

[श्री राजनारायण]

भी जोड़ दिया जाय कि आंध्र में वहां के मुख्य मंत्री ने जिस तरह से चेयर की खलिंग को बोट कराया और डिफीट कराया और चेयर को रिज्वाइन करने के लिये मजबूर कर दिया यह भी एक स्थिति है जो लोगों को हथियार लेने पर मजबूर करती है और इस तरह कोई पीसफुल तरीका नहीं चल पायेगा।

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: We want to discuss this some time in the House because this is a matter which we cannot ignore.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi): There was a long discussion on the happenings in the Punjab Assembly.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Niranjan Varma.

RESOLUTION RE ALARMING DETERIORATION IN THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IN SEVERAL REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY PARTICULARLY IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER PRESIDENT'S RULE—*contd.*

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, अभी हमारे मित्र श्री महावीर त्यागी जी ने इस सदन के लिये और इस सदन के द्वारा पूरे देश के लिये यह अवसर दिया कि हम अपने देश में कुछ महीनों से जो दुष्प्रवृत्तियां चल रही हैं, उनके ऊपर विचार कर सकें। यह बात सही है कि हमारे योग्य मित्र श्री मोहन धारिया जी ने अभी अपने भाषण में यह बात बताई कि यह समस्या केवल लड़ाई, मार-पीट तथा हड़तालों तक ही सीमित नहीं है, बल्कि इसकी गहराई में जाने के लिये हमें कुछ अन्य तथ्यों पर भी विचार करना पड़ेगा। हम समझते हैं कि अपने देश में निश्चित रूप से कुछ महीनों से एक अराजकता की स्थिति आ गई है और इसे स्वीकार करना ही चाहिये। अगर कोई व्यक्ति दलबन्दी के दलदल में फँस कर इस तथ्य की ओर नहीं देखता और उसकी तरफ से आँखें चुराता है, तो हम समझते हैं कि वह वास्तव में इस देश के साथ न्याय नहीं करता।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN IN THE CHAIR]

श्रीमन्, हमारा खयाल ऐसा है कि कुछ महीनों से अपने देश के सामने जो दुष्प्रवृत्ति आई है, उसका कारण सात प्रकार से है। इसमें एक पहला प्रकार यह है कि हमारे यहां कुछ दिनों से अपनी केन्द्रीय सत्ता का ह्रास हो रहा है। श्रीमन्, यह बात बिल्कुल निर्विवाद है कि जब तक केन्द्रीय सत्ता ताकतवर होती है, तब तक कहीं किसी प्रकार की जो बुरी प्रवृत्तियां हैं, उनको आगे बढ़ने का अवसर नहीं मिलता और उन बुरी प्रवृत्तियों के कारण देश में और समाज में जो इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ होती हैं वह नहीं हो पाती। लेकिन अपने देश में इस समय जो केन्द्रीय सत्ता है, इस केन्द्रीय सत्ता में आपस में फूट हो जाने के कारण उनमें सत्ता को पकड़े रहने की जो प्रतिस्पद्धा, होड़ लगी है, उसके कारण आज देश में इस प्रकार की समस्याएँ उत्पन्न हो रही हैं और दुष्प्रवृत्तियां पनप रही हैं। जब जब इस देश में केन्द्रीय सत्ता का ह्रास हुआ देश रसातल को चला गया, प्राचीन काल से ले कर आज तक। हमारे योग्य मित्र श्री त्यागी जी ने अभी वारेन हेस्टिंग्स के समय की कुछ बातें बताईं। हम उसके पहले की बात भी निवेदन करना चाहते हैं। अशोक के समय में भी जब केन्द्रीय सत्ता कमजोर पड़ी, मुगलों के समय में भी जब केन्द्रीय सत्ता कमजोर पड़ी, तब इस देश में बड़ी दुर्गतियां हुईं जो कि आज देश में दुर्गति होने जा रही है। इसलिये केन्द्रीय सत्ता भी बहुत अंश तक इन सब बातों के लिये जिम्मेवार है।

दूसरी बात यह कि केन्द्रीय सत्ता को संभालने के लिये जो सब से बड़ी ताकत होती है वह पुलिस होती है और जैसा कि अभी हमारे योग्य मित्रों ने कहा कि हमेशा देश में पुलिस के निन्दनीय आचरण की अगर एक दम निन्दा ही करते रहें, तो इस देश में कभी काम चल नहीं सकता। हमारे देश में पुलिस बराबर इस प्रकार के भी कार्य करती रहती है कि अगर सौ बार में से एक बार भी उसकी प्रशंसा की जाय तो वह

अवश्य ही की जाना चाहिये। उसका परिणाम कभी कभी ऐसा होता है जैसा कि अभी हमारे यहां कुछ दिन पहले हुआ कि पुलिस में और सरकार में लड़ाई हुई और मंत्रियों को पुलिस ने पकड़ लिया। देश में इससे ज्यादा अराजकता की स्थिति और बुरा हो सकती है ?

श्री महावीर त्यागी : यह कहाँ हुआ ?

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : बंगाल में।

अब इसके पश्चात् तीसरी जो स्थिति है वह है मंहगाई की। मंहगाई भी उपद्रव कराती है। इस पूरे तथ्य को केवल एक ही दृष्टिकोण से सोचा जाय तो देश के साथ अन्याय होगा। हमारे देश में जो व्यक्ति कुछ पुराने सिद्धांतों को जकड़ कर के उस पर बैठ कर इस देश में नये प्रकार के वतावरण को लाने में अवरोध खड़ा करने की कोशिश करते हैं उस कारण से भी इस प्रकार की समस्याएँ उत्पन्न होती हैं। इसी प्रकार हमारे देश में कुछ लोगों के हाथ में जिस प्रकार का केन्द्रीय सत्ता है, उसी प्रकार थोड़े से हाथों में धन की सत्ता भी है और वह धन की सत्ता के कारण देश में बिना किसी प्रतिबन्ध के जब चाहे तब कीमतों में बढ़ावट या गिरावट करते रहते हैं, जिसके कारण समाज में असंतोष उत्पन्न होता है। यह एक तीसरा भी कारण है।

चौथा कारण, परस्पर राज्यों में होड़ लगी हुई है। जैसे यहां की सत्ता कमजोर हुई वैसे प्रत्येक राज्य अपने लिये अधिक से अधिक सत्ता लेना चाहता है और काश्मीर से लेकर नीचे कन्याकुमारी अन्तरीप तक जितने भी राज्य हैं सारे राज्य इससे अड़ते नहीं बचे हैं और सरकार इतनी कमजोर हो गई है कि राज्यों की जो परस्पर होड़, प्रतियोगिता चल रही है उस पर लगाम नहीं लगा सकती और बहुत से राज्य तो ऐसे हैं जो कि केन्द्र के धन के ऊपर तो वह पलते हैं लेकिन केन्द्र से अलग होने की धमकी देते हैं और इन्को रोकने के लिये हमारी इस कमजोर सरकार के पास कोई साधन नहीं है। और यहां के देश में दुष्प्रवृत्तियां बढ़ाने का एक कारण यह भी है।

इसके अतिरिक्त हमारे देश में जो जगह जगह झगड़े होते हैं, उसका एक कारण और है। जैसा कि हमारे योग्य मित्र ने अभी कहा था, किसी भी व्यक्ति का सबसे बढ़िया आचरण होना चाहिये। यदि किसी व्यक्ति का आचरण अच्छा है। तो बहुत सी बातों को सहन किया जा सकता है, लेकिन अगर किसी मनुष्य का आचरण गिर गया तो चाहे अनेक कानून हम बनाते चले जायें लेकिन इस देश का वैभव कभी-लौट कर नहीं आ सकता। हमारे अपने देश में जो केन्द्रीय सत्ता में होड़ चल रही है, मिनिस्ट्रों में आपस में प्रतिस्पर्धा है, उससे अफसरशाही भी बची हुई नहीं है। हमारे देश में कभी-कभी अफसर लोग भी दलों का साथ देते हैं। दलों साथ देने के कारण वहां पर ऐसी स्थिति हो जाती है, जिसके कारण जनता में भी दो दल हो जाते हैं और उनमें मारपीट होती है और अफसर लोग खड़े होकर देखते रहते हैं। तो एक कारण यह भी है।

इसके साथ ही साथ, हमारे यहां पर इन दिनों जो सबसे बड़ी कमी आ गई है वह देश प्रेम की कमी है। हमारे योग्य मित्र धारिया ने बताया था और त्यागी जी ने अभी कुछ महीनों की चर्चा की, लेकिन उन्होंने तेइस वर्षों के बातों की चर्चा क्यों नहीं की। मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि तेइस वर्ष पहले यहां के नेता कांग्रेस के नेता थे, हमारा उनसे प्रारम्भ काल से ही बड़ा मतभेद रहा, लेकिन यह बात तो हमको कहनी पड़ेगी कि आखिर देश के लिये उन्होंने कुछ कुर्बानियां और त्याग तो किये और यही कारण है कि नीतियों की असहमति होते हुए भी उनका बहुत सी बातों के सामने देश को झुकना पड़ा। लेकिन आज हमारे यहां पर जो देश के प्रेम की कमी की लहर आ गई है, उसमें हर एक आदमी ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ तो उठाना चाहता है, लेकिन देश के लिये कोई किसी प्रकार का बलिदान करना नहीं चाहता। अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति केनेडी ने, जब उन्होंने वहां के राष्ट्रपति पद की शपथ

[श्री निरञ्जन वर्मा]

ली, तो उन्होंने एक भाषण दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि अमरीका के बहुत से लोग हमसे पूछेंगे और पूछते हैं कि केनेडी साहब, आप अमरीका के लिये क्या करेंगे, आप क्या कुछ करने जा रहे हैं। मैं अमरीकियों से यह पूछता हूँ कि केनेडी चाहे कुछ करें, या न करें लेकिन प्रत्येक अमेरिकन अमरीका के लिये क्या कर रहा है। आज हमारे यहां की स्थिति भी बिलकुल वही है। आज हमारे यहां पर देश प्रेम की कमी हुई है। लोगों ने बलिदान किये नहीं, लोगों में त्याग की भावना है नहीं। केवल अच्छे-अच्छे भाषण प्लेटफार्म पर बैठ कर करने के बाद और फूलों की मालाएं पहनने के बाद वह अपने जीवन में मंत्री बनने की आकांक्षा हृदय में रखते हैं। हर आदमी का उद्देश्य ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है मानो उसके स्वर्ग में जाने की अंतिम सीढ़ी मंत्री पद है। मंत्री पद में पहुंचने के बाद देश प्रेम की भावना भी उनमें रहनी चाहिये। हमारे यहां जो अच्छे विद्वान व्यक्ति हैं, उनकी इस देश के प्रति और राजनीति के प्रति उदासीनता भी एक कारण है क्योंकि कोई आदमी राजनीति के दलदल में आकर अपनी इस प्रकार की दुर्गति नहीं कराना चाहता और वह चाहता है कि जो कुछ स्थिति चल रही है वह चलती रहे, इस देश में हमारी सुनने वाला कोई नहीं है। यही हाल आज वैज्ञानिकों का है, विद्वानों का है, उपकुलपतियों का है विश्वविद्यालयों के और दूसरे बड़े-बड़े व्यक्तियों का है। यह भी दोष इसके लिये जिम्मेदार है।

अंत में, जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा, सत्ता का जो मोह है, उस सत्ता के मोह के कारण देश में बराबर झगड़े बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, आप इस बात को आश्चर्य के साथ देखेंगे कि हमारे इस देश में देशद्रोह की कोई विशेष सजा नहीं है। कितना ही बड़ा कोई अपराध कर ले, मगर उसके लिये अगर कोई बड़ी से बड़ी सजा देशद्रोह के लिये है तो वह 3 वर्ष की है। मैं एक उदाहरण आपको बताऊँ। पिछले समय में सिकन्दराबाद में जब पाकिस्तान के साथ

हमारी लड़ाई चल रही थी, एक व्यक्ति ने हमारे हवाई जहाजों को बिगाड़ दिया और ऐसे जीवन मरण की लड़ाई में उसने हवाई जहाज को गिराया, ऐसे व्यक्ति को सजा केवल 3 वर्ष की दी गई। इससे ज्यादा बेईमानी की बात दुनिया में और क्या हो सकती है। हमारे देश में इस प्रकार के भयानक अपराध करने वाले छूट जाते हैं और उनके प्रति हमारे देश की सरकार निगाह नहीं उठाती। यह कांस्टीट्यूशन श्रीमन्, हमने बनाया, लेकिन हमारी आंखों के सामने कांस्टीट्यूशन का उल्लंघन होता है, हम इस कांस्टीट्यूशन की शपथ लेते हैं, शपथ लेने के बाद उसी को भंग करने की बात कहते हैं। हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार के हाथ इतने कमजोर हो गये हैं कि वह कभी कुछ कर नहीं सकती। अभी पिछले दिनों में काश्मीर में सम्मेलन हुआ, उस काश्मीर के सम्मेलन में खुले आम यह कहा गया था कि हम भारत से अलग होना चाहते हैं। हम समझते हैं, किसी राष्ट्र में उस राष्ट्र की भूमि के अंग को अलग करने की, विच्छेद कर देने की कोई बात कहे तो एक बहुत बड़ा नैतिक अपराध माना जाता है। लेकिन हमारे यहां पर बार बार चेतावनी देने के बाद हमारी सरकार ने उसके ऊपर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की। इसके बाद दोष नक्सलवादियों को दिया जाता है कि वे उधम कर रहे हैं। तो उसके भीतर क्या-क्या बातें हैं, जिसके कारण वह ऐसा कह रहे हैं। कभी इसकी तह पर भी सरकार को पहुंचना चाहिये। उदाहरण के लिये, हमारी सरकार बीस वर्षों से किसानों के लिये और हरिजन आदिवासियों के लिये जमीन देने का कानून बनाने की घोषणा कर रही है और जमीनों नहीं दे पायी। आज से डेढ़ वर्ष पहले कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष और हमारे कैबिनेट के एक मंत्री श्री जगजीवन राम ने विदिशा जिले के कुर्वाई में जाकर हरिजनों की सभा में भाषण दिया कि यह सरकार तुम्हारे लिये कुछ करने वाली नहीं है, तुम जाकर जमीनों पर कब्जा कर लो। यह उन्होंने मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से कहा। उसके बाद वहां के राजस्व मंत्री कृष्णपाल सिंह

और दूसरे मिनिस्टर्सों ने भी इस के बारे में बहुत कुछ अफसोस जाहिर किया, वक्तव्य दिये। आज वहां यह हो रहा है कि जबरदस्ती वहां के किसान जाकर कब्जा करते हैं, पुलिस आती है, फिर दोनों में ग्राम होता है और लाठियां चलती हैं। यह एक उदाहरण मैंने बताया। इसी प्रकार के उदाहरण और दूसरी जगहों पर भी हैं। आज बिहार में, बंगाल में, असम में, आंध्र प्रदेश में, उत्तर प्रदेश में, सब स्थानों में लोग इस प्रकार का कार्यवाहियां कर रहे हैं। जब सरकार फेल हो जाये और जब वह गरीब कृषकों को भूमि न दे सके तो सिवाय इसके कि वह वहां जाकर भूमि पर कब्जा करें, उनके पास कोई दूसरा चारा नहीं है।

श्रीमन्, इसमें जनता का उतना दोष नहीं है; क्योंकि जनता के हाथ में न तो सरकार का नेतृत्व है और न ताओं के ऊपर नकेलबंदी। प्राचीन काल की एक कहावत है : 'राजा कालस्य कारणम्' अर्थात् राजा ही काल का कारण होता है। अगर इतनी चेतावनी के बाद भी राजा नहीं चेतता तो वही हाल होता है जो इंग्लण्ड में चार्ल्स फर्स्ट का हुआ। वही हाल होता है जो फ्रांस के रिपब्लिकेशन में हुआ और वही हाल होता है जो 1917 में जार की सरकार को पलटने के लिए वहां पर क्रांतिकारियों के द्वारा हुआ। हमारी सरकार अब ऐसे कगार पर बैठी है कि आगे चल नहीं सकती। यह पूँजीपतियों के धन से और सत्ता के गठजोड़ से अपनी कुर्सियों पर टिकी है, बाकी इसने कभी मूल चिन्ता ही नहीं किया। क्या केवल इन दो बातों से सरकार सरकार बनी रह सकती है जब तक ऐसा रहेगा असंतोष बढ़ता चला जायेगा। मैं बिना किसी दल-बंदी के, नम्रता के साथ यह निवेदन करता हूँ श्रीमन्, कि इन महीनों में तो निश्चित रूप से सरकार का पतन हुआ है, इसके चरित्र में भी पतन हुआ है और उसके अंदर केवल एक ही कामना रह गई है कि जिसे भी बने, चाहे कोई शत्रु भी है उसके साथ गठबंधन करते चले जायें और जिस प्रकार धन अधिक से अधिक

खर्च कर सकें उस प्रकार से केन्द्रीय सरकार को अपने कब्जे में रखो, उसको किसी प्रकार से हाथ से न जाने दें और उसके कारण ही यह है कि आज केरल में भी इन महीनों में बहुत झगड़े हुए, काश्मीर में भी आग लगाने की घटनाएं बहुत हुई और बंगाल में भी इस प्रकार की बहुत सी घटनाएं हुई और आज बंगाल और असम—ईश्वर न करे—ऐसे कगार पर सरकार के कारण पड़े हैं कि कभी वह दूसरा वियतनाम बनने की शकल में आ सकते हैं और वह देश के लिय सबसे खतरनाक घड़ी होगी।

इतना कह कर मैं इस सरकार को चेतावनी देता हूँ कि आज की बहस से सरकार कुछ लाभ उठाए और आत्म-चिन्तन करें तो कल्याण होगा।

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion so ably moved by the hon. Shri Mahavir Tyagi. I am grateful to him for having focused the attention of this august House to this very important matter, although I regret to say that he has toned down his Resolution by confining the deterioration in the maintenance of law and order to the past few months. I regret further that I do not find myself able to agree with his formulation that deterioration in law and order has taken place only during the past few months, six or seven months. If I put it correctly, perhaps he means since the split in the Indian National Congress and is going over to the other side. Now, Sir, I would like to draw his attention in particular, through you, to this. I take the figures of crime during the past few years. In 1960 the number of cognizable crimes reported in the whole country was 6,06,367, i.e., 140 per every lakh of population. In 1968 it was 8,67,602, i.e., 164.6 per one lakh of population. The incidence of crime has increased throughout the whole country. If I mistake not, my friend, the hon. Mover, has drawn particular attention to the deteriorating law and order situation in Bengal. Let me tell him, Sir, through you that in the matter of crime Bengal tops the list in the whole of India. You will be surprised to know that not only it tops the list in the matter of crime, but in the matter of detection it is one of the lowest in India. Whereas in UP detection is 31.9 per cent of the crime reported

[Shri Triloki Singh]

in Bengal it is 12.5 per cent. So, 87.5 per cent of the crime reported in Bengal goes undetected. I am quoting the figures for 1968, which is, of course, beyond the scope of the Resolution, i.e., the past few months. I would like to draw the attention of this august House to the reasons. Why is it so? Since independence we have had Central Reserve Police. We have had the Border Security Force. In the Railways also, previously we had a few guards guarding railway property, we now have the Railway Protection Force. Also, since the adoption of the Industrial Security Bill, we have the Industrial Security Force. There are so many forces. The number of policemen has increased. The number of the Provincial Armed Constabulary is much more than what it was ten, fifteen or twenty years back. I would like to impress upon you, Sir, and through you the whole House, the reasons. It requires a deeper probe. It is not capitalism or socialism. It is not the crossing of floor by Members from this side to the other side. The malady is much deeper, and I would like the House to go into it. Now here the world over, I mean the democratic countries, the Police is of the State. Law and order and watch and ward have been entrusted to the local bodies. Let us take the UK, the USA, France, West Germany, Japan and all the civilised world. Some of the friends, I hope, will take objection to it. The police is the concern of local bodies. In India also, Sir, the Britishers started the police system in this country, and nobody should be surprised to know that till 1886 the police budget was debited to the LSG and not the Home Ministry. When the British Government decided to give a little power in the sphere of local self-government under Lord Ripon from 1886, the police grant was shunted off from the LSG to the Home Ministry. It is a shame that the Home Ministry in this country is still supposed to be the most powerful Ministry in this country. I take it to be a slur on Indian democracy.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Do you want this to go back to LSG?

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: Yes, I do and I am prepared to take the risk with the people. I am not a demagogue. I should not think that I am a representative of the people when I am also afraid of the people as is being done. In Kerala the Assembly is dissolved, but elections are to be held after three or four months.

Why are we afraid of the people? It is a people's country, it is a people's democracy. But in India a strange 'mantra' has been evolved, a new philosophy has been propounded which has no parallel in the history of democracy in the world, that they are afraid of the people.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: We are afraid of our own shadows.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: May be. But my friend also belongs to a party which is afraid of the people. They do not stand for decentralisation. They stand for centralisation of power and authority not only in the States but at the Central level. If what he has said just now is any indication of a shift in the policy of the party which he represents, nobody would be more glad than myself. Therefore, what I mean to say is that we cannot check that. We have failed during the last 23 years, and as rightly pointed out by Mr. Dharwadkar we shall fail again if we do not do rethinking on this very important matter, the deteriorating law and order situation, it cannot be controlled from Delhi or Patna or Bhopal or Lucknow. It has to be decentralised to the lower level. With all this tall talk of decentralisation and taking the name of Mahatma Gandhi by which we swear so often, both on this side and on the other side, we are opposed to decentralisation.

Therefore, my contention is this. Look at the rural police. Formerly the village 'mukhia', the headman, had a vital role to play not only in the reporting of a crime but also in the prevention of crime. But the 'mukhia' happened to be a Government servant. In the 1952 elections a large number of election petitions were allowed on the ground that the candidates had taken the support of the 'mukhias'. Outright in 1952 with one stroke of the pen the post of 'mukhia' was abolished. Who is there now at the rural level to look after law and order? Who is in charge of watch and ward? Not the village panchayat. With all the tall talk of decentralisation the village panchayat has nothing to do with watch and ward. It has no jurisdiction. In the village only the chowkidar is left, an illiterate person getting a salary of Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 per month, who is entrusted not with the watch and ward of the village but making a report of the crime and everybody knows—I do not know of other States but I can tell you about U. P.—the chowkidar is the agency of forced

labour of the local police station. In such a situation how can we check crimes? Not only that, the detection is much less. In U. P. whereas the detection is 31.9 per cent of the reported crimes, in Bengal it is only 12.5 per cent. What is this due to? We cannot maintain law and order through the agency of a centralised Inspector General of Police. Therefore, I was particular in intervening in the debate because I know I am perhaps the only person in the House who holds the opinion that the police should be decentralised.

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SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: No, no.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: I am glad that at least there is one Member in support of my view. And I hope that the time will come when there will be no other alternative left before the country. If we wish to maintain law and order, if we wish to suppress crime, if we wish to prevent crime, decentralise the police administration at the local level, namely the district boards or the municipalities or the corporations.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Tyagi may agree with you.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: But he has not made the suggestion in his speech Sir.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: In Kerala, when the Namboodripad Government was there, we had introduced the Panchayati Raj Bill which had transferred the police powers to the District Council.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: Mr. Namboodripad belongs to the CPM. Let us hope that he comes to power. Even if he does not come to power, let us hope that he will continue to agitate for the decentralisation of police administration at the local level.

Sir, I would also like to draw the attention of this House to one particular matter. We hear so much about lathi-charges every day. And there are inquiries about lathi-charges. The frequency of the lathi-charges has increased of late, during the post-independence period. Why has it increased? Why do

policemen, right in front of the Houses of Parliament here, in a cruel manner assault Members of Parliament whom they know? Why is it so? I would like to tell you, if it had been the Delhi Police, it would not have dared to assault Mr. George Fernandez and Mr. Rajnarain in such a brutal manner. Why did they do it? It is because they have got the protection of a person who is almighty sitting in Delhi, behind the corridors of the Home Ministry. You see, Sir, there are so many firings. Why are there so many firings? The firings are there because the control over the police is not local. My own experience is, wherever this Enquiry Committee was appointed, there was always a justification by the High Court Judge or whoever the enquiring officer might have been, because it is a very delicate matter. Then, Sir, the person who have been killed, the persons who have been assaulted, who have been lathi-charged, who have been brutally dispersed, they have no agency to prove their cases, whereas the entire governmental machinery is at the service of the police officer. This is a very dangerous sign.

My hon. friend is afraid of the Naxalite activities, personally speaking I am not afraid of them. After all, we have offered *satyagraha*, we have also started movements for the distribution of lands. But there is difference between what is done in a secret manner and what is done in an organised manner, in open defiance of authority or law. If the Government of India or for that matter the governments of the various States have not been distributing the surplus lands during the last ten or fifteen or twenty years, what is the alternative left to the people except to take the law into their hands or do some *satyagraha*. (Interruptions) Listen. That was what I learnt at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi. And if the hon. Member doubts my statement, I can quote chapter and verse out of the utterances of the great Mahatma that in case of injustice, if one has no avenue left for the vindication of our right, he can resort to passive resistance or in other words, to defiance of authority, to *satyagraha*. But after due notice, not at dead of night, but in broad daylight, after due notice to the District Magistrate. If my friends in Madhya Pradesh or West Bengal come out and start land grab movement...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: With rifles, daggers, bows and arrows? Mahatma Gandhi's policy was to make a sacrifice and have *satyagraha*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): This is what he said.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: Not with bows and arrows. Let my friend not forget that although we behaved in a non-violent manner while defying authority sometimes people from our side also, *satyagrahis*, cursed the Britishers like anything, shouted slogans, which is a form of violence and indulged in greater violence also.

The point is this. Why should everybody follow Mahatma Gandhi? If there is a just thing it has got to be done. I am wedded to the doctrine propounded by Mahatma Gandhi. But I cannot say that others in the country, should go only the way shown by the great Mahatma.

Therefore, Sir, there is the writing on the wall, as rightly pointed by the honourable mover. That writing on the wall is that the Government of India or, for the matter of that, the other Governments have also failed to maintain law and order. The incidence of crime is increasing. My submission is that it is not only likely, it will continue to increase and the only way to stop it is to check it, and to reduce the incidence of crime is to do rethinking on a wider plane. Sir, I have suggested a way out. There may be other ways which I do not know. I might prove wrong and my suggestion may not be found to be workable. But this is something which brooks no delay, which requires rethinking, and I hope that a person like the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri K. C. Pant, young as he is, would be able to devise ways and means to see that deterioration is checked, not only it is checked but the crime is detected and offenders brought to book. In our society we have an administration where crime mostly goes undetected. In Bengal detection is 12.5 per cent. I have not been able to find out from the crime reports in India the percentage of those people who were found guilty by the Courts out of this 12.5 per cent. It may not be more than 5 or 6 per cent.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: What about the police manufacturing crimes?

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: They do it because of lack of control from above. The hon'ble Member has said something in my support and I am thankful to him. Unless there is local supervision, strict supervision, direct supervision the atrocities of the police cannot be stopped.

One thing, Sir, before I conclude. In my opinion the Indian police is the biggest crime perpetrating class in this country. Nobody commits more crime than the Indian Police. There is suppression of crime. In the 1861 Police Act there is a specific section that if there is suppression of crime the head moharrir who takes down the report, or the Police Sub-Inspector or the Police Inspector can be hauled up and sent to prison for three months. May I know from the hon'ble Mover because it will be too much to expect this information from the hon'ble Home Minister—a seasoned politician as he is, with his public life of over half a century, experience both inside as well as outside the Government whether in his knowledge a Police Inspector, a Sub-Inspector or a Head Constable has ever been prosecuted for not taking down the report correctly. The law is one-sided. The Police Act of 1861 does lay down responsibility on a police man. But the way it has been worked especially after independence it does not seem to apply to the policeman. These sections have become defunct by disuse. What do we find? There are strictures of High Courts, the Supreme Court and even from the Sessions Judges. If a *Thannedar* is found suppressing crime, he is at the most temporarily reduced in rank and transferred in case the stricture is from a court. But it is not given to the D. I. G., or the I. G. or the Secretary to the Home Department or the Home Minister to dispose of a case in which an offence is involved. He must be challaned, prosecuted and the decision of the court obtained. Unless that is also done, I do not think we can check the deteriorating law and order situation in this country. Thank you.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): May I suggest Sir, that the part of the speech of the hon. Member referring to the Naxalite activity and the land-grab movement may be printed in big posters in thousands and supplied to the areas infested with such type of activities, for the satisfaction that they would get, in the great advocacy that has been done in this House to-day for that type of movement.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : On a point of personal explanation, Sir. If the hon. Member is prepared to foot the Bill, I would do it myself and get millions of copies printed.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: If the hon. Member thinks that our party has got resources which his party is able to squeeze out of the people, then I would say that I think the Prime Minister has million times more capacity to pay the money. And then she has the credit of creating all this situation. From such an elderly statesman when the credit is being placed at the door of the Government of India and justification is being given for all that is being done by the Naxalite movement, I think it is a double-edged compliment and both—the Naxalites and the Prime Minister—should be equally grateful to the hon. Member here.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: Give me money, I would get thousands of copies printed.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me start by conceding that there is no country in the world where laws are obeyed by all the people all the time. In countries which are not democratic, the authorities have their own way of dealing with the law-breakers, just as they have their own philosophy of law and methods to legislate. This is not the way which democracies would like to follow. It is an essential imperative that in a democracy laws have not only a juristic but an ethical content. If the laws disregard the ethical aspect, it is a forerunner of death to the public liberty. Have our laws encouraged to instil in the minds of the people that they must labour to obtain what by labour can be obtained? Have our laws shown any respect to the fruits of successful industry? Have our laws come down heavily on those who plunder the negligent, the disappointed and the frustrated for selfish ends? The answer every time is "No." At the same time, if there is no authority in a democratic set-up or unwilling or are incapable to enforce law and order, they are betraying democracy and the people.

For quite a few years now in our own country, disturbances have manifested themselves here and there. Of late, the **malady** has assumed great proportions. Take any field of national endeavour—industry, government, educational institutions, voluntary associations and even the legislatures. One comes across repeated instances of a contemptuous disregard for civilised norms.

What is particularly disturbing is that in those States where there has been and where there is President's rule, the law and order situation is far from normal. Our Constitution makers have placed a distinct responsibility on the Governors and in an emergency they have to function as agents of the President. Their primary duty even in normal times is significantly reflected in the language of their oath of office. Indeed, every Governor and every person discharging the functions of the Governor when he takes office has to subscribe to the oath that he will to the best of his ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law. What is the Governor of West Bengal doing? This gentleman who has been in the legal profession and later has supposedly adorned the Bench has been going around making extraordinary statements, statements which no reasonable man would make, much less the Head of a State. He has not concealed his propensity to be more than friendly with political parties and personages who have declared their intention to wreck the Constitution and whose record unmistakably shows a bias against the fundamental premises of democracy. What is worse, this Rajyapal propounds opinions at all odd occasions, opinions which have no ennobling principle except to decry the existing institutions. Instead of saying as he should, that he would not like to see anything destroyed, any void produced in society, any ruin on the face of the territory over which he presides, he expresses disappointment or dissatisfaction with the very institutions that lend stability and dignity to the human life and personality.

A few hot-heads in an Engineering College in Durgapur have been making normal life impossible for more than 1,000 students and the Faculty there. In broad day-light a student is murdered by a few fellow students. The entire student population is compelled to leave the hostel premises; examinations cannot be held, and these students are frantically seeking admission in other institutions outside Bengal. What has happened in Jadavpur University in Calcutta is well known. The Government of West Bengal seems to be looking on helplessly. They do not have even the usual excuse of impediments to movement and action, the excuse being that the hands of administration are tied when the legislature is functioning.

If I may add, the Councils of Ministers in some of the States have by their state-

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai]

ments encouraged *gheraos*, violence by narrow and parochial groups, strikes by students and teachers, communal riots, language unrest, and so on. Our Prime Minister, for whose humanism I have great regard, has lately been condemning communalism. She is right, very right. She is right with all that ringing emphasis that makes her in other matters so rashly and disastrously wrong. Is she not dismissing away either as exaggeration or a figment of imagination the atrocities that are being perpetrated by the Naxalites in West Bengal and elsewhere? She has been content to describe these atrocities as merely "leftist adventurism". And she conveniently thinks that the Muslim League is not a communal organisation. Expediency cannot take a more fantastic form than this.

Who are these Naxalites? A sore, malignant, people who call Mao Tse-tung as their Chairman and who decry national leaders of the past, whether it be Gandhiji, Subhas Chandra Bose or Rabindranath Tagore. Their credo is violence; their religion is borrowed from abroad. They have extra-territorial loyalty. They look upon our Constitution and other democratic institutions as a mockery. They want the laws to be overturned, courts subverted, industry brought to a grinding halt, revenues to be unpaid, people pilloried. Here then is a group which neither looks backwards to its ancestors, nor looks forward to posterity. The Government of the day is, however, content to look upon it as "adventurist" and the very description mistakenly conveys the impression of youthful enthusiasm. Unless the Government frankly acknowledges that this group constitutes the merciless enemy of the country, the people may well forget that there is a Government to meet out justice.

There is a wide spectrum of these leftist adventurers from respectable CPI to Naxalites and to the left of them. I for one will not make any difference between these parties of the left because that difference will be without distinction. Only the other day in the Lok Sabha, Comrade Gopalan desired Comrade Dange to have precedence as his senior. Everyone knows that there is free movement of thought and people from one group of the left to the other. It is not as if the doors are closed. Let me ask anyone of them if they will not take recourse to extra-constitutional means or

take the issues to the streets if they think they will succeed by resorting to these methods.

It pains and shocks me to find that even a Government run by the Swatantra Party has resorted to the *bandh* technique to get a second steel plant. Let the Swatantra Party know that they too are creating a climate in which divisive forces will gain an upper hand.

The stakes are high and the losses immense. It behoves everyone of us to act with courage and conviction. Otherwise, the Indian polity will be engulfed in misery and bloodshed. And the Government of the day will be judged the culprit at the bar of history.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I agree with the mover of the Resolution on two points—(1) that the threat of disruption and disintegration in our country is growing, and (2) that the manner in which the Government has been tackling the entire problem is definitely unsatisfactory. But the moment I go beyond that and I think not only of the speech of the mover of the Resolution, but certain other speeches from the Opposition which I have heard, I am afraid I have to say that they were barking up the wrong tree. That is why I think it is absolutely necessary for us to be first of all clear as to what precisely we mean by 'disruption'. What do we mean by 'disintegration'? What do we mean by 'subversion'? If we mean two totally different things, then this discussion has no meaning and I want to state it very explicitly in the very beginning that I do not see why there should be any difference on this point among all those who have taken up a patriotic attitude towards this question. By 'disruption' and 'subversion', first and foremost, I understand disruption and subversion of our democracy. Similarly, I also understand that subversion of national sovereignty or national unity is the thing which we have in mind. I think we agree on that. If we are to discuss the disintegration of our nationalist forces or forces of democratic unity, then the next question which arises is: What are the key phenomena or symptoms of this disease, and next, what is the cure? Which are the forces which really are basically responsible—I underline the word 'basically'—because certain consequential things happen and we run after the consequential things, forgetting the basic factors. I have no hesitation in saying and I think most of

us would agree that it is the extraordinarily rapid growth of economic disparity in this country which is at the root of all the disintegrating and subversive things that are happening.

Now, I do not want to take too much of our time and there is no time in fact. I would give some instances which I came across last week to indicate the economic disparity and concentration of economic power.

Take the industries which are controlled and owned by the Tatas from 1963-64 to 1967-68. Within these five years, their assets increased from Rs. 417 crores to Rs. 584 crores. Within the same period, the assets of companies dominated by the Birlas rose from Rs. 292 crores to Rs. 575 crores. In the case of Sri Ram, the assets increased from Rs. 54 crores to Rs. 96 crores and in the case of Mafatlal the assets rose from Rs. 41 crores to Rs. 136 crores. In this very period, the houses which owned more than Rs. 20 crores of capital assets have grown from 33 to 48. This is what we see on one side. It may be said: "Well if they are good industrialists and if they work hard, should they not grow?" But see what we have on the other side. Identically in the same time, what has happened to the real wages of workers? I am not talking of money wages.

In the case of real wages of factory workers, in 1961 the index number was 100; in 1963 it was 103—it rose by three points; and in 1967 it came down to 91. So, here there is the gigantic growth of monopoly, concentration of money, concentration of economic power and on the other hand, there are great disparities and actual decline in real wages. I want to put a simple question. If, under these conditions, strikes break out in this country—not only this—if, under these conditions, let me say, the strikers resort to violence, what are you going to say about it? Are you going to deal with the symptom or are you going to deal with the root cause of the disease? I am not justifying all the violence which is taking place in this country. But you go to the root. What happens as soon as a strike breaks out? Then some of our friends hear start shouting, 'law and order', 'disruption', 'subversion', 'come down with a firm hand' and so on.

Then, another question to which the Mover of the Resolution himself referred is about the land grabbing movement. Now, who is using the word 'land grab movement'? The monopoly Press in India,

is saying 'land grab', 'lard grab', 'land grab' and it is quoted from a journal which is our party journal which does not use that word. Now, what is the position?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Monopolists have grabbed.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: What is wrong in saying that? Wait, you will understand. It is what Marx called... (Interruptions) It is what Marx called the expropriation of the expropriators.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Yes.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: But the monopolists say, "You are thieves, you are robbers".

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You address them through me.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Yes, Sir. I am new to parliamentary procedures, so I think this will take time. Now, the point is this: All Congress reports, all government reports, bring out the fact that during the last twenty years numberless, lakhs and lakhs of tenants of land have been driven out of their lands systematically by legal and illegal methods. It is the big landlords who have grabbed the land. What is going on in the country is the restitution of the land illegally taken by the landlords to their real owners, the original people who have been thrown out. You want to use the word 'grab'? All the property is going back to the original people. But when the landlord grabs the property of the peasant, you do not call it 'grabbing'. When grabbed properties, when stolen properties, are returned to the owner, that is called 'grabbing'. I think words are used in a topsy-turvy fashion. So, this big movement is going on. Our party has launched it; the SSP, the PSP—they have launched it. It is for the regaining of the land which has been grabbed by the landlords.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Shri Triloki Singh is also with you.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: That is all right. Let me continue. The reality is that this movement is going on. Now we are dubbing that as unconstitutional, against the law, etc. But how long will the peasants wait? Twenty years? In twenty years you have done nothing at all. There is a limit. That is why these things go on.

[Shri S. G. Sardesai]

Now, I shall also like to refer to the *Adivasis*. You are here talking so much about subversion. Now, in my State and in so many other States, these *Adivasis* were having tribal ownership. The traders went there, the money-lenders went there and the traders and the money-lenders have become the landlords and the *Adivasis* have been thrown out. These people are not educated; they do not go to colleges and if they burst out in violence, what do you do? How can they get their lands back? My point is this: if you want to take action against these robbers and the landlords and the money-lenders who have taken their lands, take action against them.

Then, this Resolution speaks that people are losing faith in the security of their property. How can people who have no property at all feel that way? Seven or eight crores of Indians, the rural labourers, have just no property. So, where is the question of being afraid of losing property? It is for those who have it. I think those who have it should have the fear of God put into their hearts.

Then, Sir, I would like to say one thing more. What has happened during the last four or five years? There is a gigantic discontent in our country among the working classes, among the peasants and also among the students. Everything that the students do is not wrong. There are so many things that they do which are right. But we see what is happening in the student world. I want to go a step further and say that it is the vested interests which are provoking communalism and linguistic chauvinism. I have not the remotest doubt in my mind about it; I can give plenty of evidence if you want it. There is a new democratic awakening among our common people and on the strength of this democratic awakening and consciousness they are moving forward to secure a majority in Parliament. Because of this, Sir, the vested interests whip up communalism and linguistic chauvinism. Through Parliament and other means the common people will now put down these forces.

Now what is this Shiv Sena? About 10 or 12 years ago the people of the South, Canarese, Telugus, Tamilians, Malayalis or Gujaratis were fighting for linguistic States. This was a demand which was supported by the Indian National Congress and leaders like Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi. They were committed to this demand of linguistic States.

At that time the big capitalists of Bombay shed tears for the linguistic minorities in Bombay. Today it is the same capitalists of Bombay who are financing the Shiv Sena. What has happened to them? So these capitalists do things as and when they suit them. Now the capitalists of Bombay are supporting Marathi chauvinism. This is what is actually happening.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Only two minutes more.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Now, Sir, I would like to say something about the religious and other minorities. Firstly, I would like to refer to the Scheduled Castes. You call them Harijans or untouchables. But life is life. Now in my State there is a tremendous awakening among them for the last several years. Previously they had to carry carrion and they had also to eat the flesh of the dead cattle. But when they became Buddhists, they said 'No'. They said that they would not like to carry carrion or eat the flesh of the dead cattle. Then what happened was that the Brahmins and the Marathas started beating the untouchables in many places and as a result of this in some places the Scheduled Castes picked up some Murti from a temple and threw it in the river. By law who is a criminal? It is the untouchable who picked up that *Murti*. But as soon as he said: 'I will not remove the carrion or it is not my job to remove' he was beaten up. I would say the persons who beat them up, arrest them, not the person who went to the temple and picked up the idol, and threw it in the river. Which are the real vested interests? Who are the people who whip up communalism, who whip up linguistic chauvinism and all this kind of things and when the poor people have no means and they cannot get their things, they become desperate. This desperation is growing. This desperation is growing and is something like the condition of 1789 in France when people just broke out and what happened? That situation is coming. If you want to stop it, you cannot stop it in the manner in which the Mover of the Resolution and some of those who supported him proposed by bringing in the bulldozers. You will get it sooner then. If do not want it, better solve the basic problems. Shri Tyagi said bureaucracy is better than the elected representatives. If that is so, why have the Parliament? The bureaucracy was there in the British days. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: It was made by the British and therefore I could understand your criticism but this bureaucracy is our bureaucracy...

SHRI S. C. SARDESAI: In fact I do not want to hand over my country to the bureaucrats as "modern democrats."

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Politicians are more unreliable.

SHRI S. C. SARDESAI: There is...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: What is the meaning of bureaucracy, I cannot understand. They are patriots enrolled and trained after election.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. C. SARDESAI: Just one point. The Resolution does not mention the Soviet Union, so why do you drag it into the discussion?

One point more and that is for the Treasury Bench. It is a very important thing. I wish the Leader of the House was present here. In Bombay this most undesirable violent organisation, the Shiv Sena, is there. The State Congress Committee passes a resolution that this fascist organisation must be put down. Within a week the Leader of the House goes to Bombay, invites the Shiv Sena to join the Congress and they troop into the Congress. If this is the way you are going to fight the Shiv Sena, you are surely not going to have law and order and that is why I said that the methods of the Ruling Party are also responsible for this kind of thing. This must be changed but I would appeal to my friends on this side who are so very keen to maintain law and order that without the basic economic justice, you are not going to have law and order. You are going to have more violence and nobody in the world can stop it.

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जो प्रस्ताव मेरे योग्य साथी श्री महावीर त्यागी जी ने रखा है, उसमें अराजकता, अव्यवस्था की बात करते हुए सिर्फ एक हिस्से को अलग किया है कि जहां प्रसिडेंट का कूल है, वहां अधिक व्यवस्था की गड़बड़ी है। मैं उनके इस मत में शामिल नहीं हूं, बल्कि मेरी अपनी राय में व्यवस्था की गड़बड़ी सब प्रदेशों है, सब राज्यों में है, पूरे देश में है।

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: The wording is:

"In the maintenance of law and order in several regions of the country, particularly in the territories under President's rule..."

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : मैं यही कह रहा था कि जो आपने पर्टीकूलरली कहा है, इससे मैं सहमत नहीं हूं। जब मैं इस पर विचार करता हूं तो थोड़ा और गहरा जाना चाहता हूं। आप देखें कि जिस दिन सत्ता भारतीयों के हाथ में आई और व्यवस्था और विधि का उत्तरदायित्व उनके हाथ में आया तो व्यवस्था कायम करते हुए उनके ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी भी आई कि वे एक निर्माणकारी क्रांति करें, जिसमें किसानों और मजदूरों और जिनके पास नहीं है उनको उनका हिस्सा मिले, अधिकार मिले, खाने पीने की सुविधा मिले, इसका प्रबन्ध करना, इसकी व्यवस्था करना, इसको विधि से चलाना, यह उत्तरदायित्व आया।

इसके साथ यह भी ध्यान करने की बात है कि हमारे यहां जिस क्रांति के बाद यह सत्ता आई और जिन तत्वों के विरुद्ध क्रांति हुई थी, उनका बिलकुल सर्वनाश नहीं किया गया जैसा और देशों में हुआ बल्कि हमारे यहां सत्ता जब आई तो निहित स्वार्थ जो थे वे छुप गये, थोड़ी देर वह दब गये, परन्तु उन्होंने अपने ये प्रयत्न कायम रखे कि वे किस तरह इस प्रजातांत्रिक बनावट में जो आगे आ रही है उसमें अपना अपना तम्बू गाड़ लें, अपना तम्बू मजबूत कर लें, जैसे सबसे पहले उन्होंने समाचारपत्रों को खरीदा, जैसे उन्होंने अपने अधिकारों के बारे में यह प्रयत्न किया कि भाई रहने दो, थोड़े दिन के लिये हम रह जाये, जैसे राजे महाराजों ने आपसे बातचीत की और एक बात तय की कि हमारे अधिकार रहने दो, हमारी थलियां रहने दो, जैसे सरकारी अफसरों ने आपसे तय किया कि हमारे अधिकार रहने दो। तो यह रहे आए। परिणाम यह हुआ कि आपने जहां एक ओर धन को दौड़ाया, कि वही व्यापार

[पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी]

में दौड़े, इन्डस्ट्री में दौड़े और हम एक ऐसी स्थिति कायम कर सकें कि जिसमें आगे चल कर हम भी बटवारा कर सकें, सबको बराबर दे सकें। तब यह संघर्ष उत्पन्न हुआ, निहित स्वार्थों और उन तत्वों के बीच जो कि क्रांति में ईमानदारी से शामिल होना चाहते थे और इसी संघर्ष का आज हम यह परिणाम देख रहे हैं कि धन आज इतना ताकतवर दिखायी दे रहा है कि बिना द्रव्य के राजनीति में प्रवेश नहीं कर सकते। सामाजिक स्थिति आर्थिक स्थिति से जुड़ी हुई है। आज हम देखते क्या है कि सब कुछ बिक रहा है। आज देखिये कि न्याय बिक रहा है। जो बड़े से बड़े अपराधी है वह न्याय दंड संभाले बैठा हुआ है, जिसने खून चूस लिया है गरीबों का उसका नाम महाजन है, साहूकार है और जैसा अभी किसी ने कहा, त्रिलोकी सिंह जी ने कहा कि जिनको सुरक्षा का अधिकार दिया गया था वह जनता की सुरक्षा करें, वही शायद कानून का सबसे बड़ा उल्लंघन करने वाले और जनता के ऊपर कहर डालने वाले सिद्ध हो रहे हैं ...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) : सुरक्षा मंत्री जगजीवन राम जी हैं, वह कर रहे हैं ऐसे काम।

पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : आप हमारी बात को सुनिये, यहां कहां जगजीवनराम जी आ गये ? हम सिद्धांतों की बात कह रहे हैं आप जगजीवनराम की।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : रक्षा मंत्री हैं वह।

पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : आज राज्य सभा की स्थिति क्या है? मैं आपको बताता हूं, अभी अभी आपने एक मिनट पहले क्या दृश्य देखा था कि एक बात यहां पर उठाई गई आंध्र की। उठाई तो यह बात गई कि वह कानून का उल्लंघन हो रहा है, ऐसा आरोप किया गया और वह बात उठाई कैसे गई ? हां के कानून और नियमों का उल्लंघन करके,

यहां के कायदों को तोड़ मरोड़ करके रख दिया जाता है। मैं यहां का पुराना सदस्य हूं और जिस ढंग से पहले चीजें चलती थीं अब वह थोड़ी थोड़ी बदल रही हैं, थोड़ी बहुत अव्यवस्था यहां भी पैदा हो रही है और सदनों में भी अव्यवस्था पैदा हो रही है। परन्तु जब हम समाज के नकशे को देखते हैं तो आप देखिये कि इसी संघर्ष के कारण यहां क्रांति और प्रति क्रांति का जन्म हुआ है। उसने विभिन्न प्रकार की पार्टियों को मुखोट दिए हैं। उदाहरण के लिये आप देखें कि मुखोट धर्म के लगाये जाते हैं, खूरेजी की जाती है, नफरत पैदा की जाती है। इस तरह की बातें की जाती हैं। सच बात तो यह है कि, हमारी समझ में आता है कि जिस दिन हमने उस क्रांतिकारी गांधी की उस बात को नहीं माना कि साधन और साध्य में एकता होनी चाहिये, उसी दिन से यह पतन होता चला जाता है और अराजकता बढ़ती जाती है। मैं एक उदाहरण दे दूं। अराजकता बढ़ रही है, यह मैं स्वीकार करता हूं। हमारे प्रदेश की स्थिति आप देखें...

श्री पीताम्बर दास : कौन सा प्रदेश है आपका?

पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : मैं मध्य प्रदेश का हूं भाई। तो वहां पर डाकुओं की समस्या है और मैं जानता हूं कि आपने जरूर उनकी कुछ ऐसी भी कहानियां देखी होंगी कि जिनसे उनका चरित्र सामने आया। अभी अभी की घटना है कि एक ने आकर मंत्री के सामने कहा कि मैं क्यों डाकू बन गया; समाज की कई स्थितियों से, जैसे कि अत्याचार से रक्षा कोई चाहता है और आपकी पुलिस उसको वह देने में असमर्थ सिद्ध होती है। यदि उसका स्वभाव ऐसा होता है कि वह सोचता है कि हम अब कब तक दबे रहें, हम बदला लेंगे, तो वह हाथ में बंदूक उठा लेता है। आज स्थिति यही है। जो उनके चरित्र छपे हैं, डाकू मान सिंह का चरित्र छपा है और जब विनोबा जी वहां दौरे पर गये थे तो उनके सामने बहुत से कन्फेशनस हुये हैं और लोगों ने कहा हम इसलिये डाकू हुए हैं और बहुत से लोगों ने जो उनमें से आत्म-सम-

र्षण भी किया। सब घटनाएं हो रही हैं, तो इस तरह से पूरा सामाजिक स्तर पर यह बात हो रही है।

हमने यह भी देखा है कि जहां पर सांप्रदायिक दंगे होते हैं, वहां पर संकीर्ण सांप्रदायिकता से आपकी पुलिस भी बची नहीं रहती है। ऐसी स्थितियां आई हैं जहां उसे असहाय अल्पमत की बहुमत से रक्षा करनी चाहिए थी, वहां अगर वह अल्पमत या बहुमत की तरफ का आरम्भी है तो जनता को उभारता है कि भाई मैं खड़ा हूं, क्यों नहीं तुम उसको मार डालो। य! अनुभव की बात मैं आपसे कह रहा हूं। तो इस तरह की स्थितियां बढ़ती चली जाती हैं परन्तु मुझे भी लगता है कि इसमें से हमें गुजरना ही होगा। यह एक लाचारी है, इसमें से बिन गुजरे काम नहीं चलेगा। यह क्रांति और प्रति क्रांति का संघर्ष भी चलता रहेगा। ये मुखौटे हमको पहिचानने होंगे, कौन क्या मुखौटा लेकर आता है।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : तो तिवारी जी, आंख मीच के चलेंगे या कुछ काम करेंगे ला एन्ड आर्डर को मेनटेन करने के लिये।

पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : देखिये मैं भी संघर्ष में हूं, आप भी संघर्ष में हैं। मैं तो कह रहा हूं आपसे, मैं इन दोनों में से एक पक्ष लेना पड़ेगा। हम आप उस पक्ष में रहें जो क्रांतिकारी पक्ष, जो चीजों का बनाना चाहता है जो बिगाड़ना नहीं चाहता। मैं आपसे पूछता हूं, अभी-अभी राज्य सभा का प्रश्न आपके हाउस में विवाद में आया। हमारे यहां मध्य प्रदेश में जो राज्य सभा का चुनाव हुआ वहां एक थैलीशाह थैली लेकर पहुंच गये और उन्होंने चुनौती दी कि हम दो-दो तीन-तीन हजार में वोट खरीदेंगे और आपको आश्चर्य होगा जहां पार्टियों में इतना हिसाब है फिर भी सब पार्टियों में से उसने 21 वोट प्राप्त किये, यानी 21 वोट बिके और उसने खरीदे। यह हमारे विधान सभा के सदस्यों को स्थिति मैं बताता हूं। फिर साधारण वोटर आज क्या करता है चुनाव में और कैसे सौदा करता है यह किसी से छिपा नहीं

है। सारी राजनीति में यह सौदा चल रहा है। इसी तरह से मैं आपको बताऊ कि यह जो सट्टा चलता है समाज में, उसमें पुलिस के सिपाही से लगा कर मजिस्ट्रेट तक, मैं जिम्मेदारी से कह रहा हूं कि पुलिस का सुपरिन्टेन्डेंट तक, सब के हिस्से लगे होते हैं और उनको पैसे मिलते हैं इस बात के लिये कि यह चलाते रहिये, इसको मिटाइये नहीं। कभी भी यह बात ज्यादा न उभर जाये। तो क्या करते हैं कि दो एक छोटे फड़ों पर, छापा मार लिया और कहा कि हमने फलों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया। तो कम से कम उन शक्तियों को आपको मजबूत करना पड़ेगा जो साहस के साथ यह कहे कि आपके खरीदने से मैं नहीं बिकूंगा। जब आप में यह साहस होगा कि प्रति क्रांति का पक्ष नहीं लेंगे, राजाओं और उनके अधिकारियों का पक्ष नहीं लेंगे जो उसके विरोध में लड़ेंगे उसका पक्ष लेंगे और इसके सिवा ऐसे लोगों की मदद करेंगे, ऐसे तत्वों की मदद करेंगे जो क्रांति चाहते हैं। इसका एक उपाय यह है कि जो इसको करने वाले हैं, जो इसमें सहायक होंगे, उनकी सत्ता का समर्थन करेंगे, तो यह चीज आगे बढ़ेगी। यदि मुखौटो के साथ अलग-अलग स्वरूप प्रस्तुत करेंगे तो ऐसी ही स्थिति रहेगी और लोग इसका अनुकरण समाज में गलत गलत करते जायेंगे तो अराजकता बढ़ती जायेगी और इसके लिए कोई उपाय नहीं है।

जैसा कि हमारे मित्र श्री धारिया जी ने अभी कहा कि इसमें चरित्र और नैतिकता एक बड़ी प्रधान चीज है। व्यक्तिगत रूप से समाज में इस चीज को और इस पक्ष को लेकर हमें चलना होगा और इतना साहस करना होगा। इस समय यही उपाय मुझे नजर आता है।

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the hon. the Mover of the Resolution at the outset, expressed his thanks to General Suharto of Indonesia who, according to him, saved Indonesia from the late Soekarno. I do not think it has any bearing on the present Resolution, but still I cannot but mention here that the people of Indonesia did not support General Suharto, although the

[Shri Monoranjan Roy]

General had killed as many as five hundred thousand of the population of Indonesia to come to power and to remain in power with the help of American imperialism. Indonesia has not been saved from Soekarno's hands. Indonesia has been handed over by General Suharto to the American imperialists as a gift and he has formed a government as in South Vietnam or South Korea, stooges of American imperialism. Anyway, I do not like to dilate on that point. This is a discussion on the question of law and order. Let us first understand the question, because law and order divorced from the present socio-economic conditions of our country is law and order only to save and safeguard and defend the vested interests, monopolists, landlords and the imperialist interests in the country. That is why the law and order situation has deteriorated at present in the country. Otherwise, why is it, though in every State there has been a ceiling on land, it has remained on paper only? In no State, during the last twenty-two years of Congress regime, was land distributed to the peasant. I mean the surplus land and waste land. The landlords so long have been keeping these lands illegally in their hands depriving the peasants of land, with the connivance of the Government. At that time, is it unknown to any of the Members of this House as to how many peasants have been brutally murdered, whoever raised their heads against the injustice of the landlords? Even in 1968 who does not know that as many as 45 landless labourers of Tamil Nadu were burnt to death by the landlords? But law and order is perfect so long as peasants are killed by the landlords either by shooting or by stabbing or by employing goondas or by employing the police. Then the law and order remains intact. But that law and order goes to dogs, breach of law and order, deterioration of law and order comes when the peasants go to take the land which the landlords have been illegally enjoying so long. When the peasants are on the legal side and when they have lawfully taken the land from the hands of the landlords who had been enjoying that illegally, the landlords do not like it and they want the continuation of the same old situation when the monied landlords and vested interests could kill with impunity hundreds of peasants anywhere in the land, when peasants could be treated like slaves.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have heard about 'gheraos'. What is there? I did not hear any of the speakers on that side

raising his voice when hundreds and thousands of workers are deprived of their wages after they have worked for months and months. No one came to their aid. I myself as a trade union worker know that we went to the Payment of Wages court and it took six years only for hearing the case about the payment of wages that was due to the workers. But nothing came out of it, because the vested interest, the employer, goes and prefers an appeal. Six years it took in the Payment of Wages court to get back the money which was due to the workers. Still they did not get it because the employers went to the High Court. That is the condition with regard to the tribunal also. What can the workers do? Their provident fund dues deducted from their wages have not been deposited with the Provident Fund Account. The contributions of the workers have not been deposited by the employers to the ESI. As a result the workers who become ill do not get medicine because their names have been struck off not due to their non-contribution as their contributions have been deducted from their wages, but they were not deposited by the employers. What can the workers do? The law does not provide for any action against those defaulting employers. There is no law like that. They are fined Rs. 300 and again they default. I would say this is defalcation of crores and crores of rupees. The Labour Minister here knows very well that Rs. 8 crores are in the hands of the employers. They have not deposited that with the ESI. More than that, money has not been deposited with the Provident Fund Account. The workers are dying without any provident fund. After they have been dismissed or retrenched if those workers go to the employer and say, "You are in a palatial building, give us that provident fund amount which you have deducted from our wages", and if they call it a 'gherao', I will say, and I speak with all responsibility, that I will certainly support that 'gherao' because the workers have got no other way out.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Cannot they be imprisoned?

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: You had been in the Government. You know it very well. There is no Act. There is no law to put that employer in prison. We want that. The Act should be 5 P. M. modified like that. But this Government will not do that. However very good a speech our

friend, Mr. Dharja, may make, the Government will never do that to see that the employer is imprisoned for his offence. It is a criminal offence, defalcating the money of the poor workers without coming to any sort of arrangement and parading the papers in their hands and saying that the workers are *gheraoing* them. From West Bengal, all the industries are going away. One fine morning we will see that the plantation also is gone to Bombay. Yes, all industries are going away to Bombay and plantation also will go to Bombay.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Are you finishing or would you like to continue?

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: This is all propaganda...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Roy, would you take more time?

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): It is five, we have got a statement. This debate will be continued on the next day.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: I shall not be here next month. Give me a few minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): If you want five minutes, I can give you.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: Ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You speak on the next day.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: All right. On the next day I will come.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COTTON CORPORATION OF INDIA

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE (CHOWDHARY RAM SEWAK): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in its report on the cotton price policy for the 1969-70 season, the Agricultural Prices Commission recommended, *inter alia*, the setting up

of an agency in the Public Sector for the purchase, sale and equitable distribution of domestic cotton and also to serve as a vehicle for the canalisation of import of cotton. Government appreciated the recommendation of the Commission but, since the cotton season was then about to commence, it was decided to make every effort to evolve a new frame-work ready for introduction in the cotton season 1970-71.

Accordingly, a new frame-work has been evolved and it has been decided to establish the Cotton Corporation of India as a Public Sector Agency. The Corporation will take over the entire import trade in cotton from a date which will be notified shortly. From that date, the practice of issuing import licences to user mills will be discontinued. Instead, import licences will be issued to the Cotton Corporation, with an endorsement in favour of the user mills for which the imported stock is intended. The Corporation will consult the user mills in regard to their requirements and conclude contracts in consultation with them. In effecting purchases and concluding contracts, the Corporation will draw upon the experience of those who have been engaged in this trade in the past. In order to be able to provide such services, the Corporation will enrol the private indenting houses as its Associates and will work out with them the terms and conditions on which their services will be utilised. The Corporation will gradually develop its technical competence so that its dependence on Associates is reduced over a period of time.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the field of domestic trade, the Corporation will make a beginning with undertaking purchases for certain specific objectives. The growers of cotton will be assured of an agency which will give them the necessary price support. The more enterprising cultivator growing the new varieties will have an agency to buy the extra long staple cotton at fair prices. In the process, we will also be setting up an agency with the necessary expertise for procuring the cotton for the mills under the purview of the National Textile Corporation. The Corporation would also be prepared to assist private sector mills in their programme of cotton purchases. I am sure the House will welcome this yet another positive step in the pursuance of the policy of our Government to give the necessary stability and support in regard to one of our vital agricultural commodities.