contractors from outside these areas come and exploit them. So, it has been decided that co-operative societies should be formed, and only these co-operatives should be given the right to collect and export the forest produce.

For relieving them of rural indebtedness, multipurpose co-operative societies have been formed and these give the people advances; besides, the produce that they get from cultivation is also being marketed through these co-operative societies. That goes a long way in improving the economic condition of these people.

There has also been an attempt at developing these areas by establishing 43 special multi-purpose blocks. I am glad to say that these multi-purpose blocks which have been established at a cost of Rs. 27 lakhs each, in the tribal areas are doing really wonderful work, and they have really improved the condition of these people.

I am also glad to say that Government have been doing a great deal in respect of the development and the improvement of the status of the Scheduled Castes. It is true that as between the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, the condition of the Scheduled Castes is really much better, though I do not mean to say that they are better off. We find that there is an awakening among the Scheduled Castes in regard to their needs and their rights. There are several members belonging to the Scheduled Castes who are now getting themselves educated and are also getting employment. In the matter of appointments in Government, we find

that 7½ per cent of the posts are reserved for the Scheduled Castes, and 5 per cent of the posts are reserved for the Scheduled Tribes people. Of course, it is a long process, and we cannot expect all of a sudden that there should be a general improvement in the condition of the people. They have been downtrodden for centuries together, and an earnest attempt is being made by Government to bring them up. In these few years we find that their efforts have borne fruit.

So, I feel that it is a matter for congratulations to the Ministry for the wonderful work in this regard.

Then, I would deal with another problem regarding the revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These have been notified by the President under articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution.

I find from the list of Scheduled Tribes that a number of people have been notified as tribes, while in fact they are not tribal people. While speaking on the Demands of the Ministry last year, I pointed out that in Orissa a long list had been drawn up of several tribes who really did not exist. Some of these people who were classed as tribals do not really belong to the tribal people, but are only Scheduled Caste people. I would request Government that a Committee of Anthropologists should be asked to go into this question and find out which class of people should be termed as tribals. An amendment is necessary because most of the people who are classed as tribals are at a disadvantage, and that if they were classed as Scheduled Castes they would get better advantages.

While on this subject, I would also like to point out another thing. That relates to Scheduled Caste people who have embraced Buddhism. Last year, it was, I think, Shri B. C. Kamble who pointed out that Scheduled Caste people who were converts to Buddhism were denied the privileges they enjoyed as Scheduled Castes. To that,



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the hon. Home Minister replied that under the Scheduled Castes Order only persons who belonged to the Hindu or Sikh religion were entitled to that right and if they converted themselves to any other religion, they forfeited that right. But I humbly submit that Buddhism and Jainism are within the fold of Hinduism. The term Hindu includes also Buddhist, Jain or Arya Samajist. So a Scheduled Caste person who embraced Buddhism does not cease to be a Hindu. Religion is a question of faith, and by simply embracing Buddhism, a man does not lose his right to be a Hindu. If a Scheduled Caste person becomes a Buddhist, whatever be the political motive behind the conversion, he is still entitled to enjoy all the privileges and benefits due to Scheduled Castes. I would humbly request the Home Minister to go into this question and see that the injustice done to Buddhist converts, whatever be the political motive behind the conversion, should be removed and relief given to them.

Another gratifying feature of the work of the Ministry is the concession shown to political sufferers. Persons who have sacrificed their jobs and joined the national struggle are now permitted to have the benefit of promotion as if they had not left the service. A sum of Rs. 3 lakhs has been placed at the disposal of hon. Home Minister every year for payment to deserving persons. It is really a good thing and deserves the appreciation of the House.

As regards the reservations which have been given to the Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes, I would suggest that they should continue for a further period of at least ten years, because when we find that some progress is being made, it is certainly the duty of Government to see that these downtrodden people come up to the level of the other sections of society.

In the matter of jail reform, I am glad to know that Government are taking it up in right earnest. The Probation of Offenders Bill, which is

on the anvil of the House, is a good step in the right direction. Every citizen, though he may be a delinquent, is entitled to the benefits of the society. It is the duty of the Government to see that as a member of the society he becomes a useful citizen of the country. I appreciate the work of the Ministry in this regard.

Also, the ex-criminal tribes are now given agricultural lands and settlements and colonies are being established and they are allowed to live a peaceful life, thus becoming useful citizens of the country. I support the Demands.

Shri Hynniewta (Autonomous Districts-Reserved-Sch. Tribes): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I believe in a way the Nagas, in spite of whatever we may say about their rebellion or independence demand, have performed a signal service to the country in that they have focussed its attention on the indispensability of winning the goodwill and the loyalty of the eastern tribesmen for safeguarding the peace and security of the eastern zone.

Since the Nagas have been put under the care of the Ministry of External Affairs, it will be rather out of place for me to say anything about the conditions obtaining in their area today. In the eastern border, there are many tribes other than the Nagas and the tribes in the NEFA. There are the Khasis and the Garos on the borders of Pakistan, the Mizos on the border of both Burma and Pakistan and the Manipuri tribes on the border of Burma. All these are Scheduled Tribes, the welfare and progress of whom are the concern of the Home Ministry.

Incidentally, by virtue of their residence in the frontier, the contentment and well being of these tribes are inextricably linked up with the security of the eastern zone. It is, therefore, the duty of Government to see that these tribes are not driven to rebellion due to any neglect or lack of concern on their part. These tribes are intelligent, honest, simple people

who, if properly handled, will be an asset for the defence of the country. Government should profit by their experiences in the Naga Hills and should see that the mistakes which they committed there are not repeated in their dealings with the other tribes.

For a correct understanding and assessment of the tribal problem, the realisation that the eastern tribes fall under one category is essential. Their social, cultural and economic structures are, broadly speaking, built on similar basic patterns and roots. I wish I would have the time to develop this point far enough to dispel any doubt. My task has been made easier by some of the speeches of the Prime Minister in which he regarded these tribes as a distinct group possessing common characteristics and facing common problems. Differences are, of course, there, but they are not of a fundamental nature. It follows then as a corollary that the frontier tribesmen are very much different from their inland brethren. While the former have kept themselves quite apart from the surrounding neighbours in the plains, the latter have adopted in varying degrees much of the languages, dress, habits and customs of their neighbours. The tribal problem in the eastern frontier will always defy solution if the essential one-ness of the frontier tribes is not recognised in the economic, social and political spheres.

Explaining his opposition to putting these tribes under one administrative unit, the Prime Minister said that the more backward tribes would retard the progress of the more progressive among them. Though I differ from him on this point, I would say that it is not our demand that immediate unification should be brought about. It has to be done through degrees and step by step. The greatest need of every tribe is to have its land protected, its identity preserved and its culture and ways of life maintained. This can only be achieved through a political unit run by the Tribals themselves with the assistance of the Central Government, a unit where

none of the Tribals will be strong and numerous enough to suppress and exploit the rest, a possibility which is very remote indeed, if experience is to be our guide.

I do not know how far this House is aware of the fact that conditions exist in the Eastern frontier, especially in the autonomous districts of Assam which may, sooner or later, develop into something like the Naga situation. If nothing is done immediately to remove them through constitutional and economic remedies. The tribal areas bordering Pakistan which are seething with discontent may, with Pakistan's help and encouragement, take a violent turn.

I will now come to the cause of this discontent. These areas had been having age-old trade relations with Pakistan which were brought to a standstill as a result of the partition. Failing to obtain markets in other parts of India, they were forced to sell their produce at very low prices to Pakistan smugglers. But, alas, even this had to be abandoned due to the anti-smuggling measures taken recently by the Pakistan Government. Our people have come to their wit's end. Starvation is staring them in the face. For the last 10 years, we have been crying for Government help; but, so far, our cry has been like a voice in the wilderness. A trade agreement with Pakistan was not made in order to help the hard hit tribals. It has been admitted even by the Assam Government that a considerable number of people have crossed over to Pakistan and settled there. It is needless for me to say that this fact constitutes a grave threat to the security of our frontier in that part of the country.

The recent firing by Pakistani Forces on our people are causing greater panic and have exposed to the full the failure of Government to protect its people. Among the rest of the tribal people an oppressive sense of insecurity and fear is engendered by the increasing enforcement of our more numerous brothers in the plains and the State Government upon our

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lands. To understand our feeling in this respect it must be borne in mind that the Tribals regard the places where they have been living from times immemorial as their native land, which is a normal human relation as no one would like to be dislodged from the place he inherited from his forefathers. The Naga rebels described their demand for independence as a struggle for survival and that is why they have a strong hold on the simple Naga peasants who would rather die than lose their lands.

We know, though we are considered backward, the fate of the Red Indians and the aborigines of Australia, once they lost their hold on land. It is a fate which, come what may, we are determined never to accept.

The Prime Minister touched the core of the problem when, in his speech at the Tribal Conference held in Delhi in 1952, he exhorted those who were in charge of the administration of the Tribal areas not to deprive the Tribals of their land and push the businessmen from the plains into their midst in order to exploit them. But these lofty sentiments fell flat on the ears of the ruling class of Assam though it is supposed to owe allegiance to him.

Some of our fertile lands have been acquired for the production of electricity meant for the exclusive use of the plains people in the Brahmaputra valley. Our coal mines, owned collectively by our people according to our democratic and socialistic laws have been leased out to big capitalist concerns in the plains with the knowledge and consent of the Government whose professed aim is to establish a socialist pattern of society. These mines are worked by some of those people who were uprooted by partition. The people naturally registered their protest but their protest was met with tear-gas, arrests and trials, a regular feature in the plain areas but a novel and revolting feature among the inexperienced tribal folk.

Veiled attempts to impose the Assamese language upon us and denial

of our right to decide things for ourselves, are adding complication to the problems. Development schemes are designed and executed for us by others who have no interest in our progress and advancement.

I am bringing all these facts to the notice of the House and of the Government so that we may be told once for all whether the Government, by its own initiative, is going to free us from exploitation, domination and humiliation or whether we have to go the Naga way in order to make ourselves heard.

In addition to my previous observations, I would like to cite some more instances supporting my charge of indifference against the Government. The Prime Minister, as far back as 1954, gave an assurance in this House that he was prepared to amend the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution in order to give more powers to the Nagas and to the other Tribes. The year 1958 came and not even the slightest change was effected in this connection. If it was not indifference, I do not know what else it was. That was responsible for giving the tribes of Assam with a population of 10 lakhs and the tribes of Manipur with a population of 2 lakhs the same number of reserved seats in this House. I have brought this anomaly to the notice of the Home Minister in one of my meetings with him and he promised to do something to remove that anomaly but, so far, nothing was done. While accepting the proposals of the unrepresentative body like the Kohima Convention, Government have turned a deaf ear to the most representative Tribal organisation in the East, the Eastern India Tribal Union. The reason is obvious. The Government of India, it appears, are very respectful of violent agitation.

The indifference of Government towards us is further evidenced by the fact that no effort was made by them to find whether the money they granted to the Assam Government under article 275 of the Constitution

for the upliftment of the tribal people was properly utilised or not. Since 1952, I believe, more than Rs. 10 crores have been sanctioned for this purpose. But, I doubt very much if the people concerned could get even a tenth part of the money spent. It is inevitable when the money is given to be used by those who do not know where the shoe pinches. There are occasions when some of these funds have been surrendered back to the Central Government due to non-utilisation in time. It is on the basis of the above grounds that since 1954, the majority of the Eastern Tribes have been demanding the creation of a Hill State under the Union. Instead of trying to understand the reasons behind such a demand, the Home Minister came to Shillong last November only to condemn it and in doing so he made certain statements which were not only unworthy of his position and stature and which were also unreasonable. I will refer to only one of them. He said that the glory of Shillong, the capital town of Assam, one of the beautiful hill stations of India, would go away once the territorial composition of Assam was destroyed. I wish the Home Minister had seen the beauty of Shillong before the present ruling class came to power. Stately pine trees are cut down and beautiful spots disfigured in order to prepare the ground for our new masters from the plains to build their palatial houses. Backward as we are considered to be, we understand that the Home Minister is choosing the line of least resistance in trying to maintain the *status quo*, but he should consider whether it is conducive to the interest of the Tribes in particular and the country in general. As a seasoned politician and statesman, he must know that condemnation and persuasion go ill together.

In his reply to the debate in the Naga Hills Tuensang Area Bill, the Home Minister referred to the autonomous district of Assam and said:

"I have had talks with the leaders and I trust that that matter too will be solved."

As the statement was made in November last, I hope the Government by now must have prepared concrete proposals for the solution of the problems and for meeting our legitimate aspirations. I hope that he would disclose the nature of his proposals in his reply to this debate.

In conclusion, I want to stress the fact that any measures aimed at solving our problems which do not recognise our right to real autonomy and our desire for a unified administration will surely fall. The idea of a Hill State has captured the imagination of our young men. It is for this House to decide whether they should be sent to jungles as rebels or they should be employed as guardians of the eastern frontier.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The following are the 117 selected cut motions relating to various Demands under the Ministry of Home Affairs which will be treated as having been moved subject to their being otherwise admissible:

Demand No.	No. of Cut Motion
51	112, 371, 386, 387, 404, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1584, 1585, 1598, 1599, 1604, 1605, 1625, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642.
52	388, 1562, 1563.
53	389, 1344, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1577, 1578.
54	1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1620.
55	390, 391, 1562, 1569.
57	392.
59	393, 394, 395, 396.
62	397, 398, 1587, 1588, 1590, 1591, 1615, 1616, 1617.
63	399, 400, 401, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383,

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1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388,  
1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393,  
1394, 1395, 1396.

65 18.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 33, 574, 755.

A list indicating the number of the selected cut motions will be put on the Notice Board and will also be circulated to members tonight for their information.

*Need to take steps to protect the interests of the different linguistic groups living permanently in various States in India, specially the interest of the Oriya-Speaking people living in Bihar.*

**Shri Panigrahi:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to provide housing sites to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward classes.*

**Shri B. K. Gaekwad:** I beg to move:-

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

*Need to curtail intelligence services expenditure*

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

*Discrimination in preferring Hindi for teaching the Central Government employees*

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to scrap out the Service Conduct Rules of the Government employees.*

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

*Need to appoint a Judicial Tribunal for adjudicating upon the boundary disputes between Orissa and Bihar and Orissa and Madhya Pradesh*

**Shri Mahanty:** I beg to move:

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

*Rejection of the Resolution passed by the Orissa Assembly urging to set up a commission for examining the boundary claims of Orissa.*

**Shri Mahanty:** I beg to move:

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

*Need to protect the cultural rights of the Oriya minorities in the Singhbhum District in Bihar*

**Shri Mahanty:** I beg to move:

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

*Need for forming a common cadre of services for the Union Territories*

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

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

*Need for greater efficiency in Government Departments in the Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura*

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

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

*Need to codify the laws and rules relating to the terms and conditions of service of Central Government Servants*

**Shri Easwara Iyer:** I beg to move:

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

*Need for immediate repeal of the rules 4A and 4B of the Central Services (Conduct) Rules*

**Shri Easwara Iyer:** I beg to move:

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

*Urgency of integrating Seraikella, Kharswan and the Sadar Sub-division of Singhbhum of Bihar with Orissa*

**Shri P. K. Deo:** I beg to move:

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

*Need for decentralisation of administrative power*

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

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

*Need for extension of the term of 5 years with regard to non-gazetted appointments of local persons in Union Territories*

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

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

*Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks*

**Shri R. C. Majhi:** I beg to move:

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

*Programme drawn and executed for Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri R. C. Majhi:** I beg to move:

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

*Recruitment of Officers for the administration of the Scheduled areas*

**Shri R. C. Majhi:** I beg to move:

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

*Housing scheme for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri R. C. Majhi:** I beg to move:

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

*Grants in aid given to States for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri R. C. Majhi:** I beg to move:

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

*Inventing of the script for the languages spoken by the Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri R. C. Majhi:** I beg to move:

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

*Need to reduce heavy administration expenses of the Cabinet*

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Cabinet be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to appoint sub-committees of Ministries to settle urgent inter-ministerial problems*

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Cabinet be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to assess the political discontent in the Bombay State and to formulate proposals for its reorganisation into two linguistic States*

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Cabinet be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Need to abolish zonal Council system**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Creation of Zonal Police Forces**

**Shri Mahanty:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure of the Zonal Councils to solve the linguistic boundary problems between the various States**

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to settle the linguistic boundary questions between Orissa and Bihar**

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to settle linguistic boundary disputes between Bombay States and Mysore**

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to settle linguistic boundary dispute between Bombay State and Rajasthan**

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Protection of Oriya language in Saraikeella, Kharswan and Singhbhum, Bihar.**

**Shri P. K. Deo:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Working of the Eastern Zonal Council**

**Shri P. K. Deo:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Zonal Councils be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Need to take necessary steps for the establishment of a Permanent Bench of the High Court of Kerala at Trivandrum.**

**Shri Easwara Iyer:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to implement the declared policy of inter-state transfer of High Court Judges.**

**Shri Easwara Iyer:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to take effective steps to reduce delay in law courts and litigation**

**Shri Easwara Iyer:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to take adequate steps to effect separation of executive from judiciary.**

**Shri Easwara Iyer:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Delay in the administration of justice**

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Administration of Justice be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Need to curtail expenditure on Special Police Establishment**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

**Corruption in the check-posts on Eastern Pakistan Border**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

**Failure to promulgate detailed uniform rules regarding police firing**

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

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

**Failure to direct the State Governments to implement new rule about police firing below knees**

**Shri Yajnik:** I beg to move:

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

**Failure to conduct multi-purpose National Sample Survey properly**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Statistics be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Need to supply water to the rural areas**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Need to supply electric light to Shanti Nagar colony**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to check unauthorised construction**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to improve slum areas**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Delhi be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to develop transport system**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to improve standard of living**

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to improve the lot of the tribal people**

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to check the Naga infiltration into the Manipur border**

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to ensure a fair economic price for agricultural products in Manipur**

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Failure to develop handloom industry in Manipur**

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Need for recognition of the Chapka community as members of the Scheduled Tribes in Manipur**

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.



*Failure to set up a Statistical Department to compile accurate figures and data for agricultural and industrial development in Manipur*

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to transfer the necessary staff and equipment to the Territorial Council for running departments of Education, Medical and Public Health and P.W.D.*

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** I beg to move:

That the demand under the head Manipur be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to improve transport system with India*

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to develop industry*

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to improve standard of living*

**Shri Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

*Need to expedite disbursement of loan to Displaced persons of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for regularisation of the ownership of land of refugees who bought or exchanged land from Jiratias*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to form a fact-finding committee to go into the matter of refugee rehabilitation works in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Suspension of realisation of loans from refugees who are unable to pay back at present*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to give equal importance to both the camp refugees and the refugees who fall under Type scheme category*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to disburse loan to refugees before the sowing season starts in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for introduction of Panchayat system in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for introduction of Land Reform legislation in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by 100.

*Withdrawal of cattle grazing taxation Rules in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for early election of Agartala Municipal Committee*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by 100.

*Need for discontinuation of the existing undemocratic system of administration in Agartala Municipality*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Working of the Territorial Council of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Much interference of Tripura administration in the smooth functioning of Tripura Territorial Council*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for transferring all items envisaged by the Territorial Councils Act, 1956, to the jurisdiction of Tripura Territorial Council*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for allocation of more money for Tripura Territorial Council*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Non-cooperating attitude of Tripura Administration towards Tripura Territorial Council*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for supply of drinking water to Agartala town*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to give aid for development of fisheries in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for liberalisation of issue of licences for importing dry fish and fish from East Pakistan*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to prevent cattle lifting from Tripura to East Pakistan.*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for allocation of adequate money for agricultural loan to peasants*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to develop fruits preservation industry in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to provide better marketing facilities for pineapple in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Insanitary condition of Agartala town*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to write off all arrears of Takavi loan advanced to Tribals of Tripura during the Maharaja's regime*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to expedite reclamation works in Raima Sorwa for the rehabilitation of both Tribals and Refugees*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to establish pulp industry in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for aid to develop fruits gardening in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to protect minorities from being constantly harassed by the Police of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to enrol the Muslim members of Tripura in the new voter list*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to provide jobs to the non-matriculate Tribal youths in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to draw a demarcation line specifying the areas of Raima-Sorwa of Tripura for Tribals on the one hand and for refugees on the other*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for distribution of cultivable land to landless peasants particularly ex-tea garden labourers of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for emergency Ordinance preventing all types of eviction of peasants till the new land legislation comes into force in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to solve the land settlement problems of Tribal people of Jawjuri area, Dharmanagar Tripura.*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to provide corrugated iron sheet to Jhumia colonies of Tripura, like Santirnagar colony*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to solve the land dispute between displaced persons and tribals in Barjalai, Jirawa area*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to take steps to protect Mag peasants of Baisnabpur, Sabroon from being harassed and evicted from land by Jotedar*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to supply agricultural loan to Kisans of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for enacting Land Reforms Legislation for Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for an Ordinance preventing transference of land from Tribals to non-tribals in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for proper planning for Jhumia rehabilitation*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for opening polytechnic training centre at Agartala*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for providing stipends to peasants' sons for receiving agricultural training*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need to abolish top-heavy administration in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for small irrigation works in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Defective methods of terrace cultivation scheme in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Problem of un-employment in Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for liberalisation of issue of licences for fire-arms to Tribals of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Supply of rice at a controlled rate to the rural areas of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Tripura be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Withholding of legitimate information from Parliament under the guise of 'in public interest'*

**Shri B. K. Galkwad:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Re. 1.

*Failure to reserve services for Buddhists who are converted from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*

**Shri B. K. Galkwad:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for providing aid to Scheduled Caste displaced persons in Ramnadpuram District, in Madras State.*

**Shri B. K. Galkwad:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to give protection to the Backward Class people from harassment in villages*

**Shri B. K. Galkwad:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to satisfy the demands and needs of Backward Class people to improve their economic condition*

**Shri B. K. Galkwad:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Failure to recruit suitable Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates on seats reserved for them*

**Shri B. K. Galkwad:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Partial treatment given to certain institutions while giving Government aid*

**Shri B. K. Galkwad:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Necessity of introducing free education to the members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes upto matriculation standard*

**Shri P. G. Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

*Need for adequate financial aid to the poor Adivasis and Harijans to fight out cases in the courts of law*

**Shri P. G. Deb:** I beg to move:

That the Demand under the head Miscellaneous Departments and expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs be reduced by Rs. 100.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** These Cut Motions are now before the House.

**Dr. Krishnaswami (Chingleput):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker. I must point out that on the home front, conditions are most disquieting. The reorganisation of States has brought in its wake many problems of integration in an administrative, and social sense. Parliament has by no means said the last word on the reorganisation of the States. And in the case of Bombay at any rate, let me confess that Parliament has committed a grievous blunder and the time has come when we should reverse it. *(Interruption.)*

**An Hon. Member:** It is an insult to Parliament.

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** No, Sir.

**Shri Keshava (Bangalore City):** It is a matter of opinion.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If an hon. Member is of the view that a blunder has been committed and appeals to the Parliament again to revise it and look into it, I think he has justification to say so. He may feel like that. He may not agree. He has to submit to it but he can always appeal to the House that in his view this was not the correct decision and that it ought to be reviewed. That is perhaps what he meant, as I understood him.

**Dr. Krishnaswami:** I should be the last person ever to treat Parliament with anything else but the highest respect. But there are times when Parliament can be mistaken in its decision. In the case of Bombay and Punjab, I feel that the time has come when we should re-draw the frontiers. Because many of my friends have spoken about Bombay, I do not propose to cover the same ground but on

Punjab, I should like to say a word or two.

If every third day, Ministers and others come from Punjab to Delhi for guidance, I ask: what autonomy is this? What sort of a constitution of a State is this? Why should we not revise the frontiers of the Punjab State? It may be that half a division from U.P. transferred to Punjab area may make two States which are viable in character and it may promote greater social harmony. After all we have had serious discords and conflicts during the past nine months and the time has come when Parliament should review the position again.

There are other issues that are facing our country. I am referring to one major issue which has confronted us and that is the issue relating to the introduction of a new official language. The country has been discussing and canvassing the merits of this question. Parliament cannot stultify itself by dissociating itself altogether from the views that have been expressed. Parliament which is the forum of the nation has a duty cast on it to make available to the Official Language Committee the facets of this complicated question here and now. In this controversy large numbers of distinguished citizens are arrayed on different sides. One thing is clear, Mr. Deputy-Speaker. It is possible for man of good-will and patriotic outlook to hold diverse views and thus underline the gravity of the situation. Dr. Roy, a great son of Bengal and may I add—and also a great Indian, a rare combination to find in these days in Delhi, Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan, Ministers of various States and legislators in different regions—these represent a sample of national opinion which the Official Language Committee cannot ignore. The least that it can do is to invite these individuals to clarify their standpoint. After all, in a Committee it is easier to find out what these viewpoints are, to discuss with members across the table and attempt to arrive at some agreement. In the

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difficult times through which we are passing, obvious primacy should be given—I hope the House will agree with me—to the building up of a union of hearts, social solidarity and strengthening of co-operative outlook. All other issues and all other questions are of secondary importance.

What are the issues that face the country? We have been reluctant to talk about them lest tempers should flare up and passions be inflamed. It is possible in a serious and grave assembly like Parliament to discuss these issues in a spirit of objectivity. So far as the national language is concerned, a language which reflects the cultural heritage of the people, we have in our country not one but fourteen languages. At the moment, some may be more richly endowed and some may be more widely spoken. But in each instance, the language is the language of a region. People who live in a particular area, whatever might be their mother tongue, usually know the regional language. The problem arises when we want communication to be facilitated among people of different regions who know their mother tongue far better than any other Indian language and, in some cases, experience considerable difficulty in learning a language with a different orientation. Let it be realised that the problem is not merely one of having a cursory knowledge of another language designated as the official language. The problem is one of knowing it as well as those who have the advantage of having it as their mother tongue.

There is another reason for having an official language. We have to maintain contact with the outside world, not merely officially but culturally and in an emotional sense. On both counts—of a language enabling the exchange of ideas and experience without making any region feel at a disadvantage, and for closer contact with the world outside—there is a lot to be said, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, in favour of maintaining the *status quo*.

Let us also take into account the climate and the times in which we are living. Our plans of development, as the Prime Minister has so often emphasised, require to be executed with speed, efficiency and a great deal of co-operation. The citizens of every region will be called upon to make sacrifices to make this country a better country in the next ten or fifteen years. These tasks in themselves are capable of absorbing all our energies and making us exert our qualities of statesmanship to the utmost.

Quite apart from the political and emotional factors, which are important, the every thought of introduction of a new official language even by stages at the present moment will bring in its wake a decline in the speedy disposal of administrative business. Are we in a position to allow such a decline to materialise? The wisest course would be in my judgment—and it is probably shared by many others who have not . . .

An Hon. Member: No, no.

Dr. Krishnaswami: . . . learnt that particular language and who are in a different area—to maintain the *status quo* without specifying a time limit, leaving it to the future to create a climate for considering this question afresh.

Let us realise, Sir, that when the Constitution was framed the atmosphere was entirely different. There was the first flush of sovereignty. There were certain historically determined positions in regard to the status of Indian languages as against English. There was not, probably, that adequate understanding of the practical implications of these provisions. In fact, it is an eloquent commentary on the framers of the Constitution that they should have provided for so many elaborate provisions relating to the official language. It only shows that even then opinion was not definitely crystallised. In fact, divergence in opinion finds a place in the Constitution.

The fixation of a time limit was qualified. Now, when we are reviewing and appraising the situation in the light of our own experience, the major issue in my humble opinion, Sir, is not whether the time limit should be extended or not. To act thus, to think of merely extending the time limit would be merely to keep going the atmosphere of controversy altogether. A far better thing to do is to accept the proposition that the time is not yet ripe to decide upon a change in the existing arrangement.

Indeed, discussion on the claims of Hindi or any other language to be the official language is today in some respects academic and unreal. In one sense the problem does not exist at all. As long as we are unable to provide for free and compulsory education up to the age of 14, there is a certain unreality about posing a choice. Until we reach that stage where every citizen attends school until 14 and studies other languages apart from the mother tongue, the basis of a choice in a democratic country does not exist at all. We will, therefore, be doing a grave wrong in extending the time limit instead of leaving the choice open.

I know that this policy will be dubbed as a policy of drift, but there is a great deal to be said in favour of preventing precipitate action on the basis of a majority vote. On an issue of this grave nature which certainly raises many emotional complications, we should reach a decision as near unanimity as possible. When the time is ripe for doing so, this problem can be considered. Sufficient up to the day is the evil thereof.

I have so far dealt with this issue, but there was another issue which was considered at some length in the debate. There was a discussion on the position of the Civil Service. Now, we have been in the habit of speaking a great deal about the Civil Service, about what their rights and responsibilities should be. I want to point out that there are certain ele-

mentary principles which we have to take into account. Just as it is said that a Member of Parliament shall not serve in Parliament if he has an office of profit, so too we ought to realise that a civil servant cannot interfere in politics. There is a limitation on the legislator being an executive head or something under the Government and, therefore, a similar limitation exists on the civil servant from interfering in politics. But it is pointed out that if he is impartial and objective he would not be interpreting the Directive Principles. Some of my hon. friends, for whom I have great respect, pointed out that civil servants must be capable of taking decisions. But, do we want them to take decisions? What are our Ministers for, if they are not there to lay down policies? A wise administrator, Sir Winston Churchill, in the United Kingdom pointed out many, many years ago that the civil servant is what the Minister makes of him. If he frames a policy, if the Minister knows his mind, then the civil servant is a very obedient servant. If the Minister does not know his mind, and if at times he abandons him in an hour of crisis, then God forbid that the civil servant should ever take even the simplest of decisions.

The developments that have occurred within recent months have not been particularly happy. I have not been happy over what has occurred during the past few months, because the question of ministerial responsibility and the civil servant's responsibility has not been satisfactorily solved. If we want the civil servant to really act in a particular manner, we must be capable of really giving him certain powers. That implies that a civil servant should use his discretion. But if he finds that he gets into trouble if he uses the discretion in the least, then why should he act. And, what is the meaning of saying that he should act in conformity with the Directive Principle? The Directive Principles are there for the Minister to translate; not for the civil servant to bring to



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the notice of the Minister because, obviously, the man who has been elected by the people is in a better position to lay down the policy leaving it to the civil servant to implement it. It is only where a particular policy which has been laid down is disobeyed by the civil servant that there is need for interference and for having a review. I do not think that we need worry very much about what our Civil Service is, but I should like to point out that I have not been very much satisfied with the manner in which we have tackled the problems of administration. The Home Minister was kind enough to point out about two years ago, when I ventured to make some suggestions on the constitution of the Administrative Service and the new responsibilities that would devolve on the administrative cadre, that he would take into account some of my suggestions and find out how best he could reform the Administrative Service. I know that he is a very busy man and that in some respects he is a very tired man, but, none the less, I would like to bring to his notice the need for studying this problem afresh and for finding out how best we can really fill in the gaps that have occurred in our civil service. Today, for instance, the recruitment to the civil service is on an entirely different basis from what it was 15 or 20 years ago. When a man passed in the competitive examination some 25 years ago, it was expected that he would fill in the post of Joint Secretary only 18 years or 19 years later. Now, however, we want people immediately to fill in the posts of Deputy Secretaries and others and naturally the tests that we have to lay down are quite different. How that has to be done, what principles of recruitment we should follow, what exactly are the rules that we should lay down—we have not come to any definite conclusion. I do hope that some of these problems will be taken into account and studied very carefully by the hon. Minister.

I want to say this to my hon. friends that we are passing through a crisis. If we decide to stick together, and stick together not in a formal sense, then with the blessings of Providence we shall be able very soon to make headway, and this country will not only achieve great reputation but also will certainly be a model to be emulated by other countries in Asia and possibly by certain other countries in the West. If we miss this opportunity, if we get ourselves entangled in minor controversies, if the biggest amongst us do not have a sense of proportion, then I say: God save us.

शुची बलिबेन पटेल (भानन्द) :  
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रथम तो विरोध पक्ष के कुछ सदस्यों ने जो बातें कही हैं उस का एक दूसरा पक्ष रखना चाहती हूँ ताकि हाउस में कुछ गलतफहमी न रहे। बताया गया है कि गुजरात में शहरों में सब जगह कांग्रेस का प्रभाव घटता जाता है और म्यूनिसिपैलिटीयों में सब जगह महागुजरात की जीत हो रही है। इस तरह की जो बात कही गई है वह सही नहीं है। अहमदाबाद के चुनाव में तो कांग्रेस ने बिल्कुल भाग ही नहीं लिया। साफ इनकार किया था कि जिस प्रकार का वातावरण वहाँ था उस में वह बिल्कुल हिस्सा नहीं लेना चाहती। नदियाड की म्यूनिसिपैलिटी के चुनाव में आज नहीं बल्कि वर्षों से कांग्रेस कमी अपने उम्मीदवार नहीं खड़े करती है। सूरत की म्यूनिसिपैलिटी में उस ने अपने उम्मीदवार रखे थे और उस में उन की बड़ी जीत हुई है। इस लिये इस तरह से भाषी बातें कहने से कोई फायदा नहीं। बड़ोदा में जरूर हार हुई, लेकिन इस का कारण स्थानिक है जिस के अन्दर जाने की यहाँ जरूरत नहीं। बताया गया है कि जिले में लोकल बाईंस के जो चुनाव हुए हैं उन सबों में कांग्रेस की बड़ी जीत हुई है, उन में कोई और नहीं जीता। किसी जगह ३ जगह, किसी जगह ४ जगह और किसी जगह पर ५ जगह हम ने जीते हैं।

हम तो एक हरिजन बहन को एक सामान्य जगह पर प्रनकंटेस्टेड लाये हैं। इस लिये यहाँ पर इस तरह की बातें कहना कोई सही बात नहीं है। अभी हाल में साबरकांठा के प्रन्दर एक बाई एलेक्शन हुआ और उस बाई एलेक्शन में परिणाम क्या आया ? वहाँ तो उन्होंने लोगों को त्रास तक देने की कोशिश की, कांग्रेस की जीत को भ्रामक लगाने की भी कोशिश की और काफी नुकसान किया, तब भी एक डबल मेम्बर कांस्टिट्यूएन्सी में कांग्रेस की जीत हुई और दोनों जगहों पर महागुजरात वाले हार गये। अब यहाँ पर कहना कि गुजरात में कांग्रेस का होल्ड चला जा रहा है, यह बात सही नहीं है।

हमारे गृह मंत्री से विनती की गई है कि वे यह मामला अगर अपने हाथ में ले लें तो वह आसानी से हल हो सकता है। मैं तो कहना चाहती हूँ कि कौन बीच में पड़ा था। संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र वाले महागुजरात वाले अपने आप मिले हैं और बड़ा शोर किया था कि हम बम्बई की प्रान्सेम साल्व करेंगे। आखिर क्यों उसे भ्रमण रख दिया और उस में कुछ नहीं कर सके। बम्बई देने को तैयार हो गये तो गुजरात वालों की भाँख खुल गई कि इन लोगों का भरोसा नहीं किया जा सकता।

दूसरी बात यह कही गई कि जो बॉर्डर्स की बात है राज्यों के, इस के मामले को भी आप हल कीजिये। बात तो यह है कि डांग की बातचीत किस ने उठाई थी। कांग्रेस ने तो कहा नहीं था। उस में भी छोड़ दिया गया मामला हल नहीं हो सकता। फिर ऐसी बात करना कि पार्लियामेंट को यह सोचना चाहिये और गृह मंत्री स्वयम् अपने हाथ में ले लें तो आसानी से हल हो सकता है, यह बात गलत है। मैं इस चीज को साफ करना चाहती हूँ। दुःख की बात तो यह है कि हमारे गृह मंत्री या हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर कभी कभी कह देते हैं कि यह कोई आखिरी चीज नहीं है, बुनियाद पलटती जाती है, कभी मामला फिर भी उखाड़ा जा सकता है। उस बात से वे लोग

फायदा उठाते हैं और फिर लोगों को सहारा देना चाहते हैं कि यह कोई आखिरी चीज नहीं है, हम फिर लड़ेंगे, हम इस साल कुछ करेंगे, अगले साल कुछ करेंगे। इस तरह से लोगों को बहकाया करते हैं। मेरी गृह मंत्री जी से विनती है कि यह आखिरी चीज हो गई है और इस में कोई बदलाव होने वाला नहीं है।

अब मैं दूसरी बातों पर आना चाहती हूँ। जहाँ तहाँ डाके होते हैं, लेकिन इस के बारे में एक बात जरा लोगों के सामने रखने की जरूरत है। आज हमारा देश बड़ा बना है, पार्टिशन होने के पहले ब्रिटिश इंडिया जितना था, उस से एरिया में काफी बड़ा देश है और इस में काफी देशी रियासतें आई हैं, जिन के प्रन्दर पहले भी डाके होते रहते थे, खून होते रहते थे। किन्तु यह चीजें बाहर नहीं आती थीं। इसलिये आज हम को ऐसा लगता है कि इस तरह की चीजें बहुत हो रही हैं। परन्तु अगर इस के बारे में कुछ खोज हो सके और हम बता सकें कि जब देशी रियासतों के हाथ में यह प्रदेश थे तब हर साल भ्रमण भ्रमण जगहों पर कितने डाके होते थे, कितनी चोरियाँ होती थीं, कितने खून होते थे, तो उस का जो प्रप्रोर्शन आयेगा उस से हम लोगों में जो गलतफहमी है कि हमारे हाथ में कारोबार आने के बाद यह चीज बढ़ रही है या बढ़ती जाती है, यह दूर हो जायेगी। परन्तु साथ ही साथ एक बात यह भी है। मैं ने सुना पिछले हफ्ते कि मध्य भारत में बच्चे बूढ़े भाठ भादमियों को डाकू उठा ले गये हैं और उन के लिये बहुत बड़ा बदला या रैसम मांगते हैं, एक लाख, २ लाख या ५ लाख। इतनी बड़ी रकम वह दे नहीं सकते और बेचारे उन के रिश्तेदार परेशान हैं। मेरी विनती है कि अगर इन राज्यों की पुलिस से यह मामला हल नहीं हो सकता तो हम अपने यहाँ से स्पेशल पुलिस की मदद दें और उन लोगों को जो इस तरह से लोगों को फिजनीय कर लेते हैं सत्य करने के लिये कुछ कर सकें तो अच्छा है।

### [सुन्नी मजिनेन पदेन]

जिस तरह से नागा लोगों में, आसाम के इण्डियन एरियाज में आप काम कर रहे हैं, उन की भलाई के लिये, उन के उद्धार के लिये, उन में प्राथिम जाति संघ या भील सेवा मंडल आदि के द्वारा उन की गरीबी दूर करने के लिये अगर आप काम करेंगे तो मैं समझती हूँ कि यह मामला जल्दी धीर आसानी से हल हो जायेगा। काम बहुत कठिन है धीर बर्षों का समय लगेगा क्योंकि उन के दिल में यह बात कई बर्षों से भरी गई है कि हमारा तो धर्म ही है चोरी करना, लोगों पर डाका डालना। यह हमारी पीढ़ी से आया हुआ काम है धीर हम को यही करना चाहिये। इसलिये जब तक उन में हम रचनात्मक काम नहीं करेंगे धीर उन का यह स्थान दूर नहीं कर सकेंगे तब तक खाली पुलिस से यह मामला हल नहीं हो सकेगा, ऐसा मुझे लगता है।

मुझे यह भी कहना है कि आज जब आपने दिल्ली कारपोरेशन के क्षेत्र में नई दिल्ली को अलग कर रक्खा है तब मैं यह आशा करती हूँ कि आप नई दिल्ली में कारपोरेशन की क्षेत्र की प्रपेक्षा अधिक सफाई धीर स्वच्छता कायम रख सकेंगे। केन्द्रीय सरकार के अधीन नई दिल्ली का जो इलाका रहने वाला है उसके लिए मैं यह आशा करती हूँ कि वहाँ सफाई आदि का अधिक अच्छा प्रबन्ध रहेगा धीर उस क्षेत्र में कानूनों का ठीक से पालन किया जायगा।

आज हम देखते हैं कि दिल्ली धीर नई दिल्ली की वह हालत नहीं है जो उसकी पार्टिशन से पहले थी। आज तो हम देखते हैं कि दिल्ली धीर नई दिल्ली की सड़कों पर जगह जगह साइकिल मरम्मत करने वाले खड़े हो जाते हैं धीर मैं यह नहीं मानती कि उनको उसका लाइसेंस मिलता है। कहीं पर दो, चार कप लेकर कोई चाय का सामान लेकर खड़ा हो जाता है तो कहीं पर संतरे आदि खाने की चीजें बेचने वाले खड़े हो जाते हैं भीड़ रहती है। कहने का तात्पर्य

यह है कि सड़कों पर काफ़ी गंदगी हो जाती है, पानी का या कोई माकूल इंतजाम नहीं है। मेरा यह कहना है कि किसी न किसी तरकीब से यह लोग जो सड़कों पर गंदगी करते हैं उनको वहाँ से हटाना चाहिये।

आपने जो हर जगह टैक्सी स्टैंड कायम कर दिये हैं उससे धाम जनता को बहुत सहूलियत हुई है धीर यह आपने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है परन्तु क्या आपने इस धीर भी ध्यान दिया है कि टैक्सी स्टैंड्स तो हैं परन्तु जो टैक्सी वाले हैं वे कहां रहते हैं? मैं आपको बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि टैक्सी स्टैंड्स ही उनके घर हो गये हैं धीर वे लोग वहीं पर रहते हैं। अब वे लोग कहां नहाते हैं धीर कहां उनके शौच आदि की व्यवस्था आपने की है? एक नहाने धीर शौच आदि की व्यवस्था न होने के कारण वहां पर काफ़ी गंदगी होती है। मेरा यह कहना है कि इस बारे में कुछ होना चाहिए धीर या तो उनको इस तरह की गंदगी न करने देना चाहिए या फिर हर एक टैक्सी स्टैंड पर कुछ न कुछ प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये।

एक बात धीर भी है। चांडे दिन तो आपकी पुलिस ने बिना घंटी धीर बत्ती के चलने वाले साइकिल वालों के खिलाफ काफ़ी निगरानी रक्खी धीर बिना बत्ती धीर घंटी के साइकिल सवारों का भारी संख्या में चालान भी किया धीर काफ़ी रुपये उनसे दंड के रूप में वसूल किये लेकिन अब मैं देखती हूँ कि इधर फिर डील दे दी गई है धीर लोग फिर बिना बत्ती धीर घंटी के साइकिल चलाते हैं। मुबह दस बजे से ज़रा पहले धीर शाम को ५ धीर ६ बजे के बीच जो सरकारी कर्मचारी विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में काम करके बाहर निकलते हैं धीर आप स्वयं इसकी जांच करा सकते हैं कि फ्री दस साइकिल सवारों में से केवल एक ही साइकिल सवार ऐसा होता है जो कि साइकिल पर घंटी धीर बत्ती रखता है। अब आप स्वयं इस बात को जांच सकते हैं कि

जब आपके सरकारी कर्मचारी ही साधारण यातायात सम्बन्धी नियमों का पालन नहीं करेंगे तो फिर भाव जनता से आप उन कानूनों के पालन करने की कैसे आशा रख सकते हैं ? इसके लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि हर एक मंत्रालय अपने बहानों के कर्मचारियों की जो कि साइकिल इस्तेमाल करते हैं जांच कराये और उनके द्वारा साइकिल सम्बन्धी नियमों का सख्ती से पालन करवाये। आज तो देखने में आता है कि एक एक साइकिल पर दो, दो और तीन, तीन लोग बैठ कर चलते हैं।

यह तो ठीक है कि जिस तरह से हमारे काम बढ़ते जाते हैं उसी हिसाब से रोज बरोज हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारियों की संख्या भी बढ़ेगी परन्तु मुझे शंका है कि आज से पांच या दस साल पहले हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारी जितना काम करके देते थे उतना काम आज नहीं देते हैं। मुझ को ऐसा लगता है कि कई कर्मचारी तो बेचारे बहुत काम करते हैं, ८, १० और १२ घंटे काम करते हैं परन्तु काफ़ी कर्मचारी ऐसे भी हैं जो कि काम नहीं करते हैं। उनका बहकाने वाले नौग भी मौजूद हैं। भ्रमण भ्रमण उनकी ट्रेड यूनियन बनी हुई हैं। परन्तु इन यूनियन का यह अमर नहीं होना चाहिए कि वे कम काम करें और उनमें अनुशासनहीनता फ़ैले। सरकार का इसके बारे में शीघ्रता से कुछ उपाय करना चाहिये। आपको सचिस क्लम इस बात को ध्यान में रख कर ठीक करने चाहिये और हर एक कर्मचारी से आपको काफ़ी काम लेना चाहिये।

आज चपड़ासियों की तादाद हर साल बढ़ती जाती है। एक बार इसके लिये यह सोचा गया था कि मैसंजर सिस्टम निकाला जाय लेकिन यह बात बिल्कुल कोल्ड स्टोरेज में रख दी गयी है।

इसके प्रतिरिक्त मेरी यह समझ में नहीं आता है कि क्या बाऊर्ड में हर एक मिनिस्टर के लिये सिन्धुटिटी आफिसर की जरूरत है ? हां, अलग-अलग २, ४ मिनिस्ट्रियों के लिये

सिन्धुटिटी आफिसर रखा जावे, यह बात तो समझ में आती है लेकिन हर एक मिनिस्टर के लिये सिन्धुटिटी आफिसर की जरूरत मुझे समझ में नहीं आती है। मिनिस्टर्स जब दौरे भादि पर बाहर जाते हैं तो बहानों सिन्धुटिटी आफिसरों को बिल्कुल ले जाना ही नहीं चाहिये क्योंकि जहां भी वे जाते हैं वहां पर उनके लिये सिन्धुटिटी का लोकली प्रबन्ध होता है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि आप इस बारे में सोचें। हाँ मिनिस्टर्स के बंगलों पर जहां कि जरूरी कागजात बगैर रहते हैं उनकी हिफाजत के लिये आप उनके निवास स्थान पर एक आदमी तैनात करते हैं तो वह समझ में आने वाली चीज है परन्तु जब मिनिस्टर दौरे पर कहीं बाहर जाय तो सिन्धुटिटी आफिसर भी उसके साथ साथ हमेशा रहें, ऐसी व्यवस्था हर एक मिनिस्टर के लिये जरूरी नहीं है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : खतरा बढ़ गया है।

सुधी अरिबेन पटेल : आई० ए० एस० का जो स्कूल है उसके प्रिंसिपल के काम की अवधि पूरी हो रही है और उसके स्थान पर अब कोई दूसरा प्रिंसिपल होने वाला है। उसके लिये अभी तक कोई नियुक्ति नहीं हुई है। मेरा कहना है कि आज के जमाने के अनुकूल और सही दृष्टि रखने वाला कोई अफसर उस जगह के लिये नियत किया जाय क्योंकि यह बहुत जरूरी है कि जो अफसर वहां पर नियत किया जाय वह पूरी तरह आपकी पालिसी में विस्वास रखता हो और जो कि बिलकुल सही तौर से आपकी पालिसी को समझे और अमल में लाये क्योंकि उसके ऊपर प्रशासन के लिये नये अफसरों को तैयार और ट्रेन करने का भार है। इसलिये आप ऐसा प्रिंसिपल नियुक्त करें जो आपकी पालिसी में श्रद्धा रखता हो।

अभी जो आखिरी वक्ता थे उन्होंने भाषा के बारे में कहा। मेरा कहना है कि उसमें ईमोशन की बात नहीं है परन्तु यह

[ सुष्मी मनिबेन पटेल ]

अवश्य है कि अंग्रेजी राज्य तो हमारे देश से कात्थ हो गया परन्तु अंग्रेजी भाषा व संस्कृति के हम इतने गुलाम बने हुये हैं इसका यह प्रदर्शन है। अंग्रेजी कितने लोग आज हिन्दुस्तान में जानते हैं और अभी जो शिक्षण बड़ रहा है उसमें भी कितने लोग अंग्रेजी जानेंगे। यह जानते हुये भी वे यह कहते हैं कि यहां पर हिन्दी नहीं करना चाहिये। मेरा तो यह कहना है कि संविधान में जो हिन्दी को उसकी उपयुक्त जगह देने के लिये समय निर्धारित किया था वह ऐसे लोगों को सहारा देने के लिये और टाइम देने के लिये किया था और इसीलिये हिन्दी को पूर्ण रूप में लाने के बारे में यह समय की अवधि निर्धारित की थी। अब यह लोग कहते हैं कि हिन्दी को मत लाओ और अंग्रेजी को ही रखो तो मेरा निवेदन है कि इसमें डीलापन नहीं भाने देना चाहिये।

आपने अपनी रिपोर्ट में बतलाया है कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों को हिन्दी सिखाने के उद्देश्य से आपने हिन्दी क्लासेज का प्रबन्ध किया है परन्तु आपको यह बतलाना चाहिये था कि कितने कर्मचारियों ने हिन्दी परीक्षा दी है, और कितनों की परीक्षा अभी बाकी है। यह ठीक से इस में नहीं बतलाया गया है कि हिन्दी का ज्ञान प्राप्त करने की दिशा में क्लास १, २ और ३ के कर्मचारियों में कितनी प्रगति हुई है ?

आखिरी बात मुझे मद्य निषेध के सम्बन्ध में कहनी है। मैं यह बेलती हूँ यहां दिल्ली में तो जब तक एक आधमी मद्य पीते पीते पाबल न हो जाय तब तक वह मद्य पीने वाला है, ऐसा कहा नहीं जाता है। हफ्ते में एक बार अथवा दो, तीन बार पी लेने से अथवा कभी कभी पार्टी में मद्य पीने वाले को, वह मद्य पीता है ऐसा नहीं कहते हैं। अब अगर आप इस नशाबन्दी को दिल्ली में जो कि देश की राजधानी है, ठीक से

लानू नहीं करेंगे तो और जगह यह कैसे ठीक से चलेगी। दिल्ली में नशाबन्दी का ठीक से पालन न होने के सम्बन्ध में एक बहाना यह किया जाता है कि दिल्ली में बहुत से एम्प्लोयड रहते हैं। जहां तक एम्प्लोयड का सम्बन्ध है हम उनको कोई तकलीफ नहीं देना चाहते। वे अपने एम्प्लोयड में जाकर जितना चाहें पियें परन्तु मेरा तो इतना ही कहना है कि उनको आप इतना सुझाव दे दीजिये कि जब वे हमारे लोगों को अपने वहां बुलायें तब मद्य न सर्व करे। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि क्या जब हमारे लोग बाहर अमेरिका आदि देशों में जाते हैं तो क्या इस बात का खयाल किया जाता है कि हमारे लोग जो कि वेजीटेरियंस हैं और जो मांस मछली, वगैरह कुछ नहीं खाते पीते उनको नान वेजीटेरियंस के बीच में बैठ कर खाना पड़ता है और उनको मांस, मछली आदि से जो बू भ्राती है उससे कितनी तकलीफ होती होगी, क्या इसके बारे में भी कभी उन्होंने सांचा है ? मेरा इसमें यह मतलब नहीं है कि हम भी वैसा ही करें लेकिन इतना जरूर चाहूंगी कि हमारे जो सिद्धान्त है और पालिसीज हैं उन पर हमें मजबूती से जमे रहना चाहिये। आप कहते हैं कि हम राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी के बताये हुये मार्ग पर और उनको शिक्षाओं के अनुसार आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो आपको यह नहीं भूल जाना चाहिये कि जो उन्होंने तीन चार चीजें हमें करने के लिये बताई थीं उनमें मद्य निषेध भी एक थी। वहां तक कहा था कि शिक्षा बच्चों को न दे सके तो भले परन्तु पहला पूरा प्रोहीबिशन जारी कर देना चाहिये। उस पालिसी पर जल्दी अमल हो सके, ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। मद्य निषेध की पालिसी पूरी तरह कार्यान्वित होनी चाहिये और कम्पलीट प्राहिबिशन होना चाहिये। मैं आशा करती हूँ कि इस बारे में आप गौर करेंगे। मुझे जो समय दिया गया है उसके लिये धन्यवाद।

**Shri Thirumala Rao (Kakinada):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for the internal security and safety of the country and the person that heads this Ministry is called upon to fill a very onerous, responsible and difficult place, for which high statesmanship and leadership are required. After the achievement of independence by this country, many people from abroad have come and seen that the country's integrity is maintained, that the country has given a sound and efficient administration and it is progressing on even keels. From the beginning, after we have achieved independence, the Home Ministry has been headed by the greatest statesmen in our country, by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, then Shri Rajaji and after him, after a brief interregnum by Dr. Katju, the present incumbent, Shri Pantji, who is now managing the internal affairs of our country.

The integration of the several States, independent Indian States that sought to develop into so many ulcers in the body politic of our country, without shedding a drop of blood, without a show of violence or force, into a united India is a great achievement indeed. Now, soon after that, hardly five or six years after that, the feeling of provincialism or linguism tries to come to the surface and that has to be faced with all our powers.

The States re-organisation has been handled with great care, tact, foresight and statesmanship by Shri Pantji and today we have seen the map of India, demarcated and redrawn. But, still the aftermath of this re-organisation is hanging heavily on the administration. We have created huge States, composed of the former British Indian provinces, which have advanced sufficiently in their political development and political thinking and experience, and the other feudal States, where political life and public leadership have not developed much, which have always remained subject to the intrigues, selfish purposes and designs

of the several rulers that dominated the political administration of those States. For instance, Rajasthan is a feudal State. Madhya Pradesh is a combination of the old Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh, which are largely responsible for the existence of feudal systems. Again, in the extreme South, Kerala is a combination of the old British Indian part and the feudal State of Travancore-Cochin. Mysore is another example. And, last but not least, the State from which I come, Andhra which had a progressive existence of political life, which had the followers and the believers of the Gandhian ideology, was tagged on to a State, the Hyderabad State, the major part of which had feudal institutions, traditions and standards of conduct at the time of integration. To bring all these States into one gamut of States, owing common allegiance to the Centre, is a very difficult matter.

There are many things that are still to be decided, many border disputes that have to be settled. Not only that, the uneven developed parts of the States have to be integrated into one another and all the idiosyncracies or the legacies that have been handed over to the present regime have to be ironed out before we can evolve a good pattern of united India where the several States blossom into a full-fledged progressive unit.

The organisation of the Regional Councils is one step in the right direction. It requires great leadership. And the Home Minister, as the common President of these Councils, is trying to evolve a sort of basic unity among all these Regional Councils, where individual differences and interests are reconciled and the States are allowed to march on a common path.

Here I want to bring to the notice of the Ministry the position with regard to the Central Pradesh, Rajasthan and Southern Indian States—I mean, Madhya parts of Uttar Pradesh. It is a matter which cannot be lightly

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dealt with. It cannot be left for long to the States concerned to deal with the worsening situation. An area of nearly 16,000 sq. miles is being run over by dacoits, who come from very respectable families. They have got a previous history behind them. Many of the leading members of the dacoit gangs come from very respectable families. Since they have lost their jagira, lost their properties, left without any work and lot of leisure, they have taken to dacoity. They are supplied with the latest arms and ammunition by the people for fighting a sort of guerilla war. The natural terrain in that area is giving them ample protection. It is a very difficult problem for the new Madhya Pradesh State and also the Rajasthan State to deal with the dacoit menace.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pali):** I think the hon. Member is not properly informed about the Rajasthan State. The Rajasthan State has been dealing with the dacoit situation very effectively.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** I said that it is still vulnerable to some of these things. I said that the southern parts of Rajasthan bordering Uttar Pradesh and Agra Division are infected with the dacoit menace; not the whole Rajasthan. Similarly also for Madhya Pradesh. I did not mean the whole of Madhya Pradesh. I said that an area of about 16,000 sq. miles, comprising parts of these States, is infected with dacoit menace.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** All that I said was that the problem has been very effectively dealt with by the Rajasthan Government. It has been liquidated.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** I welcome it.

**Dr. Sushila Nayar (Jhansi):** That may be the opinion of the hon. Member. But others do not hold that opinion.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** The trouble is that they have not got enough information. If I am permitted, I will give the details.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may resume his speech.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** The Home Minister has to take a very serious view of this. The Ministry has to organise its own police force. I think it should have a striking force of several thousand strong so that it can bring the dacoit menace to an end. If necessary, the help of the military may also be taken to put down this dacoit menace, because all our plans, development plans, in which we are throwing crores of rupees will come to nothing if there is no law and order and the people are not allowed to have their peaceful pursuits.

Then, I want to bring to your notice the general level of the administrative service. We have to keep a certain standard of efficiency in our administrative service. As the standard of our educational system is coming down, so also the calibre of the administrative service. We can see the difference between ICS and IAS officers. Of course, the ICS officers were brought up in a different situation by a different regime altogether. Now if we are to evolve the IAS cadre, which will efficiently discharge the responsibilities that are devolving on them, we require boys of very high calibre. But today our educational standards are getting lower. If you see the proceedings of the several Public Service Commissions, the howlers that they have published are very many. A number of M.A. students, who have applied for a gazetted post to teach history and politics for B.A. class, were called for interview by a Public Service Commission. It was a recent occurrence. One student said that a war is going on between Russia and China today. That is the public knowledge. Another student said that the President of the Indian Republic is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

**Shri Goray:** That is a mistake often committed.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** A third student said that Gibraltar belongs to Spain. These are a few sample howlers. As long as we have a low standard of educational, the standard of the people recruited by the Public Service Commission will also be low. In our Five Year Plans the chief hub round which the whole development work and the execution of these development plans revolve is the district administrator or district collector, by whatever name he may be called. You make him the head of the police, head of the Community Projects, head of everything. He is responsible for the administration in all its aspects in a district. A man who is not properly equipped and properly trained with a basic minimum qualification is not able to cope up with the work.

Now on account of the large demand on the number of our personnel, an I.A.S. officer, who is recruited and has served hardly for five or six years, climbs up to the position of District Collector or Administrator. He is hardly a boy. He takes up his job at the age of 23 or 24 and before he is 30 he is asked to administer a district with 20 or 25 lakhs of population and the face varying problems that demand the attention, energy and the ability of a senior officer. We require a higher standard of efficiency and it is for the Home Ministry to look into these things.

While they are suffering from lack of efficiency, they are trying to give a certain latitude and premium to inefficiency also. I understand that a department of the Government has issued circulars to recruit people, who are far below minimum standards required, and fill up the vacancies somehow to make up the quota of backward and scheduled castes. For heaven's sake let there be every accommodation for them, every handicap in their favour be given and every advantage be given in their favour at the time of recruitment, but when you lower the standard for the technical services, like the engineers, medical services etc., you are injuring the

whole nation. The Principals of engineering colleges complain that students, who are joining the college under certain extra-ordinary provisions, are not able to understand the textbooks they have to read and gain knowledge in medicine and engineering. If you are going to hand over this whole country to this sort of people, who are brought up on certain favoured conditions at the cost of efficiency, the future of this country is in great danger. I would therefore request the Home Minister to look into this matter also. There may be any amount of favouritism or advantages given to particular sections of the community at the time of recruitment but minimum qualifications must be insisted upon. They may be lower than the average qualification but they should not be too low.

With regard to promotions also I understand that those recruited under favourable conditions are also favoured for promotions. Once they are recruited, they should be allowed to compete with other people for their promotion.

Another matter that I want to bring to the notice of the Home Ministry is in regard to the reservation of seats for scheduled castes. There is already an agitation going on and how far the reservation should be continued is a matter to be considered by the leaders of all communities and all political parties in the country. Large communities like the Muslims and the Christians have no reservation in the body politic.

**Shri M. R. Krishna (Karimnagar—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** But they had it for a number of years.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** No other community has got any reservation either in the Government or in the legislature. But I am not against it. That is a matter to be considered in all its bearings and in all its aspects. The hon. Home Minister is very sympathetic and he has said more than once as a policy of the Government. I am not



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differing with that policy but what I want to tell is with regard to the joint electorates. I have a constructive suggestion to make. Where there are double seats and where the political parties run their candidates, it is found that there is collusion between the candidates belonging to the scheduled castes which acts to the detriment of the interests of the non-scheduled caste candidates. There are several such instances. There are 28 elections in the double member constituencies in which both the scheduled caste candidates have colluded though they differed with each other and belonged to opposite political parties like the Congress and the Communists, and have had all the votes for themselves. They defeated the purpose of reservation. Reservation also confers a favour.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Thirumala Rao: I will finish in two minutes.

It is an additional advantage to them that the scheduled caste candidate is so popular with the general electorate.

Shri Barman (Cooch Behar—Reserved—Sch. Castes): May I know the positive number of cases where the scheduled caste candidates have conspired against the non-scheduled caste candidate though they belong to different political parties and whether the political party concerned has taken any action? To make a general allegation like this, I think, is not worthy of the hon. Member.

Shri M. C. Jain (Kaithal): They should not grudge it. They should welcome it.

Shri Thirumala Rao: I would request my hon. friend to bear with me. In a majority of cases both the scheduled caste candidates have won and it has been found that there has been an understanding between these two candidates to share the votes amongst

themselves. I am not accusing everyone of them. I am not saying that everyone of them has done it but wherever it has been done our experience has shown that there was such an understanding. But I am not depriving the scheduled caste candidates of their reservation. My constructive suggestion is . . .

Shri Anjanappa (Nellore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): How could you verify the ballot papers to know that scheduled caste voters had voted only for the scheduled caste candidates?

Shri Thirumala Rao: You rebut my argument. If I am proved wrong I will be the most happy man. What I suggest is to have single member constituencies over the whole country. For instance, there are 28 seats in the Andhra part of the whole Andhra Pradesh for the Lok Sabha. There are four reserved seats for scheduled castes. What I suggest is to make all the seats single member constituencies and have a few by rotation, say four constituencies, for scheduled castes. Even today in a double member constituency the scheduled caste candidate has to depend on the non-scheduled caste votes (*interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The suggestion of the hon. Member may not be liked by some, but at least he is to be heard. He should be heard patiently and I will request hon. Members to bear patience.

Shri Barman: We object to generalisation. There may be exceptions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is only giving his suggestion. It may be accepted or not. But he is entitled to give his suggestion and he is giving it that there should be single member constituencies.

Shri M. C. Jain: But the basis of his suggestion is wrong.

Shri Thirumala Rao: I am ready to be corrected. I withdraw whatever I have said if I am convinced by my hon. friends that the argument is false

and is not based on facts. Why not consider my proposal? Why are you so impatient? It is not that everyone has suffered but there are others who have suffered on account of this discrepancy. Where is the harm? They are all general electorates. All the communities are represented in a single member constituency. All the voters come from all the communities in a single member constituency. Where is the harm if four seats are separated from the general constituencies for candidates belonging to scheduled castes? That will be reservation for them. Instead of a reservation of one seat in a double member constituency I propose for the reservation of one seat in a constituency where he will contest with all other members of his community for the favour of all the members in his constituency.

**Shri C. K. Nair (Outer Delhi):** What is the advantage?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have requested hon. Members to maintain order so many times. The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Thirumala Rao:** I will conclude very soon.

There are several other matters with which the Home Ministry is concerned and is held responsible to maintain a general standard of public life in the country, to see that subversive elements in whatever form will not affect the real stability of the country. That is a great task and whoever be the Head of this Ministry, needs to be a man with great strength, foresight, patience and forbearance and also a sort of statesmanship to guide this country. For the present, I think, we have got such leadership amply provided in this Ministry.

**Shri Osa (Zalawad):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will first dwell on the issue of re-organisation of States to which some hon. Members from the Opposition benches have referred. Dr. Krishnaswami said that we have com-

mitted some error, that the Parliament has committed some error, on the issue of Bombay and he added Punjab also. But when he suggested a remedy for Punjab I could not quite follow him. He said that some adjoining divisions of U.P. should be tacked on to the State of Punjab. If that is carried out, what will be the position? Some non-Punjabi-speaking areas will be attached to Punjabi-speaking areas. So, at one place he wants a solution, that is at Bombay—he, of course, did not refer to the solution which he has in mind—, but at another place he has perhaps created a problem according to some friends on that side.

Some other friends also referred to the question of reorganisation of the State of Bombay. I have a fundamental difference of opinion with some of them. It is in this respect. When they trot out in season and out of season the results of the elections recently held in Maharashtra or, for the matter of that, in Gujarat, I for one cannot understand whether in the internal reorganisation of States in this country we want to adopt the principle of self-determination, whether it may be on the question of language or some other question. Because, after all, we know that the States are to be reorganised not only on the question of language, as so many theorists have pointed out. As the States Reorganisation Commission has also pointed out, language is not the only issue on which States are to be reorganised. The political unity and strength of the country, the security of the country, language and cultural aspects of the areas concerned, financial and administrative questions, and their homogeneity, all these questions are to be looked into when we decide the question of reorganisation of States.

[**SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN** in the Chair].

**Shri P. R. Patel (Mehsana):** May I know why Hyderabad was divided?

**Shri Osa:** There language was not the only issue, because so many other

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factors also helped in the formation of the new State.

Apart from the question of results at the elections, this question cannot be decided by bringing voting results at the elections into the arena, because that will lead us into further trouble. If it is a question for self-determination for any group or any area, then on this matter it may be language which will determine whether a particular area has to go to one State or the other; but there will be so many other issues with which people speaking the same language will be faced, as on the question of dialect, want of geographical affinity or cultural ties, and they will say "we want to opt for a different State", and we will be bringing a hornets' nest around us.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** Karnataka was in Bombay State and Bombay State was working well. I would like to know from him why Karnataka was cut out from Bombay State and put in Mysore. What were the reasons for that?

**Shri Oza:** For that you refer to the report of the States Reorganisation Commission.

**Mr. Chairman:** He is only giving his views.

**Shri Oza:** Sir, coming to the question of the election results, there my hon. friends Shri Nath Pai and Shri Yajnik were at cross purposes. (interruption). I will tell you why; be patient. Because, Shri Nath Pai emphasised the election results in Maharashtra area. He quoted the results of Jalna and other municipalities in the Maharashtra area. Of course, when I am referring to the election results in Maharashtra, I must also point out for the information of the House that there were elections in Maharashtra for district local boards also; and there we cannot say that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has annexed all the seats. This is only for the information of the House. In Dhulia and East Khandesh I think the Congress is commanding some major-

ity in the district local boards whose elections took place quite recently. When I say that I do not concede that principle; I am just passing it on as a sort of information.

Then what about the election results of Dangs, because they did not even refer to Dangs. My hon. friend Shri Yajnik said: "No matter what are the results of elections; it may be this way or that way". He obliquely referred to them. As Sushri Maniben Patel pointed out, barring a few municipalities, very small municipalities, where the Congress did not contest directly, the Congress has succeeded in those elections. And he referred to Saurashtra. There were elections there six months back, and in all the major district towns the Congress had a majority, also in other big towns. But recently there were elections in some small townships where the Congress did not contest as Congress. And the membership was seven, nine or ten. I concede that the other parties have won a majority of seats. That I do concede. But he referred to that question very obliquely. He said, "If you reopen the question, we will settle the whole issue". They tried to settle the matter, both the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad. Could they arrive at any decision?

**Shri D. R. Chavan (Karad):** The discussions have not yet concluded.

**Shri Oza:** When will you come to a conclusion? Sir, they have not arrived at a satisfactory solution. May I ask Shri Yajnik whether the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad agrees to look at the election results and let Bombay City go to Maharashtra, whether his party agrees to that? In Dangs recently there were district local board elections. Do you want to abide by the election results of Dangs? You can straightway reply. I do not think you are in a position to reply.

I will not emphasise that point much. As I said, whenever they get an opportunity they refer to this

question with fresh vehemence and emphasis. But I have always failed to find out any fresh arguments. I would like to ask this question: have the cultural activities or the development of that area under the Second Five Year Plan suffered in the last year and a half that they have got the biggest State of Bombay? I put it to our friends whether they can point out that in any way the development activity of this State has suffered, whether there is a shortfall in the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan. No fresh arguments have been given. Their fears are absolutely imaginary. They do not bring out any facts. They simply refer to the election results, that too in a distorted manner and also in a manner which is convenient to them.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** What about the projects in Gujarat?

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. He is entitled to express his opinions.

**Shri Oza:** I would like to ask my hon. friend whether in the matter of socio-economic development the territories that have been included in the State of Bombay have suffered in any manner. Can he say so?

**Shri D. R. Chavan:** Read the Bombay Legislative Assembly proceedings.

**Shri Oza:** I have read them.

**Shri Nath Pai:** You do not seem to have followed them.

**Shri Oza:** In this period there is very little shortfall as compared to States where there is only one language. As compared to them the performance of the State of Bombay so far as the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan is concerned is far better than the unilingual States. I can tell you from personal knowledge that the shortfall is very small. So, the economic and social development has not at all suffered. Ultimately, after all, Government is an instrument for the socio-economic betterment of the people. So, if you ask Parliament to revise its opinion, it cannot be merely

on apprehensions and imaginary arguments. You must come and say, "These areas have suffered, they are not properly being taken care of, this programme is suffering." All these facts should be placed before this august body before it is asked to revise its opinion. We cannot change our opinion so lightly simply because, as I said, there is some agitation there. We must have concrete facts before we can apply our mind on this matter. And till now I have been hearing arguments from the Opposition Benches with great interest and keen attention. I have failed yet to find out one argument about the problems to which I have referred.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am sorry they have passed over your shoulders.

16.00 hrs.

**Shri Oza:** I know you won't relish these arguments.

**Shri P. R. Patel:** See the Sabarmati, Saraswati and Banas projects.

**Shri Oza:** My hon. friend Shri Nath Pai while referring to administrative efficiency said that a recent article of an ex-I.G.P. of Saurashtra is revealing. I was rather pained, because I have also read that article. I know as a matter of fact that hundreds of officers and hundreds of constables have undergone great privation and hardships to liquidate the gang of Bhupat. A few of them have laid down their lives also. One of them in a pitch dark night said that he saw Bhupat. They could not see Bhupat in pitch-dark. They thought that it was Bhupat. The I.G.P. thought that they should have fired in that direction. In that direction there were many fields, many small irrigated areas where cultivators were also living. If that constable exercised his discretion in firing in that direction in the dark, he might have injured many innocent persons. To take that instance and pass disparaging remarks about hundreds of persons who have tried to undo this evil when

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it was there, I think it was not fair on his part.

Shri Nath Pal: I only quoted the Inspector General.

Shri Oza: I am also quoting. You are not quoting it properly.

He said that one constable said, I saw Bhupat at night. Could I know all the details? Perhaps, he could rely on me. At night Bhupat cannot be seen. He thought that Bhupat is in that direction. The I.G.P. thought that if they had fired in that direction, perhaps, some of them might have been killed. Perhaps, with all humility and with all deference to the I.G.P., to have just fired in the darkness at night where so many cultivators are working and staying, might have injured many.

Shri Nath Pal: Random firing was done in Ahmedabad and Bombay.

Shri Oza: You leave it this time. We will come to that when necessary. This shows that you are on weak grounds about this issue when you speak about Ahmedabad.

I am wondering why this I.G.P. should have been allowed to contribute this article in the Times of India. Bhupat is alive. Suppose good sense dawns upon Pakistan and they return Bhupat to us. These cases are *sub judice*. He shall have to be tried. I think it was not wise on the part of the I.G.P. to have indulged in this publicity. Perhaps he might have taken permission from the Home Ministry or from the relevant department. Anyway, this is just for the information of the Home Ministry.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has exceeded his time.

Shri Oza: I shall take only two minutes more, Sir. Coming to the question of the Scheduled Castes, I think that nothing is adequate to expiate,

repent for what we have done for so many centuries. In this country, we have perpetrated so many injustices amounting almost to sin on this poor community, that nothing is adequate, I will emphasise again, to undo all the injustices we have done. In tackling this problem at the Government level, we must do all we can. But, I think this problem is more social than administrative. Let us not for a minute believe that this question can be solved through legislation or through police force or through the administrative machinery. It can only be solved by arousing the social conscience by a team of tried and hardworking social workers. We are fortunate that in this country we have also a very large team of social workers who have taken upon themselves the duty of eradicating untouchability. But still, we have to go a long way in this direction. When I find some missionaries, some Spanish nuns coming to this country and devoting their heart and soul, every minute, to the eradication of social injustices and social vices, I sometimes look down with shame. We hope that the place of all the youth and all the social workers in this country is where these evils are rampant. I think that if we co-ordinate all these activities, Government activities and social activities, and institutions also co-operate, we will be able to cover much ground and eradicate this evil which I think is a great shame and a great blot on this community.

I wanted to refer to some other points. Since you say that I have exceeded my time, I will not take more of the time of the House.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Mahanty.

श्री महंती: सहोदरबाई (सागर-रक्षित-प्रनूस्चित जातियां) : सभापति महोदय, महिलाओं को क्यों नहीं मौका दिया जा रहा है ?

**Mr. Chairman:** यहाँ सब नाम लिखे हुए हैं

The hon. Member will take her chance.

**Shri Mahanty (Dhenkanal):** Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to submit before this House two or three major issues of policy and importance which have been exercising our minds considerably. First, I would like to submit before the House the changing pattern of relationship between the Union and the States. In this context, I come to the Zonal Councils. We were not very happy when these Zonal Councils were formed under the States Reorganisation Act: not because we were very allergic to the concept of it, but because we were afraid that these Zonal Councils will be another instalment of inroad into the much truncated and moth-eaten concept of state autonomy. I do concede that our Constitution is not a federal constitution. The hon. Minister will also concede that it is neither a unitary constitution. Like our mixed economy, mixed ghee and mixed thinking, it is also a mixed constitution. In the Constitution itself, the various domains of the States and the Union were clearly delimited.

**Shri C. K. Nair (Outer Delhi):** Which is the ideal federal constitution in the world?

**Shri Mahanty:** It is like mixed ghee—Dalda. That is what I was trying to submit. I quite concede that it is not a federal constitution. Nor can it be said that it is a unitary constitution. Whatever delimitation of authority and jurisdiction was there, these Zonal Councils were an inroad into it and therefore, we were not very happy about the formation of the Zonal Councils. The Zonal Councils have all the potentialities of a threat to the truncated autonomy of the States. As days proceed, the apprehensions assume a reality. The

vague threats of yesterday have become a fact. According to us, the whole scheme of the Zonal Councils was to keep all the States under the thumb and surveillance of the Centre. In the name of unity, a centralised power-hungry leviathan was almost emerging before our eyes and the materialisation of that, we find today in the creation of the Zonal police.

Before I come to the Zonal police force, I would like to invite the attention of the House to the fact that under section 16 (1) (a) of the States Reorganisation Act, a Union Minister was to be nominated by the President to serve on the Zonal Councils. Under sub-section (2) of the same section, the Union Minister was to act as the Chairman. We find that today, the hon. Home Minister is the Chairman of the five Zonal Councils and almost he rules both the north and the south, the east and the west.

**An Hon. Member:** Also the Centre.

**Shri Mahanty:** And also the Centre. I do not grudge it. Personally I yield to none in my respect and admiration for the hon. Home Minister. The hon. Home Minister as a person and the hon. Home Minister as a symbol of power makes a lot of difference. Even though as a person I would like to give my death warrant in his hands, certainly as a symbol of power, as the Union Home Minister, I would grudge this centralisation of power which today he is manipulating in his own hands under the States Reorganisation Act. Thus, we find the very painful spectacle that the Union Home Minister is practically holding all the States of the Indian Union under a sort of administrative surveillance. On the top of it comes the zonal police force. I would beg of the hon. Home Minister to explain under what statute, under what law, under what provision of the States Reorganisation Act, the zonal police forces are being contemplated. I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Minister to section 21 of

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the States Reorganisation Act which deals with the functions of the Zonal Councils. Sub-section (2) of section 21 enumerates the functions of the Zonal Councils. I would better read it out:

"In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-section (1) a Zonal Council may discuss and make recommendations with regard to any matter of common interest in the field of economic and social planning, any matter concerning border disputes, linguistic minorities or inter-State transport and any matter connected with or arising out of the reorganisation of the States under this Act."

I do not know if there is any other provision, if there is any other statute, if there is any other enactment which extends the functions of Zonal Councils.

**Pandit G. B. Pant:** What is the first paragraph?

**Shri Mahanty:** The first paragraph also I shall read out:

"Each Zonal Council shall be an advisory body . . ."—I lay emphasis on this—" . . . shall be an advisory body and may discuss any matter in which some or all of the States represented in that Council or the Union and one or more of the States represented in that Council have a common interest, and advise the Central Government and the Governments of different States concerned as to the action to be taken on any such matters."

I would like the hon. Home Minister to explain to me why "any matter of

common interest" should be stretched so wide as to include the law and order position. In that case anything from A to Z comes under common interest. Why enumerate them? Why make a fuss of it, why make a fuss of this statute?

I do not wish to harp on that point, but I would like to submit most humbly that this common interest should not be stretched so wide as to include the law and order position. If it had been contemplated by the hon. Minister or the Government, they could have included it also and the heavens would not have fallen. Therefore, this is a brilliant afterthought which has struck the Government for reasons best known to them, but so far as we are concerned, we are apprehensive of the fact that the zonal police force which will function under the control and direction of some genius at the Centre has all the potentialities of crushing all kinds of popular movements in the States. Therefore, I would once again humbly plead that this concept of zonal police forces should be abandoned. Otherwise, we will consider it our political duty to mobilise public opinion against this kind of zonal police forces.

Law and order have been maintained in this country under most difficult conditions. In the year 1947 there was no zonal police force. During the days of our independence fight against the British there was no zonal police force. Today I wonder what objective conditions are there, what circumstances prevail which require this kind of zonal police force.

It has been stated that the various State Governments have been maintaining their special police forces and if there is a pool of their special police forces, probably there might be some saving to the public exchequer. In that case, my submission would be this. If the desideratum is

to save some money for the public exchequer, apart from the question of what price one is going to pay, is the hon. Minister prepared to recommend the abolition of the posts of the Governors? After all, what have they been doing? Let us have zonal Governors. But, when we suggest that there should be zonal Governors, well, the party in power does not take it in a very agreeable spirit, because if you abolish these posts of Governors, that takes away berths for discredited politicians defeated in elections.

**Mr. Chairman:** He cannot say "discredited politicians". The word "discredited" is not proper.

**An Hon. Member:** "Rejected".

**Shri Mahanty:** I am in your hands. I am prepared to substitute any word that is found more suitable.

**Mr. Chairman:** I can only say that is unparliamentary.

**Shri Mahanty:** Thank you for the correction. I stand corrected. Be that as it may, I am not very much against the Governors. They are very fine, debonair gentlemen, and the more we have of them the more I will feel happy. But the question is: if the desideratum is saving money for the public exchequer, abolish the posts of Governors. What have they been doing except opening some tea shops, cafes and some exhibitions etc.? Really, it is something of an enormous proposition when one considers how much the public are paying on that account. It is a costly luxury.

Then I come to the readjustment of the boundaries of the States. I do not know since when the Government have become allergic to the expression "linguistic States". It is a fact, and that fact has to be noted, that the Congress Party during the days of its fight against the British had stood by the linguistic States. For the first time when Andhra State was created, for some mysterious reasons, even

though Andhra was a linguistic State, from the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Andhra State Bill the word "linguistic" was dropped. At that time, if my memory serves me right, the then Home Minister, Dr. Katju, was asked why that word "linguistic" had been dropped. He said: "Though we stand by linguism, there is no need to emphasize it here in the Statement of Objects and Reasons." At that time we never could conceive the mischief that was working behind the mind of the powers that be. As the days roll on, we are told that linguism is something anachronic, something contrary to the ideals and principles of nationalism, but if we look today at the States in the Indian Union we find all are linguistic States barring bi-lingual Bombay which is a mess; and the sooner that mess is cleared it is better not only for Bombay but for India as a whole.

I do not clearly appreciate it when it is stated that this Parliament had given its seal of approval to that arrangement. If what the Parliament had stated is going to be taken as the last word of human intelligence, then I think India has been bereft of intelligent persons. If it is suggested that the first Lok Sabha consisted of all the wise and all the intelligent men of India and that after they had approved a particular thing, that question could not be reopened—well, then we are helpless. I have no time, otherwise I could have cited instances how decisions have been changed intelligently, in a wise manner whenever circumstances so warranted.

After the States Reorganisation Act was passed, the Government came forward with the West Bengal-Bihar Boundary Readjustment Bill. Obviously that proved that the States Reorganisation Commission's conclusions were not final and we were going on changing and readjusting the boundaries as it suited the circumstances and as it met the demands.

Then we find that there is a misstatement in the report of the Home



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Ministry which relates to border readjustment between Andhra and Madras. It is not that the Ministers of Andhra and Madras agreed that there should be a border readjustment. If I remember correctly, it was in the A.I.C.C. session in Calcutta in early 1957 under the auspices of the hon. Home Minister—for which I thank him—the Ministers of Andhra and the Ministers of Madras considered the proposition and it was decided there in Calcutta that this whole issue should be referred to Shri Pataskar and that his decision would be binding.

Now, only the border readjustment between Orrisa and Bihar and Orissa and Madhya Pradesh remains. I am not going to analyse the whole issue.

Pandit G. B. Pant: It was done with the consent of the Ministers of the two States, and the decision too was approved by them.

Shri Mahanty: I do not wish to be misrepresented here. Therefore, I clarified this in the beginning itself, lest it should be said that it was done as the agreed decision of the Ministers of Andhra and Madras. No, I contest it. The fact is . . .

Shri Ranga (Tenali): We agreed.

Shri Mahanty: Is it not a fact that at the A.I.C.C. session at Calcutta in 1957 under the auspices of the hon. Home Minister, Shri Subramaniam of Madras and some Minister from Andhra came and discussed this matter together, and at the suggestion of the hon. Home Minister, Shri Pataskar was appointed to give an award?

Shri Ranga: Yes, with their agreement.

Shri Mahanty: Let the same principle be followed in the case of Orissa and Bihar and Orrisa and Madhya Pradesh disputes. After all, we are not asking for the moon. It is no

question of ambitious *irredenta*. We will be very happy if we lose territories than gain them provided an impartial tribunal is of that opinion. So far as it relates to States' reorganisation, I have never seen another instance of such opportunistic recommendations. Can the House ever imagine that a report is published where the chairman is not associated? (*Laughter.*) It is not a question of laughter; it is a question of making a self-analysis. Can the Minister point out a single instance of a single case where the chairman says, 'Well, I am not associated with it?' When it comes to Bihar and Bengal, he says, 'I am not going to be associated with it, because, possibly, I had something to do with Bihar when I was a judge there' or some such thing. But Mr. Fazl Ali was born in U.P. Blood is thicker than water. Everybody knows it. Why did Mr. Fazl Ali go all the way to append a minute of dissent when it came to the matter of U.P.? I am not making any grievance of it. It is too late in the day. But I am once again pleading before the Minister, that let him not consider it as a matter of prestige; let him not consider it as a *zid*, but let him accede to our most humble demand. Let this matter be referred to an arbitration tribunal; let Mr. Pataskar or anybody be appointed, and let him go into the matter, and we shall take whatever award he gives as final and binding. Otherwise, we think that insult is being added to injury, and some day or the other, any government has to reckon with the people, and that too, with 15 million people.

Dr. Sushila Nayar (Jhansi): I wanted to confine my remarks to some of the welfare activities under the Home Ministry, but I confess that I have been so deeply distressed by some of the speeches from the opposite benches laying all the emphasis they could on the question of linguism and the question of provincialism, emphasising them in a manner that

one would almost think that they were thinking in terms of the boundaries of different countries. I wish to ask my hon. friends, 'How is it going to help in the least the people of those border areas whether they are included in this State or that State?' I could have understood it if they had given facts and figures to the Home Minister and to this august House to explain and to bring to our notice the difficulties and the hardships that have been caused to the people of those border areas, in whatever way they might have been caused.

I, for my part, am convinced that in these border areas the Home Minister will have to issue orders that this question of language should not be made rigid; and to the best of my knowledge, it has not been rigid. Even after boundary demarcations, there will still be areas where people speaking the language of the one State or the other will be residing. What is to happen to them? It is necessary that in these border areas, people should be in a position to carry on their business and make petitions or get papers or go to courts without any difficulties as to which language, they should use. If that is done, then, to the best of my understanding, it makes not the least difference if a few miles of territory are in one State or the other. We are all in the same country, and what is important today is not what the boundary of Bihar or Bengal or Punjab or Uttar Pradesh or any other State in the Indian Union is, but what we are doing for the people in these States, wherever they may be. Therefore, it seems to me that we are missing the wood for the trees.

The hon. Member who spoke just before me said that he did not care if there were as many Governors as possible. He may not care. I do not know whether at the back

of these very hot and strong arguments used for these States and the boundary problems there is any desire as to what jobs are going to whom. So far as I am concerned, and I am quite sure, a large number of hon. Members of this House is concerned, we are more interested in the problems of the people. And I am quite sure that nobody wants a large number of Governors or a large number of offices of any kind. He suggested—and to a challenge—'Why do you not have Governors on a zonal basis?'. So far as I can see and if I can predict correctly, I would say I am looking forward to that day when not only shall we have Governors on a zonal basis, but we shall have legislatures on the zonal basis and Ministries on the zonal basis. It will be far far better in the interests of the people that we give the utmost attention to development on a co-ordinated basis. What is happening today? So many of the developmental schemes are held up because of the difficulties and delays involved in meeting the people. I represent the district of Jhansi. The officers there tell us that it is almost impossible for them to deal with the dacoit problem, for instance, on a purely provincial basis; and if the Home Minister has introduced a zonal police, I think he has done very well indeed. I think it is the wisest thing that could have been done. I, for one, want less and less of the police, as little of the police functions in the Home Ministry as possible, and more and more emphasis on the welfare activities. But police is needed for maintaining law and order, for dealing with the dacoit problem, for dealing with a number of other problems that might arise, and that do arise from time to time. They can deal with these problems much more effectively on a zonal basis than separately on a provincial basis.

Now, I wish to compliment the Home Minister for the excellent job that he and his Ministry have done in the reorganisation of the

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States. Whatever some people might keep on talking, the States everywhere in the Union are forging ahead with the developmental activities. One wishes that there were more money and there were more resources to be diverted towards development and towards social services than there are. But in spite of all these difficulties, progress is being made, and that progress is not insignificant.

As for the results of the bye elections, a number of my hon. colleagues have dealt with them already. Bye elections are much more difficult for the ruling party than the general elections. Everyone is able to gather all his forces against the ruling party at the time of the bye elections—not that we are indifferent to the results of the bye elections; we are conscious of their significance, and we want to do everything possible to have better results in the bye elections also. And there are a number of places in this country where the results of bye elections have been in favour of the ruling party. However, what I mean to say is that these results are by no means an indication that the decisions with regard to reorganisation, made by this august House, are in any way disagreeable or unacceptable to the large mass of people in this country.

The zonal councils, I feel, need to be strengthened in every way, so that the unity of this country is maintained, and the development goes on at a rapid pace; and in the course of the deliberations of these zonal councils, the people will be brought closer. So, some of the hon. Members, and leaders of the people, when they keep on talking and emphasising these provincial and linguistic differences, do not realise what damage they are doing to the cause of freedom in this country.

We are living in critical times. We have an unscrupulous enemy at our borders. We do not consider them our enemies, but they do consider us their enemies. Under the circumstances, there is need for all of us to pull together, to pool all our resources, the resources of thinking, brain power or of execution of ideas and plans. As a matter of fact, I would plead with the hon. the Home Minister that the Standing Committees of this House be revived so that some of the hon. Members of the Opposition as well as hon. Members of the Congress Party can be better associated with the implementation of the schemes that are being pursued by the Government. The Consultative Committees are not much good. And if hon. Members of the Opposition are associated with the execution of some of these schemes and share some of that responsibility, probably they will talk in a tone different from what some of them have been doing.

Now, I shall talk of the dacoit problem. One hon. Member here seemed to think that it has been dealt with effectively. I come from a dacoit-infested area, and I would say that the dacoit problem is not under control. It is a serious problem and it is an irony, in a way, that during the elections the dacoits gave freedom—what we call in Hindi **अनादान** to go about. They said they would not interfere with people going about at dark, but after the elections are over, it is the same kind of terrorism that they practise. They have got courage to the extent of going to the villages and saying, 'This is our contribution, our chanda; if you give it, then you will be saved, if you do not, you will be in trouble'. And people are paying it up; some people think that it is a legitimate kind of tax they have to pay for their protection!

It is very necessary to deal with this problem. I wish to submit in all humility that it is not through police and military, as was advocated

by some of the hon. Members here, that the problem can be dealt with. We have to get to the root of that problem and find out constructive ways of dealing with it. Why are these dacoits there? The *zamindaris* are abolished and so many of them do not have any means of livelihood. They are used to being *zamin-dars*, they are used to being rulers, and, therefore, they do not want to do any job which is more or less beneath their dignity. But they could be used in the military; they could be used in the police. Today the orders are that people from the dacoit-infested zones are not to be recruited in the police or the military. It is time that we reconsidered that policy and came to some more constructive solution. Then, industries and some other means of occupation will have to be provided for that purpose.

Now, much has been said about the police, and an hon. Member objected to expenditure on the police hospital. I am extremely happy that the Home Ministry is spending money on these welfare activities, be it for the police or the Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes or be it for our delinquent children. However, I would say that there is room for introducing modern methods in the detection of crime as well as in the treatment of crime. While the police in certain parts of India is very conscious of the modern trends in criminology, the police in certain other States—and unfortunately in these northern States—does not seem to be fully conversant with these methods and is not aware that times have changed and outlook in criminology has been completely revolutionised.

Now, Sir, I come to the problem of prostitution. This august House passed a Bill for the suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls more than a year ago. That Act has still not been applied all over India. I do not know whether the rules have been framed. They are to

be framed by all the States. God knows when this Act is going to be applied. As it is, I wish to submit in all humility that even this new Act—I am told by some of the very responsible Judges—is most defective and is not going to answer the purpose for which it has been framed. However, such as it is, it must be applied, and applied as quickly as possible.

For the proper application of that Act, we have to have homes not only for the care of our delinquents and girls rescued from moral danger, but also for the care of the destitutes so that they do not fall into these abyss. This is a big subject. I wish I had the time to develop it, but as I see your finger on the bell, I close my observations with a fervent appeal to the Home Minister that this matter of eradication of prostitution should be taken up in all earnestness. If Communistic countries can eliminate prostitution, we can do it too provided there is a firm determination that the evil has to be eliminated.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Basirhat):** Will those Members who come from the Territorial Councils area, where they have no legislature, get any chance to speak?

**Mr. Chairman:** I have got a list which I am following. I have many more names here. I am endeavouring to follow the list as it is.

**Shri Thimmalah (Kolar—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** No Member belonging to the Scheduled Castes has also been called. Our problem is handled by this Ministry.

**Mr. Chairman:** I have noted the names. I assure the hon. Member that the names have been noted.

**Shri Jamal Khwaja (Aligarh):** Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Home Ministry's Demands and to make my maiden speech in this distinguished House. My silence

[Shri Jamal Khwaja]

hitherto was meant to be my own way of paying my humble tribute to all the senior Members of this House and to all the junior Members of this House, from every one of whom I have learnt something or the other.

16.38.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

A number of speeches, some of them, to my mind quite formidable, have been made by many Members in this debate. But I have no doubt that the man who presides over this Ministry is big enough to swallow all those speeches. Therefore, I would not like to go into those details, nor do I have the time. Unfortunately, private Members have a very limited time at their disposal and this subject is so vast that anyone can hardly do justice. I would, therefore, concentrate myself upon one particular problem that has been engaging my mind ever since I entered this august House. It is a problem, if I may call it, of moral anaemia, if I may be allowed to coin that term. We all hear and we all know of biological or physical anaemia. I may be allowed to say a word by way of personal explanation that my background is philosophical and, therefore, I cannot help looking at things and analysing the situation in the country as it exists today except from the point of view of philosophy, ethics and sociology. I find that this is the most urgent and the most fundamental problem that faces our country today, what I would call the problem of moral anaemia.

We have our plans, we have all the administrative machinery. Our administrative machinery has been enlarged ever since we embarked upon the goal of a welfare State. All things are being done, and yet I fear that there is something missing. I have not been to China or to other Communist countries, but I am told

that there is, especially in China, a feeling, a fervour, what I would, in a light moment, call the courtship feeling. As it is, people know that there is a fervour, a moral idealism, when a man and woman are courting, but it happens that after they are happily married, children are born and they sink into the ordinary common place life, that fervour is gone. I find that that fervour is missing.

Sir, I was not there in those days of the Khilafat movement and the days when Gandhiji was here. But, I have heard and listened to those people who took part in those activities, who were heroes of those struggles and I have read political history. The fervour which was present there is not present now.

The other day the Prime Minister said—and he has spoken several times—that we won our political freedom but now we are engaged in the task of winning our economic freedom. Is it not as noble a task as the one which we have achieved just before? But, why is it that that moral idealism, that fervour and that enthusiasm is not there? There were times when accounts were heard of women who used to throw their jewellery for the cause of the nation. But, here, today we have the sorry spectacle of not being able to collect enough to fulfil the targets of our Small Savings Scheme. It is not a donation for the cause of the country; it is only a deposit which we can get back and yet we have failed. This is a significant thing. I believe we should face this problem.

Now, what is the answer? The answer is very easy for the hon. Members on the other side. They would say that the policies of Government are wrong. I cannot say so. It would be hypocrisy on my part if I were to say that the policies of the Government are wrong and yet to remain on this side of the House.

Therefore, as far as policies go, let me make a point clear, regarding what I call the first level policies and what I call the derivative or second level policies. There may be differences of opinion as regards second level policies; for example, land reform policies or fiscal matters or budget matters, foreign exchange policy or this policy or that policy. So far as first level policies go, I speak with all the emphasis and the sincerity at my command that the achievements of the Government are of the highest order. In a world where it is very easy to fall a prey to dogmatism and text-book thinking, our leaders have shown that balance of mind and that perspective which avoids both extremes and takes a middle course, the golden mean. Let us not think that the times have changed. I say the truth of the golden mean which was enunciated by Aristotle, by Socrates and by the other great philosophers and leaders of the world still holds good today, whether it is in the field of politics or in the field of economics. I have no doubt that the policy of mixed economy as it has been formulated by the Congress and by the Government is a stable synthesis, at least for a foreseeable future, of the thesis of capitalism and the antithesis of extreme nationalisation. This would endure. If today there are cries and protests against that, they would be drowned in the future.

I am reminded of the international sphere where a few years back, Russia accused India of being in the camp of the Imperialist West and America accused us of our going dangerously pink. But time has vindicated the stand of India and today it is the doctrine of Panch Shila that pervades the Councils of the World. I do not think it would be in the far distant future that it becomes a feature of international politics. And I have every reason—and it is my sincere hope too—that in the Home policy, as far as these economic problems are concerned,

the concept of mixed economy and the approach that we have adopted would be vindicated.

Then, what is the reason? What is the reason? The basic policies are correct. Everything is correct and yet what is wrong? I have given serious thought to it and I would like to submit that the reason might appear to be very trivial to you. Apart from the immensity of the task, the difficulty of the task with which we are faced and the fact that the problems we are confronted with are big, apart from all that consideration, the most important single factor at the moment, to my mind, is the very familiar phenomenon of administrative delay.

You may think that suddenly from the sublime I have come down to the ridiculous. But this is the result of my deliberations. Place yourself in the position of the common man. You have great economists and statisticians and other experts; but, I think, we should also have psychologists. Gandhiji was the greatest practical psychologist that lived in the country. So, I say let us place ourselves in the position of the common man and see what happens. Imagine a person who goes to an office for a simple work—such as driving licence. It is my personal experience. Even in an arms licence some enquiries have to be made about the character of the person and all that. I know things personally. And, I did not speak in Parliament because I wanted to speak on the basis of personal experience. On the basis of my own experience, I have collected some examples and I am going to give them to the hon. Home Minister and the hon. Prime Minister to show what is happening in our offices.

Imagine a person who goes to an office and who experiences this delay. When things get delayed and he comes and hears the appeals for the Small Savings Scheme, is it fair to expect him to contribute his share to

[Shri Jamal Khwaja]

the Small Savings Scheme? I think it is plain psychology. I have collected a number of examples and I do not think, it would serve any purpose to give them here. But, this is just to tell you that what I am saying is not quick generalisation. I have spent hours and hours. I am told that the Organisation and Methods Division of the Secretariat have done some work and they have selected random files and studied their history, how long it takes them to go from place to place. I have done something in my own humble way and I was surprised in the beginning when people came to me and told me about the delays. I refused to believe them. I do not blame anybody. The other day the Prime Minister said at the Institute of Public Administration in Delhi that nothing is more important than the removal of this administrative delay or judicial delay. And yet he said that nothing is more difficult than succeeding in that. I agree with him entirely but I say the task must be done.

Apart from this bad psychological effect, there is another thing. I think that is even worse. When there is delay and small things are not done, there is the temptation to offer tips or to use the power of money. I am not referring to bribes or bribery where the course of justice is diverted. But, when there is delay, there is the temptation to get things done—to offer an eight anna piece or one rupee, whatever it is and get things done. The very fact that a person is a Minister or a Member of Parliament or that such and such a Minister is coming or an official is coming helps one to tide over the difficulty, and work is expedited. But when the common man does not have that good fortune he takes recourse to money. This is not bribery in the sense that justice is diverted; but recourse is had to this practice. Again it may seem very trivial. What

does it matter if you just give one rupee or eight annas to a person? It may be a simple question. But psychologically or ethically the consequences of this institution are very serious. Imagine an unsophisticated villager goes to an office. Indirectly he is told that his work will not be done. Just four or five days ago, I had experienced this. A person wanted a certain ordinary licence and it was hinted to him that unless he paid a small sum, it would be very difficult to get it. He did not get it as he refused to pay anything. A common villager goes to an office and finds that the clerk there is not concerned with the faithful discharge of his duties but is concerned more with the making of money, and what is the effect? He refuses to believe that big things are done or that there is patriotism, devotion and dedication to duty. I do not say that big things are not done. I have not the slightest doubt that big things are being done. But this is a paradox. While we are moving ahead in a big way, these minor things are not looked into. This is my analysis of the cry of corruption which is raised very often in this House and elsewhere also. I have talked to all people, to very high officers in a very friendly way and I have drawn my inference. As far as the other public services are concerned, as the Prime Minister has said, and every responsible person feels, they are admirable in every sense. I have no doubt about their integrity and independence. It is something which we are proud of. I am referring to what may be called 'tipping business'. That is the cause of this degeneration. It is this which is at the back of the minds of those who raise the cry of corruption. They do not sufficiently analyse the situation and they say that our services are corrupt. Our services are not corrupt. They are a very brilliant lot. There might be a few exceptions. But on the whole they are doing very well and are changing themselves according to the changing circum-

stances. There might be some defects but I am sure that they would succeed in the not too distant future. They would become effective instruments of the rapid transformation of our society. But it is these problems which deserve and merit our attention.

I would finish in one minute. I have exhausted the time allotted to me. Naturally, after the statement that I have made, it would be expected of me to give my suggestions as to how this thing could be removed. When I am given the next opportunity, I shall give my humble suggestions.

**श्री० रणबीर सिंह (रोहतक) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, विरोधी सदस्यों ने यह आरोप लगाया है कि कहीं पर तो लाठियां चलती हैं और कहीं पर गोलियां चलती हैं, इसलिये गृह मंत्रालय का जो इतिजाम है वह सत्य और अहिंसा के तरीके पर नहीं चल रहा है। जहां उन्होंने अपने तरीके से कहा है वहां मैं भी अपने ही तरीके से कहना चाहता हूँ और अपने विचार इस सदन के सम्मुख रखना चाहता हूँ।

आज हमारे देश के अन्दर आर्थिक, सामाजिक तथा राजनीतिक क्रांतियां हो रही हैं और बड़ी तेजी से हो रही हैं। आज से दस साल पहले जिस बात का आदमी क्या भी नहीं करता था और सोच नहीं सकता था कि ऐसी क्रांतियां होंगी, वे आज हो रही हैं। जहां हमने पांच सी के करीब रजवाड़े और राजे महाराजे खत्म किये हैं वहां लाखों जागीरदार और जमींदार भी खत्म किये हैं, जमींदारियों और जागीरों को खत्म किया है। पिछले जमाने से मैं इसका मुकाबला करना नहीं चाहता। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा पड़ोसी देश चीन है और वहां पर क्या हो रहा है। वहां पर कोई दूसरी पार्टी मैदान में नहीं है।

वहां पर लोगों को बरगसाने के लिये तथा लोगों को गलत रास्ते पर ले जाने के लिये कोई भी पार्टी नहीं है। इसके बावजूद भी वहां की हकूमत ने लाखों आदमियों के खून से अपने हाथ रंगे हैं।

हमारे देश के अन्दर, हमारे नेतागण, हमारी कांग्रेसी सरकार, हमारी सूबाई सरकारें, हिन्दुस्तान के राजनीतिक, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक नकशे को बदलने में लगी हुई हैं। कौन नहीं जानता कि इन पिछले दस बरसों के दौरान में कौसी कौसी घटनायें घटी हैं। तेलंगाना के वाक्यात से कौन वाकिल नहीं है। कौन नहीं जानता कि मजदूरों के नाम पर लोगों को भड़काया गया है। कौन नहीं जानता कि भाषा के नाम पर लोगों को भावनाओं को उकसाया गया है। पिछले दिनों मेरे सूबे पंजाब के अन्दर बहुत से कोस्तों ने भाषा के नाम पर लड़ाइयां शुरू की हैं। कभी तो पंजाबी के नाम पर लोगों को उकसाया गया और दस हजार के करीब भाइयों को जेल भेजा गया और कभी हिन्दी के नाम पर आन्दोलन शुरू किया गया। लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि आज भा एक एक विद्यार्थी वहां पर पंजाबी पढ़ता है और एक एक विद्यार्थी हिन्दी पढ़ता है। इसके बा-जू- में हिन्दी जो कि हमारी राष्ट्र भाषा है, उसका लंकर भगड़ा किया गया। आज के दस साल पहले हिन्दी का सवाल पैदा हुआ था और उसका हल सांचा गया था। आज भी आसाम में जो कि यहां से एक हजार मील दूर है, हिन्दी पढ़ाई जाती है और भाषाओं के साथ साथ, उड़ीसा में हिन्दी पढ़ाई जाती है, बंगाल में हिन्दी पढ़ाई जाती है। हमारे यहां पंजाब के अन्दर कुछ भाइयों ने आवाज उठाई और कहा कि लोगों को आजादी नहीं दी जाती है भाषा को पढ़ने की। मुझे पता नहीं हमारे भाई आजादी का क्या मतलब लगाते हैं? मैं अपनी पार्टी के लोगों की बात नहीं करता हूँ, मैं जो मुवालिफ पाटियां हैं, उनको



[श्री० रणवीर सिंह]

बात करता हूँ। अजय घोष साहब पंजाब गये, उन्हें बोलने नहीं दिया गया, गोपालन साहब गये जो कि यहाँ इस हाउस के एक सदस्य हैं, उन्हें बोलने नहीं दिया गया और मेरे ज़िले के साथी श्री प्रताप सिंह दौलताना जो मेरे पास वाले हल्के को रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं, उनको बोलने की इजाजत नहीं दी गई।

श्री कीरोन वांभी (रायबरेली) : कहां बोलने की इजाजत नहीं दी गई ?

श्री० रणवीर सिंह : मैं पंजाब का चिक्र कर रहा हूँ।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर ये मेरे दोस्त किस तरह की आजादी चाहते हैं ? कौन सी आजादी का नक्शा इनके सामने है ? क्या ये लोग उस किस्म की आजादी चाहते हैं जिस में उनके जैसे ख्यालात रखने वाले लोगों को ही बोलने का अधिकार हो और दूसरे ख्यालात वाले लोगों को बोलने का अधिकार न हो और उन्हें चुप रहने का ही अधिकार हो ?

यहाँ पर हमारे गृह मंत्री महोदय बैठे हुए हैं जिन के हाथ में बहुत बड़ी शक्ति है जिन को कितने ही अधिकार प्राप्त हैं लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी उन्होंने ५० रुपये के एक मुलाजिम को रखने का अधिकार भी अपने पास नहीं रखा है और उसको अपनी मर्जी से नहीं रखते हैं। उस अधिकार को उन्होंने यूनियन पब्लिक रिलिस कमिशन या सिनेक्शन बोर्ड को सौंप दिया है। दूसरी तरफ यह हालत है कि जिन भाइयों को कोई अधिकार नहीं है जो कानून और विधान के खिलाफ जा कर काम करना चाहते हैं और करते हैं वे जिस किस्म के हायात पंदा कर देते हैं उन हायात का मुकाबला करने के लिए अग्नर गवर्नमेंट को कहीं सट्टी बाज करना पड़ता है, गोली

चलानी पड़ती है मजबूर हो कर तो उस सुरत में हम यह सोचने पर मजबूर हो जाते हैं कि आया वह सही चली या गलत चला। मैं इस सिलसिले में एक जस्टिस की रिपोर्टका जो कि हाल ही में जस्टिस खोसला ने पंजाब के वाकयात को जलधर कः पुन्व्यायरी के सिलसिले में लिखा है हवाला देना चाहता हूँ। किस ढंग से किस तरीके से हमारे लोग आदमियों को बहकाते हैं वे क्या तरीके इस्तेमाल करते हैं और उनका अपना तरीका कार क्या रहता है इसके बारे में मैं दो तीन परायाफ पढ़ना चाहता हूँ।

श्री स० म० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : उस के बाद पटने वाला मामला भी पढ़ियेगा।

श्री० रणवीर सिंह : वह तो आप लोग पढ़ेंगे मुझे तो जो पढ़ना है वही पढ़ूंगा।

"It almost seems as if the five leaders, who were examined, had taken care not to be present at the place of the firing. I say this not in a spirit of carping criticism but because I feel that if these leaders had shown the courage and imagination, which are the necessary attributes of a leader of men, this tragic occurrence might well have been avoided. But instead of this, they appear to have been concerned with questions of prestige and personal safety."

भाग के परायाफ में उन्होंने लीडरों के बारे में लिखा है कि वे कहां किस तरह से छिपे जीप गाड़ी में थे और फिर गैरहाजिर हुए।

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : वह भी पढ़िये।

श्री० रणवीर सिंह : अच्छा

"Amar Nath Dogra, the chief organiser of the procession, stated that he had assigned specific places in the procession to the leaders and he ran up and down the procession several times to

see that the procession was orderly and the leaders were in position. We, however, find that L. Jagat Narain, Parkash Vir and Tiak Raj Suri, three of the leaders, did not accompany the procession at all but were making sudden hops from one point of the route to another, so that they, particularly Parkash Vir, should be able to see the entire procession. In this manner they hurried to Chowk Panj Pir and then to Chowk Imam Nasir. Prof. Sher Singh sat in his jeep and then went away to a house in a lane where he remained till the firing was over. Lal Chand Sabharwal went from one shop to another and was conveniently absent when the firing took place."

Then there is another paragraph which says:

"The mob in the street became rapidly more violent and a number of policemen were injured. The assembly was then declared unlawful by Th. Fateh Singh, Magistrate, who was on duty, and tear-gassing began. This proved ineffective and the District Magistrate was summoned to the spot. Soon after his arrival some of the processionists set fire to a shack in front of the Gurdwara. The fire-brigade was called and the processionists attacked the firemen in order to prevent them from extinguishing the fire. The mob became more violent and the District Magistrate, fearing that unless the mob were dispersed by force, loss of life and property might result, decided to fire upon the crowd."

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon** (Mukandapuram): Read the next paragraph.

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** That is more damaging for the opposition. I will read that also.

**Mr. Speaker:** Too many extracts are not read. The whole speech ought not to be an extract.

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** They desire, Sir, that I should refer to a particular paragraph.

**Mr. Speaker:** He may stop at that and make his own observations—there is no time. Hon. Member need read only what he wants to read and not guided by others.

**श्री० रणबीर सिंह :** यह जो पैराग्राफ मैंने पढ़े वह इस लिये पढ़े थे कि मैं यह बता सकूँ कि किन हालात के अन्दर आज ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन या पुलिस मजबूर होती है कि वह गोली या लाठी चलाये। मैं अब से पहले अर्ज कर रहा था कि भाषा के सवाल पर हिन्दी के सवाल पर पंजाब के अन्दर बड़ा बावैला उठा। जहाँ एक तरफ हिन्दी के एक बड़ी सन्तोषजनक तरकीबों की रही थी इस बावैला का नतीजा यह हुआ कि बंगाल की प्रसेम्बली ने एक प्रस्ताव पास किया कि अंग्रेजों को भी जारी रखा जाय। यहाँ नहीं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और दूसरे लोगों में हिन्दी के खिलाफ एक आवाज उठी। (अ-तर्बावा)

**Shri Tangamani (Madurai):** Read the newspapers and resolutions.

**श्री० रणबीर सिंह :** दूसरे सवालों पर जो आवाज उठाई जाती है उस से जो नतीजा वह चाहते हैं उससे उल्टा नतीजा होता है। मैं आप से अर्ज कर रहा था कि इस देश के अन्दर जहाँ शान्ति से देश को आगे ले जाया जा रहा है हमारे नेता इस देश को आर्थिक संसार में तथा सामाजिक संसार में आगे ले जा रहे हैं वहाँ कई भाइयों ने निष्क्रियता कि बहुत सारी जगहों हैं जिनमें आज भी हरिजनों को कंधों तक नहीं पहुँचने दिया जाता रहने के लिये उनके पास मकान नहीं हैं लेकिन मैं अपने जिले की और अपने हल्के की बात आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों ने २० लाख रुपये की मासियत की जमीन हरिजनों को

[श्री० रणबीर सिंह]

मुफ्त में वो ताकि वह मकान बना सके। यही नहीं हजारों एकड़ जमीन हरिजनों को खेती करने के लिये मुफ्त दी गई और आज जहां हरिजनों को तरक्की के लिये कोशिश हो रही है सामाजिक ढांचे को बदलने की कोशिश हो रही है उसी के साथ साथ धार्मिक ढांचे को भी बदलने की कोशिश हो रही है।

इसके साथ साथ मैं एक मुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि आज गृह मंत्रालय का सरकारी नौकरियों पर कंट्रोल समझा जाता है। आज एक और सिलसिला देश के अन्दर समाजवादी ढांचे को लाने के वास्ते पैदा हुआ है। मेरा मतलब सरकारी कंपनियों और कारपोरेशनों से है। एलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्ड है, सीवेज बोर्ड है, दामोदर वैली प्रोजेक्ट है या दूसरी प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं उन की नौकरियों का जहां तक ताल्लुक है उनको भी जिस तरह से आप दूसरी नौकरियों को भरती कमिशन को मारफत करते हैं उसी प्रकार सरकारी कंपनियों या कारपोरेशन की नौकरियों को भरती भी U.P.S.C. या दूसरे सर्विस Selection बोर्ड या कमिशन की मार्फत होनी चाहिये और भरती कमिनियां या कारपोरेशन के चेरमन या मेंबरां पर न छोड़ा जाय।

सरदार अजित सिंह जी ने बताया था कि पंजाब के अन्दर पिछले ६-१० सालों के अन्दर कितनी तादाद जरायम की कम हुई है। उसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम सन् १९४८ के आंकड़े में तो पंजाब के अन्दर जो कल्ल की वारदातें सन् १९४८ में हुई वह ११३४ थीं और सन् १९५७ में ६०२ हुई। इसी तरह से जहां तक मुल्जिमों को बरामद करने का सवाल था सन् १९४८ में उतना परसेन्टेज ७१.७ था और सन् १९५७ में वह परसेन्टेज ८१.७ था दूसरे जितने जरायम हुए हैं उनकी भी यही कहानी है। मैं आप से इकतियों का जिक्र करूँ

सन् १९४८ में ४३५ थीं और सन् १९५७ में वह कुल १० हैं। यही हाल राबरी बगरह का है। आप दूसरे भी कोई जर्म ले लें हर एक की तादाद सन १९४८ से तकरीबन आधी हो गई है। जहां तक मुल्जिमों की बरामदगी का ताल्लुक है उस का रेशियो भी बढ़ा है। शान्ति और अमन से आगे बढ़ने का यह नतीजा हुआ है। हमारा देश आगे बढ़ रहा है। और दूसरी स्टेटों से भी पीछे नहीं है। एक भाई साहब ने जिक्र किया कि पंजाब में कांग्रेस पार्टी का क्या हाल हुआ। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आप कांग्रेस पार्टी के हालात को हमारे ऊपर छोड़ दीजिये। मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि पंजाब विधान सभा के अन्दर अपोजीशन के ३६ मेंबर हैं लेकिन आज तक राज्य सभा के अन्दर वह एक भी मेंबर नहीं भेज सके। आप अपनी बात देखिये हमारा घर बहुत ठीक है। यह ठीक है कि जहां हम देश के अन्दर डिक्टेटरशिप नहीं चाहते वहां हम पार्टी के अन्दर भी डिक्टेटरशिप नहीं चाहते।

हमारी पार्टी के अन्दर भी डेमोक्रेसी है और इस देश के अन्दर भी हम डेमोक्रेसी को कायम रखना चाहते हैं। हमारे आपस में इस्तराफात हो सकता है। पंजाब गवर्नमेंट की किमी नीति को ले कर मतभेद हो सकता है लेकिन इसके बावजूद यह बात सही है कि जनरल एलेक्शन के बाद पंजाब में जो बाई एलेक्शन हुआ उसमें कांग्रेस की जीत रही। इसके अलावा यह भी सही है कि राज्य सभा के चार उम्मीदवारों में एक भी गैर कांग्रेसी कामयाब नहीं हुआ और चारोंकी चारों सीटें कांग्रेसी उम्मीदवारों को मिलीं। हालांकि प्रोजीशन पार्टीज के पास एक मेंबर को कामयाब करके भी ६ राय फालतू थीं लेकिन वह भी मेंबर भी एलेक्ट नहीं करा पाये। इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि हमारे दोस्त हमारे बारे में क्यों फिक्र करते हैं बल्कि मैं तो उनसे कहूँगा

कि वे खुद अपनी व अपने दोस्तों की फिकर करें ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, पंजाब के बारे में मेरा कहना यह है कि शायद हमारे में कुछ कमजोरी है और सरदार अजित सिंह को वह इसलिये चुप करा सके क्योंकि सरदार अजित सिंह को जरा पार्लियामेंट के मामलात का काफी ज्ञान नहीं था और वह प्रांकडों में कुछ फंस से गये थे । इसलिये उसका जवाब देना मैं जरूरी समझता हूँ ।

मैं समझता हूँ कि यह अकेले पंजाब की ही कहानी नहीं है । डाकुओं के सवाल को ले लीजिये । सन् १९४८ में झांजी के इलाके में इस सम्बन्ध में क्या हालत थी और आज क्या हालत है ? राजस्थान के सम्बन्ध में मेरे साथी ने जिक्र किया तो जब वह राजस्थान का जिक्र कर रहे थे तो वे बड़े उतावले थे । जोधपुर के रहने वाले सबात को भली भाँति जानते होंगे कि सन् १९५२ में जोधपुर डिवीजन की क्या हालत थी और आज क्या हालत है । उस समय जोधपुर डिवीजन के अन्दर लोग एलेक्शन में जा नहीं सकते थे और सन् १९५२ में लोगों को अपने जान व माल का खतरा था । लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि वहाँ की स्थिति में बहुत सुधार हुआ है और डाकुओं का आतंक बहुत कुछ खत्म हो गया है और लोगों की जान और माल की काफी सुरक्षा हो गयी है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं तो समझता हूँ कि देश में एक आध जगह जहाँ लाठियाँ अथवा गोलियाँ चली हैं वे हमारे देश की तरक्की के लिये ही चली हैं । मैं तो समझता हूँ कि अगर जालंधर जेल कांड की जिस तरह से जुडिशियल एनक्वायरी की गई उसी तरह से बम्बई के गोलीकांड के सम्बन्ध में भी जुडिशियल एनक्वायरी की जाती तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि वहाँ पर भी जो फैसला मेरे साथियों के खिलाफ एक जगह ने दिया वैसे ही फैसला बम्बई के बारे में भी होता ।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Achaw Singh. He will speak for not more than ten minutes.

An Hon. Member: Has the sitting been extended?

Mr. Speaker: It is extended till 5.30 p.m.

Shri L. Achaw Singh (Inner Manipur): I would require 15 minutes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: There are a number of hon. Members wishing to speak. They will have their turn in the discussion on the Finance Bill. I shall call only those hon. Members who have had no opportunity to speak till now. They alone will be called or be given preference during the discussion on the Finance Bill.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Like myself.

Shri L. Achaw Singh (Inner Manipur): Mr. Speaker. As far as the Home Ministry is concerned, it deals with 'public services' and 'public security' and it is also concerned with the administration of Union territories and the welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. I would like to make only a few observations on some of them.

India is a democracy and we have launched a programme for establishing and achieving a socialist pattern of society. Our civil services have been quite ill-adapted for the task. Democracy hinges first of all on the manner in which responsibility is fixed and held accountable; secondly, on responsiveness and considerateness. The Home Ministry is particularly concerned with the redress of wrongs and grievances. It receives a number of petitions, memorials and complaints from different persons on a number of subjects. In the civil services, we are following a method that permits letters from citizens to go unanswered, poorly answered and sometimes long delayed. This is certainly against con-

[Shri L. Achaw Singh]

siderateness and responsiveness. It was Milton who said: "When complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained that wise men look for".

There is excessive cross-reference and consultation in the course of administration. It frustrates the democratic aspiration and it is an evasion of responsibility on the part of those who must have special responsibility.

Our method in the administration now sets high barriers before the entry of citizens into public offices and occasions many of them to salute and to make submissions. We could easily approach those in charge of high offices in the district and sub-divisional headquarters during the British days, but now we have to observe a series of formalities in order to meet such men of the Civil Service. I.A.S. officials who are sent out are a special caste, a special heirarchy, and they have not been able to adapt to the changing situation. This method which sets a substantial barrier between ranks of public personnel is not a good one. I can give practical examples of the Chief Commissioner in Manipur and also a high I.P.S. official deputed as I.G.P. in Manipur at present. No member of the public is allowed to see them in their bungalows and if they go, they are threatened and shouted down, even when they are approached for some urgent and unavoidable cases.

I would like to say something about the vigilance division. This vigilance division has also not served the purpose for which it was created. The vigilance officers merely think that they have to deal with departmental cases referred to them, but they are not to initiate the cases themselves or to watch the activities of various officers or to stop them from indulging in favouritism and nepotism. The welfare officers and senior staff councils have been constituted, but they are a mere farce; they have not served the purpose for which they have been constituted. The unanimous

decisions of the staff councils are not accepted. If these councils are to serve any useful purpose, they should be given some say in the day-to-day administration of the offices. The principle of workers' participation has been accepted by the Government. It is time that these councils similarly participate in their spheres.

This Ministry has failed to discharge fully their obligations towards the preparation permanent Central Government servants coming from the North-West Frontier Province, the tribal areas and agencies. Their terms and conditions were guaranteed by representatives of the Government of India, but new rules were framed which infringe their previous terms and conditions of service. The appointment of 400 assistants in a temporary capacity as a result of U.P.S.C. competitive examination, over and above the 400 appointed on a substantive basis is against all rules and orders and established practice. Every year the U.P.S.C. examination is held and the number of posts required could have been filled by these examinations. The appointment of these temporary employes has therefore reduced the number of confirmations to be made departmentally and through examinations in subsequent years.

In India we have got fire services. These fire services are inadequate and suffer from lack of co-ordination and of a uniform standard. In Britain, the 1938 Act gave the Home Department powers to prescribe standards of efficiency and appoint inspectors to enforce them. The Fire Services Act, 1947 provided machinery to secure standard conditions of service in all fire-brigades and also to ensure continuance of a reasonable degree of uniformity of conditions in different fire brigades. It is time that the Ministry took proper steps to ensure as good and efficient a fire system as possible in our country. With regard to the fire services, prevention is infinitely better than cure and fire brigades in India should now give increasing attention to measures for prevention of fire. The "Fire prevention week"

sponsored by the Ministry is in the right direction; but it is far from satisfactory. Reporting system should be introduced widely as this is of great value in assessing the need for legislative changes to cover new fire hazards and in drawing up codes of fire precaution for individual risks.

I now come to the administration of the Union Territories. The administration of Union Territories has been a constant source of headache both to the Centre and the people of the Territories. I belong to one of those Union Territories and I am speaking from personal experience. In Manipur, for example, a number of retired personnel have been imported to run different departments and they have been found totally unfit for the tasks allotted to them. They have bungled and mismanaged the affairs of the administration in their spheres so much so that blows were exchanged between officers and the subordinates. The subordinates have become so much disgusted with their bosses. It is a fact that qualified local men are also available and they can run the departments as smoothly and efficiently. But it is a matter of regret that they are never given a chance. Our complaint is our men are not trusted and local men are not recommended for promotion to these posts by the Chief Commissioner. We have also lost our confidence and trust on these officials. Trust begets trust. Mistrust begets mistrust. Let us try to get rid of the superannuated personnel. They are of no use. We do not like them. Further, Manipur is not a holiday home or retirement centre for these people.

I now come to the Indian Frontier Administrative Service, which is a queer and strange cadre. It caters to the administrative needs of NEFA, the newly-constituted Naga Hills-Tuensang area and the Union Territories of Tripura and Manipur. It is very difficult to understand how officers recruited for NEFA would serve the needs of administration in the Union Territories. The Prime Minister, the other day, gave good compliments to the services

of these officers. But our experience is quite different. It seems that the personnel of this cadre are drawn from the Army and Air Force—Wing Commanders and Captains who have got no idea of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure and who might have been recruited for the undeveloped NEFA areas have been found to be misfits in Manipur and Tripura.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member must not go on reading. Now and then he must look up.

**Shri L. Achaw Singh:** These are raw and inexperienced people and they are mismanaging things. For instance, in Chudachandpur, Ukhrul and Tamengong sub-divisions the officers managed things in such a way that there have been demonstrations and the sub-divisional officers have been assaulted and representations have been made to the higher authorities for the removal of these officials. I would like to request the Home Ministry to closely study the situation, because the feelings are very bitter among the tribal people. Things have been done in such a way that the Manipur State has become a training ground for newly recruited people.

Now I would like to refer to one or two points about appointments. I would suggest that only local men should be appointed for class III and class IV posts. Recruitment should be confined to those people. For superior posts also, whenever qualified local persons are available, preference should be given to them. In Manipur, this particular principle has not been observed, though there has been a lot of hue and cry. So, I would request the Ministry to look into this matter. I also request that the five years' term in the Public Employment Act 1957 may be extended to Manipur so that local people may get a chance.

Regarding development of the tribal area, I would like to refer to one or two points. The construction of roads and bridges is very important in the tribal areas. Construction of roads and bridges are the primary conditions for tribal development. The

[Shri L. Achaw Singh].

only road communication to connect Imphal to Tamengong was started early in the First Five Year Plan. But it is the third year now of the Second Plan and only half of it has been completed. For the last two years the work has been suspended.

Now, regarding the bridges, there was a suspension bridge constructed in the sub-division of Ukhrool. There the Government have given Rs. 2,000 to the villagers. They constructed it with bamboos and canes. It was worth only Rs. 500 and the Government have given this sum without any scrutiny. They have wasted the money in this way. It is very difficult to think that tribal development will proceed in order.

The last thing I would like to say is about the backward community, Chakpa. The Chakpas are about 28,000 people and they have made representations to the Government of India that they should be classed as Class A members of the scheduled tribes living on the plains. But they have been classified as scheduled castes because the Backward Classes Commission visited Manipur and on the testimony of some interested people included them in the list of scheduled castes. They do not belong to a scheduled caste. There was no caste system in Manipur. Untouchability was never a problem in Manipur. These people are aborigine people of Manipur and they should not be classified as scheduled castes.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member must now resume his seat. He has had more than his quota.

Shri L. Achaw Singh: Dr. Krishna-swami has spoken about the declaration of the official language. He was of the opinion that the declaration should be postponed indefinitely. He may represent himself and some other people but he cannot represent all the people in this House, not at least the Socialist group.

Lastly, I want to say a word about the Territorial Council functioning in Manipur.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Member must reserve all that for some future occasion. I have allowed him fifteen minutes. He will get another opportunity.

श्री आर्.बाला (इन्दौर) : मध्यम महोदय, मैं मध्यप्रदेश से आ रहा हूँ। नया मध्य प्रदेश भोपाल, विन्ध्य, पुराने मध्य प्रदेश और मध्य भारत को मिलाकर बनाया गया है। इसमें भोपाल और विन्ध्य प्रदेश तो बाटे के राज्य थे जिनको केन्द्र की ओर से डेढ़ डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया, यानी कुछ तीन करोड़ रुपया दोनों राज्यों को मदद का दिया जाता था। पुराने मध्य प्रदेश के छठ जिलों में जो ग्रामवनी वाले जिले थे वे जो नागपुर और विदर्भ के थे, जिनको बम्बई में मिलाया गया है और बाकी जिले इस नये मध्य प्रदेश में मिलाये गये हैं। पिछले वक्त में ने निवेदन किया था कि हममी जी से कि यह तीन करोड़ रुपया मध्य प्रदेश को दिया जाये। मैं बन्धु-वाद देता हूँ गृहमंत्री जी को कि उन्होंने तीन करोड़ रुपया दिया और राजधानी के लिये एक करोड़ ५ लाख रुपया दिया।

पहले मध्य प्रदेश की चार जगह राजधानियां थीं। भोपाल पहले ६ लाख की आबादी की राजधानी थी। परन्तु अब सब जगह की राजधानी होने से भोपाल २ करोड़ ६१ लाख की आबादी की राजधानी बन गई है। और जो आज इस कारण कठिनाई है वह जगह की है। जो सरकार ने एक करोड़ ५ लाख रुपया दिया है उससे कुछ मकानास वहां बने हैं लेकिन वहां की राज्य सरकार ने ११ करोड़ रुपये की मांग की है। उसका जबाब गृहमंत्री जी की ओर से यह दिया गया कि पंच-वर्षीय योजना में से यह रुपया निकाला जाये और राजधानी में लगाया जाये। लेकिन पंचवर्षीय योजना चारों राज्यों की अलग अलग

हैं, और हाई वर्क हो गया है, 'ब' वर्गीय योजना का आधा काम हो गया है। अब उसमें से ११ करोड़ रुपये निकालना एक राज्य सरकार के लिये कठिनाई का विषय बना था है।

आज वहाँ पर काम करने वालों को मुहकमे के लिये जगह नहीं है और दूसरी तरफ आज ग्वालियर और इन्दौर में काफी जगह है। वहाँ के मुहकमों के लिये आश्वासन दिया गया था कि इन्दौर और ग्वालियर के महत्व को कम नहीं किया जायेगा। लेकिन वहाँ से मुहकमे भी आज धीरे धीरे भोपाल ले जाये जा रहे हैं। यह प्रदेश एक लाख ७१ हजार वर्ग मील का बन गया है। यह राज्य बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा है और उसके सारे मुहकमे भोपाल में हैं जिसका परिणाम यह होता है कि जो आदमी बस्तर से या झाबुआ से भोपाल आता है उसको बहुत रास्ता तै करना होता है। आदमी आज बम्बई और कलकत्ता जल्दी पहुँच सकता है पर मध्य प्रदेश के एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक पहुँचने में ज्यादा समय लगता है। इस यात्रा में ६ या ७ दिन से कम नहीं लगते। आयोग ने कहा था कि इस प्रदेश में रेल और रोड जल्दी से जल्दी बनायी जायेगी तो ज्यादा सुविधा इस प्रदेश के लिये होगी और इसी आश्वासन के साथ इस मध्यप्रदेश राज्य को बनाया गया था। कई जगह सबेरे शुरू हुआ है लेकिन अभी आमदरपत्त के साधन उतने नहीं हुए हैं। मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि आमदरपत्त के सारे सौसेज जल्दी से जल्दी विकसित किये जाने चाहियें।

हाईकोर्ट इन्दौर और ग्वालियर में थी। अभी भी है। लेकिन अब सुना जाता है कि हाईकोर्ट की जो बेंच है उसे भी जबलपुर ले जाया जायेगा और इन्दौर की हाईकोर्ट में जो भोपाल की कमिश्नरी के केसेज चलते थे उनको एक अप्रैल से जबलपुर भेज दिया जाने का हुक्म हो चुका है। यह बहुत बड़ा आम्स है। और इस आम्स को बनाते समय ये

आश्वासन दिया गया था कि इन्दौर और ग्वालियर के महत्व को कम नहीं किया जायेगा। आज वहाँ इससे काफी असंतोष है। ये जो इन्दौर और ग्वालियर में हाईकोर्ट हैं इनमें ही ज्यादा से ज्यादा केसेज आते हैं और चलते हैं। यहाँ की बार एसोसियेशन भी सारे मध्य प्रदेश में ज्यादा अच्छी है। यहाँ के होलकर स्टेट और ग्वालियर स्टेट के उस वक्त के न्यायालय सब से आगे रहे हैं और वहाँ हिन्दी में काम चलता था। आज मध्य प्रदेश में दो प्रतिष्ठित अंग्रेजी जानने वाले हैं और ६८ प्रतिष्ठित हिन्दी जानने वाले हैं लेकिन जहाँ मध्य भारत में दोनों जगह हिन्दी में काम चलता था वहाँ आज कुछ अंग्रेजी में फिर से शुरु होने लगा है। तो मैं इस ओर भी गृहमंत्री का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

दूसरी बात वहाँ पर टोपीदार बन्दूकों के लाइसेंसों की है। वहाँ पर इन बन्दूकों के लाइसेंस के लिये किसानों को बड़ी मुश्किल पड़ती है। नये कायदे के अनुसार वे तमाम बन्दूकें जब्त कर ली गयी हैं और हमारी राय में ऐसी बन्दूकें लाखों की तादाद में हैं। आज हमारी सरहद पर हमले होते हैं। तो मैं कर्तूंगा कि आज ज्यादा से ज्यादा बन्दूकें सरहद पर किसानों को दी जानी चाहिये जिससे वे लोग अपनी आत्म रक्षा कर सकें। आज लाखों बन्दूकें जिनकी कीमत पचास पचास साठ साठ रुपये की जब्त कर ली गयी हैं और यह आदेश जारी किया गया है कि उनकी कीमत पांच रुपये दी जाये। उनका लाइसेंस जितनी जल्दी दिया जाना चाहिये वह नहीं हो पाता।

डाकुओं की समस्या का अभी मणिवेन ने जिक्र किया। हमारे यहाँ मिड और मुरैना में डाकुओं की समस्या काफी समय से चली आयी है। लेकिन पिछले वक्त में डाकू मानसिंह, पुतली, कल्ला आदि कई डाकू पकड़े या मारे गये हैं। और आज वहाँ के लोगों में यह साहस और हिम्मत है कि वे डाकुओं का मुकाबला कर सकेंगे। दूसरी तरफ से यह बताया गया कि शिवपुरी में अमृत लाल डाकू



[श्री खादीवाला]

ने धरती कुछ लोगों को पकड़ लिया है। इस मामले में भी राज्य सरकार काफी प्रयत्नशील है और वह कोशिश कर रही है कि जल्दी से जल्दी इस प्रकार डाकुओं को पकड़ा जाये।

साथ ही हरिजन और आदिवासी विभाग के लिये मुझे निवेदन करना है कि इस विभाग पर जितना आज खर्च होता है उसको कम करने की जरूरत है। इस विभाग द्वारा हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को वास्तव में जितनी इमदाद मिलनी चाहिये वह नहीं मिल पाती है। जैसे तो पिछले समय काफी काम हुआ है लेकिन मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि दूसरे विभागों को भी इसके साथ सामंजस्य करना चाहिये। जैसे शिक्षा विभाग का इससे बहुत सम्बन्ध है और पी० डब्लू० डी० विभाग का रोड आदि के बारे में इससे बड़ा सम्बन्ध है उनका भी इस विभाग के साथ सहयोग होना चाहिये। इन विभागों द्वारा भी काम होना चाहिये। और हरिजन और आदिवासी विभागियों को पंचायतों द्वारा सीधी मदद मिलनी चाहिये जिससे कि उनको वास्तविक मदद हो सके।

इसी के साथ राजनीतिक पीड़ितों के सम्बन्ध में भी मैं कुछ निवेदन करूँगा। राजनीतिक पीड़ित चाहे किसी भी पार्टी के हों उनको काफी संख्या में आज हमारे पास जानकारी है और उनको पूरी तरह से इमदाद मिलनी चाहिये। इसके लिये भी प्रयत्न होना चाहिये।

एक निवेदन और है। राजस्थान और मध्य भारत की सरहद पर चंबल का बांध बनाया जा रहा है। चंबल बांध में राजस्थान की थोड़ी सी सरहद पड़ती है। वहाँ पर हजारों

की तादाद में मजदूर काम कर रहे हैं। अब अगर कोई भी झगड़ा होता या कोई भी बात होती है तो वहाँ के कंसेज साठ सत्तर मील दूर पेगू ले जाये जाते हैं। कई दफा निवेदन किया गया कि इस थोड़ी सी जमीन को मध्य प्रदेश को दे दिया जाये लेकिन वह नहीं दी जा रही है इससे वह काफी कठिनाइयाँ हो रही हैं।

इसी तरह झालावाड़ स्टेशन से डेढ़ फरलांग इधर राजस्थान की सरहद है और उधर मध्य प्रदेश की सरहद है। वहाँ पर जितनी बरसे आती हैं वे रोक ली जाती हैं और यह डेढ़ फरलांग मुसाफिरोँ को भ्रमना सामान ले कर आना पड़ता है। कई दफा यह माँग की गयी कि इतनी जगह के ऊपर भी मध्य प्रदेश की बसें जानी चाहियें। लेकिन वह आज तक नहीं हो पाया है। इस के लिये कई दफा निवेदन किया गया है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगा कि यह व्यवस्था करने से जनता को काफी सहूलियत होगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं गृह मंत्रालय की माँगों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

Shri Balakrishnan (Dindigul-Reserved-Sch. Castes): Mr. Speaker, Sir . . .

Mr. Speaker: How long does the hon. Member propose to take?

Shri Balakrishnan: Ten minutes.

Mr. Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.

17.39 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday the 15th April, 1958.