

[Dr. M. M. S. Siddhu] the decision of the sub-committee, kindly, for God's sake, implement it *in toto* in good faith release all the doctors, reinstate all of them and withdraw all the cases. And, above all, in all humility all that you can do is not only to apologise but also to assure this House that such actions on any individual or any citizen will not take place in the future because our doctors have suffered, we have also suffered and in this House I think each Member has suffered this anguish but we do not want to be a witness to another happening in the near future, or any time to come. And I hope the Government will respond to my request and remove the Vice-Chancellor from that university.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV); Now, Resolution regarding . . .

DR. V. P. DUTT; Sir, the hon. Minister is here. I think he can get up and express the sense of this House: he can convey it to the medical students through this House. When he is present here, he must get up and say something. It is not enough *just* to hear the Members.

SHRI DHANIK LAL MANDAL: No, Sir, I have said . . .

DR. V. P. DUTT: Demands have been made that, first of all, they should apologise . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV); He has heard all the demands.

DR. V. P. DUTT; ... that the Vice-Chancellor should resign and that the Chief Minister should be asked to go. He should say something on that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV); Let him say if he wants to say.

SHRI DHANIK LAL MANDAL: I have already said that even though law and order is a State subject . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Sir, this has been taken not as a party issue or as an issue between the two sides. We would like to hear the other Members.

SHRI RAMESHWAR SINGH; My name is there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV); Not on this. Your name is there on the Resolution. Now, Private Member's Resolution. Mr. Kalraj Mishra. Not here. Mr. Mahadeo Prasad Varma.

RESOLUTION RE. STEPS RECOMMENDED TO GOVERNMENT TO STOP ATROCITIES ON HARIJANS AND OTHER RURAL POOR AND TO RESTORE FULL CIVIL LIBERTIES TO PEOPLE—Contd.

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
मान्यवर, इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इस प्रस्ताव में जो बातें कही गई हैं वे गौर-तलबारी हैं और उनके ऊपर सरकार को कदम भी उठाना चाहिए। लेकिन कुछ बातें हैं जिनको हमें बहुत ध्यान से देखने की जरूरत है। प्रस्ताव के शुरु में दिया है :

"expresses its deep concern at the fact that the country has been brought to the verge of an economic and political chaos within the last fifteen months marked by the aggravation of the problems of unemployment, poverty and misery of the people due to the reactionary and anti-people policies of the present Government ..."

मुझे इससे आब्जेक्शन है, इस तरह की शब्दावली से काम नहीं चलेगा। अब तक हमारी जो भूलें रही हैं, जब कभी भी इस तरह का मौका आता है, तो हम जोश में आकर जो भी मौजूदा गवर्नमेंट होती है उसको कंडेम करने की बहुत कोशिश करते हैं।

होना भी चाहिए जहां गलतियां हो रही हैं। लेकिन हम इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि यह गवर्नमेंट भी प्रोडक्ट है, उस स्थिति की जिस स्थिति के अन्दर से—एक नहीं बहुत सी स्थितियां हैं—जिनके अन्दर से हजारों वर्षों से यह मुल्क गुजरता चला आ रहा है, जिनका खामियाजा हम आज भुगत रहे हैं। देन है हमारे पूर्वजों की, सारे इतिहास की, जिसमें अच्छाइयां भी हैं और उनकी जो बुराइयां हैं वे भी हमारे सिर पर लदी हुई हैं। जिस स्थिति में देश है उसके लिए हमारा सैकड़ों वर्षों का इतिहास भी जिम्मेदार है, कुछ मानी में पिछले 30 वर्ष की सरकार और आज की सरकार भी जिम्मेदार है। तो अकेले किसी एक के ऊपर इस तरह की बात आप नहीं कर सकते हैं, मुझे इससे एतराज है। इस तरह की जब बात होती है तो इसमें नुकसान क्या होता है कि असलियत परदे के पीछे चली जाती है। उससे किसी समस्या का समाधान हो नहीं सकता है।

मैं माननीय भूपेश गुप्त की इस राय से जो अभी उन्होंने दी है सहमत हूं। राय तो उन्होंने दी एक मसले पर लेकिन वह कोई हल नहीं है। मसला बुनियादी है कि एक नेशनल कांशसनेंस डेवलप होना चाहिए और जब तक वह डेवलप हो कर उस लाइन पर हम नहीं चलते हैं, केवल सदन के अन्दर बैठ कर एक दूसरे को बुरा-भला कह कर या नुकता-चीनी करके या अपना गुस्सा उतार कर हम जनता को राहत नहीं पहुंचा पाएंगे भले ही हम अपना सेटिस्फ़ेक्शन कर लें कि आज हमने बड़ी गरम गरम बातें कर लीं। वह सवाल हल नहीं होता और यह नकशा 30 साल से आजादी के बाद भी ज्यों का त्यों चला आ रहा है। मसलन आपने इसमें कहा है कि कड़े से कड़ा कदम उठाना चाहिए। किस काम के लिये? जहां पर भी हरिजनों पर या कमजोर वर्गों पर अत्याचार होते हैं वहां अत्याचार करने वालों के लिये कड़े से कड़ा कदम उठाना चाहिए। इसमें किसी को एतराज

नहीं। लेकिन आपके सामने मराठवाड़ा की मिसाल है। आपके सामने आगरे का इपीसोड हुआ। वाराणसी में डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द की मूर्ति के अनावरण का किस्सा है। तो इस तरह की फीलिंग बनी हुई है। उसके कारण ही यह सब होता है। मराठवाड़ा में स्टेशन फूँका जा रहा है। वह माव वायलेंट हो गया है। एक तरफ आप कहते हैं कि पुलिस को गोली नहीं चलानी चाहिए, अनआम्ब्ड माव पर गोली नहीं चलानी चाहिए, लेकिन अनआम्ब्ड माव उसको कैसे कहेंगे अगर उसके हाथों में पत्थर और दियासलाइयां हैं। तो बगैर किसी हिचक के वह दूकानें जला सकता है, बसों को जला सकता है, और ट्रेनों को जला सकता है। तो यह परेशानियां पैदा होती हैं। कुछ ऐसी ही स्थिति है मुल्क में। क्या कारण है कि डा० अम्बेदकर के नाम पर मराठवाड़ा यूनिवर्सिटी हुई तो उसके लिये इतना एजीटेशन हुआ? अगर बाबू जगजीवन राम वाराणसी में डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द की मूर्ति का अनावरण करने गये तो आज भी देश में इस तरह की फीलिंग क्यों है कि उस के अनावरण के बाद उस मूर्ति को धोया जाय? यह बुनियादी सवाल हैं। शर्मा जी से मैं नम्र निवेदन करता हूं कि इन बुनियादी सवालों का बुनियादी तौर पर हल जब तक नहीं निकाला जायगा, यह तीस साल तो क्या और भी 30 या 50 साल बीत जाने के बाद भी यह सवाल हल नहीं हो सकेगा। तो जब हम इन सवालों को देखते हैं तो हमें चाहिए कि हम उनकी बुनियाद को देखें। केवल उस गवर्नमेंट पर, जो मौके पर है, उसकी कुछ लुटियों पर हमला करके ही हम संतोष कर लें, इससे काम नहीं चलेगा।

आप कहते हैं कि लिबर्टी का फुल रिस्टोरेशन होना चाहिए। रिस्टोरेशन शब्द से तो मुझे विरोध है, क्योंकि लिबर्टी रिस्टोर तो हो चुकी कांस्टीट्यूशनली और कानूनी तौर पर वह प्रेक्टिस में नहीं आयी। कानूनन उस में कोई वृद्धि

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

नहीं है। आप के संविधान में कहीं ऐसी चीज नहीं है जिस में फुल सिविल लिबर्टी न दी गयी हो। प्रैक्टिकल रूप उस का क्या हो रहा है। शिकायत इस बात की है कि संविधान में निहित होते हुए भी इस तरह का अनाचार और अत्याचार क्यों हो रहा है। कहां वह त्रुटि है। यह त्रुटि संविधान में नहीं है। यह त्रुटि कानून की नहीं है। यह त्रुटि है हमारे ऐक्शन की, हमारी व्यवस्था की और त्रुटि है हमारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन सेट-अप की। त्रुटि है हमारी थिंकिंग की। ऐसी व्यवस्था की कमी हो सकती है जिस की वजह से यह नहीं हुआ। मिसाल के तौर पर आप ने एक तरफ कहा है कि सत्याग्रह की पूरी छूट होनी चाहिए। हमारी जनता पार्टी के मैनीफेस्टो में भी यह दिया हुआ है कि सत्याग्रह के लिये छूट रहेगी। मुसीबत यह है कि सत्याग्रह कभी कभी तो दुराग्रह का रूप ले लेता है। वायलेंट हो जाता है और ऐसा होने पर किसी भी सरकार के लिये व्यवस्था को बनाये रखना एक तरह से मुश्किल हो जाता है। उस को सत्याग्रह कहियेगा या दुराग्रह? मिसाल के तौर पर, मेरे सामने का किस्सा है कि एक कालेज के छात्रों ने एक सवाल को उठा कर जलूस निकाला। कोई हर्ज नहीं था, जलूस निकाला। पुलिस को भय हुआ कि लड़के जा रहे हैं उस को इंतजाम करना पड़ा। क्योंकि अगर कोई भीड़ जा रही हो और किसी इन्नोसेंट आदमी को उस ने तकलीफ दी या किसी की दूकान को फूंक दिया या किसी प्राइवेट कार को फूंक दिया या गवर्नमेंट की बसें बहुत आसान होती हैं, रेलवे स्टेशन हैं उन को जलाना शुरू कर दिया तो मिनिस्टर तो वहां पहुंचता नहीं, हमारे एम०पीज० भी नहीं पहुंच

पाते हैं, वह सारा मामला पड़ जाता है पुलिस पर। मजबूर होकर अगर पुलिस इंतजाम नहीं करती तो ला एंड आर्डर बिगड़ता है। अगर पुलिस मारती है तो आप उसको खींचते हैं। वह जुलूस चला, आगे चला। जब वह शहर की तरफ गया तो पुलिस साथ में लग गई। जैसे ही पुलिस साथ में गई, कुछ भी उसने किया नहीं, यह मेरे सामने का किस्सा है, जैसे ही पुलिस साथ गई तैसे ही उसके ऊपर ईंट, चक्का चलना शुरू हो गया। बहुत देर तक पुलिस ने अपने को बचाया, भागी भी लेकिन उसके ऊपर जिम्मेदारी थी कि जुलूस जा रहा है शहर में पता नहीं क्या हरकत करे, उनका इंतजाम करना लाजिमी था। वह भागकर आगे पीछे चलती गई और थोड़ी दूर आगे चलकर इतनी मार उसके ऊपर पड़ी कि अन्त में उसको फायरिंग करना पड़ा। मैं आपको यह मिसाल इसलिए दे रहा हूं कि हमको सिविल लिबर्टी की इतनी चिन्ता है, पुलिस ज्यादातियों के खिलाफ हमको आक्रोश है कोई सन्देह नहीं, लेकिन वहां साथ ही साथ माननीय शर्मा जी से मेरा अनुरोध है कि मुल्क को उस राह पर चलना पड़े जिस राह में पुलिस को दखल देने की कम से कम जरूरत पड़े अगर यह सेंस जनता के अन्दर पैदा नहीं होता और हर आदमी समझता है कि वह जिस तरह चाहेगा, जिस रास्ते पर चलेगा जाएगा, तो इससे समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है।

मुझे इसका एक किस्सा याद आता है कि रूस में जब क्रान्ति हो रही थी तो एक बुढ़िया बीच सड़क से जा रही थी। किसी ने कहा— बुढ़िया मां बायें से चलना चाहिए। उसने कहा कि अब तो स्वराज आ गया है, मैं चाहे दायें चलूं या बायें चलूं। तो सिविल लिबर्टीज के यह भी माने नहीं कि जो भी हम करते चलें उसमें हमें पूरा अधिकार है और दूसरी चीज का ख्याल नहीं करना चाहिए। यह स्थिति

देश में क्यों हो रही है ? पुलिस को इतनी अट्रोसिटीज करने का मौका कैसे मिला । यह दोष हम लोगों का हो सकता है । 20-30 साल की हुकूमत का है । 30 साल में जिस समय अंग्रेजों ने इस देश को छोड़ा उस समय ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को इस रूप में ढालने का कोई भी प्रयास नहीं किया । वही पुलिस इंग्लैंड में है जिसके ऊपर जनता को फुल कांफिडेंस है और अपनी दौलत, अपनी बहन बेटी को उसके सुपुर्द करने में भी उन्हें संकोच नहीं होता । उसी पुलिस को ब्रिटिश हुकूमत ने वहां बनाया था जो हमारे लिए काल हो गई और हमने उस हुकूमत को रूचमात्र भी तब्दील नहीं किया । कैसे तब्दील होगा । तब्दील होने के लिए कोई कानून काम नहीं करेगा जब तक एक नेशनल लेबल पर दोनों स्थितियों का विचार नहीं किया जाएगा कि सिविल लिबर्टीज भी कायम रहें और ला एण्ड आर्डर भी कायम रहे । कौन सा रास्ता अपनाया जाएगा । पब्लिक लाइफ में हम एक दूसरे पर जूते फेंकते चलें तो ला एण्ड आर्डर की सिचुएशन देश में रहेगी और पुलिस संयमित रहेगी इसका सपना मत देखिये । सारी चीजें चलती हैं हमारे नेताओं के जीवन से खासकर इस पार्लियामेंट की दैनिक प्रोसीडिंग्स से । इन सब का प्रभाव पड़ता है । हम लोग उससे बरी नहीं हैं । इसलिए जब कभी इस तरह की बात की जाती है तो माननीय भूपेश गुप्ता को मैं समर्थन देता हूं कि ये सवाल बड़े विकट सवाल हैं । आवादी का सवाल है, एक जगह से ला एण्ड आर्डर गड़बड़ नहीं है, कई तरह से अट्रोसिटीज हो रही हैं । उसके पीछे हमारी जात-पांत की विभीषिका है जो देश के ऊपर छाया हुई है । एक दूसरे को नीचा और पतित बनाने की जो पुरानी प्रवृत्ति रही है, डा० अम्बेदेकर के नाम पर जो इतना महत्वपूर्ण है, उसके नाम को मराठवाड़ा युनिवर्सिटी के साथ जोड़ने में भी ऐतराज है, मैं फिर दोहराता हूं बाबू जगजीवन राम से मूर्ति का अनावरण बर्दाश्त

नहीं होता, छु लिया इस हरिजन ने, ऐसा जिस देश की मनोवृत्ति के अन्दर ऐसा विष फैला हुआ है उसको कानून से काबू करना चाहते हैं तो यह कोरा सपना है ।

तो मैं कह रहा हूं कि इन सारे सवालों को, जात-पांत के जहर को जो इस देश में हजारों वर्षों से चिपका हुआ है, इस देश की गरीबी अपनी चरम सीमा पर है और उसके साथ साथ हमारा एजुकेशनल सिस्टम, हमारी आवादी का सवाल, हमारे भ्रष्टाचार की प्रवृत्ति यह सब जुड़ा हुआ है वरना इस देश में गरीबी का कोई सवाल उठता ही नहीं ।

4 P.M. इस देश को गरीब किसी ने नहीं बनाया, इस देश को गरीब बनाया हमारे कर्मों ने और हमारी सारी परिपाटियों ने । इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इन सवालों को बहस करके छोड़ देना ठीक नहीं है । इस बात की पूरी ताईद करता हूं कि इस समय सरकार को, सारे विरोधी पक्ष के नेताओं को नहीं बल्कि देश के जितने मनीषी हैं उनको इन सवालों को सौंप दें । जो एक नेशनल कांसिन्स डेवलपमेंट हो वह इन सवालों को हल करे । सरकार की कोई छुट्टि हो तो सरकार के आदमी उसको कहें लेकिन पब्लिक की तरफ से कोई खामी होती हो, हुल्लड़बाजी होती हो, रेलगाड़ियां उतारी जाती हैं तो विरोधी पक्ष का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह इस काम को कंडम करे तब सब चीजें चल पायेंगी ।

मैं आपके इन सुझावों का स्वागत करता हूं । एक जो आपने विस्तार से दिया है कि लिबरल रेकल्यूटमेंट आफ हरिजन्स एंड अदर बैकवर्ड सेक्शन्स इन द पुलिस फोर्सिंग, मैं इस बारे में चाहता हूं कि पुलिस फोर्सिंग में नहीं, इस देश की एक बदकिरमती है जिसकी तरफ किसी का ध्यान नहीं जाता और जिसकी बुनियादी गलती पिछले 30 सालों से हो रही है वह बुनियादी गलती

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

यह है कि जैसा मैंने अभी आपको बताया कि बदकिस्मती से यह देश जात पात में बांटा हुआ है और यह उग्र फीलिंग है क्योंकि खाने पीने का ही मसला नहीं है, इसलिये सारी जगहों में, सारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में ऐसे ही लोग घुसे हुए हैं। सारा एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन जहरीला हो गया है, इसलिये एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में भी हरिजन और बैकवर्ड सेक्शन के लोगों का रेक्यूटमेंट होना चाहिये। बदकिस्मती से सारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में केवल दो तीन जातियों के ही लोग भरती हैं और इनको आबादी केवल 12/13 फीसदी है। 12/13 फीसदी जिनकी आबादी है वे गवर्नमेंट में, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में 90—92 फीसदी पदों पर बैठे हुए हैं। जुल्म है जाति के नाम पर। नीच ऊंच के नाम पर हरिजनों को सताया जाता है। जातियों के नाम पर उनको सताया जाता है। यह पुरानी परिपाटी चली आ रही है। एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में बैठे लोग, जब इस तरह सताने के आदो हों तो कैसे आप इस चीज को दूर करेंगे। केवल मिनिस्टर बन कर इसको दूर कर सकेंगे ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता मौके पर दरोगा बैठा है, पटवारी बैठा है, तहसीलदार बैठा है। वे लोग इस चीज को दूर कर सकते हैं। भूमिहीनों को निहायत नेकनीयती से जमीन बांटने की कोशिश पूर्व को गवर्नमेंट ने भी की और यह गवर्नमेंट भी कर रही है लेकिन पुरो तरह से कोई भी सफल नहीं हो पाई है। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि नेकनीयती होते हुए भी जमीन उनको नहीं मिलती। अगर कोई भूमिहीन है या कोई बड़ा आदमी है उसको बेटी या बहू भूमिहीन है उसके नाम भूमि एलाट कर दी जाती है तो जो तहसीलदार बैठे हुए हैं, कानूनगो है, पटवारी है उन सब की ऐसी व्यवस्था बनी हुई है कि उस जमीन को भूमिहीन के पास जाने ही नहीं देते। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि केवल पुलिस में नहीं सारे शासन व्यवस्था

मैं इसकी मांग होनी चाहिये। आप चाहें कि जल्दी से जात पात को तोड़ दें तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि लाख कोशिश करने पर भी ऐसा नहीं कर सकेंगे जब तक कि आप कोई एक्टिव कदम नहीं उठाते। भले ही बातें चले, आंदोलन इसके खिलाफ हों, आवाज उठे लेकिन बिना किसी सक्रिय कदम के, बिना किसी प्रोग्राम के जात पात को तोड़ नहीं सकते। यह सब करने पर भी तीस, चालीस साल इसके अंदर लग जायेंगे। लेकिन यह सब कुछ नहीं हो रहा है और न ही होने की संशा दिखती है। जायज मांग यह है कि 90 फीसदी जनता जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से बहिष्कृत है उनको उसका हक दिया जाए तभी न्याय हो सकता है। पार्लियामेंट में आप जितना चिल्लाएँ उससे कुछ नहीं होने वाला है क्योंकि जहाँ से न्याय मिलना है जिनको न्याय देना है उन सब जगहों पर वे ही बैठे हैं जो न्याय नहीं देना चाहते। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 10 साल के अंदर 90 फीसदी लोग जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में बैठे हैं उनको हटा कर हरिजनों को, बैकवर्ड लोगों को, उनका स्थान दिलायेंगे तब आपको अत्याचार दूर करने में मदद मिलेगी। अभी स्थिति यह है कि कि आप इन बुनियादी सवालों को उठाते नहीं हैं, केवल गवर्नमेंट की त्रुटियों ही निकालने रहते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि केवल पत्तियों की तरफ ही ध्यान देने से काम नहीं चलेगा। जब तक आप जड़ों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देंगे तब तक यह समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती है और ये जुल्म और अत्याचार हरिजनों और गरीब वर्ग के लोगों पर होते रहेगे। हमारे देश से गरीबी तब तक नहीं मिट सकती है जब तक भ्रष्टाचार समाप्त नहीं किया जाता है। इस गरीबी के लिए इस देश का एंजुकेशन सिस्टम भी बहुत हद तक जिम्मेदारी है जो केवलमात्र बाबू वर्ग को पैदा करता जा रहा है। आप लोग सीधे सीधे गरीबी को दूर करने की बात करते हैं, लेकिन जब तक आप गरीबी

की जड़ में नहीं जाएँ तब तक इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। आप किसी बुराई को जिसके 99 भाई और हों, उसको मारना चाहते हैं। यह कभी भी संभव नहीं है। गरीबों की जो यह फौज है इसके मूल में बहुत से कारण हैं। इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि पहले समस्या की जड़ में जाया जाय। हमारे देश में जात पात के कारण हरिजनों पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। इसके मूल में भी गरीबी की ही समस्या है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव के उन शब्दों को छोड़ कर जिनमें इस गवर्नमेंट के ऊपर हमला किया गया है, बाकी बातों का समर्थन करता हूँ और विशेष कर उन बातों का जो सामने हरिजनों और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के संबंध में कही हैं। इसमें आपने कहा है कि इन लोगों को पुलिस में भर्ती किया जाना चाहिए। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि उनकी संख्या केवल पुलिस में ही नहीं बल्कि समस्त सरकारी नौकरियों में 90 फीसदी तक पहुंचाई जानी चाहिए और यह काम आने वाले 10-15 सालों में पूरा कर लिया जाना चाहिए।

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Resolution so very well and effectively moved by my friend, Shri Sharma. As you see from the Resolution, the Resolution speaks of unemployment problems, problems relating to land or agrarian policies, problems relating to law and order, problems regarding atrocities committed on Harijans and the handling of these problems, so on and so forth. It is not possible for me, Sir, within the limited time, to do justice to all the items mentioned in the Resolution. However, it would be sufficient if I were to say that since the Janata Party has come into power at the Centre and in various States, a feeling has been created in the minds of the public that here is a Government

which is not in a position to deliver the goods as stated by them in their Manifesto. And the reasons for this is obvious. The Government that is there at the Centre is really not one-party Government but of various parties combined together for a purpose other than the economic or improvement of law and order situation in this country. The main objective why all these heterogeneous parties have joined together was not to assuage our problems but only to act against the then Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Now, as the frame of this party is of this nature, it is in the fitness of things that it will never deliver the goods. There is no doubt about it. They may sit in any manner they like, but I can say that the type of factions they have created in the party itself are such that it will never deliver the goods. But I will give you some examples. Now, take, Sir, the question of law and order in the country. Now, in at least two States we have the Congress Governments. And if you minutely examine the working of these Governments, you can easily find out that there is a will at the highest level to protect the Harijans and to see that their civic rights are respected. Elaborate arrangements are being made to see that their rights are protected. For this purpose, the previous Government passed the Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955 as modified in the year 1976. That Act has come into force on the 19th November, 1976. This Act was brought with a view to see that untouchability in this country is done away with as required by our Constitution under Article 17. If you examine the provisions of this Act, you will find that the offences against the Harijans pertaining to untouchability have been aggravated and they are dealt with in their aggravated forms and higher punishments have been provided. In order to see that provisions of this Act are im-

plemented with all seriousness, elaborate arrangements for establishing special police cells have also been made. But what have they done in this respect? I had put a question very recently to which I received an answer. I asked: how many cases have been taken cognizance of by the police, how many of them have been registered, how many of them have been taken to courts, how many of them have resulted in acquittal and how many have resulted in convictions. If you see the answer of the Government to my question, you find that not only they have not established special courts to try all these various offences, but very few cases have been taken to court and mostly they have resulted in compounding. The offences are compoundable and they have been compounded straightaway. For obvious reasons, whenever atrocities are committed against the Harijans, the poor Harijans are not in a position to sustain the rigours of litigation. They are also tempted. They are offered money or some other temptations. The result is that they are supposed to be coming forward to see that the cases are taken away from the purview of the courts.

SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): There is no legal aid also.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: Moreover, there is no legal aid provided to these poor people. I know as a District Magistrate once that unless the person concerned has the will to see that offences against the untouchables are taken cognizance of, registered and concerted action is taken to get things through with the help of like-minded persons, these offences do not come to light. It is for this reason that untouchability in this country will go on whatever our Prime Minister might say. He said that he would see that untouchability is removed with a period of 5 years. I must say that this is a very tall claim. It is impossible

with the type of approach that the Janata Government is having for taking cognizance of these offences. Sir, we have to go rather deep into the matter. If you go deep into the matter, you will find that it is more an economic problem than a social problem. Of course, it is a social problem. Unless concerted efforts are made to see that the Harijans are economically well off and well established, I am afraid it is not possible for any Government to place them on par with the other people in our society. That is the truth and the truth has to be accepted. Unless that is done, I am afraid, we will not go anywhere near the problem. Sir, for the last two days we are hearing of the Marathwada problems. Only today we have come to know expressly that the whole movement is against the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. And what time is chosen for this purpose? Of course, here is a resolution passed by the Assembly that the Marathwada University should be named after that great leader of our masses, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. It was in the fitness of the things that the University should have been named after such a great man, a man who is now rightly called the Father of our Constitution.

SHRI N. G. RANGA: He was a Maratha.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: Yes, he was a Maratha. Even then, what do we do? Several atrocities are being committed today on the Harijans.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): And this has happened after the present Government has come to power.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I am coming to that point. They have chosen this time. Why? When the Janata Government came to power in Maharashtra, these atrocious people in the

villages have taken that opportunity feeling that they will go scot-free even if they commit any sort of atrocities. They have chosen this time and every second and every minute, atrocities are being committed against the Harijans. It has rather become even difficult to discuss these problems because if we have to discuss these problems, we are only aggravating the atrocities against these poor people. That is what is happening in our country. I think, if I were the Prime Minister or if I were the Home Minister, I would have ordered the whole Army and the police force to put an end to such type of atrocities. I would only ask Mandalji to put himself in the position of those millions of poor people who have become the victims of all these atrocities perpetrated against them. Then only he will find what it is. Only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches. Having been placed himself in that position, I am sure, he would have ordered instantaneously to see that the whole police force was deployed and the atrocities committed were put an end to. But that is not being done. Sir, this is not the only problem. Even in the field of agrarian reforms, what is being done in this country? We had a 20-point programme. One of the important programmes related to land reforms, agrarian policy in this country. I know, Sir, that in Karnataka we had an excellent law on this subject—the Land Reforms Act of 1965. And if we were to implement that Act with all seriousness, it would have been possible to see that a lot of surplus land was available which could be given under the law to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and the other have-nots—50 per cent to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and the remaining 50 per cent to the other have-nots irrespective of caste and creed. That was the law. But, I tell you the history of what happened and how this law

"was handled in Karnataka. Sir, in

1957, the Jatti Committee was appointed to go into this problem of land reforms. Our hon. Chairman headed that Committee and that Committee went into the problems in detail and suggested various revolutionary measures. They gave an excellent report which could bring about agrarian reforms in this country. But what did happen? When the report was given on the 30th September, 1957, the number of tenants in Karnataka was 22 lakhs and the land in their possession was 67 lakhs of acres. That was the position at that time. When the rural rich who were to lose land came to know that within a short time there will be a very aggressive or revolutionary type of law, what did they do? They saw to it that most of the tenants were evicted from their lands. At that time our Nijalingappa was the Chief Minister. He was followed by Mr. Veerendra Patil. Though a law based on the recommendations of this committee was passed in 1961, it remained a dead letter; it was never enforced. It was enforced only in 1965. Now, within the period of these four years what happened? The number of 22 lakhs of tenants was reduced to four lakhs and the 67 lakhs of acres of land in their possession was reduced to 18 lakh acres. Afterwards, fortunately for the poor tenants of Karnataka, Mr. Devaraj Urs came into power and his Government passed a revolutionary type of law and today under that law all tenancies have come to be abolished. No tenancy in Karnataka, unless you are a soldier or a sailor. Only these two categories of people are allowed to have the land and the rest have no authority with them; they cannot create any tenancy at all.

The other thing is that all existing tenants on a particular day, i.e., the 1st March, 1974, have become owners of the land. The lands vest in the Government and steps are being taken to see that these tenants become the

[Shri L. K. Naik] owners of the land.
All these things were being done.

The day the Janata Government came into power, all these rural rich got up and started raising a hue and cry against this law and even today they are doing the same thing. Today I read in the "newspapers that one of the Ministers of the Bihar Government has resigned. If you read his statement, you will see that the same situation is obtaining there also. The vested interests have seen that the tenants, the poor people, are deprived of their lands. No surplus lands are assessed and no Harijans and no Girijans are given any lands. This is what a Janata Minister has said and if you will please read his statement you will see what sort of an agrarian policy this Janata Government is following.

About a year back, in August last year, I asked the Minister of Law and Justice as to what was going to be the agrarian policy of the Janata Government. He was kind enough to tell me that the Janata Government had an agrarian policy which was similar to the one followed by the Congress Government. But even today nothing is being said about this agrarian policy. I want to know, if there is no agrarian policy, is it possible to bring about all that we have said in our Constitution— equality and justice, social, economic and even political. It is not possible. So, what is lacking is the Janata Government's will to carry out all these revolutionary reforms. In the absence of that, I am afraid, Sir, that this nation will never be able to reach the goal that we have cherished for all these years. These are some of the things that I want to say. (Time bell rings)

Now, take" the question of unemployment. The Government is say-

ing that they will see that the unemployment problem is eradicated within a period of ten years. But what is actually happening? One and a half years have already elapsed and we find that unemployment has increased abnormally. If you go to villages, you will see that there are so many Matriculates, B.Ss. M.As., M.Cs. and B. Corns., all roaming from" pillar to post, seeking jobs. And, when the State Governments try to bring forth some measure to solve this problem, as, for instance, the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra, and there is a similar Bill afoot in Karanataka also the Centre has some objection. But all these Acts do not receive the assent of the President. Unless all such measures are taken care of by the Central Government and directives given, I am afraid, it would not be possible to solve the unemployment problem. This is not the way of solving this problem.

I find Mr. Fernandes telling us that he is trying to bring about improvement not only in the small-scale industries but in several other fields also, like cottage industry and all that. Once I had the opportunity to hear him with rapt attention and I entertained a big hope that here is a man who can deliver the goods as far as rural unemployment is concerned. But for the last 7 or 8 months, I have been observing, nothing has been done. They are all spending their time in quarreling among themselves. That is what is happening in this country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI L. R. NAIK; I will not prolong my speech, Sir. Now, unless there is a definite will to see that these things are done on a war footing, I am afraid, it will not be possible for us to reach our goal.

With these few words, Sir, I again support the Resolution wholeheartedly.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Madhavan.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): Bow much time is given to me, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I leave it to your best judgment.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I want to have an idea.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will have ten minutes or so.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, let me analyse the Resolution first. What does it mean Redraws the attention of the House to the position to which the country has been brought. It says:

"...that the country has been brought to the verge of an economic and political chaos within the last fifteen months ..."

Emphasis is on the words 'fifteen months'. Then, it also mentions about the factional infights amongst the ministers and the leaders within the Janata Party. It is a matter of their domestic business and I do not mention about that. The second part of the Resolution says:

"expresses its satisfaction that the various sections of our" people are not taking the attacks on their vital rights and interests lying down but are coming forward in mass actions and mass struggles in resisting them all over the country."

Then, the third part of it says:

"... while hailing this fighting mood of the masses, the urgency of an all-India mass movement"

There is the emphasis on 'all-India mass movement'.

"... including Satyagraha..."

I question the wisdom of the word 'Satyagraha'.

"...on the burning issues of the day with a view to impressing upon the Government and other concerned authorities that urgent democratic and popular demands be met without any avoidable delay."

And then what follows is a sort of recommendation. It enumerates so many things.

Now, let us go to the main question. Some of our friends got annoyed at the very mention of the words 'fifteen months'. Why should they get annoyed, I do not know. Everyday, every hour, every minute, they are mentioning about 'the last thirty years'. They take pleasure and a sadistic pleasure I say, at mud slinging on the previous Government for whatever has been done or whatever has not been done during the last thirty years but why should they feel shy when their tiny face is seen in their mirror of the last fifteen months? I do not understand. What is the position now? I would draw the attention of this House to the fact that such an array of misdeeds and atrocities on the Harijans and other weaker sections were not there before, of course, even if it were there, not of this magnitude and gravity. These things have happened only during the last fifteen or sixteen months. That -s the most significant fact truth. That i? the naked truth. Is there any answer to that? I took up the matter in the Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry. Then, the reply that I received from the then Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, was: Law and order is a State subject; what can the Central Government do?" I asked him a counter question: 'What

[Shri K. K. Madhavan] for are you sitting here at the Centre as Home Minister '. He was helpless. His reply was: 'That is exactly what I am thinking'. This happened at the Vigyan Bhavan when we met last year. That was the position.

I am not going to narrate all the incidents starting from Belchi It was inaugurated in the holy land of the Buddha. These atrocities were inaugurated in the holy land of the Buddha, where Buddha was born, had his *Prabuddha* and his *Nirvan*. And that continues. That continues even now. We have the recent incidents at Villupuram, under the reign of A.I.A.D.M.K. That is another political complexion. Then, we have the incidents at Marathwada, which happened after the new Ministry came to power. This is dominated by the Janata Party. I do not want to mention the name. Then, another recent incident which happened was near Delhi, Kanjhawala, where, some three or four days back, some 15,000 landlords gathered. I do not know the exact figure. The newspapers cannot report it, because, last year, when the newsmen went there, they were intimidated by the landlords against writing the truth of such incidents. Therefore, naturally, what happened there cannot come in the Press now. Of course, when things happen against the weaker sections, the Fourth Estate, which claims to be free and fearless, does not act in that way. I question their claim also. Naturally, these truths that come out are very few. The truths that do not come out are much more. This is the present position. This is so irrespective of the political complexion, differences in political complexion of the ruling parties in the different States.

Now, Delhi is directly ruled by the Janata Party. This happened under the very nose of the Prime Minister

and the Home Minister. This happened within a distance of 30 or 35 Kms. from the place where I am speaking now. What does it mean? It is not a simple matter of difference in political complexion. This is something more serious and something deeper. My hon. friend, Mr. Varma, from the other side, was mentioning the question of economic poverty. Is it economic poverty alone? It is not the only question. It is not the only problem. In India, there is the caste system and this caste system has been upheld even now. We have abolished untouchability more on paper than in practice. The caste system is still there. We have not raised a voice against that. We have not raised a voice against the real social evil, i.e. the *chatur vanya* system. Unless we are able to question the sanctity of that cruel social system we won't be able to get out of it. So, it is not the question of poverty. Here so many institutions and schools of thought and political movements have failed. I say, they have failed miserably. The Gandhism failed because of the trusteeship theory which goes always in favour of the 'haves' as against the 'have-nots'. The Communism failed because they have not understood the cruelty of the caste system.

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA (Bihar): But you have not given us a chance to rule the country. Please give us a chance and see.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: We have given you two chances in Kerala.

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA: I am not talking of Kerala, I am talking of the country as a whole. Even in Kerala, it has created a history.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: You cannot do it even in one century. My

case is that you have not understood India, you have not understood the people of India, you have not understood the society of India and you have not understood the social relationship existing in India. (*Interruptions*) I am not yielding. Unless he is on a point of order, I have the right to conclude my speech.

So, Gandhism failed, Communism failed,, though the Communism succeeded in the neighbouring country in China, because they understood their country and their people as against the Communists of India, of all groups.

The leader who could understand India was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He wielded power for a pretty long period. That was the golden age, I say. But subsequently, there was a distortion. When emergency was declared, all the initiative and powers fell it on the hands of bureaucracy, again who represent the upper class. They overdid these things. They have made cruel enjoyment out of it, they have taken cruel pleasure out of it. That is what happened during emergency. I am not justifying emergency, but I am saying what happened in that period.

So, Sir, that also failed. Now to redeem the country, a super mahatma came on to the scene?

SHRI KALP NATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): Who is that super mahatma.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I will tell you. He began his game in Gujarat. He continued his game in Bihar, where Shrimati Indira Gandhi or even the Governor of that State did

not accede to his demand. And that continued. Unfortunately, because of the emergency and under the garb of the emergency, it passed on, it rolled on under the beautiful label of total revolution. And the total revolution has ushered in this Government headed by Shri Morarji Desai, assisted by Choudhry Charan Singh. (*Interruption*) I am not interested where he is.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI; Cobra of casteism.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: They say that it is 'total revolution'. I do not know, I have my own evaluation against it. That will be much do-maging if I say. Now, what happens? Shri Jayaprakash Narayan rises his righteous indignation only rarely. In my language there is an expression, *kaadaru masam, naadaru masam*. *Kaadaru* means forest, *masam* means month and *naadaru* means village. So, it means, six! months in forests and six months in village. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is a Sarvodaya leader for six months and he is a politician, total revolutionary, for another six months of the year. So his total revolution, where is it now? Has he mentioned a word against the atrocities on the Harijans during the last 15 months? Where has his indignation gone? Where is he sitting? When the Bihar Government took disciplinary action against the erring officials, this Super-Mahatma came forward with a press statement that the Bihar Government should be very careful before taking action against such officials. When action was taken against some Revenue officials by the Bihar Government which is headed by the son of a barber, of course, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan could not contain it—Hundreds of Harijans are being killed in an organised manner. In Kanjha-wala, about 5000 people of a particular group were collected. I do not

[Shri K. K. Madhavan]

say they were non-Harjans but they belonged to only a section of the non-Harjans. They were collected from Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, parts of Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and all the other neighbouring States. What does it mean? And that was organised by whom? Has the Government enquired about that?

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: By Shri. ■Charan Singh.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: There was a parliamentary team going to Villupuram which was prevented for no reason. There was absolutely no reason to prevent that M.Ps'-team from visiting Villupuram. Because there happens to be judicial inquiry into those incidents the M.Ps are not going there. The MPs are not going to conduct a propaganda war, or to start a newspaper propaganda there. Their attempt was to go there to have an on-the-spot study. (*Time bell rings*) I will take one minute more, Sir. So they were prevented. Of course, that is the prerogative of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. I have no quarrel with that. But that has happened. But at the same time, I might say that the very same people had the duty to go 30 kilometres from here to Kanjehawala. But nobody has gone. That is a pity, Sir. So here it is political bungling. There is no political leadership. Of course, for pretty long years, one single party can never rule in different States in a big country like India. The political spectrum of this country is variegated. Naturally it ought to be and it should be. But in spite of parties with different political complexions wielding power in different States of the country, there is the necessity, the stark reality that there should be a political leadership, a centralised leader. That is exactly what is wanting now so far as this Government is concerned. If that political leadership were there,

Sir, none of these things could have happened.

So, let me conclude by saying, let us destroy what is called Manu Smriti. Let us destroy whatever is bad in the Vedantic Sidhants. Unless you destroy that, unless you have a questioning mind, where passion gives way to reason this country cannot succeed. So the question is whether the politics of this country should be guided by reason, or should be guided by passion; whether this country should be led by people guided by reason, or guided by communal frenzy. That is the question. Unless we give up this attitude and this method of politics, this country is not going to continue for long through the road of democracy. I say democracy is in danger. There are so many groups sitting here, all interested in establishing dictatorship, dictatorship of different kinds; whatever type of dictatorship, it is dictatorship.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I am winding up. There is a poetic couplet:

"Blandhuifa Kanchamakkoottlanen-kilum

Bandhanam Bandhanam Thanne Paril"

Even if you are put in a golden cage it is prison. That is the essence. So whatever may be the type of dictatorship, dictatorship will not commit suicide. (*Time bell rings*). Please permit me for one minute. The well-known dictum says that dictatorship tends to perpetuate itself. And there

is an end of democracy. I have chosen democracy because democracy is the only salvation for the poorest of this country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I am winding up. Unless we are prepared to have a frontal attack against all this myth, all this blind faith, all this ever-prevalent evil, from this country there is no salvation. There is no question of revivalism here though every day I hear the voices of revivalism. It is a question of renaissance. It is a question of establishing renaissance of the modern age which means cultural, intellectual and spiritual. Democracy, both economic, political, social and just. Thank you.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार): मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे सरकारी बिजनेस के लिये समय निर्धारित रहता है वैसे इस रेजोल्यूशन के लिये भी कोई समय निर्धारित है या नहीं। मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इसके बाद वाला रेजोल्यूशन आज आया या नहीं ?

श्री उपसभापति : अभी तो मंत्री जी को बोलना है और उसके बाद योगेन्द्र शर्मा जी का प्रस्ताव है वह भी कुछ बोलेंगे इसलिये आज तो नहीं हो पायेगा और बाद की बाद में देखी जाएगी ।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : मेरा भी नाम है । आज मेरा नम्बर, आया या नहीं ?

श्री उपसभापति : पाँच बजे तक जितने बोल सकेंगे उतने बोल लेंगे और बाकी का बाद में देखा जाएगा ।

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the first part of the Resolution that is before Us is the preamble. The previous speaker analysed the Resolution and in analysing it he said that within the last fifteen months the country has been brought to the verge of an economic and political chaos. As I did not listen to the speech by Comrade Yogendra Sharma, the particular point that struck me is that there is economic and political chaos. I am in complete agreement with him so far as the description of the present state of affairs is concerned. In whatever sense he might have used that phrase, I would prefer it as the economic ruination or economic stagnation in certain other respects. But I will not lay stress just on those fifteen months: I would beg to differ from him. It is the culmination of the process which started since our independence. I won't lay the blame just on the last two or three years prior to these fifteen months. From 1947 onwards, a system has been gradually built up which has led to the pauperisation of the common man, more and more exploitation of the common man, of the toiling people, the working class and the peasant. This is a fact, a historical fact which ought to have been recognised. I quite realise that the brunt of the attack, if there is to be any effect on the system, if the system has to come crumbling down, the responsibility for it, has to be squarely faced by the Government of the day. Naturally the present Government will have to answer for the present day. But, while analysing it, it would be unhistorical and, at the same time, unscientific, to say that it is just these fifteen months which have brought about this situation. I am afraid that if it is called in that manner, a proper solution won't be possible. The fact remains that the present day Government, the Government led by the Janata Party, has been essentially continuing the policy

that has been pursued so long. It is not at all fundamentally different. In certain respects there might have been deterioration, in one or two respects there might have been improvement, but there is no fundamental difference. The capitalist system with all its ramifications, with all its pitfalls and with all its barrenness so far as the problems of the country at large are concerned, is there. That aspect, I feel, ought to have been taken into account when this Resolution came from Comrade Yogendra Sharma who is fully aware of it. But I have been suggesting the reasons for it. He also had occasion to analyse these things but, at the same time, he might have been inhibited because of certain other considerations. This fact ought to have been taken into account and should have been acknowledged fully.

Regarding the other parts, that is, resistance to the exploitation, pauperisation, these are aspects which definitely ought to be stressed if we want to bring about a change in the present situation, in the present state of affairs. It remains a fact that after the days of double Emergency when democracy was totally suspended, when the voice of the toiling people was completely throttled, with the restoration, to a certain extent, of the democratic rights, popular movements—the movements of the working class, of the peasants and, generally, the exploited people all over the country—got a fillip and those movements are still continuing. And it is the responsibility of those who are interested in the welfare of the common man of the country as well. They should try to channelise this movement in a concerted way and in an organised manner till they deliver a blow to the system of exploitation which has been built up in our country over the last 30 years. Unfortunately, I would say that that outlook is lacking. This resolution, Comrade Sharma also knows very well, even if endorsed by

this House, cannot be implemented because of what has been stated here and perhaps Parliament by itself cannot implement it. For example *satyagraha* cannot be staged moved by a resolution in Parliament. But in providing an indication, in providing an outline, a proper perspective could have been taken as a guideline to the country as a whole, that is how we propose to move in order to bring about a change in the exploitative social order. I regret to say that that aspect is lacking. I would have very much liked it.

The other points which he has said, I am in agreement with him and with a little opportunity that I have I lend my voice to these demands. I mean regarding what has been said on steps to be taken. But regarding one I have a word of caution to utter. I am a fresh comer in this House, though not in politics. But since I came here I found that everybody in this House is very solicitous about the Harijans and the poorer sections of the people. Everybody of us should be concerned. But perhaps there is another side of it.

Ours is a society in which and ours is a country where there is a move always afoot to keep our country bound to the tradition of backwardness, the tradition of ignorance and the tradition of an antiquated society. Now a very serious threat is seen. The fight between castes starting from Bihar has now spread to Maharashtra as well on the issue of naming of the Marathwada University. It is rather strange. It started from Bihar on communal reservation and it has spread to Maharashtra. It spread to U. P. and now it has gone to Maharashtra. And it is said that our society is being prepared for a fight along caste lines. The way to meet it, I would submit, is not to recruit

more police personnel from amongst the Harijans. Perhaps, Mr. Yogendra Sharma knows it very well that the intensification of the struggle of the toiling people and their consolidation will bring about division on class lines. Perhaps that is the only way out. I will recall with some pride that in West Bengal where this class movement, mass movement, is strong, this problem has not raised its ugly head so much. But it is something contagious, and if this becomes the shape of things in our country, perhaps we should shudder to think of the future.

Basically it is an economic problem. Largely they are the most exploited and the most down-trodden section of our country. And by intensification of the toiling people's struggle,

we can face this challenge. 5. P.M. Otherwise, it moves in a

vicious circle, from which the way out is not very easy. Meetings with the Opposition leaders are being held and we always discuss these things. But perhaps we will go round and round. So, I could have been happy if with a wider perspective this aspect had been stressed in this Resolution, which is a sort of platform of action for discussion among the people at large, and this broad perspective could have been given.

With these few words, I conclude my speech. I thank the Deputy Chairman for giving me the opportunity.

MR, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Half-an-Hour Discussion. Shri Dhabe.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपसभापति महोदय, मेरा एक सवमिशन है : आप जानते हैं कि 6 बजे तक ग्राम तौर पर कार्यवाही चलती है। कभी कभी साढ़े सात, आठ बजे तक भी चलती है। यह प्राइवेट मैम्बरों की कार्यवाही पर ही क्यों कुठाराघात हो रहा है ?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन् 18 तारीख को रक्षा बंधन पड़ रहा है।

श्री उपसभापति : आज जो कार्यक्रम निर्धारित है उसके अनुसार 5 बजे हाफ एन आवर डिसकशन लेना है। यह डिसकशन करने के बाद ही प्रोग्राम बना है और उसी के मुताबिक काम होना है।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : आप समय तो बढ़ा सकते हैं।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : आप 15 मिनट तो बढ़ा सकते हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : रुलज में भी लिखा है। पांच से साढ़े पांच बजे के बीच यह डिसकशन लेना है। अब जो निर्धारित हो चुका है उसी के मुताबिक चलना उचित रहेगा। श्री धावे।

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION ON POINTS ARISING OUT OF REPLY TO UNSTARRED QUESTION 715 GIVEN ON 26TH JULY, 1978, RE-HOLDING OF ASIAN GAMES, 1982 IN INDIA.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am raising this discussion on the reply given to my question, Unstarred Question 715, on the 26th July, 1978. I would like to refer to the question which was asked.

"Whether the Government has received a representation from the Indian Olympic Association and others to Review their decision for holding the Asian Games in 1982 in