

(iii) One Hundred and Twenty-second Report regarding Audit Report (Civil), 1969 and Audit Report on the Accounts of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for 1966-67 and 1967-68.

Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy of the One Hundred and Fifteenth Report of the Public Accounts Committee (1969-70) regarding Audit Reports on the Accounts of Tea Board for 1964-65 and 1967-68.

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

SHRI R. P. SINHA (Bihar) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Reports of the Committee on Public Undertakings:—

(i) Fifty-ninth Report on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Forty-fourth Report (1968-69) on the Fertilizers and Chemicals Travancore, Limited.

(ii) Sixty-first Report on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Tenth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1967-68) on National Coal Development Corporation Limited (Paras in Section III of Audit Report (Commercial), 1967).

(iii) Sixty-fourth Report on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Forty-seventh Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1968-69) on Public Relations and Publicity in Public Undertakings.

(iv) Sixty-sixth Report on Indian Oil Corporation Limited (Pipeline Division).

(v) Seventieth Report on India Tourism Development Corporation Limited.

MINUTES OF THE SITTINGS OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

SHRI R. P. SINHA (Bihar) : Sir I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Minutes of the sittings of the Committee on Public Undertakings

(i) Minutes of the sittings relating to the Sixty-sixth Report on Indian Oil Corporation Limited (Pipelines Division).

(ii) Minutes of the sittings relating to the Seventieth Report on India Tourism Development Corporation Limited.

(iii) Minutes of the sittings relating to the procedural and miscellaneous matters.

(iv) Minutes of the sittings relating to the consideration and adoption of action taken on Reports (1969-70).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at two of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

डा० भाई महावीर (दिल्ली) : उपसभा-ध्यक्ष महोदय, गृह मंत्रालय के काम की चर्चा करते हुए आज जो चीज तबको दिखाई देती है, वह यह है कि इस देश को बारूद के ढेर पर लाकर खड़ा कर दिया गया है। किस वक्त कहां पर किस तरह की गड़बड़ी शुरू होगी, कहां पर किस तरह की अशांति फैलेगी, कौन से घातक प्रसंग पर किस तरह का हमला होगा और उसके क्या परिणाम निकलेंगे—यहां तक कि स्कूल तथा कालेजों के छात्र भी इम्तहान के लिए जायेंगे, तो वे इम्तहान देंगे या रिवाल्वर निकाल कर नकल करने का अपना अधिकार जतलायेंगे, ये सारे प्रश्न आज देश के अन्दर इतने ज्वलन्त और इस उग्र रूप में हमारे सामने खड़े हो गये हैं कि वास्तव में सब सोचने वालों के लिए एक चिन्ता का विषय बन गया है।

इस सारी स्थिति का विप्लेषण कोई एक दो शब्दों में या दो चार मिनट में करना सम्भव नहीं है, परन्तु मैं दो तीन पहलुओं की ओर माननीय मंत्री जी का तथा भारत सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। मुझे ऐसा लगता

है कि इन सारी चीजों की रोकथाम करने के लिए या उन्हें बंद करने के लिए जो उचित पग उठाने चाहिये थे, वे नहीं उठाये जा रहे हैं और सरकार की उदासीनता या उपेक्षा का एक बड़ा कारण यह है कि देश में जिस तरह के लोगों को प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिये, कानून मानने वालों को, अनुशासन के अन्दर रहने वालों को तथा नियम के पालन करने वालों ऐसे लोगों को प्रोत्साहन मिलने के बजाय उन लोगों को मिलता है, जो कानून की धज्जियां उड़ाते हैं, जो न्याय को पांव तले रोंदते हैं और जो किसी तरह से भी अनुशासन में रहने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

श्रीमन्, इस लिए मैं प्रारम्भ उस चीज से कर रहा हूँ, जिसकी चर्चा कल यहाँ सदन में हो चुकी है और जिसका उल्लेख माननीय गृह-मंत्री जी ने यहाँ पर किया था और जिसका फिर से उल्लेख करने का मुझसे आज करना पड़ रहा है। नई दिल्ली के अन्दर एक म्युनिसिपल कमेटी है। वह सरकार की एक नामिनेटेड म्युनिसिपल कमेटी है, उस नामिनेटेड म्युनिसिपल कमेटी के मामले पर सरकार किस तरह का रुझान अपनाती है, उसकी एक घटना मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। कल नई दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमेटी के प्रधान के संबंध में जिस घटना का उल्लेख हुआ था, उसके बारे में कहा गया था कि म्युनिसिपल कमेटी के प्रधान श्री छाबड़ा के खिलाफ सी० बी० आई० ने इन्क्वायरी की थी और उसका क्या परिणाम निकला था। इस घटना का प्रारम्भ कैसे हुआ? मामला 1963-64 में शुरू हुआ और ओडियन सिनेमा के नवीनीकरण, रिनोवेशन से शुरू हुआ। नवीनीकरण से पहले इस सिनेमा के ऊपर 30 हजार का प्रापर्टी टैक्स लगता था और नवीनीकरण के बाद म्युनिसिपल कमेटी ने 1,67,176 रु० टैक्स के रूप में लगा दिया और इतनी रकम असेसमेंट करके भेज दी। सिनेमा के मालिक ने इस असेसमेंट के खिलाफ कोई अपील नहीं की अर्थात् उन्होंने इसको ठीक समझा और उसको एक्सैप्ट कर लिया। लेकिन इस बीच श्री छाबड़ा नई दिल्ली

म्युनिसिपल कमेटी के प्रधान बन कर आ गये और उन्होंने जो प्रापर्टी टैक्स 1,67,176 रु० था, उसको बढ़ा कर 2,46,726 रु० कर दिया। इसके बाद क्या हुआ यह एक अचम्भा और एक करिश्मा है; क्योंकि उसी कमेटी के उसी अध्यक्ष ने उस असेसमेंट को 17,914 रु० कर दिया यानी जो उन्होंने एक तरह से 'बाई एप्लीकेशन' स्वीकार कर लिया था, उसको नीचे ले आये और 22 जुलाई, 1966 को एक बार फिर घटा कर 70 हजार का असेसमेंट कर दिया 2,46,726 रु० से। किसी एक प्रापर्टी की जिसकी आमदनी बहुत बड़ी है, दिल्ली के अन्दर ऐसे सिनेमाओं को आय कम नहीं है, उसको टैक्स इतना घटा कर लगा देना यह कहाँ तक उचित है। यह प्रश्न है। जब इस संबंध में श्री छाबड़ा के बारे में मामला उठा, तो यह मामला सी० बी० आई० को भेज दिया गया। इसमें एक मजेदार बात यह हुई थी कि 70 हजार का जो टैक्स लगाया गया वह उसी साल या चालू साल से ही शुरू नहीं हुआ, बल्कि पिछले दो सालों से यानी 1963-64, 1964-65 से लागू कर दिया गया और पिछले दो सालों के लिये भी 70 हजार रु० के हिसाब से प्रापर्टी टैक्स वसूल कर लिया गया। इस तरह से श्री छाबड़ा ने यह करिश्मा किया। फिर 24 फरवरी, 1967 को यह मामला जांच के लिए सी० बी० आई० के पास गया। सी० बी० आई० के जांच के बारे में श्री चव्हाण साहब ने एक बड़ी मजेदार बात कही जो कि उनका इन्टरप्रिटेशन है। श्री चव्हाण साहब एक योग्य व्यक्ति हैं और मैं उनका सम्मान करता हूँ। हालांकि मैं छोटा हूँ, लेकिन वे मुझे स्नेह की दृष्टि से देखते हैं, सम्मान करते हैं। यह बात उन्होंने कल कही, लेकिन मैं उस सम्मान का अधिकारी नहीं हूँ; क्योंकि मैं उनसे छोटा हूँ। लेकिन जो शब्द उन्होंने कहे हैं, जो व्याख्या उन्होंने की है, उसको मैं अपनी थोड़ी अक्ल से जैसा समझ पाया हूँ, उसके बारे में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह किस तरह की व्याख्या है। यह मेरे पास क्वॉरिंग लैटर है उस रिपोर्ट की जो सी० बी० आई० ने श्री हिंगुरानी, डी०आई०जी० ने भेजी है।

[डा० भाई महावीर]

उसकी कापी विजिलेंस आफिसर, म्युनिसिपैल्टी को भेजी गई और उसी की कापी लैफ्टिनेंट गवर्नर को भी भेजी गई। उस कवॉरिंग लेटर में उन्होंने लिखा है :

"I forward herewith..... the result of the investigation:-. The Report will show that there is sufficient material for taking regular departmental action against the suspect officers. Draft charges, the statement of allegations and the list of witnesses are therefore sent herewith."

"The allegation thus stands substanti

यह जो रिपोर्ट है वह किसी इन्वेस्टीगेशन आफिसर की ओर से है। श्री चव्हाण ने डाउट्स की बात कही थी, लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह डाउट्स की लिस्ट नहीं है, यह रिपोर्ट है। इसके बारे में इस रिपोर्ट में ये शब्द कहे गये हैं :

ated against them and opinion re garding proposed action is based on the totality of evidence against each of the suspects....."It is recom mended that Shri S. G. Ghhabra, President, NDMC, suspect No. 4 may be transferred from the NDMG as his posting as President will create difficulties in R.D.A. proceeding:: being recommended in this case.

यह रिपोर्ट आई और उस रिपोर्ट की कापी लैफ्टिनेंट गवर्नर को भेजने के साथ नई दिल्ली म्युनिसिपैल्टी कमिटी के विजिलेंस आफिसर को भी भेजी गई, जिसके प्रधान श्री छाबड़ा हैं। दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के प्रतिनिधि के तौर पर लैफ्टिनेंट गवर्नर को तो एक कापी जानी ही थी। उसके बाद सी० बी० आई० डायरेक्टर पर दबाव डाल कर या विजिलेंस कमिशनर पर दबाव डाल कर उसको वापस ले लिया गया। मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि उस जांच के परिणाम में क्या डाउट्स थे। श्री चव्हाण ने कल कहा था कि कुछ डाउट्स थे और इन्वेस्टीगेशन नहीं हुई थी। अगर इन्वेस्टीगेशन नहीं हुई थी तो यह रिजल्ट आफ इन्वेस्टीगेशन के शब्द कैसे आये। मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि इस सम्मानित सदन के पटल पर जो उत्तर दिया गया

था, वह उत्तर ऐसा था जो इन तथ्यों के विरुद्ध विपरीत था। श्री एम० पी० भार्गव ने 25 जुलाई को रिपोर्ट के भेजे जाने के एक महीने बाद यह सवाल पूछा था :

• fa) Whether CBI held any enquiry recently against the President of the NDMG;

(b) Whether CBI has requested for his transfer ; and

(c) Whether CBI has also suggested for his prosecution ?

इसके बी और सी का जवाब "नो सर" में दिया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी व्यक्ति जो सत्य की हत्या करने के लिए उतार नहीं है कोई भी सरकार, कोई भी गृह-मंत्री चाहे कितना ही साफ्ट कार्नर किसी के लिये रखता हो, हमदर्दी रखता हो, कितना ही प्रेम की दृष्टि रखता हो, लेकिन फिर भी इस तरह से तथ्यों की हत्या करने से यदि कोई सरकार यह समझती है वह चल सकती है, तो शायद थोड़े दिनों के लिए चल सके।

इसके अलावा यह बात भी मेरी समझ में नहीं आई कि इस तरह से गलत आफिसरों को प्रोत्साहन देकर भ्रष्ट आफिसरों को, बेईमान आफिसरों को जो कि अपने स्थान का दुल्ययोग करते हैं, अनुचित लाभ उठाते हैं, अगर सरकार इसको चलने देगी, तो यह देश के लिए उचित बात नहीं होगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि चव्हाण साहब कुछ नमी रखते हैं और नमी का कुछ कारण हो सकता है। कहा जाता है कि उन्होंने चव्हाण साहब के नाम पर एक मार्केट बना दिया है और इसीलिए श्री चव्हाण उनसे विशेष प्रेम और स्नेह का भाव रखते हैं। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि चव्हाण साहब जैसे पुराने मंजे हुए राजनीतिज्ञ और देश में जिम्मेदारी के स्थान पर बैठने वाले व्यक्ति इस तरह की छोटी भावनाओं से ऊपर उठ सकते हैं। यह दुर्भाग्य है और मुझे लगता है कि अभी तक वे ऊपर नहीं उठ रहे हैं और क्योंकि वे उठ नहीं रहे हैं, इसीलिए यह बात चल रही है कि एक तरफ उनके खिलाफ इन्वेस्टीगेशन होता है, दूसरी तरफ उनको पदमश्री का सम्मान मिलता है ;

महोदय, केवल यही नहीं है, एन० डी० एम० सी० के मामलों की जो लिस्ट है, अगर मैं वह सुनाऊं तो आपको लगेगा कि शायद उसके ऊपर एक अच्छी लम्बी चर्चा की जा सकती है। मैं इस समय केवल दो-तीन बातों का उल्लेख करूंगा। नई दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमेट्री ने दो किस्म की दवाइयां खरीदीं। 25 प्रतिशत ऐसी दवाइयां खरीदीं जो बढ़ियां थीं, वी० आई० पी० के लिए, बड़े लोगों के लिए और 75 प्रतिशत ऐसी जो आम लोगों में बांटने के लिए हों। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि सम्मानित सदन को कि विटामिन बी कम्प्लेक्स उनके स्टॉक में दो तरह का मिला, साढ़े 4 रुपए की 10 इंजेक्शन की शीशी एक तरफ और 80 पैसे की 10 इंजेक्शन की शीशी एक तरफ। विटामिन बी कम्प्लेक्स का 8 पैसे का इंजेक्शन बन सकता है, यह शायद मेडीकल प्रोफेशन के लोग या फार्मैस्युटिकल मैनुफैक्चरर्स को भी पता नहीं होगा। लेकिन श्रीमान छाबड़ा साहब को पता है। लिबर इंजेक्शन 3 रुपए के खरीदे गए और दूसरी ओर वही 90 पैसे के दस की फ़ियाल। इसी तरह मल्टी विटामिन्स साढ़े 3 रुपए के एक तरफ और 1 रुपए 6 पैसे के दूसरी तरफ। जब यह बात खुली और जब ड्रग कंट्रोलर ने छाया मारा और मैंने यहां पर सवाल पूछा तो माननीय स्वास्थ्य मंत्री की ओर से उत्तर दिया गया। मैंने पूछा था कि क्या यह सत्य है कि दो किस्म की दवाइयां खरीदी गईं और क्या यह सही है कि उनमें कुछ दवाइयां ऐसी हैं, जो नजकत में स्थित किसी ड्रग फर्म से खरीदी गईं जिनका कोई अता-पता नहीं जानता, मुझे जवाब दिया गया कि नहीं खरीदी गईं। यह सदन के साथ जो मजाक हो रहा है, जो कुछ करप्ट, ब्रष्ट आफिसर्स को बचाने के लिए इस तरह यहां पर खिलवाड़ की जा रही है, मैं समझता हूँ कि लोकतंत्र के लिए यह बड़ा खतरा है और चक्राण साहब के मंत्रालय के काम की चर्चा करने हुए उनका ध्यान मैं इस ओर अवश्य खींचना चाहूंगा। यह हुआ क्यों? पहले वहाँ कर्नल जोशी नाम के हेल्थ आफिसर थे, जो श्री छाबड़ा के मुर में मुर नहीं

मिलाते थे, उनके ऐसे कामों में शामिल नहीं होते थे। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि उनको निकलवा दिया गया। वे डिफेंस से आए थे, आर्म्ड फोर्स से, आर्म्ड फोर्स तैयार नहीं हुई समय से पहले उनको वापिस लेने के लिए, परन्तु जबरदस्ती करके यहां पर स्वास्थ्य मंत्री की तरफ से रक्षा मंत्री से बात कराई गई और श्री छाबड़ा उनको अपने रास्ते से हटाने में सफल हो गए। हटाने में सफल होने का वह परिणाम हुआ कि जैसी दवाइयां वे चाहें, जिसके लिए चाहें, वे रखने में आजाद हो गए। जो दवाइयां पाई गई हैं, वे केमिकल एग्जामिनेशन के लिए भेजी गई हैं। उनकी रिपोर्ट आने पर पता चलेगा कि उसके अन्दर से क्या गुल खिलते हैं। मैंने उसके लिए भी प्रश्न पूछा है, लेकिन मुझे डर है कि जो मैं पूछता हूँ, उसके जवाब में जो सत्य है वह सरकार नहीं कहती, बल्कि जो उसको सूट करता है, उसके अनुकूल बैठता है, वह उस पर देती है।

नई दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमेट्री ने दवाइयों के मामले में ही नहीं बल्कि जो काम वह करवाती है, उनमें भी ऐसा ही किया है। मेरे पास दसियों उदाहरण हैं। एक काम आज करवाया, महीने भर बाद उसको तुड़वा दिया, दो महीने बाद तुड़वा दिया, नरेन्द्र प्लेस पर एक फुव्वारा लगाया, फिर उसको तुड़वा दिया, हनुमान मन्दिर के सामने प्लेटफार्म बनवाए गए, 6 महीने के बाद उनको तुड़वा दिया गया, 20 हजार रुपए इसके ऊपर गंवाए गए। दूकानें, दीवारें, रेलिंग बंगला साहब गुरुद्वारे के नजदीक बनाए गए 35 हजार रुपए खर्च करके, लेकिन साल भर बीतने के पहले उनको फिर तोड़ दिया गया। कनाट प्लेस और पार्लियामेंट स्ट्रीट वर्ग में जो फुटपाथ के पत्थर थे, उनको तोड़ कर—10 लाख रुपए उन पर खर्च हुए हैं—फिर बनवाया। यह रुपया कौन देता है, कहां से आता है, क्या छाबड़ा साहब के पास कोई सोने की खान है, क्या उनको कोई टिकाना मिल गया है, जहां से उठा कर ले आते हैं, उनके पास कुबेर का खजाना है? अशोक रोड के पास,

[डा० भाई महावीर]

बैंक के पास कार-पार्क बनाया गया, लेकिन साल भी नहीं बीता था कि उसको तोड़ दिया गया।

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : होम मिनिस्टर से इसका क्या ताल्लुक ?

डा० भाई महावीर : होम निनिस्टर से यह ताल्लुक है कि इस तरह के अफसर को अगर कोई संरक्षण देता है, तो गृह-मंत्री देते हैं। दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन, भारत सरकार के कई मंत्री, सार्वजनिक पार्टियों और जो दूसरे लोग हैं, उनके द्वारा इनकी सब धांधलियां मानने के बाद भी उन्हें उनका संरक्षण प्राप्त है, इसलिए उस अफसर का कोई बाल बांका नहीं कर सकता। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस स्थिति में आज नई दिल्ली म्युनिसिपल कमिटी के हिसाब-किताब में 1848 आडिट आब्जेक्शन्स पेंडिंग हैं, जिनकी उनको कोई परवाह नहीं। डेढ़ लाख रुपया आडिटर्स फीस एन० डी० एम० सी० देती है। क्यों देती है, किस लिए देती है, अगर उस आडिट का उपयोग नहीं होने वाला है ?

चाणक्यपुरी में होटल बनाया गया। वहां 3 लाख रुपए मिनिमम से ऊपर जिसका टेंडर था, उसको बनाने का ठेका दे दिया गया। उसमें एक लिफ्ट बनी, उसके ऊपर पहली बार जैसा खर्च करना चाहिए था वैसा खर्चा किया जाता, तो पहली बार ही ठीक लिफ्ट बन जाती और उसका परिणाम यह होता कि कई लाख रुपए उसमें से बच जाते—इस समय वह आंकड़ा नजर नहीं आ रहा है, फिर भी लाखों रुपए का फर्क पड़ जाता।

इसके अतिरिक्त जो सबसे बड़ी बात हुई, वह यह कि 17 अप्रैल की मीटिंग में श्री छाबड़ा ने एक नया तजुर्बा, एक नया करिश्मा करके दिखाया है, सारी एन० डी० एम० सी० की मीटिंग के मिनिट्स फेब्रीकेट किए हैं। जो हुआ नहीं, जो रिजोल्यूशन आया नहीं, पेश नहीं हुआ, इन्होंने मिनिट्स के अन्दर उसको

रखा कि यह रिजोल्यूशन पेश हुआ और पास हुआ यह लिखा, एक सदस्य के खिलाफ जो हमारी पार्टी का है और जिसका दोष यही है कि उन्होंने इस तरह की धांधली के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई। कहा गया कि इस सदस्य ने गालियां दीं, लैफ्टीनेन्ट गवर्नर को गालियां दीं, सारे मेम्बर्स को बेईमान कहा और इसलिए इनके खिलाफ हम रिपोर्ट करते हैं होम मिनिस्ट्री को, लैफ्टीनेन्ट गवर्नर को ताकि कार्यवाही की जाय। जिस समय कनफर्मेशन के लिए मिनिट्स आए तो वहां पर दिल्ली के एजुकेशन डायरेक्टर हैं, वहां पर सरदार त्रिलोचन सिंह हैं, जो नई कांग्रेस पार्टी के मेम्बर हैं, चव्हाण साहब की पार्टी के मेम्बर हैं और दिल्ली प्रोविशियल कांग्रेस कमिटी के मेम्बर हैं, इन तीनों ने कहा कि यह प्रस्ताव पेश नहीं हुआ। इन्होंने पूछा कि किसने पेश किया तो कहा गया कि वीरेन्द्र प्रकाश ने पेश किया। जो पेश करने वाला है वह कहता है कि मैंने पेश ही नहीं किया, लेकिन वहां पर एन० डी० एम० सी० के प्रधान कहते हैं कि मैं तो कहूंगा कि पेश हुआ है, आप अपना डिस्सेन्ट नोट करवा दीजिए। डिस्सेन्ट नोट करवा के सरकारी अफसरों, चव्हाण साहब के भेजे गए अफसरों की स्ट्रेन्थ के बल पर वे मिनिट्स पास किए गए। यह करिश्मा श्री छाबड़ा का है, जिसकी ओर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा। इस स्थिति में मेरा यह कहना है कि सी० वी० आई० को हम जो काम देते हैं, जो काम देना चाहते हैं, जो सी० वी० आई० से काम लेना चाहते हैं, क्या वह ले रहे हैं ? श्री चव्हाण ने बताया कि देश 1 करोड़ 60 लाख रुपया सी० वी० आई० पर खर्च करता है, लेकिन उससे काम क्या लिया जाता है ?

मैंने कल उल्लेख किया था कि दीनदयाल उपाध्याय जी की हत्या का। दीनदयाल जी मामूली आदमी नहीं थे। दीनदयाल उपाध्याय की हत्या करने के लिए उत्सुक कुछ लोग हो सकते थे, इस देश के अन्दर ऐसे तत्व हो सकते थे, जो हत्या करवाना चाहते हों। इसलिए

जब हत्या हुई, तो हमारे दुःखी दिल ने, जिसको ऐसा लगा था मानो वह अनाथ हो गया हो, कहा कि भारत सरकार के पास अगर कोई संस्थान है, जो निष्पक्ष, न्यायपूर्ण जांच करेगा तो उसको यह मामला सौंपा जाय, इसलिये सी० बी० आई० को यह मामला दिवाया गया। लेकिन सी० बी० आई० पोलिटिकल प्रेसराइजिंग का शिकार बनी और उसने केस को बंगल करके, जो एवीडेंस हमने दी, उसको बिगाड़ कर इस देश में एक घिनौने और जघन्य अपराध को छिपाने के षडयंत्र में शामिल होने का दुःसाहस किया है और मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत के माथे पर यह एक ऐसा काला धब्बा है, जिसको शायद सदियों तक यमुना का बहने वाला पानी धो नहीं सकेगा। सी० बी० आई० की रिपोर्ट में, इनवेस्टीगेशन में डा० गर्ग ने, जो सम्बद्ध मेडीकल आफिसर थे, यह निर्देश दिया था कि डिब्बे में चेन खींचने की जगह पर उंगलियों के जो निशान थे, जो शौचालय है, उसके ऊपर कुछ उंगलियों के निशान थे, चादर का कुछ धागा डिब्बे में पाया गया था उसकी, और शौचालय के पास, शौचालय के दरवाजे पर पैरों के निशान थे इन सबकी जांच करवाई जाय। सी० बी० आई० ने उनकी जांच नहीं करवाई। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा क्यों नहीं किया गया? श्री जे० पी० शर्मा जो निपुक्त थे, वे इस जिम्मेदारी को निभाने में असफल रहे और उन्हें अब एस० पी० से बढ़ा कर असिस्टेंट डायरेक्टर बना दिया गया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो उन्होंने दुर्लक्ष्य किया, जो उन्होंने अपने काम को निभाने में बेईमानी की, जो उन्होंने एक भयंकर अपराध के ऊपर पर्दा डाल कर उसमें शामिल होने का काम किया, क्या इसका उनको वह इनाम दिया गया है? देश के मन में यह शंका रहेगी और इस वास्ते भी रहेगी कि दूसरे अफसर जिन्हें चव्हाण साहब ने भेजा था, उन्होंने भी यही कुछ किया। श्री चव्हाण कह सकते हैं कि अफसरों के बारे में छिंटकशी की जाती है। कल भी मैंने कहा था कि पहले श्री जान लाबी को भेजा गया, फिर उनको हटा दिया गया, क्यों हटाया

गया हम नहीं जानते, लेकिन एम० पी० सिंह जो वहाँ पर गए उन्होंने सारी जांच करने में 5 रुपए का नोट जो श्री दीनदयाल के शव के हाथ में थमा दिया गया था उसके बारे में उन्होंने कोई ध्यान देने की कोशिश नहीं की। और जज ने अपने बर्डिकट में कहा, चव्हाण साहब कल जज का उल्लेख कर रहे थे, उसने कहा कि यह पांच रुपये का नोट कैसे आया, यह रहस्य है। ऐसा एक रहस्य सारे कत्ल की दिशा को पलटने वाला होता है, लेकिन हमारे सी० बी० आई० के विद्वान, न्यायप्रिय और अक्ल के धनी लोगों ने उस 5 रुपये के नोट की जांच करने की कोई कोशिश नहीं की। कुछ खून के निशान सिरहाने के एक गिलाफ पर मिले थे। उसको न केवल जांच करने की कोशिश नहीं हुई, वरन् यह पता लगाने का भी प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया कि वह खून किसी जानवर का है या किसी आदमी का है और साथ ही इतनी महत्वपूर्ण एवीडेंस को डेस्ट्रॉय कर दिया गया, जला दिया गया। यह सब होने के साथ जो गवाहियाँ हमने भोजने की कोशिश की सी० बी० आई० ने उनका ठीक उपयोग करने के बजाय उनकी उपेक्षा की, उनको दबाया। जो कोई आदमी गवाही देने के लिए आया उसको फुसला कर, धमका कर खत्म करने की कोशिश की ताकि उसकी गवाही न हो। आज मैं इस बात के लिए चव्हाण साहब की तारीफ करूँगा कि उन्होंने वह नौबत नहीं आने दी कि एक न्यायिक जांच के वास्ते कमीशन बिठाने की जो मांग हमने की थी उसके लिए हम को आन्दोलन करना पड़ता, सत्याग्रह शुरू करना पड़ता। सरकार ने पहले ही उसे मान लिया है और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जिस तरह से जस्टिस चन्द्रचूड़ चल रहे हैं और जिस ढंग से एवीडेंस वहाँ आ रही है, उससे सी० बी० आई० में जो गोल माल हुआ है, जो गड़बड़ हुई है, वह साफ होगी। गलत किस्म के अफसरों को, श्री दीनदयाल जी की हत्या को दवाने के इनाम के तौर पर आम बढाया गया, श्री एम० पी० सिंह को डी० आई० जी० से स्पेशल आई० जी० बनाया गया यह मेरा दावा है और मैं चाहूँगा कि अपने

[डा० भाई महावीर]

जवाब में श्री चव्हाण साहब इस बारे में हमारा समाधान करें। यह एक विषय ऐसा था कि जो कल से मेरे मन पर भारी हो रहा था इस लिए ही मुझे यह कहना पड़ा। (Time bell rings) मैं एक, दो मिनट और ज्यादा लेना चाहूंगा। आप देखिए कि इसके मूबर को कुछ ज्यादा समय मिलेगा या नहीं इस चर्चा को इनीशियेट करने का। मैं जल्दी ही खत्म करूंगा।

इस देश में आज नक्सलवादियों की बहुत बड़ी चर्चा है। नक्सलाइट्स की चर्चा यहाँ पर भी हुई और कल हमारे मित्र भूपेश जी ने उनके संबंध में जो कुछ कहा उसको सुन कर मैं हैरान था। उन्होंने जो उनकी वकालत की उसको देख कर मैं दंग रह गया। उन्होंने कहा कि नक्सलाइट्स बड़े एक्सलेंट आदमी हैं, बड़े विद्वान आदमी हैं। उनके बड़े हाई मोरेल्स हैं और उनके लिए I can feel proud of them वे इन के लिए प्राइड का विषय हो सकते हैं, उनको उन गानों हो सकता है। उसके बाद उन्होंने कहा कि कुछ लोगों को मारा गया जिनका नक्सलाइट्स के साथ कोई संबंध नहीं था और पुलिस ने उनकी हत्या की। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर भूपेश गुप्त जैसे लोग उनकी वकालत कर रहे हैं, तो उसको देखा जाय कि सी० पी० आई०, सी० पी० एम० की बात तो हम छोड़ ही दें, सी० पी० आई० में और नक्सलाइट्स में उतना ही फर्क है, जितना कि सांपनाथ और भूतनाथ में होता है या जितना फर्क भूतनाथ और प्रेतनाथ में होता है। ऐसे आदमियों की वकालत में जब ये खड़े होते हैं, तो उनको वे एक्सलेंट कहते हैं, उनको अच्छा आदमी बताते हैं। अगर कहीं कोई वायलेंस हुई है तो उसके लिए भूपेश जी कहते हैं कि ये उनके इंडिविजुअल ऐक्ट्स आफ वायलेंस से सहमत नहीं हैं, he does not agree with their individual acts of violence तो क्या यह वायलेंस क्लेविटिव होनी चाहिए थी? वह नहीं हो पायी है इतनी ही यह उन की जिक्रायत है? और इन ऐक्ट्स में हम भूपेश जी की गवाही को मानें या ऐसे लोगों की

गवाही को मानें जिनकी यह आप बीती है। ऐसे लोगों के मेरे पास पत्र आये हैं, यह फोटो हैं जो कि आंध्र सरकार के सूचना विभाग के सचिव की तरफ से भेजे गये हैं, जिनमें छोटे-छोटे किसानों को, जो कि बड़े जमींदार नहीं, पूंजीपति नहीं, उनको जा कर इन नक्सलवादियों ने मारा और उनका सिर काट कर खम्भों पर उनके घर के सामने टांग दिया। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि वूता सवरैय्या नाम का किसान जो सम्पेटा का था, उसको मारा गया। वह श्रीकाकुलम डिस्ट्रिक्ट का था। जिस एक जिले में 23 किल और 40 डकैतियां 1969 के साल में हुई हैं, केवल एक जिले में। आप देखें कि इस किसान के पास कितनी जायदाद थी। कहते हैं कि उसका सारा घर लूटने के बाद केवल 500 रुपये की सम्पत्ति मिली। 500 रुपये का माल जिसके घर में हो पूंजीपति कहलाता हो और एक-एक पूंजीपति का अगर यही हाल होने वाला हो जो कि उसका हुआ, जिसका सिर काट कर फेंक दिया गया, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि देश का वह भविष्य बड़ा भयंकर है, जिसकी रचना ही भूपेश जी और उनकी साथी पार्टियां करने जा रही हैं। इस जिले में ही 23 मर्डर और 40 डकैतियां एक साल में हुई हैं और यही हाल दूसरे जिलों—वारंगल, करीमनगर, खम्मम, नलगोंडा और गुंटूर आदि का है। मेरे पास जो फोटो हैं, वे सरकार की तरफ से भेजे हुए हैं। और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम वहाँ पर तो बंगाल की सी स्थिति पैदा न होने पाये। वहाँ पर तो यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की सरकार नहीं थी। वहाँ की सरकार तो चव्हाण साहब की छत्रछाया में चल रही है, उनकी पार्टी की सरकार है। आप देखें कि वहाँ पर यह स्थिति पैदा हो सकती है कि पिछले दिनों अखबार में खबर आयी कि 13 या 14 नक्सलाइट्स, जो जेल में बंद थे, वे भाग गये। मुझे उन्हीं दिनों वहाँ जाने का मौका मिला और वहाँ मुझे लोगों ने बताया कि उनको भागने की जरूरत ही नहीं थी। वे लोग तो बड़े आराम से दरवाजा खोल कर, बाहर जो जीप खड़ी थी, उसमें बैठ कर गये। अगर

हमारी स्वयं की सरकार का, उसकी पुलिस का और जेल के प्रशासन का यह हाल है, तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा गृह मंत्रालय इस देश को किस कुर्वे में ले जा कर फेंकना चाहता है, यह हम को मंत्री महोदय बताने की इजाजत करें। केवल यही नहीं, कृपासिधु सामंतराय नाम का एक छोटा किसान था, प्रतापचन्द पारधी नाम का एक और किसान था, जिसकी बहाना काफी इज्जत थी, वे भी ऐसे ही मारे गये। उनके पास ज्यादा रुपया नहीं था, लूटने के बाद कुल 500 या 1000 रुपया कुल मिला। भूचन्द्र राव की औरतों को बाहर बुलाया गया, उसकी माता को बुलाया गया और जो महिलायें नक्सलाइट्स के साथ आई थीं उन्होंने उनको मारा। ऐसा लगता है कि उनके यहाँ सेक्स का लिहाज रख कर काम किया जाता है। उनके साथ आई स्त्रियों ने उन स्त्रियों को मारा और उसके बाद उनको सीढ़ियों के साथ रस्सी से जकड़ दिया। फिर भूचन्द्र राव को कहा गया कि अपनी सेफ खोलो। जब वह अपनी सेफ खोल रहा था तो भाले से उसको बांध दिया गया। इतना ही काफी नहीं हुआ। उसके खून को एक नक्सलवादी ने अपने हाथ में ले कर वहाँ दीवार पर एक पत्र का निशान बनाया और कम्युनिस्ट निशान बनाया हंसिये और दरांती का। यह जो कम्युनिस्ट निशान था हंसिये और दरांती का वही हमारे भूपेश गुप्त जी के लिए था और वही उनमें हमदर्दी का भाव पैदा करता है। वही हंसिये और दरांती का निशान उनकी पार्टी के झंडे पर भी है। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है, उनके झंडे पर बने निशान में और वहाँ जो निशान बनाया गया है, उसमें वही अन्तर है कि एक उस खून का निशान है, जो बहाया जा चुका है और दूसरा बहाया जा सकता है। अगर इन दोनों में भूपेश जी को कोई अन्तर नहीं दिखायी देता, तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हम इस देश को कहां ले जाना चाहते हैं। वहाँ पर चारू गजूमदार के निर्देशन में यह सब काम चलता है। वहाँ उनकी पार्टी की ओर से एक पत्र निकलता है "लिबरेशन"। उसमें एक आर्टिकल निकला है : 'हाऊ

टु किल'। एक लेख छपा है कि लोगों को कैसे मारा जाय। बंदूक के कारतूस क्यों खराब करो, पिस्तौल की गोली क्यों खर्च करो। उसके लिए बताया गया है कि किस चीज का इस्तेमाल किया जाय, 'चापस' का, 'स्पियर्स' का, जदिलिन्स और सिक्केल्स का इस्तेमाल किया जाय। इन चीजों का इस्तेमाल किया जाय। इन चीजों का इस्तेमाल किया जाय। क्योंकि because it is interesting, it is desirable, to display a chopped head just in front of the house of the victim. यही तरीका था, वहाँ पर सिर काट कर लगाने का। मेरे पास टांगे गये सिरों के फोटो हैं।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : गवर्नमेंट ने उसको प्रोस्क्राइव नहीं किया ?

डा० भाई महावीर : यह अखबार छपता है। मैं नहीं जानता कि यह प्रोस्क्राइव हुआ है या नहीं। हो सकता है कि प्रोस्क्राइव हो गया हो, लेकिन इसके बाद भी उसका सेच वहाँ पर चलता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : अभी तक नहीं हुआ है।

श्री पीताम्बर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : प्रोस्क्राइव हुआ है, प्रोस्क्राइव नहीं हुआ है।

डा० भाई महावीर : ठीक है, यह वहाँ प्रोस्क्राइव है। यह वहाँ पर नक्सलवादी बाइबिल की तरह चलता है और भूपेश गुप्त जी कहते हैं कि that they are honest, brilliant, good men. Whether they are honest or not, I have to ask the hon. Members of this House whether they are men at all. I have to ask if they are honourable, if they are honest. But Shri Bhupesh Gupta says that they are honourable and they are brilliant, and Shri Bhupesh Gupta is an honourable man, he is an honourable Member.

मैं अपने आनरेबिल मेम्बर की बात मानूँ या जो कटा हुआ सिर वहाँ पर गवाही दे रहा है उसको देख कर उनकी नृशंसता और उनकी हत्याओं की बात सही मानूँ? यह एक बड़ा सवाल है, जिस पर कि मैं चाहूँगा कि श्री चव्हाण अपने मन में विचार करें।

[डा० भाई महावीर]

यहाँ पर कहा गया कि उन के तरीके गलत हैं। केवल तरीकों की बात कही गयी। (Time bell rings) मैं केवल दो, तीन मिनट और चाहूंगा। आप देखें कि कलकत्ता के अंदर दस हजार छात्रों का जलूस निकला 22 अप्रैल को, वह जलूस नक्सलाइट्स का बताया जाता है। उन के नारे क्या थे? उन के नारे थे—“माओ—अवर चेरमैन।” “माओत्से तुंग-आमादेर राष्ट्रपति।” “माओ जिन्दाबाद।” आप सोचें कि माओ जिन्दाबाद के नारे लगाने वाली पार्टियों के क्या केवल तरीके खराब हैं इतना ही आप मानते हैं भारतवर्ष में, आप देखें कि उन के सोचने का दृष्टिकोण क्या है? उन की एलाजियन्स और उन की पार्टी एफ़ीलियेशन्स क्या हैं? किस देश से वे प्रेरणा लेते हैं, किस अनुशासन में वे चलते हैं और कहां से उन को बुद्धि और शक्ति मिलती है, यह देखा जाय। मैं एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे लोगों को जो माओ को अपना चेरमैन कहते हैं वे श्री वी० वी० गिरि के बारे में क्या कहते हैं? वे श्री वी० वी० गिरि को अपना चेरमैन मानेंगे या नहीं? या उन के लिए माओत्से तुंग भी चेरमैन हैं और श्री वी० वी० गिरि भी चेरमैन हैं? क्या उन्होंने अपने लिए दो चेरमैन रखें हुए हैं एक घर के इस्तेमाल के लिए और एक बाहर के इस्तेमाल के लिए? अगर भारत में उन को माओ-त्से-तुंग को अपना चेरमैन कहने का अधिकार है तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर हम लोग कहां जा रहे हैं। और हमारा गृह मंत्रालय कहां पहुंच कर कहेगा कि इस देश की व्यवस्था ठीक कर दी गयी है?

आखिर में मुझे एक घटना का उल्लेख करना है और वह चाईबासा की घटना है। चाईबासा में रामनवमी के जलूस पर हमला हुआ। क्यों हमला हुआ? पहली बार उस छोटे से कस्बे में इस तरह की घटना हुई कि भागते हुए लोगों पर बम फेंके गये। पहले छुरेबाजी हुई फिर गोलियां चलाई गयीं और बम फेंके गये।

यह बम जो लोग उस जलूस में हनुमान जी की पालकी को छोड़ कर अपनी जान बचाने के लिए भाग रहे थे उन पर, भागने के रास्तों पर फेंके गये। यह सब जो हुआ है क्यों 3 P. M. हुआ है। इसके पीछे एक योजना थी। यह एक प्लान के साथ हुआ है। वक्त पर जोश नहीं आ गया। किसी मस्जिद के ऊपर हमला नहीं हुआ था। किसी तरह का कोई प्रोवोकेशन नहीं दिया गया था। किसी को भड़काया नहीं गया था। कुछ दिन पहले मुहर्रम के मीके पर नंगी तलवारों को हाथ में लिये हुए जलूस निकाला गया। रामनवमी के दो दिन पूर्व उस थाने में यह रिपोर्ट लिखाई गई कि हिन्दुओं से उनको, मुसलमानों को, खतरा है। किन्होंने, क्यों यह रिपोर्ट लिखाई? वहां के लोग कहते हैं कि उन्होंने, जो अल्पसंख्यक संप्रदाय है जो मुस्लिम संप्रदाय है, उन लोगों ने अपनी दुकानें पहले से बन्द कर दी थीं। वे घर छोड़ कर चले गये। टैक्सियों को बन्द कर दिया गया, नौकरों ने छुट्टी ले ली। जो 143 मुसलमान पकड़े गये उनको दबाव के कारण, 57 के अतिरिक्त सब को, रिहा कर दिया। तो यह मनोवृत्ति क्यों आई! श्री दरोगा राय, वहां के मुख्य मंत्री ने, वहां का निरीक्षण करने के पश्चात् कहा कि यह काम पंचमांगियों का हो सकता है, या ये पाकिस्तानी हो सकते हैं या सत्ता हथियाने के लिये जो आतुर हैं ऐसे उग्रवादी भी हो सकते हैं। वे कौन थे! यह एक प्रश्न है! इस देश के सामने यह एक प्रश्न है। सवाल यह है कि इस हमले के पीछे यह मनोवृत्ति कौन सी है? रामनवमी क्या ऐसा त्योहार है जो कि आज होने लगा है? वह तो हुनेशा से होता आया है। राम आखिर कौन थे? वह इस देश के महापुरुष थे, राष्ट्रपुरुष थे और जो इस राम को इस देश के अन्दर महापुरुष मानने के लिये, राष्ट्रपुरुष मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं वह इस देश का नमक खाते हैं किन्तु उस नमक के प्रति हलाली नहीं करते। ऐसे महापुरुष का जन्म-दिवस था, जो कि मजहबी दिवस नहीं है। फिर इस राष्ट्र के महापुरुष के जन्म-दिवस पर जो शामिल

होना चाहते हैं केवल वह शामिल हो रहे हैं शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से और उन पर कुछ लोम दम्ब ले कर, मोलियां ले कर हमला करेंगे ? ऐसे तत्व जो इस देश के अन्दर हैं उनकी क्या खोज की गई ! क्या इनको आप आयसोलेट कर सके, क्या उनको नियंत्रण में ला सके ? या उनके चार कोटों का ब्याल कर के उनकी खुशामद करना जरूरी समझते हैं । मुझे दुर्भाग्य से यह कहना पड़ता है कि ऐसी स्थिति में कभी भी स्थायी शान्ति नहीं होगी । आखिर में भारत के ऐसे मुस्लिम वर्ग में जो ऐसा गुट है, जो ऐसा अंश है—मैं ऐसा नहीं कहता कि भारत के सारे मुस्लिम संप्रदाय में यह बात है किन्तु ऐसा एक वर्ग है, जो इस तरह की मनोवृत्ति रखता है, पाकिस्तान के इशारे पर, चीन के इशारे पर, वहां से आये हुए हथियारों को ले कर, बम्बों को ले कर, हमला करता है, शान्ति को भंग करता है और ऐसे धार्मिक उत्सवों में इस तरह के कार्य करता है तो इन लोगों की मनोवृत्ति बदलनी होगी और यह मनोवृत्ति का बदलना ही भारतीयकरण है । यह बात आपको बुरी लगती है ? आपको अच्छी लगती हो या न लगती हो, लेकिन इस देश के प्रति वफादारी, ऐसी मनोवृत्ति, इसकी संतानों के अन्दर नहीं होगी तो उन देश में शान्ति नहीं रहेगी ।

(The bell rings)

श्रीमन्, मैं समाप्त ही कर रहा हूँ । आखिर में मैं दो चार लाइनें ही पढ़ूंगा । प्रोफेसर हुमायूँ कबीर जो कि भारतीय जनसंघ के नहीं थे, जिनका जनसंघ में सम्बन्ध नहीं था, जो कि सरकार के मंत्री रहे, जो कि पुनिर्वसिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन के चेयरमैन रहे, जो कि एजुकेशनल एडवाइजर रहे उन्होंने जो लिखा है वह मैं पढ़ता हूँ । उन्होंने अपनी किताब में लिखा है, जो उनकी किताब है, "इंडियन फिलॉसफी आफ एजुकेशन" सन् 1961 ई० में छपी उसमें से यह उद्धरण है, उन के शब्द हैं :

"Indian Muslims in particular have suffered from this failure to achieve an intellectual synthesis between Hindu thought and Islam. One immediate consequence \ as that they (Muslims)!

were not able to accommodate in their intellectual world the contribution of their own history. Alexander was a heathen Greek and yet Muslims throughout Western Asia have accepted him as a national hero. Sohrab, Rustam and Nausherwan are heroes who flourished long before the advent of the Prophet and many of their adventures and exploits have no reference whatever to the teachings of Islam. Nevertheless they are also accepted in the Muslim cultural tradition. The same thing is true of many of the heroes of Central Asia. Indian Muslims were unfortunately unable to find a place in their heritage for the ancient heroes of India."

फिर से रिपीट कर रहा हूँ, महोदय ।

"Indian Muslims were unfortunately unable to find a place in their heritage for the ancient heroes of India. It is strange that Indonesia which borrowed these myths and legends from India was able to achieve a fusion by which Puranic heroes of India became part of the cultural heritage of the Indonesian Muslims but in India this happy development did not take place. The result was that the Indian Muslims could not develop the strength and sustenance which rootedness in the history and tradition of India alone could have given them. Failure to accept this earlier history of India has meant not only an impoverishment of their cultural heritage, but what is worse, it introduced an element of schism and tension in the minds of many Indian Muslims."

मेरा निवेदन है कि अपने इस देश के अन्दर एक सच्चे राष्ट्रवाद के आधार पर देश की सब जनता को एक कर के मजहब मिल्लत और भाषा के भेद को अलग रख कर एक राष्ट्र का रूप देने के लिये सरकार की भी कुछ जिम्मेदारी है । उस जिम्मेदारी को गृह मंत्रालय निभाये । मैं आज यह आशा रखता हूँ और इस तरह का नम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे लोगों पर जो भ्रष्ट हैं, जो गलत तरीके से चलते हैं उन पर नियंत्रण रखिये । मुझ से चंडीगढ़ में शिकायत की गई, वहां जासूस को पकड़वाने वाले सज्जन ने शिकायत की कि उनको हमारी सी० आई० डी० के डी० एस० पी० ने बुला कर धमकियां दीं, गालियां दीं और

[डा० भाई महावीर]

कहा कि तुमको पकड़ कर जेल में डाल दोगे । जो लोग सरकार के लिये, देश के लिये, सहयोग देते हैं और इस तरह के कामों को पकड़वाने का काम करते हैं उनके लिये गालियों और धमकियों के सिवाय और कुछ होना चाहिये । मेरा निवेदन है कि श्री चट्टाण अपने मंत्रालय को, अपने अधिकारियों को ठीक दिशा में चलने के लिये प्रेरित करेंगे ताकि अगले वर्ष जब ऐसा मौका आय, जब हम ऐसे मौके पर इकट्ठे हों तो हम गृह मंत्रालय की अच्छी रिपोर्ट की चर्चा कर सकें और उस पर उसे बढ़ाई दे सकें ।

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to participate in the discussion on the working of the Home Ministry. The Home Ministry is charged with the maintenance of law and order in the country and it cannot be denied that there is a general erosion in the people's faith in and respect for law and order in the country. The forces of violence are growing, both political and communal. Yesterday in this House we discussed about the activities of the Naxalites in West Bengal, but the Naxalites' activity is not confined only to West Bengal ; it has spread to other States also, especially to Assam from where I come. I understand that the Assam Government has sent a requisition to the Government of India for sending five battalions of Reserve Police to Assam to tackle this situation. Recently, a top Naxalite leader of West Bengal, Makhanlal Nath, has been arrested in the district of Cachar and it is really a cause for anxiety for the people of Cachar that a number of Naxalites have entered into that district. Only on the 19th April last, there was a bye-election to the State Assembly and in that Assembly constituency happens to be near the Mizo border. And we were surprised to find that a large number of unknown persons had entered into that area, people mostly from West Bengal, and they preach violence openly. And as a result of that, the law and order situation in Assam has deteriorated considerably. You know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that in the Mizo District since 1966 a state of emergency is continuing and over the major part of Assam no trains run in the night. If the Government of India cannot restore law and order in the borders with China.

Burma and Pakistan, I say that the people of my State feel concerned about it. Recently, we found that in Cachar which has a border with the Mizo District, there has been a movement for occupying the lands in the forests and in that movement unknown persons are participating, and it is reliably learnt that a large number of Pakistani infiltrators in the name of landless labourers have entered into that forest area which borders on the Mizo District. If they are not that forest area, I apprehend that there will be serious trouble in that area jointly by the agents of Pakistan and China. It is a known fact that the Mizo rebels and the Naga rebels have established contact with China and Pakistan and that they are being trained in guerrilla warfare somewhere in East Pakistan. Recently, the Manipuris have also joined that movement and as many as 500 Manipuris have gone to Pakistan for military training. And of these 500, about 56 Manipuris, while they were returning to India through the Union Territory of Tripura, have been arrested. So, it suggests that there is a regular contact and if this contact is not contained, if this is not checked in time, if these activities are not checked in time, then the situation in Assam will develop into a horrible thing, and the whole of Assam stands on an explosive situation. Not only the forces of political violence, forces of communal violence are also growing day by day in the country. Mr. Vice-Chairman, in India in 1968, 346 communal incidents took place and in 1969, their number rose to 519. A para-military organisation, whose name I will not mention, which was associated with the murder of the Father of the Nation, and which is spread throughout the length and breadth of the country, is training people. They are parading in the remotest villages of Assam. Organisers of that organisation, mostly from Maharashtra, in the whole-time pay of the organisation, have penetrated deep Assam.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) :
Which is that party ?

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA :
A military organisation whose name is associated with the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. I need not name it. You cannot name it. You cannot name the organisation. It is intelligent enough to infer.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Rajasthan) : An enquiry is going on as to who murdered Mahatma Gandhi. How are you saying all this ? It is altogether wrong. अरे, अपना दिल टटोलो गहने । गांधी जी के सिद्धांतों की हत्या आपने की है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : If he has said anything you can contradict it. That would be a nice thing.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : शरम आनी चाहिये । गांधी जी के सिद्धांतों की हत्या की है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please sit down both of you.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उनको रोकिये । प्रसन्न बातें न कहें ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You are a new Member. If there is anything that you do not like, you or somebody from your party can contradict it. It is a very bad habit to interrupt when an hon'ble Member is on his legs. It must be a rare thing.

श्री शीलमन्न याजी (बिहार) : हिम्मत के साथ सुनो ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : शरम आनी चाहिये आपको झूठ बोलते हुए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You can say many things with which they may not agree. But this is not the way. I would like you to keep up the tradition.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : लेकिन अगर कोई बेवृत्तियार बात कहे तो ।

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have not named any organisation. I have held a para-military Organisation responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, for that murderous conspiracy. It is not that this para-military organisation is spoiling the atmosphere in Assam alone, it is vitiating the atmosphere of the whole country. It must be curbed in a time. If these communal and parochial

forces and forces indulging in political violence are not tackled in time, the whole country will be landed in trouble. That is why I want our Home Minister to rise to the occasion and take stern action against these forces of communal and political violence.

Not only there is political and communal violence, there are parochial organisations also raising their heads in Assam. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know, Sir, that a Lachhit Sena has been formed on the lines of the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra. Maharashtra is the most industrially advanced State in the whole of India. If this Sena could be formed in spite of so much industrial advancement there, but because of unemployment, it is natural that a Sena like the Lachhit Sena would come up in a State where most of the labour is from other States. Now, how to curb the activities of these parochial organisations is for the Home Minister to judge. These are para-military and parochial organisations.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in this connection I also want to mention about the delay of justice growing in the country. You know, Sir, that thousands of cases are pending in the High Courts and the Supreme Court. In the report of the Home Ministry they have mentioned about the appointment of Supreme Court Judges and High Court Judges. But if for getting justice one has to wait for 12 or 13 years, how can people have faith in the judiciary ? In the Calcutta High Court, I understand more than 40,000 cases are pending. In Gauhati more than 4,000 cases are pending. Sir, I am a trade unionist. We have fought industrial disputes. In one case more than 10,000 workers were retrenched in the tea estates of Assam in 1953. It took us 13 years to get justice from the Supreme Court. How can a worker, without any employment, fight a case for 13 years ? It is not the case with the workers alone. It is the case with the general public also. They are afraid of going to the court because it will take them undue time and they will have to wait very long for getting justice. Therefore, people do not want to go to the court. They do not want to appear as witnesses. Therefore, something should be done to increase the number of Judges in the High Courts and the Supreme Court so that the pending cases may be disposed of more speedily.

In this connection I also urge the Home Minister to consider whether on the line

[Shri Mahitosh Purakayastha] lection cases these industrial disputes can also be directly taken up by the High Court whether a special Bench cannot be formed for these industrial disputes in State High Courts so that these industrial disputes can be speedily disposed of.

Mr Vice-Chairman, we have before us a review of the work of the activities of the C.B.I. But the C.B.I. activities do not arouse confidence in the minds of the people. You know, Sir, how much corruption is going on in the country. Corruption is rampant in all walks of life. But only a few cases are detected. We know many officers have acquired property beyond their known means of income. Not only officers, other private persons have also acquired property beyond their known sources of income. They are liable to be prosecuted. How many are prosecuted? The C.B.I. have singularly failed in this matter. So I would urge the Home Minister to see that the C.B.I. is encouraged more and more for rooting out corruption.

In this connection, Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, we come to the working of the Administrative Reforms Commission. It has produced voluminous reports. The most important report published up to date in recent background is on the Centre-State relationship. After the general elections of 1967, the whole pattern of politics in the country has changed. Parties other than Congress have come to power in different States and this Centre-State relationship should be examined very thoroughly and a decision by the Government of India should be taken as to how this Centre-State relationship can be improved.

Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, the reorganisation of States took place about 14 years ago, but the problems connected with reorganisation still remain. There is the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute still. There is the demand for Statehood from the Union territories. The Union territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura are demanding full statehood, and if Statehood has to be conceded, I would urge the Home Minister to concede it rapidly and not to wait for launching of movements like the movement launched for the inclusion of Chandigarh in Punjab. It is becoming a practice with the Government to take a decision only when there is a movement, when there is violence, when there is loss of property. So

without waiting for these things, I would urge the Home Minister to take speedy decisions in the matter of granting Statehood to Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura. Manipur is my neighbouring Union territory. I know there is great discontent prevailing there. I have mentioned about the formation of a revolutionary group of young men who have crossed over to Pakistan and who are now contemplating to launch a violent movement against the Government of India. So if Statehood has to be conceded to Manipur, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh it should be conceded in no time.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, in Assam you know that Meghalaya has been created. It is a new experiment of creation of a State within a State. We hope that it will work satisfactorily. But with the creation of Meghalaya the problems of the North-Eastern States have not been solved. The problems of NEFA have remained so. NEFA has got a special status in the country. It is neither a Union Territory nor a State nor a part of Assam. So, if you decide well in time what should be the future of NEFA, it may not be any movement there. Already there is discontent in NEFA over its status in the administrative set-up of the country. And if NEFA has to be granted the status of a Union Territory, it should be done as early as possible.

Now I want to refer to the working of the Union Public Service Commission and I want to refer to a case which has come to my notice. The post of an Associate Professor of Medicine was advertised by the U.P.S.C. in December, 1969. The minimum essential conditions were as follows : M.B.B.S., M.D., M.R.C.P. or equivalent degrees ; at least five years' experience as Reader. An interview was held on 6th April, 1970 and seven candidates were called for interview and out of the seven candidates only two candidates fulfilled all the conditions. But none of them has been selected. It is reliably learnt that one Dr. R.C. Misra has been selected by the U.P.S.C. So, before the appointment is made, I would request the Home Minister to enquire into this case because a similar case occurred in the appointment of a Professor in the Safdarjung Hospital and the person affected by it has filed a writ petition in the High Court. So, without waiting for a similar writ petition to be filed in the High Court, I would urge upon the

Home Minister took into the case mentioned above, if there has been any injustice done that injustice should be removed.

Sir, in this connection I would also like to say a few words about the Central Government employees' strike on 19th September, 1968. The Government has taken appropriate action in their case. But what about the Delhi Police who resorted to strike. Their cases are still pending. I would urge upon the Home Minister to look into their cases and, if possible, to see that the affected policemen are reinstated* so that there may not be any dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Delhi Police. Thank you.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. "Vice-Chairman, both from this side of the House and from the other side of the Government, the speakers who have spoken so far, have come to the conclusion that the Government is taking the country to chaos. This is the conclusion of a speaker from the Government side. An Opposition Member said, "हम बारूद के ढेर में बैठे हैं". The result is the same. I can add some illustrations, some examples, to show that there is great anxiety about the conditions that the country is in today. Now, let us see what the good aspects are and what the bad points are in the administration of the country. The Centre is in a minority. It is a generally admitted fact that if the Government is in a minority and is not confident of a majority, then, if it is only in office, it cannot govern. It may be in office, but it is not in power. And the Government which is not in power cannot govern the country, cannot give a good administration to the country because the people in the Government are not smart of themselves.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI S. N. MISHRA) : Quite right.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : They want to do something, but they cannot. Only the day before yesterday they wanted to abolish the privileges of the I.C.S., but they could not. I am not going into the merits and demerits of the case. But could they do it? No. They placed the Railway Budget before Parliament and after that they had to withdraw all their new suggestions. Is it a Government? Are you in power? Can you give the country a good Government or can you prove yourself to be a Government

worth the name? No. In a parliamentary system the most essential point is that the Government must have a majority at its back; otherwise, the Ministers can remain in office but they cannot give a good administration to the country. That is the fundamental issue. You take all the examples. You take every State from north to south or from south to north, anywhere. Punjab cannot govern.

Haryana cannot. Himachal Pradesh has got its own problems. In Bihar the problem is very clear. You cannot get any Government in Bihar. In Bengal you know the situation quite well.

SHRI M. ANANDAM (Andhra Pradesh) : What about Gujarat?

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : I am coming to that. I am including Gujarat and Mysore, both. You are supporting my case. So, some time back the Government thought that it was not necessary to continue the Preventive Detention Act. Why? Was it a correct decision on its part? Was it the best judgment on its part? Or, was it taken under pressure? And now they want to come forward saying that they want to renew it. They say that the Preventive Detention Act must be renewed. It was renewed in some States. They are thinking of renewing it in the State of West Bengal. Why does the Governor of Bengal want more powers? To control the situation. Then, was the Government right in taking that decision in the past? Or, was the decision taken under pressure? Was it not taken to keep yourself in the saddle, in office? Was not the previous decision taken to keep yourself in office?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : Obviously.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : Therefore, a Government which is not backed by a majority—this is a fundamental question—has to look to different supporters—what will be the reaction of the D.M.K.? What will be the reaction of the C.P.(M) or the CP.(I)? What will be the reaction of this party or that party? If this is the state of affairs, democracy cannot progress; the Country cannot expect a good Government.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : It is a hypocrisy.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : Whether it is Chavan Sahib or somebody

[Shri Mohan Lal Gautam]

else, personally I am not asking anybody"; head because I know he must be the best man in the bad lot. But under the existing circumstances even the best man cannot deliver the goods. Therefore, even if we take the head of Chavan Sahib, we cannot be better off. We may be only worse off. Therefore, I am not personally against anybody. Now, you know about Assam. You know about Kerala. You know about Telangana. You know the problems of Maharashtra and Mysore are still there. The boundary dispute, are still there. I will not forget Gujarat also. This is the state of affairs. In these States the Governments are not able to govern. For what reason? How? Why? We have to look into it. This is a fundamental question. I can illustrate all these matters by giving examples and details. Dr. Bhai Mahavir has given many details. On the other side also some Members have given many details. So I will not burden you with more of details. Now, the question is when this is so, the law and order position cannot be tackled satisfactorily, to say the minimum. The State-Centre relations are in a hopeless condition. The communal situation is not good. There are Governors who, in their addresses, made adverse remarks against the Government of India, criticised the action of the Government of India and we have to see what the relationship between the Governor and the Home Ministry is and whether the Governor has a right to criticise the Home Minister who has appointed him and all that. So without going into all those details, without overburdening the debate with these things—and my friends will do it—my question is simple. What is the solution for all this state of affairs? This state of affairs is not satisfactory. Therefore the question is, what is the solution? Mr. Chavan is sitting on the *gaddi* of which we are proud. If we take the history of the last 23 years, the greatest achievement that we have had goes to the Home Ministry. In one word, it is the integration of the Indian States. It will be recorded in history and you cannot undo it. The rest of the things are yet to be scrutinised by history. The Government benches are criticising the actions of all those including Jawaharlalji. So the other actions of the Government of India during the last 20 years, whether it is regarding foreign affairs or foreign policy, Planning Commission or development or anything else—all these—are under scrutiny. No-

body can say that Jawaharlalji had achieved this. History is yet to find out the balance-sheet. Nobody can say that of the Government of which I am a party—I am still and I do not separate myself from the good and bad deeds that the Congress has done during the last 23 years and I do not dissociate myself. I am looking at it from this wider point of view, not from a narrow point of view. Therefore the achievement of Sardar Patel, the achievement of the Home Ministry is the biggest and the greatest that will find place in the history. The other achievements and functions are even today criticised by all of us, including the Government benches. Even the Prime Minister takes pride in saying that, we have not done enough during the last 23 years. If I want to criticise Jawaharlalji, I might be misunderstood but if he is criticised by his own daughter or by other supporters who claimed to be nearer to Jawaharlalji, then I have to accept that what they say is true. How can I differ from them because they are the inheritors. I have ceased to be the inheritor now but they are. So I accept it. Therefore no other achievement in the last 23 years can find a place in history. Shri Chavan who is sitting on the *gaddi* which has the greatest achievement during the last 23 years has to look into it. What problems were there before Sardar Patel when he took over and when we got independence? Hundreds of States were there and they were all merged. Nobody saw a tear, nobody heard a sign and all were integrated and democratised. Now the Privy Purse question is not solved. We are talking about it every day. We have not yet solved it. The problems of partition, refugee, etc. were all solved in no time. Why?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY :

Balance of power.

SHRI MOHANLAL GAUTAM : I would like to state—and believe me—we will support you if you took strong action to take the country out of this mess. If you take the country out of this chaotic condition I will support it.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Make him Prime Minister. He will do it.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : My friend, Mr. Tyagi, was never a socialist and therefore he thinks in terms of person! I think in terms of forces. Even if Mr. Chavan is the Prime Minister, under the existing circumstances, heading a Ministry with a minority in the House cannot

deliver the good; Therefore I am talking of forces and not individuals. Therefore I do not want his head. I think he is the best man to take charge of this Department. I am in the circumstances do not help him to allow him to function. Now sitting on the gaddi which faced so many problems and solved so many of them in no time, he is not able to do anything. I have not much time and you will stop me Sir, from proceeding and so I will not go into that. The question is what to do. The first point is that if we have accepted the democratic system, the parliamentary system, then we have to function accordingly. The parliamentary system presupposes party system and all the ideas that we have borrowed and we have learnt are from the British. Unfortunately there are two parties and the third is likely to appear. (Interruptions) Unfortunately our country is going the way of France, with dozens of parties and the situation is chaotic when no party will have a majority. The first point is that if you have adopted the parliamentary system and if you want that the parliamentary system should work, whether this freedom of conscience can go with that. I am a supporter of freedom of conscience. I will honour the man if he wants freedom of conscience but the first requisite would be that if one has got anything from the party that has to give him either membership or Prime Ministership or anything, let him renounce it, get out of it and then crusade against the evil. That was the original idea and then this will not work. If you are satisfied that this is working all right and if you are satisfied with the cross-voting that was there during the last few occasions, then woe to you. If you think that it is the freedom of conscience which has resulted in this chaotic condition against which you dare not take action against those who do not work with you.

श्री कल्याण चन्द : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपके ऊपर भी असर पड़ा, दो प्रेसिडेंट बन गए उत्तर प्रदेश में ।

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : मैं भी उन सर्वोच्च न्यायाधीशों का शिकार हूँ जिनसे देश तबाह हो रहा है । मैं भी पापी हूँ, मुझ भी गुनहगार समझिए और अपने से बड़ा गुनहगार समझिए । सवाल यह है कि यह जो फ्रीडम आफ कॉन्सिअन्स है

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Is this freedom going to help the working of the parliamentary system and the party system? No. Then the other point is crossing of floor. I know and I have been a legislator since 1927 and a worker of the Congress since 1920. In 1937 when we entered the U. P. Legislature, H. F. Mohammad Ibrahim was elected on the Muslim League ticket. Once we wanted him to be a Minister but the Muslim League did not allow him. He resigned. Jinnah himself went to his constituency and opposed him in the election. He stood on the Congress ticket and won and became a Minister. When Acharya Narendra Dev differed from the Congress, we went out of the Congress and seventeen U. P. legislators also resigned. This is the correct attitude.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE :
Which is the Congress ?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tami Nadu)
: Mr. Yajee, you do not know anything.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : As a first sinner, you can discuss me later. I say you can discuss my conduct and I tell you in one word that my conduct is absolutely honest and clear since the very beginning.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : We are discussing India, not U. P.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : Therefore, Sir, if these things are allowed to continue, how can the party system function? I will not again go into all those details, but there are a few suggestions that I would place before you and especially to the Home Minister through you. And the first thing that I would suggest is to put a stop to the freedom of conscience. One can do whatever he likes only after resigning all the posts that he has got through the party which has elected him either to the legislature or to other bodies, not before that. Some way should be found to put a stop to floor crossings. But the thing is that we hold conferences, we hold consultations, we produce reports, and still we all of us try to persuade others to cross the floor—I will not go into all those cases—by money, by offices of profit by all sorts of allurements.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Sir, when they cannot understand the relevance of an observation, at least you must stop them from interrupting the speaker.,

श्री शीलमद्र याजी : काफ़ी लोग उधर भी गये हैं। ज्वलंत उदाहरण हैं।

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : Sir, the House represents the whole of India. The House represents all sections of people. It is not correct to expect that every one of us will be intelligent. After all, unintelligent people, ignorant people, idiots, must also find some representation in the House. So how can you say that the country does not represent all sections of the people ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : My friend is the real representative.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Is the Home Minister not going to have law and order on his side ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You cannot address the Home Minister directly. You will have to address me.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Yes, Sir. Except through you I never interrupt them and I humbly expect the Home Minister to have law and order on his side of the House.

(Interruptions) •

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order. I will have that law and order role, not the Home Minister.

SHRI R- T. PARTHASARATHY (Tamil Nadu) : The House cannot abdicate its authority to the Home Minister within the Chamber.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : (West Bengal) : My friend Shrimati Yashoda Reddy's interruptions sometimes cause extreme disorder in the House.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Always next to you. You are my leader, in that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : We are not concerned with whether you are the leader or he is the leader.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : The further suggestions that I want to submit are.

श्री हयानुल्ला अन्सारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह कितनी दफा फ्लोर कास कर चुके हैं और कितनी बार पार्टी बदल चुके हैं ? यह तो एक्सपीरियेंस की बात है।

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : मैं इस का जवाब देने के लिए तैयार हूँ अगर आप मुझ को कुछ वक्त एकस्ट्रा दे दें। मैं इस का जवाब देने के लिए तैयार हूँ। लेकिन एक लफज में कह दूँ कि एक दफा भी नहीं।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : पहले उन की समझ में आना चाहिए कि फ्लोर कासिंग किसे कहते हैं। उस के लिए समझ बनानी पड़ेगी। कुछ अदब सीखना चाहिए।

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक दफा भी नहीं, अपनी जिन्दगी में एक दफा भी नहीं। जो डिटेल्स जानना चाहें वे मेरे पास आ सकते हैं।

श्री हयानुल्ला अन्सारी : वह हमें अदब सिखा रहे हैं।

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order please. You cannot speak, both of you at the same time.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : Now there are a few other suggestions if you want democracy and the country to function properly. One is that the persons, who are expected to function independently, should not any favours from the executive and should not be allowed to have any favours from the

executive. I will >eg;in from the top- The President should 101 have a second term, so that the Presi lent can function independently and m y not look to the votes of the majority p£ rty that "if I keep them pleased they will elect me for a second term." The Vice President, either should not be allowed /ice-Presidentship when he becomes the C la rman here, or should not be Chairmai here if he holds the office of Vice-Pre idntship because, when he functions als< as the Chairman here, he may, consci' usly or unconsciously, may have M keep the Government pleased wuh him. I .m not speaking of Pathakji. Suppoae I am the Vice-President and am sitn ig here as the Chairman of this House, may be corrupt in my i mind that "if I do not see the Government pleased, tl en, suppose the occasion arises, I may noi be elected the President, and somebody el e nay step in." Therefore, either he : ioild not be made the Vice-President, r he should not be the Chairman here, because the Chairman here should be npartial and should not look to the Gov r.r.ment for any favours. The Judges of he Supreme Court and of the High Co rt; should not be given any appointmen i after their retirement. After all, what o we see in the case of a man like Mr. Sarkar? I do not know whether he is do ng right or wrong—I do not want to ente into it—but he is criticised here and the K* >r fellow is helpless. He may be doing gc >d work, but he offers his resignation. N(,v the Government will come forward an l :ay, "No, no, we have got full confideni ; in him." And then he may withdraw is resignation and may start functioning ajain. Is it the way that men like Mr. Sarkar can function? Therefore they sh mid not have any appointments under Go eriment. We know the case of a Supre: le Court Judge appointed Governor. /Mid the Governors should not have any I iriher appointments besides being Go ernors, so that they can function as allG >ernors should do. What we see now is th; t the post of the Governor is degraded to certain extent, to what extent let me not discuss.

THE VIC1 -CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have taken twenty-three m ute?. Your party has got forty-two i inutes. There are two other speakers. All the same I am not stopping you.

SHRI MOP AN LAL GAUTAM : You tell me he m many minutes you give me. I shall st p as soon as I reach the end of it.

SHRI VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The total your party has got is forty-two minutes and out of this you have taken twenty-three minutes, that is to say, nineteen minutes more your party has got. I leave it to you. Either you take it all or you allow others also take it in common.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : I will finish. Judges should not be given any appointments direct. If you want to take any work from the Judges, then have it from the Supreme Court and not direct. Then Members of Parliament should not have any favours from the executive. If they are to be sent to foreign countries, then a committee of vhis House should select them, a committee of members representing all parties. If the Government, for example, want to sent five persons to Egypt, let the Government come forward to the Chair and say, "We want to send five persons to Egypt." And let a committee of the House select them, and so on and so forth. Therefore I will say that if these conventions are established, only then democracy functions. Now I will ask the Government only one question for the prevalence of the present state of affairs. Here are the fundamental issues. What is the Government going to do? Is the Government going to hand over the country to chaos, as the Official

Congress says

रहग और आम लम जायगी तो क्या होगा ?

श्री शीलमद्र याजी : ऐसी परिस्यति नहीं आयेगी ।

* SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : Now unless the Government has got the backing of the majority, it cannot deliver the goods. That is what I am seeing. How to do it is the question. Therefore, if they can find some allies, if they can find some friends in other parties with the same ideology and with the same programmes as they have got, I would welcome a coalition with them.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Yes, make it manifest, don't keep it concealed.

SHRI MOHAN LAI. GAUTAM : Mr. Chavan, you are an old friend of mine and so I say that, unless you have got a majority at your back, you cannot speak with authority. Therefore the first thing is, if you cannot find it, then the

کی جینہ پر اضافی کا۔ حادثہ تھا۔ اندر میں
 کبھی اس افواہ پر کہ سامعہ جینہ کی رام پر کسی نے
 نیراب بینک دیا ہے۔ مسلمانوں کی ہشتیاں کی
 ہشتیاں جلادی گئیں۔ اس افواہ پر کہ ایک پانچویں
 شخص نے مندر سے پانچویں مندر عورت کا ہاتھ
 پکڑ لیا ہے۔ ویدیشہ کے مسلم عورت میں آگ لگا
 دی گئی۔

میسٹر دیوکر راجو چودھری۔ ایجوکیشن مسسٹر
 مہاراشٹر یونو کے اس واقعہ کی رپورٹ کے ذریعہ
 میں کہ ہم۔ ۵۰ جوہان مسلمانوں پر مسوا ہو کر
 پونہ کی سڑکوں میں اور گلیوں میں۔ چاکنٹا اور ہندو
 کے لئے دھماکے ہوئے گورے۔ چنانچہ پھر میں کنڈی
 کی نماز ایسا ہو گئی اور یہ ہاؤس کر لیا گیا کہ پاکستان
 کے ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں میں مگر جوہان میں جب واقعہ
 کی تحقیقات ہو سکی تو بہت جلا پانچواں اور ہندو
 نعرہ لگا کر شہر کی منڈا کو فریب کرنے والے اکثریتی فرقہ
 سے تعلق رکھتے تھے۔

میں اس یاد میں کے مطابق اٹلیاں کا ایک دست
 واقعہ پیش کر دیا کہ ایک گیلے والے جوہان میں
 پریٹلہ نو وقت کر رہا تھا ایک بیل آکر اس کا پریٹلہ
 کئی گیا۔ اس کے ہاتھ میں بیل کھانے والا جا رہا تھا
 اس نے اس چاقو سے بیل کو مارا۔ بیل نے جب
 خون بہنے لگا تو اس نے رضم مریا لی ڈالا جس
 سے سوخ رنگ کا خون منہ بہل گیا۔ اس واقعہ
 سے لورے پشور میں ہشتیاں پیدا ہو گیا اور مسلمانوں
 کے سر اس جرم کا انساپ کی جانے لگے۔
 والا پانچ چمکا لیا۔ جب پولیس نے قبضہ کیا
 وہ لہا لائنس حقیقتاً تو یہ کہ لگنے والا ایک
 غیر مذہم تھا۔ وہ اکثریتی فرقہ سے تعلق رکھتا تھا۔
 غرض یہ ہے کہ اس طرف سے شہر میں
 تھی کے وہی جلی کھانے سے میرے پاس ایک درد
 ناک لکھا آپ جس میں نوٹ۔ راجی دو چوری
 سے ملتا ہے یہ جو تحریر تھا کہ جینہ میں
 جینہ میں ایک لکھے کو راجی کے اس کے
 نفعی کاٹ ڈالے گئے اس سے پھر میں کہہ سکتی

یورپی فضا اور وقتہ یوحنا عناصر کی ہنگامہ آرائی
 پھیل گئی لیکن خیریت یہ رہی کہ ایک شریف عیدو
 نے غیر مسلم نے گائے کو فری کرنے والے اور اس کا
 تن کا ٹیٹا والے شہر لہندہ کی حرکت، لیکو کی تھی اور
 اس نے جرات کر کے یہ بتلا دیا کہ یہ حرکت فلاں
 شخص کی ہے جو اکثریتی فرقہ سے تعلق رکھتا ہے۔
 اس طرح وہی طور پر مسما د فرور تک گیا
 مگر فضا کا کٹیدگی بلا بر باقی رہی اور کھولے
 یوروں کے بعد ایک مسلمان تاج سے وہی پر کسی غیر مسلم
 عورت سے تعلق کا الزام قائم کر کے مسما د بر پا کرنے کی
 کوشش کی گئی لیکن پھر کئی شریف مندروں نے درمیان
 میں پڑ کر اس عداوت کو بے نقاب کر دیا لیکن پھر بھی
 فرقہ پرست عناصر کے حوصلے ختم نہیں ہوئے اور
 شہر میں اہم مقامات پر بڑے بڑے بورڈوں پر
 مسلمانوں کے خلاف اشتعال انگیز مضامین لکھ کر
 لگائے جاتے تھے۔

گد شہزادوں کے مغربی منگال کے مرشد آباد کے
 منشا کی جہوں کو اشتعال انگیز طریقہ پر لکھ کر
 بورڈوں پر آویزاں کیا گیا۔ اشتعال انگیز تقریریں
 کی گئیں۔ اس عداوت حالات سے متعجب بار لوٹ
 مار کے حادثات بھی ہوئے جس کی اطلاع ریاستی
 عدم مسسٹر اور ضلع کلکٹر کو دی گئی مگر اس پر کوئی
 ایکشن نہیں لیا گیا۔ پولیس میں اگر بورڈ درج کرائی
 گئی تو بورڈ درج کرانے والے کے خلاف بھی بورڈ
 دو ہفتے دور اشتعال انگیزی کی گئی اور ہشتیاں
 دی گئیں۔ تو اس طرح سے تمام یہ جوہاں ہے۔

میں یہاں پر جمیہ آف کار میں سے دور مسسٹر
 ہے۔ ایچ ڈوشی کے اس بیان کا حوالہ دینا مناسب
 سمجھتا ہوں جو انہوں نے مقررہ مارچ ۱۹۶۹ میں
 ہندوستان ٹائمز مورننگ ۱۰ مارچ کی رپورٹ سے
 مطابق جمیہ آف کار میں کی اس سیشن میں
 دیا تھا جس میں وزیر اعلیٰ مہاراشٹر مسٹر نالک جوہر
 تھے۔ مسٹر ڈوشی نے کہا تھا کہ۔۔۔ بہت سے لوگوں
 کا طویل تجربہ ہے کہ ہنگامہ کے وقت پولیس ایک
 خاموش تاملاتی کمی حیثیت سے کڑی رہتی ہے
 اور اس سے لوگ یہ اثر لیتے ہیں کہ پولیس لاپرواہ

[شری ایم - اسعد مدنی]

مے قیام اور بجائی امن کو اپنا فرض نہیں سمجھتی۔
اس کا یہ علاج ہے کہ سنگساروں پر قابو پانے کیلئے
پولیس میں مزید مات و اسے کمروپ کو متوازی بنیادوں
پر لہری کیا جائے۔ اس طریقہ سے سنگساروں پر قابو
پانے میں کافی مدد مل سکتی ہے۔

اسی مثال سے دوسرے مقامات میں بھی مدد
دی جا سکتی ہے کیونکہ ان ایڈیٹرز کا سلسلہ تو جیسا کہ
مگر موجود ہے۔ اس بارقہ سے پولیس کے علاوہ اور
دوسرے ایڈیٹرز میں دوسرے طبقے کے ڈکٹوں
کو خاص طور پر مائنٹینز کو کافی تعداد میں بھرت
کرنا چاہئے تاکہ اس طرح کی جو شکایتیں جوں جوں
چھ کم ہوں۔

ملک کے اکثر بیشتر مقامات میں خواہ وہ
بلوچانہ پور... کوئٹہ... ساؤتھ پنجاب... ملنگ...
کینڈر پارٹنر ہو یا ویشہ... ٹینا ٹراہو جو یا
تیلی پارٹنر ہو سہیلہہ جو... حیدرآباد سو یا نوادہ
ہو یا احمدآباد... بڑوہ اور پھلائی جو جہانگاہی
فرقہ پرستی اور مائٹنر نے اپنے پیڑ پیڑ سے
صاف واقعات کی تعمیل ہی بنتا ہے کہ یا تو
محض بے بنیاد اتوار تھی جس کو بیان بنا کر نصاب
پر پا گیا کیا یا بہت معمولی سا صحافی کا عادی
واقعہ تھا جسے کسی طبقہ کا اجتماعی جرم بنا کر
پولیس اور مقامی ایڈمنسٹریٹیشن کی مداخلت سے
پوری کیے بیٹھی کی قتل و غارتگری کی گئی اور پولیس
کڑی تامل نہ دیکھتی رہی۔

زیادہ دنوں کی باختم نہیں۔ اسے حوی کے
موقعہ پر کھڑا بازار خلیج گوڈرہ میں حوی کے جلوس
نے مقدمہ راجندر کو پھر کر دوسرا واسعہ اختیار
کیا اور جلوس کی راہ نمائی کھڑا بازار بلاک کے
چاندی۔ او کمرے تھ۔ یہ بی۔ ڈی۔ او ایف
ڈیوٹی کے وقت کر رہا تھا اور تکلیف دہ بات
یہ ہے کہ بی۔ ڈی۔ او کے جو صحافیوں کی تھی
کی اور فریڈ پوسٹوں کے ساتھ استعمال اٹری میں
پیش پیش رہا۔

ابن تازہ واقعہ چائنا سہ کا حویان وقت
پر مہوت اور پولیس کی مداخلت اگر نہ ہوتی تو
اقلیتی طبقے کے چھپسی افراد جلاں سے جانے اور نہ وہ
توتی کے لاکوں روپیہ کی املاک جلائی ڈھری اور
توتی جا سکتی تھی۔ میں خود چائنا سہ گیا ہوں اور میں
نے ان چیلروں کا خود جائزہ لیا ہے۔ ۱۲ اپریل کو
حکومت بہار کے ڈائریکٹر جلازمین کا ایک
انتظامی پریچہ اور اس میں معواہہ پریچہ کے درجہ
چیف سٹریٹس ڈیولپمنٹ بہار کی طرف سے ایک معواہہ
کی حوالیت کی گئی تھی کہ اگر رام توتی کے موقعہ پر نصاب
جو جائیں جیسا کہ نیشنل پارٹیوں خلاف مفاد کے
بیشتر نظر کر رہی ہیں اور اس وقت میں یہ اطلاع
میں نہ اس صورت میں ہم کو کیا تدابیر اختیار کرنی
چاہئیں۔ تو گویا اس میں پہلے سے پوری کوشش
بہار کی رام توتی کے موقعہ پر مفاد کی کوشش کر رہی
ہے۔ اس کے علم میں تھا اور اس پرچہ کی اصل
ہمارے پاس موجود ہے جس میں یہ کیا گیا ہے (انٹیم)
تھیں، بہر حال اس میں یہ موجود ہے۔ اس
طریقہ سے رام توتی ۱۲ اپریل کو چائنا سہ کے
ایس۔ ڈی۔ او اور ایس۔ بی پریس کمیٹی کی
شیک ڈاؤن پر مفاد اینٹ ۱۱ کے پر چائنا سہ کے
کے مفاد کی رے دہری ڈالے جس اور رام توتی کے
جلوس کو مقدمہ راجندر سے جانے کی یاد دہانی کرتے
ہیں مگر باوجود اس کے کہ حالیہ حوی کے وقت
میں فضا میں کشیدگی تھی اور فرقہ پرستوں کی
سورگرمیاں جاری تھیں اور مخصوص قسم کے ہتھیار
تعمیر کیے گئے تھے اور پہلی مثالوں کے برخلاف جیسے
میں اطلاع کیا گیا کہ سہرہ وگ اپنی دوکانیں بند
رہیں اور رام توتی میں مشرکے ہوں۔ رام توتی کے
جن میں سے ہے جو سائینڈ راء اینٹ کے برخلاف کریکٹوں
اور پشادوں کا مظاہرہ بھی کیا گیا اور مقامی جوں سنگھ
کے سکریٹری راجندر کی تالی رام توتی کے جلوس کے
راہ نمائی کر رہے تھے اور پولیس کا کوئی معقول انتظام
پورے طور پر جیسا پہلے ہوتا تھا دلیا نہیں تھا بلکہ
اس سے کم تھا اور جڑوں آدمیوں کے جلوس کو کنٹرول
کرنے کیلئے محض ۶ پولیس میں جلوس کے ساتھ تھے جو
تھے اور جب برفی انداز ملی میں جو مسلم علاقہ سے
جلوس کے پہلے حصے نے گھسنے کی کوشش کی اور اس

پرفیوڈا ہوا اور اس سے پہلے وہ سری ملہی میں گھسنے کی بھی کوشش کی تو اس کے بعد سولہوں کے ہم پھیلنے اور آئیٹ کا انسٹیبل کو مار ڈالنے کا منظور چاہا گیا اور فرقہ پرستوں نے جو کچھ کیا وہ کیا لیکن پولیس کے مطلع جہانوں نے برق انلاز گامی کے نام راستوں کو گھیر لیا۔ کر میوٹا اعلان کر دیا گیا اور موکانوں کو بلائے نہ صرف یہ کہ فرقہ پرستوں کی مدد کی بلکہ ان نامی کاروائیوں کے پیش پیش وہی اور ستانوں کے بغور اور ان سے نکال کر سولہوں کو گولہوں کا نشانہ بنایا گیا۔ انہیں انتہائی بربریت سے آگ میں ڈال دیا گیا۔ ہندوستان کے اندر جہاں جتے خوف سے لرز رہے تھے درندگی سے پولیس نے گولیاں چلائی جس سے مکان کے اندر کی بعض عورتیں تک گوی سے نرخی ہوئیں اور یہ معاملہ صبر کو نہ بچے کھڑے ہونا رہا۔ نصابت کی مذمت پر ہندی پولیس اور مسٹریش کی جرمانہ غفلت کا نتیجہ تھی۔ اس سے اندازہ کیا جاسکتا ہے کہ تکب جس وقت جہانوں میں قتل و غارت گری کا بازار گرم کیا جاتا ہے۔ اس وقت شہر سے ۳ میل دور آئی۔ ڈی آئی کا لہجے ایڈیشنل سپریشنڈنٹ ہجڑہ رائے کو کام کی کمی کے اور ٹرو میں پولیس کی طرف سے تحفظ کی یقین دہانی کے باوجود قتل کر دیا جاتا ہے اور اب رحمان صاحب کے قتل اور اس سے بعد اپنی بربریت اور بڑے کارناموں پر پردہ ڈالنے کے یہ نہیں ہوسکتا جہاں سے کہ رحمان صاحب کا تعلق چائیکٹا سے ہے حالانکہ وہ جاکوٹا کے رہنے والے تھے اور ان کے مارے میں یہ چلا گیا کہ وہ ہم بنایا کرتے تھے ویرا وغیرہ یہ تو اس طریقہ سے یہ اور بھی کہا جاتا ہے کہ صاحب کوئی خط آیا تھا اور اس کی بنیاد پر یہ ثابت کرنے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے کہ اس نصاب کا تعلق پاکستان سے ہے۔ یہ یقیناً کوئی ہی نصاب ہے۔ نصاب اگر ہندوستان میں ہوتا ہے تو ہندوستان کے جو دشمن ملک ہیں ان کو خطی طور پر اس سے خوشی ہے عورتی چاہئے اور نصاب کی ہر تحریک دینا والا ملک کو بڑھاوا دینا والا اس کے لئے خط تیار کرنا والا اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں ہے کہ وہ غیر ملکی ایجنٹ ہے جو وہ صرف ملک کے مطلب کو بورا کر رہے

ہیں اور جو اس طرح کی ضلعا بناتے ہیں ان کو ہندوستان کا نصاب اور بقانا یہ ہندوستان کے نصابوں کی بہت بڑی غلطی ہے۔ اور وہ ہندوستان سے میں سمجھتا ہوں ہندوستان کے نصاب سے تفریق ہے اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں۔ لیکن اس طرح کے خط سے مطلب ثابت کرنا یہ نہیں ہوسکتا اس لئے کہ ہم اس طرح کے نصابوں کو دیکھتے ہیں۔ کسی کے نام کسی ہی ملک سے کوئی بھی میٹرک کرنا نہ لکھا جاسکتا ہے اور اگر کوئی ایسا خط آئے تو پولیس کی نوچ داری تھی کہ نصاب سے پہلے ان تمام متعلقہ لوگوں کو پکڑ کر جیل میں ڈال دین تاکہ کسی ملک کو جو ہندوستان کا دشمن ہے اپنے منصوبے پورے کرنے کا موقع نہ ملتا۔ یہ آفیسر ان، ضلع کے آفیسر ان، یہ کام نہیں کیا۔ تو یہ معاشقہ ہے اور اس طرح سے عملوں کو برنام کرنے کی کوشش کی جارہی ہے۔ بچے کو دن پہلے بگرات کے سرحدی علاقہ میں جانے کا نوبہ ملا تھا۔ وہاں پر بھی اس طرح کا وہ سٹان کی چارٹیوں میں جگڑا تھا۔ ایک وہ وگ تھے جو گاؤں میں رہتے تھے اور گائے۔ یہی وہ فرہ ہاتھ ہیں سرحد سے سادہ گاؤں کے لوگ اپنا کام ہار گئے ہیں وہاں اور کہ وگ شہر میں تھے جن سے ان کا عقیدہ کا جگڑا تھا۔ اس شخص نے جو شہر میں رہنا تھا اور اس سے آجی میں اختلاف تھا اس نے پاکستان جا کر ایک خط معاشقہ کا ڈالا ان لوگوں کے نام تاریخ متعین پر جس دن وہ خط آئے والا تھا اور میں آئی۔ ڈی کو یہاں سے لیا گیا اور وہ ہے چارہ جس کے نام خط آیا ہے پتہ نہیں کیا لا رہا ہے ڈاکٹر اور میں آئی۔ ڈی نے ڈاکٹر اس خط پر فہم کر لیا اور ان کے خلاف معاشقہ کی سبیل بنائی کہ پاکستانی ایجنٹ کے نام پر ان کو پکڑ کر جیل میں ڈال دیا گیا۔ اس سے پہلے کہ حکومت سے کچھ سمجھ کر جا کر تحقیقات کرے کہ جانی یہ کیسے ہو گیا جس دن کا کرکٹر کھینا ہے کیا معاملہ ہے۔ میں نے جیت دیکھا تو سب کو دیکھنے کے بعد یہ محسوس کیا کہ یہ باطل فراڈ ہے

[شہزی ایم - اسعد مدنی]

اور ان کو چاہیے کہ وہ سب کو کیا گیا ہے۔
 ۳۔ پھر میں خود سینڈر شلیماٹی کے پاس اس وقت
 گیا اور اسے اس بات کو آج ہی قرار دینے میں
 کوئی جھجک نہیں کہ انہوں نے اس معاملہ میں
 دل چاہی ہے۔ میں نے ان سے صرف یہی کہا کہ
 آپ اس معاملے میں دلچسپی لیں۔ اگر آپ
 مطمئن ہوں کہ وہ بے قصور ہیں۔ مجرم نہیں
 ان کو سزا میں مبتلا کیا گیا ہے تو ان کو
 چھوڑ دیں اور اگر وہ مجرم ہیں تو ان کو سزا
 دیں۔ مجا کرشی سے کہہ انہوں نے ان سب کو
 رعا کر دیا تحقیقات کے بعد۔ تو اس طرح کے
 واقعے ہم رات دن دیکھتے ہیں۔ ہم جانتے
 ہیں کہ اس طرح کی عملیں بنائی جاتی ہیں تو
 کھانے کے لئے پیسہ ایشیائی کے لئے اس کی حیثیت
 خواب کرنے کے لئے یا اور کسی مقصد سے۔ تو ان
 چیزوں میں کوئی صداقت ہو۔ میں یہ نہیں کہہ
 سکتا۔ یہ حکومت کا کام ہے کہ وہ فیصلہ کرے
 کہ کیا ہو لیکن انہی بڑی درندگی کو اس نام
 سے نکالا نہیں جا سکتا۔ اس کو دیکھنا چاہئے
 کہ کوئی اگر مجرم ہے تو سزا پائے لیکن جنہوں
 نے گولیاں ماری ہیں گودوں سے نکال نکال کر جو
 پولیس سب ایشیائی سے دعاں کا آٹکے پلازہ میں
 دعاں ایک آرڈر دلائے ہیں، تو اور کم سے کم لاکھ
 روپے کی مالیت کی پوری مارت تھی جو لوگ تھے
 اور جلائی گئے اور اس کے ٹکڑے ٹکڑے ہو گئے
 چشمہ چٹنہ گئے پولیس کی طرف سے اس کے دروازے
 توڑ کر لے لیتے ہیں کہ پولیس اس ٹوٹ میں تحریک
 میں اور اس کو تباہ کیا۔ اسی ایشیائی کے مکان
 جو کار جمپرا سے آ رہی تھی وہ ایک صاحب اور ان
 کا ٹرک تھا ایک وہ آدمی بیان آئے اس پوری
 کار کو اس کے مالک کو اس کے ٹرک کو بیڑوں
 چوڑک کر جلا دیا گیا اور پولیس سب ایشیائی
 کے مالک کے مکان سے تھپتھپ کا معاملہ چھپی سے
 پولیس ایشیائی کے ایریا میں تھی اس کار
 کے اندر کھلے بندوں ٹرک پلا اس طرح سے
 جلا یا گیا ہے کار سے نکالے۔ یہ تمام پولیس

کیسے بڑی ہو سکتی ہے۔ اس سے یہ سب بولے
 دیا گیا کہ یہ لوگ جلائے گئے کاروں کے
 اندر اور پھینچ پھینچے وغیرہ وغیرہ۔ (یہ تمام)
 چیزیں ایسی ہیں جن سے ایڈمنسٹریٹیشن کو بڑی
 پریشانی ہوتی ہے۔ (وقت کی گنتی)۔
 میں چند حفت اور چھٹا ہوتا ہوں
 کہ میں نے اس پر سٹارٹ ڈیوریشن ٹوٹی
 دیا تھا لیکن وہ ایڈمیٹ نہیں ہوا۔ میں
 مختصر عرض کر رہا ہوں، اگر اس وقت بھی
 کہنے کا موقع نہیں دیا جائے گا تو پھر کیا صورت
 ہوگی اس معاملہ میں پولیس میں یہی کافی
 چیزیں آچکی ہیں۔
 میں یہ عرض کر رہا تھا کہ اس طریقہ سے
 وہاں صبح نو بجے تک سیکہ سیکہ نکلے دعوات
 گوری کی پولیس نے۔ وہاں کے غیر مسلمانوں
 کی بہت تھوڑی شکایت ہے۔ تو اس معاملہ
 حوا ممکن ہے کسی کی طرف سے زیادتی ہوگی
 کی طرف سے کم ہو۔ جیسے ہم بازاری کا معاملہ
 ہے۔ ہم چینی کا معاملہ ہے۔ بہر حال اب
 ہنگال۔ بہار کا جارڈر ایسی جگہ نہیں
 ہے جہاں پر ہم سنانا رکھنا یا ہم پھینکا
 کوئی بہت بڑا واقعہ ہو۔ رات دن یہ ہوتے
 رہتے ہیں۔ بد قسمتی سے ملک کی آتشزد
 کی فضا پیدا ہو رہی ہے لیکن یہ ہم کس نے
 پیدا کیا۔ ایسی چیزیں ہیں جب ظاہروں کا مجمع
 اس طرح سے گھرا جائے اور اس طرح سے ناچار
 طرح سے گھسے کی کوشش ہو اور ایسی
 گھراؤ ہو جائے یہ کہنا کہ فلاں وقت سے ہم
 چینی کا یہ کہنا بہت بڑا جرم ہے۔ میں یہ
 نہیں کہتا کہ کوئی مسلمان نہیں چینی کا قتل
 ہے۔ شکر کوئی مسلم ہی چینی کا قتل ہے۔
 کوئی قتل کسی فرقہ پرست غیر مسلم کے ہمارے
 پر بھی ہو سکتا ہے۔ اس طرح سے
 غیر مسلم میں ہینک سکتا ہے۔ یہ ۲۷ عدالت کا ہے
 کہ وہ کسی کو ثابت کرے پڑے۔ اس کا سولہ نہیں

سے قبل و عادت گری حقیقی ہے اور اس طرح ہے الزام دکھانا یہ بہت ہی مہتمم کی بات ہے۔ اس طرح سے میرے علم میں آئی ہے یہ نہیں آیا ہے کہ جیسے ہی ضمانت ملے گی وہی ہوگی۔ نہیں ہی ضلع کے آفیسران کو ان ضمانت کے اعلیٰ ذمہ دار قرار نہیں دیا گیا ہے۔ کوئی ہی سٹرا انڈیکس نہیں دی گئی ہے نہ آئو مرحلہ کیا گیا اور نہ ان کو عبرت نامہ سٹرا دی گئی۔ تاکہ آئیڈن ان کے ساتھ گڑھے سے جاویں۔ اس کے برخلاف میرے علم میں یہ بات آئی ہے کہ جن آفیسران نے ضمانت میں ضمانت افزائی کی ہے جو اس میں شریکیت ہے وہ کسی نہ کسی حیثیت سے ان آفیسران کو ترقی دے دی گئی ہے۔

الہ آباد کے ایس۔ پی کو ڈی۔ آئی۔ پی بنا دیا گیا۔ اسی طریقہ سے انہ جگہوں پر بھی بھیجے گئے کہ بڑے آفیسروں کو بڑی بڑی ترقی دی جاتی رہی ہے اس طرح کی جو یہ باتیں ہیں وہ صرف ایک دو۔ چار چھ ضمانت کی نہیں ہے بلکہ جگہ جگہ میں ضمانت ہوتے ہیں لگتے ہیں۔ تو وزارت داخلہ کے ماتحت نظام عملہ مسلمانوں کے جرم اور گناہوں کے بارے میں بھی اور جوئی جاتی تیار کرتا ہے۔ ملک کا انٹیلیجنس سروس مسلمانوں کے خلاف مواد مہیا کرتا ہے اور مظلوم لٹے دے اور بوجا، اور والوں کو جرم کے خانے میں کھڑا کرتا ہے اور یہ بات کینا میں کوئی تدریب محسوس نہیں کرتا ہوں کہ معاشرہ کی کسی صورت میں بھی یہ عزائی اور بے انصافی کو دور رکھا گیا تو وہ عزائی صرف اسی خاص سمت تک محدود نہیں رہتی بلکہ وقتہ وقتہ پورا سماج اس سے متاثر ہوتا ہے اور انارکی اس سے بڑھتی پڑتی جاتی ہے۔ تو اس طرح سے یہ جو یہ وجہاں بڑھتا چلا آ رہا ہے اس سے بڑے معالج کو نامان ہوئی ہے اس ملک میں ڈاکے۔ چوری۔ آتش زنی اور رشوت کا بول بالا ہے اور اس طرح کے جرائم

سے بکلی ان چیزوں کی آڑ لے کر نہیں ہونا چاہیے۔ اس طریقہ سے ایک کانسٹیبل کے زخمی ہونے کی بات ہے جس نے منطلق ۵۵ اور دوسرے ڈاکے کیے ہیں کہ وہ کانسٹیبل اس جرم میں تو ایک ضمانت کہ اس میں نہ آؤ اس ضمانت میں وہ زخمی ہوا۔ اگر وہ جرم کو جو غیر قانونی طور پر گھسا جاتا تھا روک رہا تھا تو مسلمانوں کیوں مارا کوئی دہلہ بھی میں نہیں آئی۔ لیکن برحال کسی نے بھی مارا جو جرم ہو اس کو سزا دینی چاہیے۔ مگر اس کا یہ مطلب نہیں کہ پولیس اس الزام سے بچ جائے گی۔ تو پولیس اسٹیشن کے سامنے یہ جو میں نے عرض کیا سیکرٹری دوکانوں اور مکانات چلائے۔ دوشے گئے ہیں۔ اس طرح سے صدر خانے کے سامنے مسجد اور چار دوکانوں چلائی گئیں بائبل روڈ کے اس پار اور اس پار۔ اور اس طریقہ سے چوالیس دوکانوں صدر بازار میں تھیں مسلمانوں کی ۱۳ دوکانیں روٹ کر ختم کر دی گئیں جن میں ہم چلا بھی دی گئیں۔ اور باقی روٹ دی گئیں۔ اب دکان پدچاھر پانچ دوکانیں ہی باقی رہ گئی ہیں۔ اس طریقہ سے دکان پر تانہ ہونگا۔ حوا۔ پھر ان کا پلان تھا کہ جو کہ کرنا ہے کر لیں گے۔ اب دکانوں پر سیکورٹی ڈکوں کو سٹاف الزام میں چیل میں جو دیا ہے اور اس طرح سے دکانوں کے انوار اپنی ضمانت میں لگے ہیں۔ اس طرح کی بات ہونے سے حوا میں حوا کے لوگوں کو بڑا کراہ دیا جاتا ہے اور خوف طرا وید مضمر میں شریک رہے ہیں اور ان کے خطوط سے بے رخ ہیں۔ اس طرح سے دکان پر اپنا آپ کو ضمانت سے چنانچہ اس طرح کو جرم باجیے ہیں اور الزام عیاں اپنی داد خواہی کے اس وجہت میں مبتلا ہو جائے کہ خدا کے بے حکاری کی بنا پر ہم نہیں جیل سے وجہت سے نہیں اور سارے گروہے وجہت سے نہیں۔ یہ حال ہے اور حوا، حوا مضمر کو اس کی طرف توجہ دینا چاہیے۔ اگر یہ صورت حال نہیں برے گی تو یہ ملک کہاں جائے گا اور اس کا کیا حشر ہوگا۔

یہ تو سب باتیں جو لے کے کہہ رہے ہیں اس طریقہ

[شہزی ایہم - اسعد مدنی]

وقتہ وقتہ ٹوٹ جاتا جا رہا ہے جس میں اور کم نہیں ہو رہے ہیں۔ ملک میں لوگ یہ محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ ہم جب ڈویل میں چلے ہیں۔ راستے میں چلے ہیں تو اپنی کو محفوظ نہیں سمجھتے ہیں۔ اگر لوگ اپنی سینیٹی نہیں سمجھیں تو یہ سب کچھ تو ہوتا جانے ہمارے ملک کا کیا حشر ہو گا۔

اس طرح جو اسٹریٹس میں جو گھڑے ہیں بڑے اقدار رکھنے والے ہیں ان کا پولیس سے اور آفیسروں تعلق رکھنا ہے اور وہ لوگ عیشی و آرام کی زندگی بسر کر رہے ہیں۔ اس کے مقابلہ میں جو شریف لوگ ہیں وہ اپنی آپ کو غیر محفوظ محسوس کرتے ہیں۔ اگر عام ملک والوں کا یہ حال ہے تو ہمارے ملک کا کیا ہو گا۔

میں ایک جاٹ کی جانب اور توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو جاڑا ابریا ہے وہاں خاص طور پر ڈکیت کو بہت پریشانیات ہیں کیوں کہ وہاں پر اسٹریٹس کا ہتھیار چل رہا ہے۔ غنڈوں کی کارروائی ہے اور اس کے نتیجے میں جو لوگ ہیں وہاں پر ان پر زیادہ دباؤ ہے اور مصیبت میں ہیں۔ یہ عام حالت جاڑوں کے لیکن خاص طور پر میں نے متوجہ دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہاں پر عجیب حال ہے اور وہاں پر عام طور پر ڈکیت پریشانیات ہیں کیونکہ سب سے بڑی پریشانی یہ ہے کہ وہاں پولیس مار ڈیکٹی نام طور پر ہوتی ہے۔ ان ٹراکوں میں پولیس کے لوگ ہی شامل رہتے ہیں اور مقامی ڈاکوؤں کے ساتھ جاگتائی کے ڈاکو ہی شامل ہوتے ہیں۔ علی اعلان ٹوٹ کرے جاتے ہیں۔ یہ سب جاڑی جو آواپور مقامہ میں ہے وہاں گیا تھا تو وہاں کے لوگوں نے بتلایا کہ فلاں تاریخ کو جاگتائی ڈاکوؤں نے دہلی دی تھی کہ ہم تمہارا کر آئیے گا اور پوری کاٹی باگڑی کو دہلی لے جائیں گے۔ اگر وہ دفتر بھیجے تو اس طرح سے ہمارے

بارڈر فورس کے ہوتے ہوئے یہ نہیں کے ہوتے ہوتے ان کا ساتھ اس طرح کی بات ہوتی ہے۔ ایک شخص کے گھر میں گئے بتایا گیا کہ ڈاکو پڑا ہے۔ پولیس وہاں پر موجود ہے اور اس شخص نے پولیس والوں سے کہا کہ ٹوی ٹاؤننگ باری، کو تو وہ لوگ کہتے ہیں ابھی ٹوی باری کو میں تو تمہارا ڈوٹو مارا جائے گا (اگر ہم ٹوی باری کیسٹا ڈھارے لے لے بل ہمارے جائیگا) تو اس طرح سے ٹوی پتے چلائی، ٹاؤننگ پتے کیا اور وہ ڈاکو سب دہشت گرد تھے۔ اس طرح سے بارڈر فورس کے لوگ سڑاک زندگی گزار رہے ہیں۔ لوگوں نے بتلایا کہ غیر محفوظ ملک میں رہنا آفتوں کے پورے ہے۔ وہ اپنی کارڈ اور بیٹروں کو چند مکان میں رکھتے ہیں اور خود میدان میں مصیبت جھیلنے ہیں۔

اسی طرح لوگوں کو پاسپورٹ حاصل کرنا کھڑے سطح میں بہت پریشانی کہنا سنا کرنا پڑتا ہے۔ بعض دفعہ تریوٹو جرنل رپورٹوں کے وجہ سے ہزاروں روپیہ خرچ کرنا پڑتا ہے ہر سال ۵۰ سال تک چارٹر بیٹے پڑتے ہیں اور پریشانی ہے اسے پاسپورٹ سٹامپ چارج وہ انٹرنیشنل ہاکیس طرح پاسپورٹ ہے۔ اس طریقے سے تمام معاملات میں بہت مشکل ہے۔ اگر وہ ہاتھ نہ دے۔ وہ ہر قسم کے نوٹوں کے لیے۔ یہ کہیں انقلاب آسکتی ہیں۔ (انٹرنیشنل)۔۔۔۔۔

میں تعلق میں نہیں جاؤں گا صرف عنوان کے طور پر کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔۔۔۔۔ (انٹرنیشنل)۔۔۔۔۔ میں واقعات بیان نہیں کر رہا ہوں صرف شہادتیں کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔۔۔۔۔ (انٹرنیشنل)۔۔۔۔۔ مرا خیال ہے کہ ہم سفیری کو ملازمت کے سطح میں اس بات کا خیال رکھنا چاہئے گا جس سے اقلیتوں کو کھڑا ہوا نہ کیا جائے اور ان کے تعداد بڑھائی جائے۔ اس طرح سے ہم سفیری کو تمام شعبوں میں اقلیتوں کو خاص طور پر برصغیروں کو ہر شعبہ میں ترقی دینی چاہئے۔۔۔۔۔ (انٹرنیشنل)۔۔۔۔۔ میں یہ کہہ رہا ہوں۔ مرا کہنا یہ ہے کہ اگر وہ سفیری سیکشن آفیسر اور دوسری پرسنوں میں ملازمت کو سیکھ رہے ہیں۔ (انٹرنیشنل) میں چاہتا ہوں

کہ عوام میں میری بات کو ایسی طرح سے سن لے - ساری
 کورٹوں میں مسلمان جموں کو لیا جائے -
 حمار و ملک میں جہاں مسلمانوں کو ہوتے ہیں -
 بیٹے اور بڑوں کے زمانے میں سمیٹنے والا ہوتا تھا کہ دونوں
 کھوٹے کی ٹوٹی سے ایک ایک اور دو دو لاکھ کا چمکا
 اور صباغت سے ہی جاتی تھی تو اس طرح آج
 حالت آج کی کیوں نہیں کی جاتی ہے ! آپ
 کو یہ حالت آجکل بھی کرنی چاہئے کیونکہ
 یہ ایک کام یا سبب تجربہ ہے - اگر دو بیٹوں لاکھ
 کا چمکا لے لیا جائے تو کئی مسلمان نہیں ہوئے۔
 اگر کسی طرح سے خود بخود مسلمان ہو جاتے ہیں
 تو یہ بیٹوں کیسی مٹایا جانا چاہئے جو دیگر بیٹے
 اور جہاں بھی جو اس طرح سے بیٹے ضلع آئیں
 تو معطل کیا جانا چاہئے اور پھر دیکھا جانا چاہئے
 اور اگر قصور وار نہیں ہے تو اس کو چھوڑ دینا
 چاہئے - تباہ شدہ جو ملک میں ان کو نقصان
 کا معاوضہ دیا جائے - توگوں کو تباہ ہونے دیا
 جائے اور کچھ نہ کیا جائے تو اس سے کام
 نہیں چلے گا - اس طرح سے جو ملک میں وقفہ
 پرست پارٹیاں ہیں جو ملک میں تشدد
 پھیلاتی ہیں جیسے آر۔ ایس کی پارٹی سے
 ابھی میں نے ریل میں دیکھا تھا جب میں
 سریرے گذر رہا تھا کہ آر۔ ایس۔ ایس کے
 رضا کار لوگوں کو چاقو مارنے کی مشق دے
 جا رہے تھے - اس واقعہ کو دیکھ کر قریب 10 یا
 12 دن ہوئے ہیں - (اسٹیشن) -
 اس طرح کی دنیا میں کوئی بھی پارٹی تشدد
 کی تعلیم دیتی ہے تو اس طرح سے اگر ان پیروں کی
 کھلی جھوٹ دے دی گئی تو ملک کا حقہ خراب ہوگا
 اور اس سے کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوگا -
 بہر حال میں عرض کر دوں گا کہ قوم منبری کی
 حورائیت کے ساتھ پورے ملک کی سمجھت ان کے حلقہ
 میں ہے - اس لئے ملک کو بچانے کے لئے انہیں
 پوری کوشش کرنی چاہئے اور نہ ملک ختم ہو جائے
 گا -

†[श्री एम० असजद मदनी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
 गोअज्जिज सदर साहब और एवान के मोहतरम

और मोअज्जिज मेम्बरान, वजारत दाखला
 की कारकदर्गी का जायजा आज के एवान में
 जर बहस है ।

समाज को पाकीजा बनाना और उसे हर
 किस्म की बेउनवानियों और करणन से महफूज
 रखते हुए मुल्क के तमाम शहरियों में सलामती
 व तहफुज का एकासां यकीन व एतमाद कायम
 करना वजारत दाखला की जिम्मेदारी है ।
 लेकिन मुझे यह कहने में कोई तरतुद नहीं कि
 मुल्क के आम शहरियों खसूसन मुल्क की अक्लि-
 यतों का यह एतमाद व यकीन पैहम मजरूह
 हो रहा है ।

एक सेकुलर और जम्हूरी मुल्क में तमाम
 अक्लियतों को, बिला लिहाज मजहब व जात,
 जान व माल और इज्जत व आबरू और उनके
 जायज मफादात की गारंटी दी गई है और इस
 गारंटी की मुहाफिज मशीनरी यह होम मिनिस्ट्री
 है ।...

SHRI GANESHI LAL CHAUDHARY:
 Sir, he is reading his speech.

†[श्री एम० असजद मदनी : ... मैं मुल्क
 के हर जिम्मेदार शहरी को गवाह बना कर
 कहता हूँ कि इस मुहाफिज मिनिस्ट्री ने अपनी
 जिम्मेदारियों को पूरा नहीं किया है बल्कि
 बार बार अपने फरायज में बेरहमाना गफलत
 बरती है । चुनावों आज मुल्क का पूरा समाजी
 ढांचा विगड़ चुका है और करणन और बेउन-
 वानियों के साथ साथ तसहूद और बरवरियत
 और फासिज्म के एदोदुशुमार में इजाफा हुआ
 है ।

जुल्म और फसाद और कल्ल व गारतगरी
 करने वाले अगर मुतमईन हों कि अंजामकार
 व गिरफ्त से बचे रहेंगे, इसी तरह इशतआल
 फैलाने वाले और फसाद की मंजूबाबन्दी करने
 वालों को अगर यह इत्मीनान हो कि उनकी

[श्री एम० असजद मदनी]

ताकत का दबाव उनके लिये हिंसा है तो यकीनी तौर पर मुल्क के किसी शहरी के बुनियादी हकूक जान व माल और इज्जत व आबरू की हिफाजत का इमकान खत्म हो जाता है।

ला एंड आर्डर की तरफ से पुलिस और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की गफलत और बसाओकात उसकी पामाली में खुद पुलिस और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की शिरकत ने पूरे मुल्क में यह सुरतेहालात पैदा कर रखी है कि किसी मामूली सी आदी और इनफरादी वाक्य को तो छोड़िये महज अफवाह पर मुल्क के मुखलिफ हिस्सों में बड़े बड़े फसादात हो गये हैं। सन् 1967 ई० में महाराष्ट्र में कई फसादात महज इस अफवाह के नतीजे में फूट पड़े थे कि किसी मन्दिर से मूर्तियां चुरा ली गईं। फसादात के बहुत बाद पुलिस तहकीकात से यह बात साबित कर सकी कि मूर्तियां चुराने वाले का ताल्लुक अक्सरियती फिरके से था। इसी तरह नागपुर में एक दुकानदार से कुछ पैसों के लिये तकरार पर एक जबरदस्त फसाद फूट उड़ा। इसी तरह औरंगाबाद में महज इस अफवाह पर कि एक गाय को किसी ने मार डाला पूरे शहर को फसाद की आग में झोंकने का हीला बन गया। जबलपुर में मुसलमानों का कत्लेआम ज्यादा से ज्यादा एक गुंडे की मक्बना बदइखलाकी का हादसा था। इंदौर में महज इस अफवाह पर कि मास्टर चन्दगी राम पर किसी ने तेजाब फेंक दिया है मुसलमानों की बस्तियां की बस्तियां जला दी गईं। इस अफवाह पर कि एक पागल शख्स ने मन्दिर के पास किसी हिन्दू औग्त का हाथ पकड़ लिया है विदिसा के मुस्लिम मूहल्लों में आग लगा दी गई। महू छावनी में जुआरियों और गुंडों की दो टोलियों की वाहमी तसादम ने फिरकादाराना फसाद के लिये बहाना तलाश कर लिया। भिलाई में गाय का गोश्त भेजने के अफवाह पर मुस्लिम मजदूरों की आवादियां ताराज कर दी गईं।

मिस्टर मधुकर राव चौधरी, एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर महाराष्ट्र, पूना के इस वाक्या की रवायत

के जिम्मेदार हैं कि 40-50 नौजवान साइकिल पर सवार हो कर पूना की सड़कों में और गलियों में "पाकिस्तान जिन्दावाद" के नारे लगाते हुए गुजरे, चुनांचे शहर में कशीदगी की फिजा पैदा हो गई और यह वावर कर लिया गया कि पाकिस्तान के नारे लगाने वाले मुसलमान हैं मगर बाद में जब वाक्ये की तहकीकात हो सकी तो पता चला कि पाकिस्तान जिन्दावाद का नारा लगा कर शहर की फिजा को खराब करने वाले अक्सरियती फिरके से ताल्लुक रखते थे।

मैं इस हाउस के सामने कल्याण का एक दूसरा वाक्या पेश करूंगा कि एक केला बेचने वाला जो कि ठेले पर केला फरोख्त कर रहा था एक बैल आ कर उसका केला खा गया उसके हाथ में फल काटने वाला चाकू था, उसने उस चाकू से बैल को मार दिया, बैल के जब खून बहने लगा तो उसने जखम पर पानी डाला जिससे सुर्ख रंग का खून मज्जीद फैल गया। इस वाक्ये से पूरे शहर में हैजान् पैदा हो गया और मुसलमानों के सिर इस जुर्म का इंतसाब किया जाने लगा। केले वाला भाग चुका था। जब पुलिस ने ठेले से केले वाले के लाइसेंस को देखा तो पता चला कि केले वाला एक गैर-मुस्लिम था वह अक्सरियती फिरके से ताल्लुक रखता था।

गर्ज यह है कि इस तरह गुजिश्ता महीने में होली के करीब जलगांव से मेरे पास एक दर्दनाक खत आया जिसमें लूटमार की दूसरी तफसीलात के साथ ही यह भी तहरीर था कि चन्द माह के कब्ज जलगांव में एक गाय को जखमी कर के उसके थन काट डाले गये। इससे शहर में कशीदगी की पूरी फिजा और फिरकापरस्त अनासिर की हंगामाराई फैल गई। लेकिन खैरियत यह रही कि एक शरीफ हिन्दू ने, गैर-मुस्लिम ने गाय को जखमी करने वाले और उसका थन काटने वाले शरपसन्द की हरकत देख ली थी और उसने जुअंत कर के यह बतला दिया कि यह हरकत फलान् शख्स की है जो अक्सरियती

फिरफ्रे से ताल्लुक रखता है। इस तरह वक्ती तौर पर फिसाद तो जरूर रुक गया मगर फिजा की कशीदगी बराबर बाक़ी रही और थोड़े दिनों के बाद एक मुसलमान टांगा वाले पर किसी गैर-मुस्लिम औरत से ताल्लुक का इलजाम कायम करके फिसाद बर्पा करने की कोशिश की गई। लेकिन फिर कुछ शरीफ हिन्दुओं ने दमियान में पड़ कर इस साजिश को बेनकाब कर दिया लेकिन फिर भी फिरकापरस्त अनासिर के हासले बलम नहीं हुए और शहर में अहम मुकामात पर बड़े बड़े बोर्डों पर मुसलमानों के खिलाफ इश्तियालअंगेज मजामीन लिख कर लगाये जाने लगे।

गुजिश्ता दिनों के मगरवी बंगाल के मुशिदा-बाद के फिसाद की खबर को इश्तियालअंगेज तरीके पर लिख कर बोर्डों पर आवेज़ा किया गया। इश्तियालअंगेज तकरीरों की गई। इस सुरते हालात ने मोतहिद वार लूट मार के हादसात भी हुये जिसकी इत्तिला रियासती होम मिनिस्टर और जिला कलेक्टर को दी गई मगर उस पर कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया गया। पुलिस में अगर रिपोर्टें दर्ज कराई गईं तो रिपोर्ट देने वाले के खिलाफ उसी बोर्ड पर दूसरे रोज इश्तियालअंगेजी की गई और धमकियां दी गईं। तो इसी तरीके से तमाम यह हो रहा है।

मैं यहां पर चैम्बर आफ कामर्स के सदर मिस्टर जे० एच० डोसी के उस बयान का हवाला देना मुनासिब समझता हूं जो उन्होंने शुरू मार्च सन् 1969 में हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स मोजरिख्खा 10 मार्च की रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक चैम्बर आफ कामर्स की इस मीटिंग में दिया था जिसमें वजीर आला महाराष्ट्र मिस्टर नायक मौजूद थे - मिस्टर डोसी ने कहा था कि बहुत से लोगों का यह तबील तजुर्बा है कि हंगामा के वक्त पुलिस खामोश तमाग़ाई की हैसियत से खड़ी रहती है और उससे लोग यह असर लेते हैं कि पुलिस ला एंड आर्डर के कयाम और बहाली को अपना फर्ज नहीं समझती। इसका इलाज यह है कि हंगामों पर क़ाबू पाने के लिये पुलिस में हर जवान वाले ग्रुप को मुतवाजन बुनियादों पर

भर्ती किया जाय। इस तरीके से हंगामों पर क़ाबू पाने में काफी मदद मिल सकती है।

इस मिसाल से दूसरे मुकामात में भी मदद ली जा सकेगी क्योंकि ला एंड आर्डर का मसला तकरीबन हर जगह मौजूद है। इसी तरीके से पुलिस के अलावा और दूसरे डिपार्टमेंटों में दूसरे दूसरे तबके के लोगों को, खास तौर पर माइनारिटीज को काफी मिक्कदार में भर्ती करना चाहिये ताकि इस तरह की जो शिकायतें हैं वह कुछ कम हों।

मुल्क के अक्सर व बेशतर फसादात-ख्वाह वह बलरामपुर, गोंडा, मऊनाथ भंजन, कटक, कन्दर-पाड़ा हो या विदिसा, टीटागढ़ हो, या तेली पाड़ा हो, भिलसा हो, हैदराबाद हो या नवाद हो या अहमदाबाद, बड़ोदा और भिलाई हो जहां कहीं फिरकापरस्ती और फासिज्म ने अपने पैर फैलाये हैं, वहां वाक़यात की तफसील यही बतलाती है कि या तो महज वेबुनियाद अफा-वाह थी जिसको बहाना बना कर फसाद बर्पा किया गया या बहुत मामूली सा समाज का आदी वाक़या था जिसे किसी तबके का इज्तमाई जुर्म बना कर पुलिस और मुकामी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की साजिश से पूरी कम्युनिटी की कल्ल व शारतगरी की गई और पुलिस खड़ी तमाशा देखती रही।

ज्यादा दिनों की बात नहीं। इसी होली के मौके पर कटरा बाजार, जिला गोंडा में होली के जलूस ने मुकर्रर रास्ते को छोड़ कर दूसरा रास्ता अख्तियार किया और जलूस की रहनु-माई कटरा बाजार ब्लाक के बी० डी० ओ० कर रहे थे। यह बी० डी० ओ० अपनी ड्यूटी के वक्त कर रहा था और तकलीफदेह बात यह है कि बी० डी० ओ० ने खुद मस्जिदों की बेह-रमती की और फिरकापरस्तों के साथ इश्ते-आलअंगेजी में पेश-पेश रहा।

अभी ताजा वाक़या चाइबासा का है जहां फिरकापरस्तों और पुलिस की साजिश अगर न होती तो न तो अक्लियत तबके के पच्चीस अफराद जान से जाते और न दोनों फिरकों के

[श्री एम० असअद मदनी]

4 P.M. लाखों रुपये के अमलात जलाये और तोड़े और लूटे जा सकते हैं। मैं खुद चायवासा गया हूँ और मैंने उन चीजों का खुद जायजा लिया है। 12 अप्रैल को हुकूमत बिहार के नाम गजटेट मुलाजमीन का एक इस्तहानी परचा और उसमें सवाल नम्बर 4 के जरिये चीफ सेक्रेटरी हुकूमत ए बिहार की तरफ से एक सर्कुलर लिखने की हिदायत की गई थी कि अगर रामनवमी के मौके पर फसाद हो जायें, जैसा कि बाज पार्टीयों, फलां मफाद के अंदर पेशेनजर कर रही हैं और उस समय हमें यह इत्तिला है कि उस सुरत में हमको क्या तदाबीरें अखिनयार करनी चाहियें, तो गोया उसमें पहले से पूरी गवर्मेन्ट, बिहार की, रामनवमी के मौके पर फसाद की कोशिश कर रही है, उसके इल्म में था और उस परचे की असल हमारे पास मौजूद है जिसमें यह कहा गया है...

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : पुराने अनुभव पर, तजुर्वे पर, सर्कुलर था।

श्री एम० असअद मदनी : खैर, बहरहाल, उसमें यह मौजूद है। इसी तरीके से रामनवमी 13 अप्रैल को चायवासा के एस० डी० ओ० और एस० पी० पीस कमेटी की मीटिंग बुलाकर राम प्रकाश इंटांबाले पर चायवासा के फसाद की जिम्मेदारी डालते हैं और रामनवमी के जलूस को मुकर्ररा रास्ते से जाने की याददिहानी कराते हैं। मगर बावजूद इसके कि हालिया होली के वक्त से फिजां में कशीदगी थी और फिरका-परस्तों की सरगमियां जारी थीं और मखसूस क्रिस्म के इंडे तकसीम किये गये थे और पहली मिसालों के बरखिलाफ जीप से ऐलान किया गया सब लोग अपनी दुकानें बंद रखें और राम-नवमी में शरीक हों, रामनवमी के जलूस के लिये जो साबका रवायत के बरखिलाफ क्रैकसं और पटाखों का मुजाहरा भी किया गया और मुकामी जनसंघ के सेक्रेटरी रामघन कटियाला रामनवमी के जलूस की रहनुमाई कर रहे थे

और पुलिस का कोई माकल इंतजाम पूरे तौर पर जैसा पहले होता था वैसा नहीं था बल्कि उससे कम था और हजारों आदमियों के जलूस को कन्ट्रोल करने के लिये महज 6 पुलिस मैन जलूस के साथ लगे हुए थे और जब बरकंदाज गली जो मुसलिम इलाक़ा है जलूस के पिछले हिस्से से घुसने की कोशिश की और उस पर फसाद हुआ और उसके पहले दूसरी गली में घुसने की भी कोशिश की, तो उसके बाद मुसलमानों के बम फेंकने और एक कांस्टेबल को मार डालने का शोर मचाया गया और फिरकापरस्तों ने जो कुछ किया वह किया लेकिन पुलिस के मुसल्लह जवानों ने बरकंदाज गली के तमाम रास्तों को घेर लिया, करफ्यू का ऐलान कर दिया गया, और दुकानों को जलाया, न सिर्फ कि यह फिरकापरस्तों की मदद की बल्कि उन तमाम कारंवाइयों के पेशपेश रही और मकानों के बंद दरवाजों से निकाल निकाल कर मुसलमानों को गोलियों का निशाना बनाया गया, उन्हें इतिहाई बरबरियत से आग में डाल दिया गया, बंद मकानों के अंदर जहां औरतें और बच्चे खौफ से लरख रहे थे, दरंदगी से पुलिस ने गोलियां चलाई जिससे मकान के अंदर की बाज औरतें तक गोली से ज़हमी हुई और यह तहमल मुबहा को 5 बज तक होता रहा। फसादात की मंसू-बाबंदी पुलिस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की मुजरिमानां शफलत का नतीजा थी। इससे अंदाजा किया जा सकता है कि ठीक जिस वक्त चायवासा में क़त्ल व शारतगरी का बाजार गर्म किया जाता है उसी वक्त शहर से 3 मील दूर आई० टी० आई० कालेज के एडिजनल सुपरिन्टेन्डेन्ट जे० रहमान को कालेज कैम्पस के क्वार्टर में प्रिन्सिपल की तरफ से तहफफुज की यकीन दिहानी के बावजूद क़त्ल कर दिया जाता है और अब रहमान साहब के क़त्ल और उसके बाद अपनी बरबरियत और बुरे कारनामों पर पर्दा डालने के लिये यह खबर फैलायी जा रही है कि रहमान साहब का ताल्लुक पाकिस्तान से है हालांकि वह बांकुड़ा के रहने वाले थे और उनके बारे में यह चलाया कि वह बम बनाया करते थे, वगैरह, वगैरह। तो इस तरीके से यह और भी

कहा जाता है कि साहब, कोई खत आया था और उसकी बुनियाद पर यह साबित करने की कोशिश की जाती है कि इस फसाद का ताल्लुक पाकिस्तान से है। यह यकीनन कोई भी फसाद हो, फसाद अगर हिन्दोस्तान में होता है तो हिन्दोस्तान के जो दुश्मन मुल्क हैं उनको फ़िरती तौर पर उससे खुशी होनी ही चाहिये और फसाद की हर तहरीक देने वाला, उसको बढ़ावा देने वाला, उसके लिये फिजा तयार करने वाला, इसमें कोई शुबह्ना नहीं है कि वह गैर मुल्की एजेंट हैं जो दूसरे मुल्कों के मतलब को पूरा कर रहे हैं और जो इस तरह की फिजा बनाते हैं उनको हिन्दुस्तान का वफादार बताना यह हिन्दोस्तान के जिम्मेदारों की बहुत बड़ी गलती है और वह हिन्दोस्तान से, मैं समझता हूँ, हिन्दुस्तान के वफाद से गहरी है। इसमें कोई शुबह्ना नहीं। लेकिन इस तरह के खत से मतलब साबित करना यह नहीं हो सकता, इसलिये कि हम इस तरह के तमाशे रोज़ देखते हैं। किसी के नाम किसी भी मुल्क से, कोई भी मँटीरियल लिख कर खत लिखा जा सकता है और अगर कोई ऐसा खत आया होता तो पुलिस की जिम्मेदारी थी कि फसाद से पहले उन तमाम मुताल्लका लोगों को पकड़ कर जेल में डाल देती ताकि किसी मुल्क की जो हिन्दुस्तान का दुश्मन है अपने मन्सूबे को पूरा करने का मौक़ा न मिलता। यह आफिसरान, ज़िले के आफिसरान, ने यह काम नहीं किया। तो यह साज़िश है और इस तरह से मुसलमानों को बदनाम करने की कोशिश की जा रही है।

मुझे कुछ दिन पहले गुजरात के सरहद्दी इलाके में जाने का मौक़ा मिला था। वहाँ पर भी इसी तरह का दो मुसलमानों की पार्टियों में झगड़ा था, एक वह लोग थे जो गांवों में रहते थे और गाँव बँल वगैरह पालते हैं, सीधे सादे गाँव के लोग, अच्छा कारोबार करते हैं वहाँ, और कुछ लोग शहर में थे जिनसे उनका अक्कीदे का झगड़ा था। उस शख्स ने जो शहर में रहता था और उससे आपस में इख्तिलाफ था, उसने पाकिस्तान जाकर एक खत, साज़िश

क्रिस्म का, डाला उन लोगों के नाम, तारीखे मुताईयन पर जिस दिन वह खत आने वाला था और सी० आई० डी० को अपने साथ ले गया और वह बेचारा जिसके नाम खत आया उसे पता नहीं क्या ला रहा है डाकिया और सी० आई० डी० ने आकर उस खत पर क़ब्ज़ा कर लिया और उनके खिलाफ साज़िश की मिसिल बनाई गई पाकिस्तानी एजेंट के नाम पर ; उन को पकड़ कर जेल में डाल दिया गया, इससे पहले कि हुकूमत से कुछ कहे कि जाकर के तहकीकात करे कि भाई यह कैसे लोग हैं, उनका करैक्टर कैसा है, क्या मामला है। मैंने जब देखा तो सब कुछ देखने के बाद यह महसूस किया कि यह बिलकुल फ़ाड है और उनको फंसाने के लिये सब कुछ किया गया है। तो फिर मैं खुद हितेन्द्र देसाई के पास उस वक्त गया और मुझे इस बात का आज भी इक़रार करने में कोई वह नहीं कि उन्होंने उस मामले में दिलचस्पी ली। मैंने उनसे सिर्फ यही कहा आप इस मामले में दिलचस्पी लें, अगर आप मुतमईन हों कि वह बेकसूर है, मुजरिम नहीं, उनको साज़िश में मुव्तिला किया गया है, तो उनको छोड़ दें और अगर वह मुजरिम हैं तो उनको सज़ा दें। मुझे खुशी है कि उन्होंने उन सबको रिहा कर दिया, तहकीकात के बाद। तो इस तरह के वाक्ये हम रात दिन भुगतते हैं ; हम जानते हैं कि इस तरह की मिसिलें बनायी जाती हैं, रिशवतें खाने के लिये, पैसा ऐँठने के लिये, किसी की हैसियत खराब करने के लिये या और किसी मक़सद से। तो इन चीज़ों में कोई सदाकत हो। मैं यह नहीं कह सकता, यह हुकूमत का काम है कि वह फैसला करे कि क्या है लेकिन इतनी बड़ी दरिदगी को इस नाम से टाला नहीं जा सकता उसको देखना चाहिये कि कोई अगर मुजरिम है तो सज़ा पाए, लेकिन जिन्होंने गोलियाँ मारी हैं घरों से निकाल निकाल कर, जो पुलिस सब स्टेशन है वहाँ का उसके बराबर में वहाँ एक उर्दू लाइब्रेरी थी और कम से कम लाख रुपये की मालियत की पूरी इमारत थी जो लूटी गई और जलाई गई और उसके टुकड़े टुकड़े हो गये, चटाख चटाख हो गये, पुलिस की तरफ

[श्री एम० असद मदनी]

से उसके दरवाजे तोड़ कर। मुझे यकीन है कि पुलिस उस लूट में शरीक रही और उसको तबाह किया। उसी स्टेशन के सामने वह कार चंपुआ से आ रही थी, एक साहब और उनका लड़का था, एक दो आदमी यहाँ आए, उस पूरी कार को उसके मालिक को, उसके लड़के को पेट्रोल छिड़ककर जला दिया गया और पुलिस सब स्टेशन के बिल्कुल सामने, 3 फुट का भी फासला नहीं है, पुलिस इस स्टेशन की एरिया में थी, उस कार के अंदर खुले बंदों सड़क पर इस तरह से आदमियों को जलाया गया है कार के साथ। यह तमाम पुलिस कैसे बरी हो सकती है। उसने यह सब होने दिया। जगह जगह पर लोग जलाये गये कारों के अंदर और चलते फिरते, बगैरह बगैरह। तो ये तमाम चीज़ें ऐसी हैं जिनसे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को बरी नहीं करना चाहिये।

(Time bell rings)

मैं चंद्र मिनट और चाहता हूँ इसलिये कि मैंने इस पर शार्ट ड्यूरेशन नोटिस दिया था लेकिन वह एडमिट नहीं हुआ। मैं मुश्किल कर रहा हूँ। अगर इस वक्त भी कहने का मौका नहीं दिया जायेगा तो फिर क्या सूरत होगी। इस मामले में प्रेस में भी काफी चीज़ें आ चुके हैं।

मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि इस तरीके से वहाँ सुबह 9 बजे तक जगह जगह कत्ल, कत्ल, शारत और गरी की पुलिस ने। वहाँ के गैर मुसलमानों से मुसलमानों को बहुत थोड़ी शिकायत है, थोड़ा सा मामला हुआ, मुमकिन है किसी की तरफ से ज्यादाती हो, किसी की तरफ से कम हो। जैसे बमबाजी का मामला है, बम फेंकने का मामला है। बहरहाल, अब बंगाल और बिहार का बार्डर ऐसी जगह नहीं है जहाँ पर बम बनाना, रखना या बम फेंकना कोई बहुत बड़ा वाक्या हो रात दिन यह होते रहते हैं। बदकिस्मती है मुल्क की कि तशद्द की फिजा पँदा हो रही है। लेकिन यह बम किसने फेंका। ऐसी भीड़ में जब हज़ारों का मजमा इस तरीके से टकरा जाये और इस तरह से, नाजायज तरह से, घुसने की कोशिश हो

और आपस में टकराव हो जाय, यह कहना कि फलाने फिरके ने बम फेंका, यह कहना बहुत बड़ा जुर्म है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि कोई मुसलिम नहीं फेंक सकता, बेशक कोई मुसलिम भी फेंक सकता है; कोई मुसलिम किसी फिरकापरस्त गैर-मुसलिम के इशारे पर भी कुछ साजिश से फेंक सकता है, इसी तरह से गैर-मुसलिम भी फेंक सकता है। यह काम अदालत का है कि वह किसी को साबित करके पकड़े। इसका सवाल नहीं है। लेकिन उन चीज़ों की आड़ लेकर नहीं होना चाहिये। इसी तरीके से एक कांस्टेबल के जखमी होने की बात है जिसके मुताल्लिक और दूसरे लोग कहते हैं वह कांस्टेबल उस जलूस को रोक रहा था कि इस गली में मत आओ, उस हालत में वह जखमी हुआ। अगर वह जलूस को जो गैर कानूनी तौर पर घुसना चाहता था, रोक रहा था, तो मुसलिम ने क्यों मारा, कोई वजह समझ में नहीं आती। लेकिन, बहरहाल, किसी ने भी मारा हो, जो मुजरिम हो उसको सजा होनी चाहिये। मगर इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि पुलिस इल्जाम से बच जायेगी। तो सब स्टेशन के सामने, यह जो मैंने अर्ज किया, सैकड़ों दुकानें, मकानात, जलाये और लूट गये हैं। इसी तरह से सदर थाने के सामने मसजिद और चार दुकानें जलाई गईं, बिलकुल रोड के इस पार उस पार और इसी तरीके से 44 दुकानें सदर बाज़ार में थीं मसलमानों की, 36 दुकानें लूट कर खत्म कर दी गईं जिनमें 4 जला भी दी गईं और बाकी लूट ली गईं। अब वहाँ पर चार पांच दुकानें ही बाकी रह गई हैं। इस तरीके से वहाँ पर तमाम हंगामा हुआ। फिर उनका प्लान था कि जो कुछ करना है कर लेंगे। अब वहाँ पर सैकड़ों लोगों को मखतलिफ इल्जाम में जेल में भर दिया है और इस तरह से वहाँ के आफिसरान अपनी सफाई में लग गये हैं। इस तरह की बात हर फसाद में होती है कि लोगों को पकड़ कर भर दिया जाता है और मखतलिफ मुल्जिम एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में शरीक रहते हैं और उनकी नजरों से बचते रहते हैं। इस तरह से वहाँ पर

अपने आप को सफाई से बचाने के लिए मुजरिम को मुजरिम बना देते हैं और मुजरिम बचाय अपनी दाखवाही के इस मुसीबत में मुन्तला हो जाय कि खुदा के लिए हमारी गर्दन बचाओ, हथ निकले जेल से, मुसीबत से छूटें और सारे घर वाले मुसीबत से छूटे यह हाल है और हमारी होम मिनिस्ट्री को इसकी तरफ तलज्जो देना चाहिये। अगर यह सूरते हाल नहीं बदलेगी तो यह मुल्क कहाँ जायेगा और उसका क्या हथ्र होगा।

तो ये सब बातें होने के बाद जो इस तरीके से कल्लो गारतगरी होती रहती है और इस तरह से इल्जाम लगाना यह बहुत ही बदकिस्मती की बात है। इस तरह से मेरे इल्म में अभी तक यह नहीं आया है कि जितनी भी फसादात मुल्क में हुए है कहीं भी जिले के आफिसरान को इन फसादात का असली जिम्मेदार करार दिया गया है कोई भी सजा उन्हें दी गई है, न उनको मुअत्तल किया गया है और न ही उनको इबरतनाक सजा दी गई है ताकि आयन्दा उनके कान खड़े हो जायें। इस के बरखिलाफ मेरे इल्म में यह बात आई है कि जिन आफिसरों ने फसादात में हिस्मत हफजाई की थी, जो उनमें शरीक रहे थे किसी न किसी हैसियत में, उन आफिसरों को तरक्की दे दी गई। इलाहाबाद के एस० पी० को डी० आइ० जी० बना दिया गया। इसी तरीके से और जगहों पर भी नीचे से लेकर बड़े आफिसरों को बड़ी बड़ी तरक्की दी जाती रही है। इस तरह की जो ये बातें हैं वे सिर्फ एक, दो, चार, छः मुकामात की नहीं हैं बल्कि जगह जगह मुल्क में फसादात होते चले आते हैं। तो बजारते दाखला के मातहत निजाम अमलन मुसलमानों के जुर्म और गुनाहों के बारे में सच्ची और झूठी बात तैयार करता है। मुल्क का इंटेलेजेन्स सर्विस मुसलमानों के खिलफ फैसेले मुहय्या करता है और मजलूम, लूटने वाले और बरबाद होने वालों को मुजरिम के खाने में खड़ा करता है और यह बात कहने में मैं कोई दर्द महसूस नहीं करता हूँ

कि माशरे किसी सिम से बेउनवानी नाइन्साफी को रवा रखेगी, तो यह उनवान खास सिम सिर्फ उस खास सिम तक महदूद नहीं रहता बल्कि रफता रफता पूरे समाज में मतादिर होता है और अनारकी इससे बढ़ती चली जाती है। तो इस तरह से जो यह खान बढ़ता चला जा रहा है उससे पूरे समाज को नुकसान होगा। इस समय मुल्क में डाके, चोरी आतकजनी और रिश्वत का बोलबाला है और इस तरह के जरायम रफता रफता बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं और कम नहीं हो रहे हैं। मुल्क में लोग यह महसूस करने लगे कि हम जब ट्रेन में चलते हैं, रास्ते में चलते हैं तो हम अपने को महफूज नहीं समझते हैं। अगर लोग अपने को सेपटी नहीं महसूस करेंगे तो खुदा जाने हमारे मुल्क का क्या हथ्र होगा।

इसी तरह से जो स्मगलर्स हैं, जो गुन्डे हैं बुरे इक्तदार रखने वाले हैं, उनका पुलिस से और आफिसरों से संबंध रहता है और वे लोग ऐश व आराम की जिन्दगी बसर कर रहे हैं। इसके मुकाबले में जो शरीफ लोग हैं वे अपने आपको गैर महफूज महसूस करते हैं। अगर आम मुल्क वालों का यह हाल है तो हमारे मुल्क का क्या हथ्र होगा।

[Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

मैं एक बात की ओर और तल्वज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो बार्डर एरियाज है वहां पर खास तौर लोगों को बहुत सी परेशानियत है क्योंकि वहां पर स्मगलर्स का घन्धा चल रहा है, गुन्डों की कार्यवाही है और इसके नतीजे में जो शरीफ लोग हैं वहां पर उन पर ज्यादा दबाव है और वे मुसीबत में हैं। यह आम हालत बार्डर की है। लेकिन खासतौर पर मैंने मगरबी दिनाजपुर का हाल देखा है कि वहां पर अजीब हाल है और वहां पर आम तौर पर लोग परेशान हैं। लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बदनसीबी यह है कि वहां पर लूटमार, डकैती आम तौर पर होती है। उन डाकुओं में पुलिस के लोग भी शामिल रहते हैं और मुकामी डाकुओं के साथ पाकिस्तान के डाकू भी शामिल

[श्री एम० असद मदानी]

होते हैं। अलल ऐलान लूट कर ले जाते हैं काशीवाणी जो ग्वालपोखर थाने में है मैं वहाँ गया था तो वहाँ के लोगों ने बतलाया कि फलां तारीख को पाकिस्तानी डाकुओं ने धमकी दी थी कि हम 40 बंदूक लेकर आयेंगे और पूरी काशीवाणी को लूटकर ले जायेंगे। अगर यह वाक्या सही है तो इस तरह से हमारे बांडर फोर्स के होते हुए, पुलिस के होते हुए उनके साथ इस तरह की बात होती है। एक शख्स के घर में मुझे बतलाया गया कि डाका पड़ा है। पुलिस वाले वहाँ पर मौजूद थे और उस शख्स ने पुलिस वालों से कहा कि गोलीबारी करो। तो वे लोग कहते हैं अभी गोलीबारी करवो तो तुम्हारे गोरू मारा जावे। अगर हम गोलीबारी करेंगे तो तुम्हारे गाय बैल मारे जायेंगे। तो इस तरह से गोली नहीं चलाई, फायर नहीं किया और वे डाकू सब लूटकर ले गये। इस तरह से बांडर एरिया के लोग खतरनाक जिन्दगी गुजार रहे हैं। लोगों ने बतलाया कि महफूज जगह में रहना उन्होंने छोड़ दिया है। वे अपने गाय और बैलों को सामने रखते हैं और खुद मैदान में मुसीबत झेलते हैं महज अपनी हिफाजत के लिए।

इसी तरह से लोगों को पासपोर्ट हासिल करने के सिलसिले में बहुत परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ता है। बाज बाज मर्तबा तो झूठी रपट की वजह से हजारों रुपया खर्च करना पड़ता है और साल दो साल तक पापड़ बेलने पड़ते हैं और फिर मुश्किल से उन्हें पासपोर्ट मिलता है चाहे वह इन्टर-नेशनल हो या किसी तरह का पासपोर्ट हो। इस तरीके से तमाम मामलात में यह सूरत चल रही है। अगर इस तरह रहा तो—

“न वे बदले, न हम बदले, न दिल की धारजू बदली, तो कैसे इन्क्लावे आसमा कर लूँ।

उपसभापति : अब आप खत्म करिये क्योंकि आपने 25 मिनट ले लिये है।

श्री एम० असद मदनी : मैं तफसील में नहीं जाऊंगा केवल उनवान के तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति : आपने 25 मिनट ले लिये और इस तरह से किसी को बोलने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा।

श्री एम० असद मदनी : मैं वाक्यात बयान नहीं कर रहा हूँ सिर्फ सिफारिश करना चाहता हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप एक मिनट के अन्दर खत्म कीजिये।

श्री एम० असद मदनी : मेरा ख्याल है कि होम मिनिस्ट्री को मुलाजिमत के सिलसिले में इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिये जिससे अक्लियतों को नज़रअन्दाज न किया जाये और उनकी तादाद बढ़ाई जाय। इस तरह से होम मिनिस्ट्री को तमाम सूबों में अक्लियतों को, खास तौर पर मुसलमानों को हर स्टेज में तरक्की देनी चाहिये।

श्री उपसभापति : आप केवल सिफारिश ही बतलायें।

श्री एम० असद मदनी : मैं वही कह रहा हूँ। मेरा कहना यह है कि अन्डर सेक्रेटरी, सेक्शन आफिसर और दूसरी पोस्टों में मुसलमानों को जगह दी जाय। (Interruptions) मैं चाहता हूँ कि हाउस मेरी बात को अच्छी तरह से सुन ले। हाई कोर्ट में मुसलमान जजों को लिया जाय।

हमारे मुल्क में जहाँ फसादात होते हैं पहले अंग्रेजों के जमाने में हमेशा ऐसा होता था हायर कम्युनिटी के लोगों से एक एक और दो दो लाख का मुचलका और जमानत ले ली जाती थी, तो इस तरह की बात आजकल क्यों नहीं की जाती है। आप को यह बात आजकल भी करनी चाहिये क्योंकि यह एक कामयाब

तंत्रुर्बा है। अगर दो तीन लाख का मुचलका ले लिया जायेगा तो कभी फसाद नहीं होंगे। अगर किसी तरह से खुदा न खवास्ता फसाद हो जाते हैं तो प्पूनिटिव टैक्स लगाया जाना चाहिये जो एग्नेर है और जहाँ भी जो हो। इस तरह से पहले जिला आफिसरों को मुज-तिल किया जाना चाहिये और फिर देखा जाना चाहिये कि कौन मुजरिम और अगर वह मुजरिम है तो उसको सजा दी जानी चाहिये और अगर नहीं है तो उसको छोड़ देना चाहिये। त्वाहशुदा जो लोग हैं उनको नुकसान का मुआवजा दिया जाये। लोगों को तबाह होने दिया जाये और कुछ न किया जाये तो इससे काम नहीं चलेगा।

इस तरह से जो मुल्क में फिरकापरस्त पार्टियां हैं जो मुल्क में नशद्द फैलाती हैं, जैसे आर० एस० एस० की पार्टी है—अभी मैंने रेल में देखा था जब मैं सबेरे गुजर रहा था कि आर० एस० एस० के लोगों को चाकू मारने की मशक थी जा रही थी। इस वाक्य को देखे करीब 10 या 12 दिन ही हुए।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप को तो चाकू नहीं मार रहे थे।

श्री एम० असजद मदनी : इस तरह की दुनिया में कोई भी पार्टी तशद्द की तालीम नहीं देती है। तो इस तरह से अगर इन चीजों की खुली छूट दे दी गई तो मुल्क का हश्य खराब होगा और इससे कोई फायदा नहीं होगा।

बहरहाल मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि होम मिनिस्ट्री की हिदायत के साथ पूरे मुल्क की किस्मत उनके हाथ में है। इसलिए मुल्क को बचाने के लिए उन्हें पूरी कोशिश करनी चाहिये वरना मुल्क खत्म हो जायेगा।]

SHRI M. FUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu)
: Mr. Deputy Chairman, nmy I begin by cor
rrotulating the House for getting this
opportunity to discuss the working of
important Ministries? I think this is the first
ime in the history of this House that th ;
opportunity has been

given. The Home Ministry is charged, primarily and principally, with the maintenance of law and order in India as a whole and naturally, the first reference made in the paragraphs of the report is to the frequency of communal riots in the a the climax having been reached in Ahmeda-b-<->d towards the end of last yeir. The remedy suggested is the education of the masses by the political parties to restore communal harmony. But what about the Government's duty of educating the misses in peace and communal harmony, in living together and working together for the good of the country? The record of the Education Ministry is not one to be proud of. In twenty years we nave reached a literacy attainment of about 30 per cent, while the other countries which started in the same backward conditions as ours, namely, the Latin American countries, have reached a percentage of 60, 80 -ind so 011. Adult education especially is needed if we are to make our masses educated and make them wi'lling to live a life of communal peace and hat-many. What is the All India Radio doing in order to educate the masses? It has got a splendid opportunity with its great mass medium, With its medium of communication, what is it doing in order to educate the masses towards communal peace and harmony ?

Another way of solving this problem of communal rids is by giving lull employment to the people. It is because the people the masses, the poor people, have not got full employment throughout the year that they indulge in these riotous escapades. The only employment that is given by these communal disturbances, is the employment that the goondas get. These riots offer a splendid opportunity for the goondas to make hay whi't the sun of disturbance is shining. It is only these goondas that get employment. But the common people do not get that full employment throughout the year which would have kept the employed and taken them ,ut of these riotous scenes. The police is the force that the Home Ministry has at its disposal for the maintenance of peace and harmony in the State. And the Home Ministry realises that one of its duties is to give assistance to the State Governments in the maintenance of a public order. It seems to be, according to the record of the Home Ministry in the past year, that it waits till the last moment till the situation develops out of hand, ti'l the situation develops out of control, order to give help. But according to

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy]

the Constitution ; the Union Government is charged with the duty of preventing public disturbance, of maintaining peace and order. So the moment the

State Governments feel it difficult to maintain law and order in the States, that should be the moment when the Government of India should intervene with its own security force. It should not wait till the last moment.

Is the number of police enough ? According to a Government Report, the whole police force consists of about 250 thousand personnel. Are 250,000 policemen enough to control and to maintain peace and order in a State which consists of about 550 million people? The number has at least to be doubled immediately, and unless we have a force of one million, we cannot be satisfied that we have a police force adequate enough, in numbers at least, whose primary and principal duty is the maintenance of peace and order.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated): That is why General Manekshah has been demanding that the Army should not be called so frequently, to aid the police.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : Mere numbers are not enough. We have not got specialised police that we require when the situation arises. Our police we have inherited from the British, a force which had to deal with a comparatively easy law and order situation. But now, on account of universal suffrage, on account of the rights and liberties which have been bestowed upon the people by our Constitution—freedom of association, freedom of meeting, etc.—the situation has become difficult, if not impossible, for the old police system to cope with. We want a specialised police force, a police trained in specialities. Other countries have specialised police. The USA, on account of the frequency of riots, have got a special riot police trained in the art of controlling riots, in the art of preventing riots. They have all kinds of equipment, all kinds of gadgets, all kinds of instruments in order to control these riots. It is not merely a lathi-charge that will solve the problem of riots. It is an art which has been developed in the management of crowds, in the peaceful management of crowds,—for instance shoving people into the side-streets and so on. This art of managing crowds must be taught to our police.

So, also, there must be a special railway police. I know that there is the Railway Protection Police. But it is charged only with the duty of protecting the property of the Railways. But what about the persons that travel in the trains? What about the trains that are in motion ? Most of these pilferings take place not when the trains are at the station or on the platform but when they are out in the station yard or in motion. In England, they have a special railway police charged with the duty of protecting not only the property of the railways, but also with the duty of patrolling every mile of the railway line day after day and night and of protecting the passengers. It is such a kind of railway police that we want. The State police is not able to help the railway police in the maintenance of peace and security on the railways. The State police has to deal with the trouble of riots, it is not able to maintain law and order in the streets of the cities. How can it be given the additional duty of protecting the railways and looking after the railwaymen also? The civil police is charged principally and mainly with the duty of maintaining law and order. The frequent resort to the Army is not a compliment to the police, it is not a compliment to the State Government, it is not a compliment to the Home Ministry. And the Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. Manekshah has protested against the frequent use of the Army for quelling and management of the riots. It breaks the morale of the Army if they are called upon day after day, week after week, month after month, to go and shoot at these riotous crowds. They are not meant for shooting civilian people, they are meant for shooting at the enemy. And it puts a great strain upon their loyalty upon the morale of the Army if we ask them frequently to go to the assistance of the police in the maintenance of law and order.

So, in addition to Industrial Security Force, there ought to be a special railway police and a special riot police, trained for these specialised kinds of disturbances.

Let me turn to the provision made for the training of the services. There is a new, rather revolutionary change made in regard to the probationers of the IAS and IPS. The final examination at the end of the probationary period used to be conducted by the Union Public Service Commission. But now a radical change has been made imposing the duty upon the Director of the National

Academy of Administration in respect of the IAS, and on the Director of the National Academy of Police at Mount Abu in respect of the IPS. I think that this is not an efficient way of conducting the final examination. The Director of the National Academy of Administration is directly concerned with the training of these probationers. They have frequent contact with them during the course of teaching, and to ask these officers to conduct the final examination is not fair either to the probationers or to the officers concerned. You must have an independent body like the U.P.S.C. to conduct this final examination as well as the preliminary examination.

Now I should like to deal with the question of continuing to treat these probationers as the old covenanted officers of the I.C.S. used to be treated. They are straight-way appointed as officers. During their probationary period they have all the rights and privileges of officers. They are not probationers; they have already started service. They are only under-going probationary training period. These probationers do not enter into any covenant with the Government as the old members of the I.C.S. Why should they be treated as full officers straightway just after passing the preliminary examination? They are probationers and they should be treated as such and service should start only from the time when they are allotted to this or that particular Central or State service.

(Time bell rings.)

There is another small matter with which I am personally concerned rather indirectly. About four or five years back an Advisory Committee was appointed to the National Academy of Administration in regard to the syllabuses and in regard to the courses of study, etc. and general hearing of the probationers. We worked for about two or three years. Then suddenly the Chairman, Prof. D. D. Karve, died, we ceased to get notices about these meetings. We were not at all told that the Committee was dissolved. We were not told that the work had finished, that it was only a temporary work. We just ceased to exist and we were not at all told about it. We were alive but we were turned unhonoured, unwept and unsung. At least we should have been extended the courtesy of being told that we were dead.

Finally, Sir, I would like to raise the question whether the Home Ministry should

still be charged with the duty of looking after the services. This system we inherited from the British. The Home Department was a very important Department probably, the most important Department. Even the Finance Department, was started only after the Mutiny, after the Queen's Proclamation. The Home Ministry being the oldest Department was charged with the duty of looking after services. But why should the Home Ministry still continue to look after the services? It has got more important duties. In England it is the Treasury which is charged with the duty of looking after the services. Here in India the Cabinet Secretariat which has very little work I to do, I think, might be given this duty. I think the Cabinet Secretary is the head of the Civil Services in India, and his Secretariat should be charged with the duty of looking after the services of the country. Let me once again thank those who were responsible for giving this opportunity to the House of discussing the work of important Ministries during the past year.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL

(West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will not inflict any speech. I will only ask the hon'ble the Home Minister to look at the horizon of West Bengal where several significant notes of inter, rogation are looming large in the horizon. For the limited space of time available for me, I will only take up three.

About the much-talked-of Naxalites, my good friend, Mr. Purakayastha, has already discussed this matter, and in dealing with this question may I put a straight question for this House to consider, as to why it is that during the President's Rule, the Naxalite movements are growing up by leaps and bounds? During the much-maligned United Front Government, there were two singular achievements, one, the prevention of any communal riot and, two, the United Front contained the Naxalite activities politically. There were no doubt drizzles here and there. But after the removal of the United Front Government, and after the advent of the President's Rule, there have been splashes and torrents of their activities. Why?

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, after the matter has been assessed and discussed through various ways here, an intriguing question appears as to why brilliant young-men, engineers and M. A. and Ph. D. degree holders are in this affair. My good

[Shri Sasankasekhar Sanyal]

friend from this side, Dr. Bhai Mahaviri was very much annoyed because Mr-Bh'ipesh Gupta eulogised some of them as brilliant men. They are brilliant men. The people who are at the helm of the Government now were fellow travellers of terrorists in the British days. They were held up for treason- They were brilliant men. They were considered to be unacceptable and undesirable. Even the Britishers admitted that they were brilliant men. So the question that is to be answered by the Home Department is why and how these people are being misguided and how it is that they are not being placed on the right track. Colossal unemployment is there. Has my friend, the hon'ble Home Minister, given employment to a single such brilliant unemployed graduate engineer in the State of West Bengal? The answer is in the negative. Has the hon'ble Home Minister considered the question of giving subsistence allowance to the unemployed people? The answer is in the negative.

Then, Sir, all this is the result of the frustration born out of the President's Rule. Whatever justification may be pleaded of the President's Rule, such a rule can never be popular. A popular Government is a popular Government, and the President's Rule is rule, it is not a government, not a popular government either.

Then you come to social and economic unrest in the villages. The Governor, a clay-footed person, has glibly spoken of getting measures for the *restoration of land* which was forcibly occupied by tenants. Who is he to judge whether it was illegally occupied by people or for* dl)! taken? It is a matter for the courts to decide. He is not a court. He is only an executive head and the relative of the President for "the lime being. We are dismayed and alarmed by the prospect and possibility of direct action being taken by the Government for unsettling the economic balance among the landless peasants who have already occupied their lands through the grace, through the good offices and through the democratic movement- of the United Front.

There is the question of police repression. But before I go on to that, I want to analyse the present position and performance of the Governor. The Governor began by boasting that he is a novice. He is a novice, and as a novice he is flirting with

everything and everybody. He has got advisers, half a dozen in number. Some of them are outmoded bureaucrats, and some of them have earned senility and they have now been brought back from senility. Each of these advisers advises himself. They do not even advise one another. The Governor keeps these advisers without taking their assistance. And the Governor has incidentally become a police chief. He goes to certain places where crimes have been committed and he forgets that he is not a functionary under the Criminal Procedure Code. He is the head of the state but his performances are debasing the dignity and sanctity of the position of a Governor. Crimes are going up. Why? I Because, ordinary people have lost confidence in President's rule. As we have known, a good Government is no substitute for a self-Government. So the people have been alarmed that their Government has not been trusted and a new Government* which ought to have been brought has been prevented and a bureaucracy has been set up which is never liked by the people- During the United Front regime the complaint was from some quarters that the police was not in the picture. And nowadays our complaint has been that the police is very much in the picture, that it is a police *raj*, not a welfare State. You get the Border Security Force. . . *(Time bell rings)* Sir, I am a coy old man of about seventy and I hope my modesty will not be outraged even by the interruptions from the Chair. So, now the complaint is that the police is here, there and everywhere. There is the Border Security Force, the Central Reserve Force, the ordinary police. It is like an army in occupation. And the police is making a hey day. My friends, Mr. Salil Ganguly, Mr. Monoranjan Roy, MPs, had been on a study tour of the State. The police are introducing false cases in league with the *Jolt-dum* and they have made the lives of the villagers miserable. Political workers have been prosecuted and arrested in April for a cultivation which was done in June and for a harvest which was done in December. Will things continue like this? Therefore, my submission to you and through you to the honourable Home Minister is that there should be a halt and there should be a retracing of the steps. It is a fraud on the Constitution and a fraud on the people to say that there is an Assembly in existence which can be revived. It can never be revived. No Ministry under the present state of things can come into office. At the same time President's

rule also cannot continue for a long time. Oppression is going on on all fronts. Whatever the differences among the constituents of the United Front, we are being draped together now and we are being gradually united. Therefore, I call upon the Home Minister to assess this position, to go on with courage, to go on with propriety, and see that the President's rule, an alien rule, an unwanted rule, is terminated and a popular Government brought into existence by a fair pall. After all, who are the masters? The people are the masters. Let the people come and have an opportunity to decide their own form of Government is possible. Thank you.

DR. DEBUBRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, thank you for offering us an opportunity to speak on the activities of the Home Ministry. It seems and perhaps it is clear to many of us that we are now passing through a very crucial period of Indian history. Now forces are emerging. But the identity of those forces is not yet fully disclosed and their nature not clearly realised. And I am not quite sure what shape those forces will take in course of time. The beginning of the turn of Indian history, I think, is the fourth general election after which we found that new experiments in democracy started in India. There is the SVD experiment on the one hand led by the rightist parties and on the other the United Front experimented by some left parties. And it seems to me that the Congress rule of two decades routed more expectations than what it could fulfil, released more democratic forces than what it could rightly shape and conduct as a guide. And this has created a new problem unwitnessed before. And it was also the beginning of the

process of defections, large-scale defections. New realignments of forces have been taking place since 1967 and it seems to me that in the last three years after the fourth general election a new pattern of Indian politics is taking shape. Broadly speaking, the shape is marked by a struggle between the new forces and the vested interests. And it seems to me that the new forces from right which have in many cases led the SVD experiment and the new forces from the left which have led the Kerala experiment, the Bihar experiment, of United Fronts, have both failed, and this has posed a new problem to the politics of India as a whole. I think unless we review the present pattern rather the whole gamut of problems against this back-

ground, we will be failing to go deep into the root of the political malaise of India. I think the problems that have been brought to the fore by what followed the fourth general election are, in the main, the following: firstly, the agrarian tension calling for urgent reforms; secondly, the planned economy for a steady growth with social justice and without disturbing the stability necessary for the growth of democracy; thirdly, the realignment—of course, the undeclared realignment—of political forces without encouraging defections. Although we are wrongly thinking that polarisation is taking place, I think, what we are witnessing is not a polarisation of political forces, but a mere crystallisation. And fourthly, some urgent necessity of reforming the administration, including the administration of justice. I would also say that a redefinition of Centre-State relations is also to be considered and considered in earnest. And finally, I think, the Indian democracy is facing a dilemma. It is a dilemma posed by the forces of right reaction, communalism, vested interests, on the one hand, and the forces of left subversion and adventurism, on the other.

Sir, now I would like to say something on each of these points. First, I would say something on the most important thing, the agrarian tension and reforms. Many of us have the good fortune of going through the report of the Study Group of the Home Ministry and those of us who have gone through the latest report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, have also known that the politically weakest points of India are those which are economically weak, namely, the tribal belts of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar border and Andhra border. And it has been admitted by the Government that unless these conditions are attended to and some urgent remedial measures are taken, perhaps the situation which is already explosive, may get out of hand. If the problem is really explosive, and I think it is, if the situation is explosive, because of the unbounded, limitless, exploitation of the poorest people, then, we should think of some urgent measures. Extraordinary problems demand extraordinary alertness and expeditious tackling of the problems.

Now it has been observed that in the name of land reforms some things that have been done are not quite in the interests of the peasantry. That is what I have found in Bengal. We are aware that because of the defective land law many

[Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya]

people have kept in their possession lands beyond the limit and that shows only the weakness of the laws, not only the legislative part of the law but the administrative part of the law also. That is how laws are administered by the judiciary. So this aspect of the problem should be urgently looked into and it must be seen with the poverty of the poorest section of the people adventurist politics swearing by the name of the people's interest is not allowed and encouraged. So the Government must do something very urgently. We have been told that the Caretaker Government in Bengal is very much alive to this problem. I do not know exactly how much alive they are to this problem because it has taken them some 2 months to settle down even to the preliminaries for administration and so one wonders when they will get to their job seriously and do what is needful. I think it must be borne in mind that some good things which have been achieved by the United Front Government in Bengal must be preserved. The UF Government have done many things wrong, unlawful and dangerous to the interests of the people but we should not be blind to the good things they have done and in the field of land reforms they have initiated some good steps though badly executed and badly directed, directed by partisan motivation and sectarian interest but those good features of the UF-initiated agrarian reforms should be preserved as far as that is possible.

About the administration, I would say that the administration of justice is not very encouraging as we have been witnessing in the last few years. Right from the Bihar Zamindari Act we have found that the judiciary is not much alive to the interest of the people, to the interest of the democracy. I admit that with many of us, the judiciary is a pillar of democracy and it should not be unjustifiably criticised but any criticism is not causing damage to the pillar of democracy but it might tone up its true character which is not being there because of the bad social philosophy and the outdated conservative social philosophy subscribed by many of the judges of the judiciary. I know that there is a Judge of the Calcutta High Court who did not sit on the Bench which examined the case of gherao simply because his motor was in a garage under gherao. That speaks very much of the

good sense of the judge but what happened to two of the Judges of the Supreme Court? We know, although technically they were entitled to sit on the Bench...

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : The Home Minister knows that the Attorney-General was...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. The Member's point of order is not for telling the Home Minister what he knows or what he does not know.

SHRI A. D. MANI : You know also. It is published in the press that as soon as the Bank Nationalisation case was taken up, the two Judges disclosed their interest...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I demanded that these facts should be made known to the Members of the Finance Consultative Committee. We were told on behalf of the Prime Minister by one of the little Ministers that such facts would not be given- I had tried to get this fact not only on the floor of the House but also in the Finance Consultative Committee and in the Committee of the Industrial Development. There also the facts have been denied. Mr. Mani may be enamoured of these Judges and may have used private channels of information but we have no such things open to us. Therefore, he is quite right in stating what he is saying...

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : May I intervene? I was not supposed to remark about it because nobody mentioned it but very recently the Chief Justice himself wrote to me pointing out certain facts about this matter. When this case came before them for hearing, the Judges who had some shares in the banks pointed out that they had some small shares and asked whether we had any objection. The Attorney-General, on behalf of the Government, said that he had no objection and the amount is so small, the total amount of shares at the then price was for about Rs. 2000..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is not the point. Now I find a strange way of Government's behaviour. I remember asking for this information- The information was refused.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have got it now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : T will never be the Home Minister and therefore I will never get a chance. He has said it. This is a strange way of the Government's function'

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : I am glad you will be Home Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : In two Consultative Committees I asked for these facts and a ruling of this kind was given and we were told 'no'. We created a little furore but even so, it was not but Mr. Chavan, being a good Maharashtrian, has given the facts. He has done a good thing. This will not do. We would like to know about how many shares were there, where they were, etc. It is a question of principle. If one share is worth Rs. 10,000, the Judge became a judge in his own cause. Will that share of that Judge be paid five times, according to your scheme, the face value? Then this Judge will accept five times the face value of the shares he holds. It may be Rs. 50,000 but why should he, under your compensation scheme, get Rs. 10,000? So this is a moral question, it is a question of principle as to whether a Judge should be a judge in his own cause.

I am reminded of what Dr. Ambedkar said when Pandit Nehru raised this question. Dr. Ambedkar said whether small or big is not the important thing. He said: Some lady a widow, gave birth to a child. A lumber of people came and asked : 'What is this?'. She said : 'Why are you angry? It is only a small baby'. That is what Dr. Ambedkar said. This kind of thing should not be said. I am not drawing analogy from this but whether it is one share or 2000 shares, the fact is that he had some material interest in the bank.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : The Home Minister has given some information.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There should not be any discussion on this.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Mr. Mani raised a point ; and the Home Minister has said something. On that I want to ask for clarification because he was kind enough to give the information. I want to know it. When the Attorney-General, on behalf of the Government, agreed and said he had no objection,

did he take any permission from the Government and the Home Ministry to say that the Government had no objection and whether the case was adjourned for even one day or whether on the spot he said that the Government had no objection

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Chavan got up and he invited this trouble, if it is any trouble. I am thankful. Mr. Chavan should not take me a miss. I am very grateful. Sometimes I like his frankness. You have said a good thing you being the Home Minister and you having a master mind.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is not a question of my being the Home Minister. When this matter was being discussed in Parliament and when the Chief Justice chose to write to me about it, I thought it my duty to give this information.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would like to tell Mr. Chavan through you, Sir, that for the last two months we have been asking for this piece of information.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I gave it in the other House also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And we have been denied the privilege.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have got the information now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We would like to know the details, which bank, how many shares and the face value of the shares. Will you kindly give them?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : When the Attorney-General told the Judges that "we have no objection", was it only the spur of the moment, or was it that the case was adjourned and he had taken the permission from the Government in the meantime?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We don't agree. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This is not the question Hour. Let Dr. Dabirprasad Chattopadhyaya continue his speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We don't care. The Attorney-General is a Government appointee and in that particular context he is almost part of the Government. He can even address the Houses—How, Sir, what the Attorney-General says, we are not concerned with. We are concerned with the statement that has been made that the Judge has held shares but of small value. All that we want to know now is the value of the shares. That he has given now. We want to know the names of the Judges and the names of the banks in which they held the shares and the rateable value of the shares.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : These points have been raised by hon. Members and the hon. Minister may reply to them in his speech if he deems it necessary.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Did the Attorney-General have the instructions from the Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have made the point.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : I think it was wrong on the part of the Attorney-General to have told, on behalf of the Government, the Judges, that he had no objection. May I know, Sir, from the hon. Minister whether the Government thinks that it was wrong on the part of the Attorney-General and that the Attorney-General has misled the Judges by stating that "on behalf of the Government" he has no objection? The Attorney-General ought not to have told so to the hon. Judges.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Attorney-General told the Judges on behalf of the Government that the Government had no objection. It follows therefore that the Attorney-General had been advised by the Government. Let Mr. Chavan say whether the Government gave such advice to the Attorney-General to say that the Government had no objection. If the Attorney-General had acted on his own and had wrongly taken the name of the Government and claimed that he was speaking on behalf of the Government, without the advice of the Government, then he has acted entirely outside his authority and competence, and I think, in either case, the situation is very serious and the issue should be taken up.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You please continue your speech. Dr. Chatterjee.

DR. DEBIPROSAD CHATTERJEE : Sir, just before Mr. Mani's interruption I was saying that technically perhaps the Judges were correct. But I say that morally they were not. That is why I was referring to a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. I knew that his car was in the garage under a *gherao*. But yet, his good sense, his uprightness and morality prompted him to decline for the time being his seat on the Bench, because there the Advocate-General was not consulted, nor the Government was consulted. That sort of example we expect from all High Court Judges. So, when I criticise it, I criticise that institution, because it must reflect the democratic sentiments of the people. So, criticism does not damage the pillar of democracy but rightly understood may help to get it strengthened in course of time. That the social philosophy of the High Court Judges or some of the Supreme Court Judges is not very progressive will be, in my opinion, in the future as well.

Another thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister is this. There is a very good piece of legislation in Tamil Nadu. For example, there the Government has made a law to the M.L.As. to declare their assets every year. I think people have some sort of question about their integrity. Now, as we expect the Judges to set a high code of conduct, we can also set a good code of conduct on our own before the people if we the Members of Parliament annually declare our assets and incomes. I put a question to the Home Minister in the last Session whether the Government was prepared to think in terms of what the DMK Government had done there in Tamil Nadu. I hope if legislation might help people's confidence in Parliament to grow stronger, and I think, the sort of conduct, which we expect others to set up, we can set up ourselves by declaring our assets because this is sometimes a matter of discussion outside the Parliament.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Minister, I have a few minutes at my disposal, on the collosus Department presided over by Mr. Chatterjee. I do not know which point; I should take up and which points I should give up, Sir. But I was horrified by the speech of Bhai Mahavir, a speech which actually

echoed what the Nazis used to speak in Reichstag and what the Fascists used to speak before they captured power.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:
Are Marxists fascists?

SHRI KALMI MI ROY : I did not disturb you. Still I expect the Jana Sangh to be more civilised.

The trouble is this, Sir. Bhai Mahavir mentioned certain facts. And what are the facts? He mentioned that ten thousand students marched on the streets of Calcutta shouting, "Chairman Mao is our Chairman." It is unfortunate. We decry it. But what led these ten thousand students to march like this? Has Mr. Mahavir pondered about it? Did he say one word about the massive unemployment increasing year after year? Did he at all refer to the landless peasants of his area, Haryana, Eastern U. P. and other areas who are continuously pouring into Calcutta in order to get jobs in a jute mill or a coal mine or a textile factory? Has he ever thought of the peasants who are being robbed and are being forced to give up the little land which they have? Has he ever thought of the drought-affected Rajasthan? Our Jana Sangh friends did not say a word about the stark poverty which is crushing the whole countryside? I was reading a book by Naipaul, who is supposed to be the best English writer now. The book's name is "An Area of Darkness", and the reference is to this country, from which his father left and his grandfather left. He says "I am sorry I came back to India to see the massive poverty, the hunger, the decay, the backwardness and the darkness of this country." And naturally this would lead to the rise of Naxalites.

That is why Mr. Bhagat, that day, was hounded on of the Patna University, and Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was shouted down at the University at Santiniketan. It is all because of the scarcity of job hankered after by the unemployed graduates and others. In Bengal, Bihar, U.P., polytechnics are being shut down, not because there is lack of professors or lack of lecturers but because no student is willing to go there because of the unemployment already rampant among the alumni turned out of them and the miserable plight in which they are. It is because of their uncertain future. Why is there drainage of brain from this country and why are the good students going abroad? It

is because they cannot get jobs here. But Mr. Bhai Mahavir does not see it. He does not see why Naxalites have sprung up. He sees only concentration camps and he thinks in terms of gas chambers, and his RSS are doing what the fascists did to Jews. He mentioned about Ramnavami in Chaibasa. Is it not true that Hindus in Giridih—not very far from Chaibasa—were allowed to march through the streets of Giridih where the Muslims are in a majority for Ramnavami but the Muslims were denied permission to take out their Muharram procession through the route which they were following for the last twenty years? If there has been any partisanship, if there has been any discrimination it is the minorities who are being discriminated against in this country.

Now, Indianisation, whether he quotes Mr. Humayan Kabir or somebody else, means conversion. His Indianisation will lead to civil war, his Indianisation will lead to elimination of a section of the community which is fighting along with us. That is why I say that the Naxalite danger has to be fought politically, economically. And there the country is failing, there Mr. Chavan is failing, there the whole Government of India is failing. And that is why there is this fascination for this movement and their number is rising every day. It is not only in Calcutta; it has spread from Calcutta to Orissa, from Orissa to Andhra, from Andhra to Punjab. Every province, every district is effected and you will not be surprised to see pictures of Mao on the walls of Delhi if already if some pictures have not appeared here. That is the unfortunate position but the remedy is not crushing them; the remedy is not banning the movement. I would request the Home Minister through you: don't drive the Naxalites underground. If they follow a misleading line let them follow it in the open so that you can fight them politically. Don't try to drive them underground. As the House knows even in the worst days of the second world war, Mr. James Maxton, Member of Parliament of the House of Commons, said Down with this war, we do not want it but Churchill did not arrest him. Again Churchill's police did not ban the journal of his (par*)-. They allowed free discussion. And it is through such free discussion that we can beat the Naxalites politically not through the method of Dr. Bhai Mahavir. There is danger in it and that is what is leading to speeches like that of General Cariappa and to think in terms of dictatorship. We know

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

that when he went to Dhanbad he also ided over a rally of the RSS. So this le biggest danger today and it is there the Home Ministry is failing. There the Home Ministry is not taking adequate steps to see who is subverting the integrity of India; is it the RSS or somebody else? There the GBI should enquire into the matter and find out who is preaching communalism and who is inciting the communities. Sir Birla sare shutting down factories; why ? Are they no; having food twice a day ? Jains are shutting down their factories. The big bosses in the mines, in the steel industries, in the engineering industries, in the plantation industries, every dny are retrenching and dismissing millions of workers but nobody says anything about it. Why does he not put a Stop to it? His he not got. the power? He has got the power but how is he utilising it? He is building up an Industrial Security Force so that tomorrow the BirJas can use the Industrial Security Force to crush the hungry workers when taey fight for an addition of one anna in their D.A. or even to crush their own employees if they are not satisfied and if they demand that interim relief should be paid to them now. This is the danger we are facing.

Now, my lion, friend said, justice. Where isjusticetoday? Only yesterday the Supreme Court said hospital workers are not industrial workers and yet ten years back this Supreme Court said hospitals are also industries. Now. is it not true that practically all the Judges have shares in some company or the other and as such how can they be neuttal in any dispute between the workers and the industrialists? If they hojd some, shares, if they have some interest in some British companies or in some American companies, can they be neutral? Whatever neutrality that is there will be neutrality in favour of the employers and the capitalists. That is why today you ought to have a new look into the whole judicial system and that is the same thing which Roosevelt t who is not a communist did in the 30s and the 40s and the outstanding Home Secretary, Harold Ickes, of the United States who was there fi ir twenty years—his books are there in the Library, Sir. and his whole diary is painful reading—said all the time. I cannot take the country forward. I want to do many things for the millions of Americans but unfortunately I have to follow the dictation of the Supreme Court. Now, (he background of the High Court

Judges has got to be analysed to find out who is really not following the directions of the Constitution and the socialist principles. And you must have this principle adopted. If a particular Judge is a shareholder of the Tatas, Birlas, Brooke Bonds, Liptons or any other commercial concern he should not be a Judge. I as a trade unionist cannot be a Judge; no trade unionist has ever sat in the Bench as a Judge but all those who have something to do with the employers are Judges today. That is why I say this system has to go.

Now I will come to Bengal. Unfortunately as I said once four months back all is not well on the united front, I have to repeat today that things are pretty bad now under the President's rule. There is no Chief Justice in Calcutta to day. There is only an acting Chief Justice. Many times questions have been asked on the floor of this House; why don't you confirm that person who is 'tie acting Chief Justice? If you are not satisfied with him, if his record is not very good, if he is corrupt, if he is inefficient if he has done something very gravely wrong, remove him. and have ;>. new Chief Justice. That is why in the Calcutta High Court—you have got to go and arrears are accumulating. There is gross injustice there.

Now, the landlord takes a big -tic¹ and goes to take possession of the laiui. Now/, Mr. Chavan, I have to ask you a question. Would you allow him To take away the land which the peasant is tilling? Would you drive out the workers from the factories? That is no solution; you have got to give them jobs, you have gol to give them land. So don't take away the lands which we have taken over.

Now a point, about the belt from which I come, the Asansol-Durgapur coal belt. It is very unfortunate—I have mentioned this again and again—in the last fortnight five people have been killed through bomb explosions ind unfortunately the additional S. P., Mr. Talukdar, who is supposed to go and arrest the people named in the FIR is hobnobbing with those very peopie and is holding discussions with those very people who ought to have been arrested. And you have not taken any steps. Why? Therefore I say there ought to be a judicial enquiry into all such cases. If the CPM has done it, proceed judicially, against them. If the SSP has done its you proceed against them. So also you should have a judicial enquiry into the affairs of Cooch-Beh.ir where five people

were murdered and their bodies were kept in a jungle net by. In addition you should also enquire into the incident Dakhinbari where two persons were dragged out of the factory and in this came in the papers and Mr. Dhavan went for the police diary to see whether the Forward Block have lodged a complaint with the police station. When the diary was brought before Mr. Ch I am sorry., Mr. Dhavan—it was found that the pages of the diary were missing.

(Interruptions)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : There is little difference between 'C' and 'D'.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : I did not hear Mr. Chavan. He can always get up and speak here; nobody disturbs him but I am disturbed too much already.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Even under the alphabetical order our Home Minister has precedence.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : As my last point I may mention about Mr. S. K. Bhattacharyya. He has been selected to the IAS. The UPSC went to Calcutta. Our ex-Home Minister asked him to prepare the records of all the officers and so what did he do? He falsified all the records. His date of confirmation was falsified.

SHRI BANKA MURTHY (Orissa) : You mean the ex-Home Minister did it?

SHRI KALYAN ROY : The ex-Home Minister ordered Mr. Bhattacharyya who has been selected to the IAS. He falsified all the records; that is my information and he has been selected by the UPSC to the IAS. I have written to Home Minister Mr. Chavan, but nothing has come out. Now there is a great deal of discontent in the Writers Building on account of this.

Lastly I would like to tell the Home Minister; you cannot crush the peasants and workers. If you want to split the country, if you want to divide the minorities, if you want to drive the country into chaos, then follow Dr. Bhai Mihavir but if you want to build a new India where I do not have to see beggars sitting just before Parliament, then you have got to nationalise not only all the Indian banks but also the foreign banks, plantations and other things and you have got to weed out the High Court Judges who are corrupt,

you have got to reorient the IAS who think they are bigger bosses than even the ICS, you have got to cut the privileges of the ICS.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have to conclude now.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Sir, India is not a city, nor in Delhi; the soul of India is in the village, and you have to go to...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do; please sit down.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : This is the only way in which you can do some justice to the nation. These things you have got to do when you are the Home Minister though I do not know whether you will remain Home Minister for long because of factions in your party.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this chance. When the great architect of Indian freedom, Mahatma Gandhi, was alive, he used to tell all his people. Congress people, that Indians should live a life of austerity, that nobody in India should get more than Rs. 500, that the first President of India should be a Harijan, that there should be free education for all within ten years, that there should be no unemployment, that there should be development of village and cottage industries, that people should be free from want, that people should be given food, shelter and clothing, that there should be equality of opportunity. How far has any of them been fulfilled? There is growing unemployment everywhere. People are not able even to get drinking water in villages. The first important ingredient of democracy and socialism is education and that has not been given to the people of India. The percentage of literacy is barely 30 to 37 per cent. It is not the highest educational standard that the prosperity of a country depends. In any good democracy, in any good socialistic country education should be free for everybody at least up to fourteen years of age and if not at least up to the fifth standard. How are you going to discharge this obligation? It is very glaring. In all the States, except Madras, the Ministers are getting Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000. In Madras people are Gandhians. Who are Gandhians? Are the Madras people Gandhians or the Congress Government

[Shri G. A. Appan]

people who are getting Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000° or Rs. 3000? Our Madras Government have been working for the abolition of untouchability. They have introduced free education up to PUC. Should not the Government of India come forward with a free recoupment of all the loss that we undergo on account of prohibition, free education and all these things? There is provision for reservation of seats for the Scheduled Caste. The hon. Home Minister, I am told, has done a lot of things in Maharashtra. Perhaps he wants to do it at all the level of the Government of India also. I did not have a good opinion about him in the beginning because when I went and saw him he did not even care to talk to me. I went with my wife. I was really ashamed. That is why I mention it on the floor of the House, but, of late, I know that he is a very true Gandhian. He has done so many things for the Scheduled Caste. He has passed orders in respect of reservations. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You did a mistake. You should have gone, in the first instance, alone.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Anyhow, please excuse me. May I ask the hon. Home Minister to do at least this thing ? Institute a cell in every Ministry, in every department, not only at the Centre but also in the various States and see that the grievances, the exploitation and aggrandisement meted out to the Scheduled Caste, are redressed not by the lower rank but by the first chief man in every sector or his next in rank.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please wind up now-

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Please protect me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No. question of protection, six minutes are over'

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Anyhow, if I say anything beside the point, please stop me. There should be a cohesive Central Government with a greater amount of autonomy for the States. It does not mean that we should weaken the Centre. A proper decentralisation of power will strengthen the hands of the Government and all the States will gladly give their co-operation and lend their helping hand provided a greater share of the powers is given to the States in respect of the taxes and levies which they collect.

Unfortunately or fortunately the Governorship, Presidentship and Vice-Presidentship are treated as ornamental figure heads. I would rather request the Government to make provision so that the President, Vice-President and the Governors are elected in a general election as it is done in America. See that the Presidential form of government is established and that good work, effective work and useful work is done, rather than make them mere figure heads without any power.

I am really happy that the Government have nationalised fourteen banks. Why not nationalise all the banks ? Why should they go in for the nationalisation of banks only and why not nationalise all the important industries?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It does not come under the Home Ministry.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : The Home Minister is the pivot and the brain behind all work. The interests of the Scheduled Caste should be looked after by the Prime Minister or the Home Minister at the Centre and in the States.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have not said a good word about Mr. Shukla.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : He is a very nice gentleman.

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त (बिहार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज देश में कानून और व्यवस्था कहीं भी नहीं रही है और सब जगह अराजकता का नंगा नाच हो रहा है। मैं तो होम मिनिस्ट्री की कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में भी हूँ और उनको बार-बार कहता रहा हूँ कि जब तक आप शान्ति और व्यवस्था कायम नहीं कर सकेंगे, तब तक हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक, सामाजिक और नैतिक तीनों हालतें बिगड़ती जायेंगी। मैं आँखों के सामने देख रहा हूँ और हमारे मित्र डाक्टर राम मनोहर लोहिया कहा करते थे कि कम्युनिस्ट कीड़ा कांग्रेसी कीड़े से निकला है, लेकिन आज इन्दिरा कांग्रेस से नक्सलपंथी नाग निकल आया है और यह नाग हिन्दुस्तान को डसने के लिए जगह जगह तैयार है। बंगाल में मुझे रहने का पिछले 40, 50 साल से अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है, बचपन से मैं वहाँ रहता आया हूँ। कलकत्ते में जो हालत है, उस पर

पालियामेंट में कई बार बहस हो चुकी है और लोग जानते हैं कि आज वहाँ किसी की जान और माल सुरक्षित नहीं है। हमारे मित्र कम्युनिस्ट सदस्य श्री कल्याण राय ने सिरपुर कोलियरी के बारे में कहा। वहाँ पर हमारी पार्टी के बीसों आदमियों की हत्याएँ हो चुकी हैं और उन के शव भी गायब हैं। यह इंटर पार्टी क्लेजेज जो यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की सरकार के समय में वहाँ हुए थे, आज गवर्नर के शासन में भी वहाँ उसी तरह चल रहे हैं और यह जो गवर्नर हैं, वे भी बावपंची हैं और हमेशा वामपंथियों को दुहाई देते हैं और नक्सल पंथियों का दमन करने के लिये तत्पर व्यक्ति नहीं हैं। इसलिए अगर बंगाल में कानून और व्यवस्था कायम रखना है और शान्ति और अमन वहाँ लाना है, तो ऐसे गवर्नर को फौरन वहाँ से हटा देना चाहिए। मैं जानता हूँ कि वह इन्दिरा जी के विशेष कृपा पात्र नहीं हैं। वं नेशनल हेराल्ड और व्लिटज में वाम पंथियों के लिए नकली लेख लिखते रहे हैं और उन्होंने हमेशा उनके कृपा भाजन होने का प्रयत्न किया है। इसलिए एक दम से हाई कोर्ट की जर्जी ने उठा कर के जो सबसे बड़ा हिन्दुस्तान का राजदूत का पद है विलायत में वहाँ उनको भेज दिया गया और जब मौका आया कि बंगाल में अब इन्दिरा जी को कम्युनिस्टों के वोटों की जरूरत है, तो उनको उठा कर वहाँ पटक दिया।

यह कांग्रेस की जो राजनीति पिछली जुलाई से चली है, उसमें नक्सलपन्थ को बड़ा भारी बढ़ावा दिया गया है, जब हम लोग शान्तिपूर्ण जलूस निकालते हैं, तो हमारी तो पिटाई होती है और जब नक्सलपन्थ के बारे में हम लोग कहते हैं, तो नक्सलपन्थ के बारे में चल्हाण जी कहते हैं कि हमारे पास कोई कानूनी अधिकार नहीं है, हमारे पास कोई ऐसा अधिकार नहीं है कि मैं उनका दमन कर सकूँ, वह एक पोलिटिकल पार्टी है और पोलिटिकल पार्टी का मैं दमन नहीं कर सकता। तो जो पोलिटिकल पार्टी बदमाशी करेगी, उनका तो वह दमन नहीं करेंगे और

जो हमारी तरह में पोलिटिकल पार्टी शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से पालियामेंट से सौ गज तक आयेंगे, तो उनको वह पीटेंगे और मरवायेंगे। यह हम्य हिन्दुस्तान के कांग्रेसी राज का है।

मैं आपसे क्या कहूँ। बंगाल में तो आज जलपाईगुरी से ले कर मुन्दरखन तक और इधर कूच बिहार से ले कर मिदनापुर तक सब जगह अब्यवस्था फैली हुई है। जो संयुक्त मोर्चा बना वह एक कम्युनिस्ट हथियार मात्र था और उसने दूसरी पार्टियों को नष्ट करना शुरू किया और उस नष्ट करने के अन्दर में ऐसे-ऐसे लोग भी नष्ट हो गये जो कि विलकुल गरीब थे, बंगाल में ज्यादातर लोग जो मरे हैं, वे विलकुल गरीब हैं, जिनकी जमीन छीनी गई है, वे बड़े जमींदार, जोतवार नहीं हैं, बल्कि जैसा कि पूर्वी मुखर्जी ने पहली स्पीच में कहा था, उस तरह के छोटे-छोटे लोग हैं। गवर्नर के शासन में भी उन गरीबों को उनकी जमीन वापस नहीं दिलाई गई और ज्योति बसु धमकी देते रहे और वहाँ कल्याण राय और भूपेश गुप्त कहते रहे, तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर के वोटों की जरूरत हो सकती है, लेकिन उन गरीबों की जिनकी जमीनें छीन ली गई हैं, उनका क्या होगा और उन कारखानों का क्या होगा जो कि बन्द हो गये हैं और उन बेकार लोगों का क्या होगा जो कि भूखे हैं, जो कि बिना खाये पिये जगह-जगह घूम रहे हैं।

बंगाल की अबस्था के लिये कांग्रेसी उत्तरदायी हैं। इन्होंने पहली सरकार को भंग किया और दूसरी सरकार बनने के वक्त भी जब यह वहाँ बनी, तो उसके साथ ही यहाँ पर कांग्रेस की पालिटिक्स ने पलटा खाय़ा और इन्दिरा सरकार कम्युनिस्टों के वोटों पर आश्रित हो गई और इसलिये उनका दमन नहीं कर सकते। जब तक कि पूरा दमन नहीं किया जायगा, तब तक पालिटिकल बातें चलाने से या कोई कंसेशन देने से या अपीकमेंट की बात चलाने से न तो शान्ति कायम होगी और न व्यवस्था कायम होगी और न बंगाल में कारखाने ही फिर से स्थापित होंगे,

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

वापिस होंगे और न जो कारखाने बन्द हो चुके हैं, वही खुलेंगे। जब तक कि जो कारखाना चलाता है, उसको यह विश्वास न हो जाये कि हमारा जीवन सुरक्षित है, हम इज्जत के साथ रह सकते हैं और कारखाना चला सकते हैं, फायदे से न सही, लेकिन कम से कम घाटा तो नहीं होगा और कुछ थोड़ा बहुत बचा सकेंगे, तब तब कारखाना चलाने वाले उसको चलाने नहीं आयेगे, चाहे कल्याण राय चाहे, भूपेश गुप्त' कहे और चाहे यंग टर्म्स कहे, कोई कहे, कारखाना तभी वह चलायेगे जब कि शान्ति और व्यवस्था रहेगी और लोगों के दिलों में पूरा इत्मीनान होगा कि हम लोगों का जीवन सुरक्षित है, हम लोग कारखाना ढंग से चला सकते हैं।

बंगाल में जो हालत पहले युनाइटेड फ्रंट के अन्दर बिगड़ी, वह अब शान्ति स्वरूप घवन के नीचे भी बिगड़ती जा रही है और हम चन्दाण साहब को कहते हैं कि अगर बंगाल को सुधारना है, तो श्री घवन को फौरन वहाँ से निकाल दिया जाय और दूसरा कोई उचित गवर्नर, जो कि खूब सब्की के साथ वहाँ बराजक तत्वों से भिड़ सके, उसको बैठाया जाय।

SHRI M. ANANDAM : Mr. Deputy Chairman, as you have cautioned me to be very brief, I shall try to be so.

Let me at the outset mention about Mr. Kalyau Roy's statement about the Naxalites. What does he want us to do? Does he want us to hug these Naxalites and garland them for all they have been doing for this country? It is not for us to drive them underground. Most of them have been already underground, and if I refer to the situation in Andhra Pradesh, I should say that our Chief Minister and our Hiae Minister have been behaving in a v : inner while dealing

the Nixi'ite;. M/ complaint is t'li; chat wim they should have been di't w'h mercilessly and ruthlessly, our Cvef Minister and Home Minister have been very careful in dealing with them, and in spite of that you h3ve seen the way in which these Naxalites have been behaving in districts like Srikakulam, West

Godavari, Cuddappah and Krislina, I would add one more instance to what Dr-Mahavir said and Lint is the recent incident in Prodatur near Krislina where a person had been murdered and all his property had Eed. He is just an agriculturist. Nearly Rs. 50,000 in cash had been looted and Rs. 50,000 worth of jewellery was also taken away. That is how these Naxalites have been behaving, and I am sure chat the Centre will definitely realise that this problem is a continuing problem. It is violent action that is going on in our State. It is a continuing violence and it is not possible for the State Government alone to take stock of the situation and bring it under control. It is necessary that the Centre should reinforce their own regiments, both Reserve Police and also the military, to tackle the situation and bring it under control. I would stop here so far as the law and order situation is concerned.

Sir, a great deal has been said about the privileges enjoyed by the Indian Civil Service. With considerable hesitation and discretion the Home Minister had agreed to support the private Bill moved by Mr. Madhu Limaye. We know what a great debacle it was when it was defeated in the Lok Sabha. Sir, I want to know whether it is only the Indian Civil Service that is a problem for us or whether the Indian Administrative Service is also enjoying similar privileges in the present set-up. I mu't say that we should not attempt on any piecemeal basis to tackle this question. We know that the Administrative Reforms Commission in their report presented in February 1969 have said that the present Civil Service is outmoded and does not suit the present circumstances where the Government is fast developing and has taken upon itself a number of technical and scientific activities. If one goes deeper into this problem, I might say that the difference between the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Administrative ^Service is only one of degree and not of kind. An ICS gets a salary of Rs. 4000, whereas an IAS g. Rs. 2500. I might mention that if an ICS gets a pension of Rs. 1000, an IAS gets a pension of Rs. 650. B it is not true to say that any ICS officer could be appointed to any position, whether it is as general manager of a steel mill or as manager of a penicillin factory or manager of Coal Corporation Or a housing factory or as Commissioner of a municipal corporation or even a* director of an academic body like the Indian Institute of Public Administration?

How do you expect that just because an IAS officer has passed certain examinations he is capable enough to hold each one of these posts? Is he so omniscient as to fit in in all these posts? It is necessary for us to consider this particular aspect before we think in terms of curtailing the privileges of the IGS.

I would only take one or two points more. We have seen the results of the IAS examinations in the last few years. I am sorry to say that in all these examinations* there are only very limited or a negligible number of South Indians who have come through. And you know that with the establishment of the linguistic States there is the necessity for officers who are appointed in a particular State to get involved in its administration. And unless there is a stake in the State, it is not possible for them to give their personal affection or personal interest in the matter of administration. After all we cannot imagine a person from North India, say, from Punjab going to Kerala and trying to help in the administration of Kerala.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : For your information, I might say that a Punjabi Officer, a young man, is doing very well in Kerala in the IAS.

SHRI M. ANANDAM : There is an exception to every rule. I take it as an exception. But what I want to say is that it is necessary to have a certain type of quota so far as the regions are concerned. And I would suggest that in the matter of appointment to the IAS, every region must be adequately represented in the total appointments made in a particular year. This, I understand, has been urged by our Chief Ministers in some of the conferences in the National Development Council. If the Centre believes that there should be adequate representation to all the regions in the IAS, it must take into consideration the needs of each State and see that the appointments to the IAS are made on a regional basis by having a certain quota for each State. If it is a question of having a Central Service, I have no objection to having a separate examination only for the Central Service. If it is a question of having integration of services, it may be possible that we ask all the State Officers to come to the Centre for the purpose of training in administration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Goray. Ten minutes.

SHRI N. G. TORAY (Maharashtra) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, today we are

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discussing the Report of the Home Ministry which, in my opinion, is one of the key Ministries in our administration. While discussing this particular Ministry, many people have spoken about the Naxalite activities and I think it was but proper because the Naxalite activity constitutes one of the main challenges to democracy in India. I would not have dealt with this question had the speakers who preceded me not committed the blunder of either running down the Naxalites without understanding their role or praising them for being brilliant young people. Sir, neither of these descriptions will be able to give us a correct perspective of their activities. So far as I have tried to understand them, they are a band of people, an army of workers, who have a clear-cut ideology. To me, it does not matter whether they are brilliant or otherwise because there are brilliant people in every party. What matters is whether they are ready to abide by the democratic rules of our country. Sir, I would like to point out to you that they are not ready to accept any of the democratic ways which we cherish. Their guidance is from this red book, Mao's Thoughts. When I went to Bengal and Bihar, I found that this book has become almost the Bhagwat Gita of every Naxalite. He carries it in his pocket.

SHRI A. D. MANI : It looks like a Bible.

SHRI N. G. GOREY : It is printed like that and it is meant to be a Bible so far as the Naxalites are concerned.

Then, Sir, you will find that they are bringing out a monthly and I suppose that India is the only country in the world, where taking advantage of our democratic traditions and our democratic form of Government, all sorts of ideologies are being preached. Yesterday, I was surprised to find that some people expressed their grief and anger that Gandhiji's portrait was dishonoured. I am not at all surprised. Sir, if you read the November issue of 'Liberation', you will find what Charu Mazumdar who is their ideologue, has said—

"The Indian bourgeoisie....helped by the imperialists they posed themselves as the natural leaders of the masses."

He is talking of the pre-Independence days. Then he says—

"Such trash—Please remember the words 'such-trash' "Such trash as 'Gandhi-ism, passive

[Shri N. G. Gorey]

resistance, ahijrtsa and charkha are the ideology of India's comprador bourgeoisie and serve only the imperialists."

This is the picture that we have of Gandhiji and his leadership.

Sir, we must be very frank in admitting that whatever these people are doing, they are stating it categorically and leaving no doubt about it whatsoever. In the same article, Charu Mazumdar has admitted that—

"Guerrilla warfare is and will remain the basic form of struggle for the entire period of the democratic revolution." He has stated that very categorically.

And then he goes on to say that—

"We (the Naxalites) are a detachment of that international army."

It is an international army; the leader is Mao Tse-tung and of that international army, the Naxalites in India are only a detachment. Naturally, he ends by saying that—

"Victory certainly belongs to us because China's Chairman is our Chairman and China's path is our path".

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Where is it printed ?

SHRI N. G. GOREY : It is printed in India. It is distributed openly. It is available everywhere. If people like my friends who are sitting here and those who spoke yesterday, people like Mr. Triloki Singh, do not understand these things and do not read these things, the fault is not that of the Naxalites. I would like to tell Mr. Kalyan Roy and also my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, that whatever soft words you use, they are not going to influence them- They have called you reactionaries, they have called you revisionists. Here they have called the Soviet Union as the first imperialist in the world. This is what they have said and this is their ideology. These are their basic tenets, and however much we may say that they are brilliant people, that they are self-sacrificing people, they are militant people, these words are not going to win them over to us. It is an army and they have said so that this is a war which will have to be fought to the finish and here they are not asking for any quarters and none should be expected from them.

Therefore, Sir, when the Home Minister is dealing with this and I was told that the Home Minister is thinking of some measures. I would only say that half measures will not do. We only say that politically this challenge will have to be met, that the Naxalites are posing only a political challenge. All these killings this arson, this looting, are these a political action? They are not a political action. They do not want to subscribe to our democratic way of life. Not only they do not want to subscribe to it but they challenge it, they ridicule it and they want to finish it off and destroy it. Therefore, let us be very clear in our minds whether we want to deal with the Naxalites for what they are or whether we think that some sort of half measures will be able to win them over to our side or that some other measures will have to be taken-

Sir, I will only refer to the speech of the Revenue Minister of Assam- He has pointed out that the entire area from Calcutta to Darjeeling and then to Assam including Manipuri, the Naga Hills, the Mizo Hills is their field of operation and they have said so openly. Mr. Chaudhary, the Revenue Minister of Assam, has pointed this out.

{Interruption by Shri JShupesh Gupta}

SHRI N. G. GOREY : We have heard that. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta doubts everybody except himself. I do not know whether he is sure about himself.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Gorey, you are asking the Home Minister to support repression in West Bengal.

SHRI N. G. GOREY : I am not asking him to support repression. I am asking him to deal with the situation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He cannot deal with it . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, do not interrupt him.

SHRI N. G. GOREY ; Therefore, Sir, I want this House to understand clearly what the Naxalites are and what they mean to do and how they intend to destroy this democratic fabric.

Having said about the Naxalites, I would like to take up the issue of administration. Sir, we have said many times that the situation in the country will

have to be resolved politically, economically, and socially. Who are the people who will deal with this situation? When I think of the situation, I cannot neglect the role that is played by the I.C.S. and the I.A.S. officer. Sir, I would like to point out that a good deal of sympathy is being expressed for them, that they have been patriotic, they have been efficient and all that. But let us try to understand that this service was created by the British for a particular purpose. I am not denigrating them. I am not under-valuing what they have done. But the basic purpose in creating this sort of service was, it was called by the British the 'Steel Frame' to rule this country irrespective of the wishes of the people. Now, since, having won our independence, having set new social and economic goals for ourselves the question for us is whether this service will be of use to us. Whether we can scrap these services and create a new service in their place. My submission is that we shall have to revise our opinion about this particular service and we shall have to give equal credit, equal opportunity to people who are coming from other services. Today in the press I found that the Prime Minister has written a letter to the girl Miss Majumdar, who stood first in the I.A.S. examination. I have nothing against that. It was very good and kind of her to have written that letter. But in that letter she mentions that this is the topmost service the topmost instrument in the hands of our Government today given to the people. Sir, let us try to understand the whole thing. What about the technologists, the scientists and other people who are doing their best to serve India? Therefore, I would like to point out, Sir, let us not commit the mistake of again thinking in terms of the old British raj, recognising only one particular service as the topmost, most important service. In the changed context the whole picture must change. The highest positions must go to other services also. But I find everywhere, in every department the topmost positions are held either by the I.C.S. or the I.A.S. officers. Only a few exceptions will be there where they are drawn from other services also. That practice must go.

The last point that I would like to deal with is about the privy purses. Sir, so many things have been said about the Princes, that they were patriotic, they helped us to stabilise this Government, etc., etc. Even admitting that

they did certain good things at that time does it mean that the privileges that they have been enjoying for the last 22 years should continue indefinitely? After all, if you go to the root of the problem, the root of the matter, how is it that they continued as Princes? If you go into the history you will find that they were the defectors of those times. They betrayed their masters, the Marathi Confederacy or the Moghul Empire or the Sikh Empire, and they betrayed and joined hands with the British. Even during the 1857 struggle, you will find that in the decisive battle which was fought at Gwalior the Prince of Gwalior refused to side with the Rani of Jhansi Rani Laxmibai, and it is because of this that these people, the Maharaja of Indore, the Maharaja of Baroda, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Nizam and all that, that these people have been enjoying the fruits of their betrayal for the last 150 years. Is this not enough? I think it is more than enough. And, therefore, those of us who are pleading that there is a contract between our Government and the Princes and it must be maintained indefinitely, to them I would say: What about the contract between the common people and the Government? Did you not promise them, the common people that you will give them food, you will give them shelter, you will give them education? Has that contract been carried out? It has not been carried out. Then, why do you talk incessantly about this one contract which ought to be scrapped, I am surprised.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Bhanu Prakash Singh is the highest beneficiary . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please do not interrupt.

{Time bell rings.}

SHRI N. G. GOREY : I am concluding. Therefore, I would request the Home Minister that having promised the people that privy purses will be ended, having made a solemn assurance here in this House on this floor when my friend, Mr. Banka Behary Das, had moved that Resolution, now let them not go back on their word. I am giving this warning because I find that there is some chance of back-sliding and, therefore, the Home Ministry should see to it that the promise, the assurance given here would be respected and there will be no back-sliding.

چودھری اے۔ محمد (بہار) : جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین صاحب،
 بہت اہتمام کے بعد مجھے آپ نے ہونے کا موقع دیا۔ اس
 لئے میں آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ ابھی موسم
 مندری کے سلسلہ میں ٹھٹ ہے اور اس سلسلہ
 میں بہت سے باقیں آئی ہیں۔ میں نہیں چاہتا کہ ان
 تمام باتوں کے اوپر روشنی ڈالوں لیکن دو چار باتیں
 آپ کے ذہن پر اس سلسلہ سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔
 پہلی بات یہ ہے کہ جہاں تک لا اینڈ آرڈر کا
 تعلق ہے جہاں تک مکمل بینیفیڈوں کی ایکٹیوٹیٹیز
 کا تعلق ہے تو لوگ اس بینکر کو بھول جاتے ہیں کہ
 ہو چھوٹا ناگ پور کا ایریا ہے جو آدی واس بیٹ
 ہے وہ بیٹ بھی پوری طرح کی ایکٹیوٹیٹیز سے ایکٹیو
 ہے۔ یہ ایریا ہی نہیں بلکہ بنگال سے لے کر مدھیہ
 پردیش کا جو آدی واسوں کا ایریا ہے وہ اس
 طرح کی ایکٹیوٹیٹیز کو دیکھنے میں آ رہی ہیں۔ اس
 طرح سے آخری وقت میں فعل ایسٹریٹ کا حشر ہو گیا تھا
 اسی طرح سے آج ملک کی حالت ہو گئی ہے۔ اس
 زمانہ میں جو جہاں پر بیٹھ گیا وہیں مارا جا رہا ہے
 اور آج بھاری حکومت کا بھی ویسی حال ہے جو
 فعل ایسٹریٹ کی حالت ہو گئی تھی۔ (انٹراپٹن)
 آج میں یہ دیکھ رہا ہوں کہ اس سرکار کو
 اس بات کی زیادہ فکر ہے کہ کس طرح سے بہانہ
 میں ناجائز کو دھت سنا ہی جائے اور کس طرح سے
 گھبرائی کو دھت کو شابل کیا جائے۔ (انٹراپٹن)۔
 میں اس کے بارے میں بھی کوئی کورسز گا۔
 تو میں یہ کہہ رہا ہوں کہ آج اس کو دھت کو اس بات کی
 فکر ہے کہ کس طرح سے دوسری سرکاروں کو پرائیویٹ
 میں گرایا جائے اور کس طرح سے دوسری پرائیویٹ
 لوگوں کو اپنی طرف مٹا کر وہ انہیں حکومت بنا ہی جائے

اس بینکر کے علاوہ اس سرکار کو اور کس بینکر کے بارے
 میں چاہتا ہوں ہے۔ آج کوئی بھی آدمی اس ملک
 میں یہ عقلمند نہیں کرتا ہے کہ وہ سپیکر ہے
 (انٹراپٹن)۔۔۔

آپ بزرگ ہیں اور آپ کو بیچ میں اس طرح سے
 مجھے ٹوٹنا نہیں چاہئے اور آپ کو جب بولنا ہو تو
 تب آپ کہئے۔ تو میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اب
 ہم آج ٹرمین میں چلتے ہیں تو اپنے آپ کو سپیکر
 نہیں پاتے ہیں اور دانتے میں چلتے ہیں تب بھی
 اپنے آپ کو سپیکر نہیں سمجھتے ہیں۔ آج بھاری
 دلہن کی حالت ہو گئی ہے۔ بنگال میں کیا ہو
 رہا ہے۔ بھاری علاقہ میں جب گورنر کا راج
 تھا بنگال سے لوگ آکر کھپت کاٹ کر لے گئے
 اور تمام گھروں کے سامان لے گئے۔ پولیس نہیں
 تب تک وہ بنگال بارڈر میں گھس مانتے تھے۔ میں
 ہی وہی پائلٹ سے ہی ٹیک نکال کر روپیہ دے رہا تھا
 جوے سائے ٹائی ٹائی ایک صاحب آئے اور روپیہ لیں
 چل دیئے۔ میں نے پولیس کو کیا میں ایم۔ بی۔
 ہوں یہ میرا روپیہ لئے جا رہا ہے وہ بولا فائوشن
 دینے نہیں تو مار دوں گا۔ پتہ ہو جائیے گا۔ میں
 دم دم سے چلا کر رہا ہوں۔ ایک گاڑی
 آئی ہے رنگ بھائی سے، بس والا ڈرا ہوا چلوا
 سے روکنے تو آپ آ رہی ہو بیٹھا ہوا تھا اس
 کو چوٹ لگ جاتی ہے۔ ہم کہتے ہیں کہ ڈرائیور
 وہ گاڑی تو رانگ صاف سے آ رہی ہے تو کھڑکی
 کو ایسا کرنے کی کیا ضرورت تھی۔ کیا گورنر صاحب
 بیٹھے ہوئے تھے یا گورنر کا جھنڈا لگا ہوا۔ اس
 نے کیا نہیں صاحب اس پر ال جھنڈا لگا ہوا۔
 اس کو جب ٹرن سے جانے کا راستہ ہے۔ یہ لا اینڈ

سرور کی حالت سے۔ یہ لاہور اور ڈیرہ کا مشاہدہ میرا ہے
 تردد ہے جیسا بیٹو کو سر پہنے ہیں کہ کس طرح سے ہم
 کیا کریں۔

جائی باسہ کی مابت میں کیا چاہتا ہوں۔ مجھے
 بیت باتیں کہیں ہیں۔ ٹرپ سیکورٹی کو زخمی رہنے کو
 کیجئے ہیں۔ آپ تھلائیے باجی جی آج ۲۶ برس میں
 مسلمانوں کو پروٹیکٹ کرنے کیجئے ٹرپ نے کیا کیا۔

نیشنل انٹیلیجنس کے نام سے شکار میں کانفرنس
 بلائی جاتی ہے۔ نیشنل انٹیلیجنس کے نام سے
 کشمیر میں میٹنگ بلائی جاتی ہے۔ ٹرپ نے یہ کہیں
 فیصلہ کیا کہ جیسا پھر کمیٹی ٹرپ کی ہوگی جیسا پھر
 فرقہ دارانہ فساد ہوگئے دنوں کے اندر کو رو
 دار ٹھہرا کیجئے؟ ٹرپ نے اگر فیصلہ نہیں کیا تو

ابھی کیجئے۔ میں ٹرپ کو بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ۱۹۶۱
 میں ہمارے حملے میں رائٹ تھا۔ وہاں کے
 بی۔ ڈی۔ او۔ نے وہاں کے مسلمانوں کی باتیں

چھین لیں اور تھانہ میں جھوٹے دیے۔ یہ باجوہ کرشن
 و لہوہ سمیت کی حکومت کا زمانہ تھا۔ ٹرپ مشن

لیجیٹیم ہوم مسٹر صاحب۔ ٹرپ سیکورٹی کی بات
 کرتے ہیں۔ مسلمانوں کی اقلیت کو بچانے کی بات
 کرتے ہیں۔ سنئے آدرسن کو اگر نیشنل انٹیلیجنس

کی بات کر رہے ہیں۔ سیکورٹی کی بات کر رہے
 ہیں۔ مائنڈ ریٹنگ کے پروٹیکشن کی بات کر رہے ہیں
 تو انہیں صحیح معنی میں پروٹیکشن دیجئے۔ نہیں تو

دھوکہ دے دیجئے۔ (انٹیلیجنس)۔ باقی ٹرپ
 کی عادت آریس کیوں ہوگئی ہے۔ میں ٹرپ سے کہنا
 چاہتا ہوں کہ کرشن و لہوہ باجوہ چیت مسٹر تھے اسکا

زمانہ میں۔ تو وہاں کے مسلمانوں
 کی بلدوقیوں نے لی گئیں۔
 مابت آیا تو مسلمانوں نے ہی۔
 ڈی۔ او۔ سے کہا۔ اس نے کہا
 کہ ہم تمہارا پروٹیکشن کریں گے۔

اس نے دارنڈ سے کہا کہ دارنڈ جی ہندو جی کر
 آئیے۔ دارنڈ جی تھے لیکن لاہور ہو گئے پھر بی۔
 ڈی۔ او۔ صاحب بھی چلے گئے۔ مسو میں مسلمان

گھستے ہیں سب کچھ کچھ کر دئے جاتے ہیں۔ جب
 جمیت سنسٹراٹ اسیٹ پختے ہیں تو وہ کیجئے ہیں
 کہ بی۔ ڈی۔ او۔ کو ٹرنت مسپنڈ کر دو۔ ڈیپٹی

گمشتر کہتا ہے کہ کس تارن میں مسپنڈ کریں۔
 مسلمانوں کی مسرتی جان ہے۔

آد جاتی ہے تک ہر دم لانے کے لئے
 مادلوٹ جاؤ گے دوارہ جانے کے لئے

(وقت کی گنتی) پہلی مرتبہ ہو لڑیے ہیں۔ آج
 نام کو کچھ وقت اور دیا جائے۔ تمام مسلمان ختم ہو گئے۔
 بی۔ ڈی۔ او۔ پھر کچھ آپکیشن نہیں لیا۔ پروموشن

ٹیورا۔ ترح حالت یہ ہے۔
 ٹرپ اقلیت کی حفاظت کرتے ہیں۔ اقلیت

مسلمانوں کی ہی نہیں ہے، ہر جنموں کی آج کیا
 حالت ہے۔ بنارس میں ایک پڑھن لڑکی کو ہندو
 سے مار دیا گیا۔ آپ نے کیا قدم اٹھایا۔؟ کیا

پڑھنوں کا نام بیٹے ہیں؟ باج عباتی مہا بیروٹی کے
 نظریہ سے اتفاق نہیں کرتے لیکن ایک بات ہم لانا
 سے کہنا چاہتے ہیں کہ عباتی مہا بیروٹی۔ ٹرپ

کا نظریہ کچھ بھی ہو۔ ٹرپ تمام مسلمانوں کو غلط
 نہ سمجھیں۔ پروموشن کے اندر ایسے مسلمان ہیں جو
 ہندوؤں سے زیادہ وفادار ہیں۔ میں چاہتی باسہ

[چوندھری اے - منکھد]

کے بارے میں صبح کھینا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں لیجئے۔
 اگر آپ کہتے ہیں کہ وہاں اقلیت کا فتنہ
 ہے تو میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اکثریت کی
 دوکانیں چلائی گئیں۔ اگر آپ کہتے ہیں کہ اقلیت
 کا فتنہ ہے تو مجھے بتائیے کہ اکثریت کی کتنی دکانیں
 گئیں۔ مسلمانوں کے گھر میں ہندوؤں کا ایک مکان
 چلا یا نہیں گیا کیونکہ ان کے سامنے مسلمانوں
 کی دوکانوں کو چلا دیا گیا۔ مسلمانوں کے مکانوں
 کے اندر گھسن گھسن کر گولی ماری گئی۔ میں کہوں
 گا کہ وہ کمیونل ریکشن نہیں تھا پولیس ایکشن
 تھا۔ ڈاکٹر بھائی جیہا بیر نے اس کو کمیونل ریکشن
 کہا، میں اس کو پولیس ایکشن کہتا ہوں۔
 گھروں کے اندر گھسن گھسن کر مسلمانوں کو گولیاں
 ماری گئیں۔ میرے پاس تاریخ ۲۶ مسلمان گولی
 سے مارے گئے ہیں۔ سب سے زیادہ مسلمان بکٹ
 سے مارے گئے۔ میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہندو کتنے
 مارے گئے۔ بھائی جیہا بیر۔ ہندوستان اس وقت
 ایک نئے دور سے جا رہا ہے۔ آپ برآمدی کو
 اس روش میں دیکھنے کی کوشش نہ کیجئے۔
 ہندوستان میں ایسے اعلیٰ لوگ ہیں جیسے جنیف صاحب
 انجینئر گولی سے مارا گیا۔ انہیں ہندو آدمی
 دونوں مانتے تھے۔ جنیف صاحب کو ان کے گھر میں
 پولیس نے گولی مار دی۔ ۲۱ تاریخ تک جنیف صاحب
 کی ٹوٹی ہوئی آدھ توڑے پڑے رہے پولیس نے انکو ایگزٹ
 میں نہیں لیا۔ جنیف صاحب کے سامنے کامن آج
 تک جلتا رہا پولیس نے بھایا نہیں۔ یہ حالت ہے۔

ترپ پر جس کو قوت پرستی کی نظر سے نہ دیکھئے۔
 ہندو آدمی مسلمان کی نظر سے نہ دیکھئے۔ آج ہندوستان
 کے اندر ایک ایسی ذہنیت پیدا ہو رہی ہے جو
 نیشنلزم کی طرف جا رہی ہے۔
 پھر ان مسلمانوں میں بھی ایسی ذہنیت نہیں
 آ رہی کہ جنسیت پرست کا واقعہ بتائیں۔ وہاں
 رام نومی کا جلوس نکلا۔ چائے بھاری آ رہی
 ۲۵ یا ۲۶ ہزار لوگ لیکن وہاں لاکھوں کی تعداد
 ہے۔ جیسو دیپور میں وہاں کے ایس۔
 ڈی۔ ایم۔ نے وہاں کے حالات
 کو درست کیا۔ اس نے وہاں کے
 ہندو آدمی مسلمان غنڈوں کو بلکہ کہہ دیا کہ
 ٹرل ہوئی تو میری گولی تیار ہے سینہ پر ہوگی۔ اس نے
 وہاں کے مسلمانوں کو بلکہ کہہ دیا کہ تمہارے تھانہ کے علاقہ
 میں ٹرل ہوئی تو تم کو ذمہ دار ٹھہرائیں گے۔ نتیجہ یہ
 کہ رتنا بڑا لاکھ ڈیڑھ لاکھ کا وہم نومی کا پوریشن
 امن کے ساتھ گزر گیا اور کوئی کچھڑی
 نہیں ہوئی۔ میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب
 سے کہوں گا۔ میں آپ کی عزت
 کرتا ہوں۔ ترپ نے پاکستان سے وٹیک کے سے جو
 عزت حاصل کی تھی اس کو میں جانتا ہوں لیکن آپ
 کی کرسی کے نیچے دیکھ لگی ہوئی ہے وہ کب ڈھے گی
 کوئی ٹھکانہ نہیں لیکن میں آپ سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ
 اگر سچ آپ کے دل میں مسلمانوں کے لئے ہندوستان
 کی اقلیت کے لئے تھوڑا بھی درد ہے تو آپ ایک دن
 بنائیے جس کی جگہ فرقہ وادہ ہندو ہوم مسلمانوں
 کے ساتھ ہو، جیسا کہ ہے، جو بھی اس طرح کے مسئلہ کو

चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद : मैं उसके बारे में अभी जिक्र करूंगा। तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि आज इस गवर्नमेंट को इस बात की फिक्र है कि किस तरह से दूसरी सरकारों को प्रान्तों में गिराया जाय और किस तरह से दूसरी पार्टी के लोगों को अपनी तरफ मिला कर वह अपनी हुकूमत बनाई जाय। इस चीज के अलावा इस सरकार को और किसी चीज के बारे में चिन्ता नहीं है। आज कोई भी आदमी इस मुल्क में यह महसूस नहीं करता है कि वह सिक्योर है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : चौधरी साहब जब मोरार जी भाई और आप लोग सेन्टर में सरकार को टोपुल करने में लगे हुए हो तो क्या हम साधु महात्मा हैं, जो गुजरात की सरकार को टोपुल न करें।

चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद : आप बुजुर्ग हैं और आपको बीच में इस तरह से मुझे नहीं टोकना चाहिये और आपको जब बोलना हो तो तब आप कहिये। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम आज ट्रेन में चलते हैं तो अपने आपको सिक्योर नहीं पाते हैं और रास्ते में चलते हैं तब भी अपने आपको सिक्योर नहीं समझते हैं। आज हमारे देश की यह हालत हो गई है। बंगाल में क्या हो रहा है। हमारे इलाके में जब गवर्नर का राज था, बंगाल से लोग आकर खेत काट कर ले गए और तमाम घरों से सामान ले गए, पुलिस पहुंचती तब तक वे बंगाल बार्डर में घुस जाते थे। मैं ही अपनी पाकेट से मनीबैग निकाल कर रुपया दे रहा था, मेरे सामने टाई लगाए एक साहब आए और रुपया लेकर चल दिए, मैंने पुलिस को कहा मैं एम० पी० हूँ, यह मेरा रुपया लिए चला जा रहा है, वह बोला खामोश रहिये, नहीं तो मार देगा, खत्म हो जाइएगा। मैं दमदम से चला आ रहा था बस में, एक गाड़ी आती है रांग साइड से, बस वाला ड्राइवर जल्दी से रोकता है, तो एक आदमी जो बैठा हुआ था, उसको चोट लग

जाती है। हम कहते हैं कि ड्राइवर वह गाड़ी तो रांग साइड से आ रही है फिर आपको ऐसा करने की क्या जरूरत थी, क्या गवर्नर साहब बैठे हुए थे या गवर्नर का झंडा लगा हुआ था, उसने कहा नहीं साहब उस पर लाल झंडा लगा हुआ था, उसको सब तरफ से जाने का रास्ता है। यह ला एंड आर्डर की हालत है। यह ला एंड आर्डर का तमाशा हो रहा है और हम यहां बैठ कर सोचते हैं कि किस तरह से हम क्या करें।

चाईबासा की बाबत मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। मुझे बहुत बातें कहनी हैं। आप सेक्युलर गवर्नमेंट अपने को कहते हैं, आप बताइए याजी जी आज 22 बरस में मुसलमानों को प्रोटेक्ट करने के लिए आपने क्या किया? नेशनल इंडीप्रेशन के नाम से शिमला में कान्फ्रेंस बुलाई जाती है, नेशनल इंडीप्रेशन के नाम से काश्मीर में भीटिंग बुलाई जाती है। आपने कभी यह फैसला किया कि जहां पर कम्युनल ट्रबुल होगी, वहां पर फिरकेवाराना फसाद होंगे, वहां के अफसर को जिम्मेवार ठहरायेंगे? आपने अगर फैसला नहीं किया तो अभी कीजिए। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि 1964 में हमारे इलाके में रायट हुआ। वहां के बी० डी० ओ० ने वहां के मुसलमानों की बन्दुकों छीन लीं और थाने में बन्द कर दीं। वह बाबू कृष्ण बल्लभ सहाय की हुकूमत का जमाना था। आप सुन लीजिए होम मिनिस्टर साहब। आप सेक्युलरिज्म की बात करते हैं, मुसलमानों की अक्लियत को बचाने की बात करते हैं। सुनिए और सुन कर अगर नेशनल इन्टीप्रेशन की बात कर रहे हैं, सेक्युलरिज्म की बात कर रहे हैं, माइनारिटीज के प्रोटेक्शन की बात कर रहे हैं, तो उन्हें सही माने में प्रोटेक्शन दीजिए, नहीं तो धोखा मत दीजिए। (Interruptions) याजी जी, आपकी आदत ऐसी क्यों हो गई है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि कृष्ण बल्लभ बाबू चीफ मिनिस्टर थे उस जमाने में। तो वहां के मुसलमानों की बन्दूकें ले ली गईं,

माव आया तो मुसलमानों ने बी० डी० ओ० से कहा, उसने कहा कि हम तुम्हारा प्रोटेक्शन करेंगे, उसने दरोगा से कहा कि दरोगा जी बन्दूक लेकर बाइए, दरोगा बी गए, लेकिन लापता हो गए फिर बी० डी० ओ० साहब कहते हैं कि हम दरोगा जी को और बन्दूक लेकर आते हैं, बी० डी० ओ० साहब भी चले गए, मस्जिद में मुसलमान घुसते हैं, सब खच-खच कर दिए जाते हैं। अब चीफ़ इमनिस्टर आफ स्टेट पहुंचता है, तो वह कहता है कि बी० डी० ओ० को तुरंत सस्पेंड करो। डिप्टी कमिश्नर कहता है कि कितना कानून में सस्पेंड करें। मुसलमानों की सस्ती जान है—“आह जाती है फलक पर रहम लाने के लिए, बादलो हट जाओ, दे दो राह जाने के लिए।” (Time will rings) पहली मर्तबा हम बोल रहे हैं, आज हमको कुछ वक्त और दिया जाय। तमाम मुसलमान खत्म हो गए। बी० डी० ओ० पर कोई एक्शन नहीं हुआ, मोशन हुआ। आज यह हालत है।

जाप अक्लियत की हिफाजत करने की बात करते हैं। अक्लियत मुसलमानों की ही नहीं है, हरिजनों की आज क्या हालत है। बनारस में एक हरिजन लड़की को बन्दूक से मार दिया गया? आपने क्या कदम उठाया? क्या हरिजनों का नाम लेते हैं? हम भाई महावीर जी के नजरिए से इत्फाक नहीं करते। लेकिन एक बात हम उनसे कहना चाहते हैं कि भाई महावीर जी—आपका नजरिया कुछ भी हो—आप तमाम मुसलमानों को गलत न समझें, हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ऐसे मुसलमान हैं, जो हिन्दुओं से ज्यादा वफादार हैं। मैं चाईबाबा के बारे में सब कहना चाहता हूँ, मुन जीजिए। अगर आप यह कहते हैं कि कहीं अक्लियत का कुचूर है तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अक्लियत की कितनी दुकानें जलाई गईं, अगर आप कहते हैं कि अक्लियत का कुचूर है तो मुझे बताइए कि अक्लियत की

कितनी जानें गईं। मुसलमानों के महुल्लों में हिन्दुओं का एक मकान जलाया नहीं गया लेकिन थाने के सामने मुसलमानों की दुकानों को जलाया गया, मुसलमानों के मकानों के अन्दर घुस-घुस कर गोली मारी गई। मैं कहूंगा कि वह कम्युनल एक्शन नहीं था, पुलिस एक्शन था। डा० भाई महावीर ने उसको कम्युनल एक्शन कहा, मैं उसका पुलिस एक्शन कहता हूँ। घरों के अन्दर घुस-घुस कर मुसलमानों को गोली मारी गई। मेरे पास तार है। 26 मुसलमान गोली से मारे गए हैं। सबसे ज्यादा मुसलमान बुलेट से मारे गए। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दू कितने मारे गए? भाई महावीर हिन्दुस्तान इस वक्त एक नए दौर से जा रहा है। आप हर आदमी को उस रोगी में देखने की कोशिश न कीजिए। हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसे भी लोग हैं जैसे हनीफ साहब, उन्हें गोली से मारा गया, उन्हें हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों मानते थे। हनीफ साहब को घर में पुलिस ने गोली मारी। 21 तारीख तक हनीफ साहब की टोपी और जुते पड़े रहे, पुलिस ने उनको एग्जिबिट में नहीं लिया। हनीफ साहब का मकान आज तक जलता रहा, पुलिस ने बुझाया नहीं। यह हालत है। आप हर चीज को फिरका परस्ती के नजरिए से न देखिए, हिन्दू और मुसलमान की नजर से न देखिए। आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर एक ऐसी अहमियत पैदा हो रही है, जो फासिज्म की तरफ जा रही है।

हमारे अफसरों में भी अच्छे अफसर हैं। मैं आपको जमशेदपुर का वाकया बताता हूँ, वहाँ राम नवमी का जलूस निकला। चाईबाबा की आबादी 20-25 हजार होगी, लेकिन वहाँ लाखों की आबादी है। जमशेदपुर में वहाँ के एस० पी० एम० ने वहाँ के हालत को दुरुस्त किया। उसने वहाँ के हिन्दू और मुसलमान गुन्डों को बूला कर कहा कि यहाँ कोई द्रबुल होगा तो मेरी गोली तुम्हारे पीने पर होगी। उसने वहाँ के अफसरों को बूला कर कहा कि तुम्हारे थाने के इलाके में द्रबुल होगी तो तुमको जिम्मेवार ठहराएंगे। नतीजा

[चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद]

यह हुआ कि इतना बड़ा लाख-बेड़ लाख का राम नवमी का प्रोमेशन अमन के साथ गुजर गया और कोई गड़बड़ी नहीं हुई। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहूंगा। मैं आपकी इज्जत करता हूँ, आपने पाकिस्तान के अटक के समय जो इज्जत हासिल की थी, उसको मैं जानता हूँ। लेकिन आप की कुर्सी के नीचे दीमक लगी हुई है, वह कब दहेगी, कोई ठिकाना नहीं। लेकिन मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सचमुच आपके दिल में मुसलमानों के लिए, हिन्दुस्तान की अकिलयत के लिए थोड़ा भी दर्द है, तो आप एक कानून बनाइये, जिससे कोई भी फिरका वह हिन्दू हो, मुसलमान हो, सिख हो, ईसाई हो, जो भी इस तरह के फसाद करता है, उसको सही दंड दे सकें। इसलिए मैं फिर कहूंगा कि :

‘आह जाती है फलक पर रहाम लाने के लिए, बादलों हट जाओ दे दो, राह जाने के लिए।’

बहुत दिन तक आप अकिलयत को दबा कर नहीं रख सकते। यह बहुत बड़ी अकिलयत है, हिन्दुस्तान की बहुत बड़ी अकिलयत है। कितनी आबादी का एक सूबा होता है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान में आप इतनी बड़ी अकिलयत को दबा कर रखेंगे, तो यह एक शोला बन सकता है और उससे खूबसूरत हिन्दुस्तान बर्बाद हो सकता है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि (Interruptions) याजी जो आप क्यों घबरा रहे हैं ...

श्री उपसभापति : याजी जी, क्या आपको 8 बजे तक बैठना है ?

चौधरी ए० मोहम्मद : मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज नक्सलाइट्स एक्टिविटीज बढ़ रही हैं। छोटा नागपुर के बारे में मैं आपको बतलाऊँ, अगर आप जानना चाहते हैं, तो कि वहाँ पर बंगाल की कुछ औरतें आती हुई हैं और वे तमाम काम को मैनेज कर रही हैं। वह वहाँ लोगों को ट्रेंड कर रही हैं। आप कहां बैठे हुए हैं ? किस गद्दी पर बठ हुए हैं ? वह गद्दी खत्म हो जायगी और दिल्ली के

अंदर भी नक्सलाइट्स पैदा होंगे। इसलिए मैं बहुत अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस वक़्त हम लोग काइसिस में हैं। एक तरफ पाकिस्तान हमारा दुश्मन बैठा हुआ है और दूसरी तरफ चीन हमारा दुश्मन बैठा हुआ है और हम अपने बीच में एक ऐसी हवा पैदा कर रहे हैं, एक ऐसी फिजा तैयार कर रहे हैं, जिससे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए जो सपना गांधी जी ने देखा था, वह खत्म होता जा रहा है, बड़े-बड़े लोगों ने जो कुर्बानियाँ की थीं, वह बर्बाद होने जा रही है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप सही तरीके पर समझें और सही तरीके पर समझ कर नक्सलाइट्स एक्टिविटीज को रोकने की कोशिश करें। यही कर्तव्य कर मैं आपके शुक्रिये के साथ बंद करता हूँ।]

SHRI A. D. MANI : Mr. Deputy Chairman, the House is having an opportunity for the first time of discussing the report of the Ministry of Home Affairs which I may call, the backbone Ministry of the Government. We are discussing this report in an atmosphere when we see that there is a great weakening of the Central Government and the stability of the country has been assailed by forces of disorder in West Bengal and other parts of the country. The report naturally, does not make any reference to these disorders because they did not occur during the year in question. I would make a remark on the observations made by some Members here that there should be a re-thinking of the Centre-State relations. While I agree that there is considerable scope for revising the Centre-State relations in order to have more financial powers for the State Governments, I would like, in the course of the review, the hands of the Central Government to be strengthened in maintaining law and order and maintaining the integrity of the country. I hope that whatever might be the complexion of the State Governments, they would all agree to make this sacrifice in favour of the Central Government, namely, giving a little more power to maintain law and order in this country. The Centre should make a sacrifice in financial affairs but not as far as law and order is concerned. Yesterday there was a question about the working of the CBI and I was very glad to hear from the Home Minister that he was thinking

[Shri A. D. Man]

of giving it a statutory basis. He also made an astonishing revelation that as far as the CBI is concerned, even he cannot give orders and I do not know how they function. That was not a satisfactory state of affairs. The political forces or political apparatus must have some control.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Do not misrepresent what I said. You are free to make any observation. I said that the C.B.I. are « under the administrative control (of the Home Ministry) but as far as investigations are concerned, they are certainly independent of the Home Ministry. Is he wrong about it?

SHRI A. D. BHANTY : I accept the modification that as far as investigation is concerned, it is not under their control but even that is not a satisfactory position because the CBI cannot sit itself as a superior authority vis-a-vis the Ministers. I would like, when the legislation is brought forward, to give powers to the CBI to work as an independent agency with powers to work in the States under certain conditions. I should be laid down that even as far as the Central Ministers are concerned, they would have the power of investigation subject to the Prime Minister being informed of the matter. The Prime Minister must be accepted as the Head of the Central Government. We cannot agree to give the CBI the same position that the FBI has in the US. That is the first point I would make

I would go on to the Naxalite activity to which reference has been made by many Members and on which a very feeling speech has been made by my friend, Shri Kalyan Roy. I quite appreciate that we cannot face the Naxalite activity only with repressive measures. We have to tackle the economic problem but in this connection I would draw the attention of the Home Minister to the fact that the way in which the problem is being tackled in Bengal does not inspire confidence. There is a lot of difference between 'C' and 'O'—between Mr. Chavan and Mr. Dhawan. I quite agree that Mr. Chavan may not go to the Patel Chowk and conduct an investigation but what the Bengal Governor is doing is to conduct on-the-spot investigations into the crimes. This is not the work for a Governor, least of all the Bengal Governor. I hope guidelines would be

set out for the Governors of the various States and they should be told not to interfere with the work of the police which should be left to the Police authorities and that, just as Mr. Chavan himself has kept aloof from the police investigation here, the Governor of Bengal must allow the police investigation to take its normal course and the Governor should not go and direct the police investigation himself.

I would make one final observation on the IAS to which reference has been made by Mr. Anandan. I am not in favour of any special privilege for the IAS but in view of the conditions prevailing in the country, I feel that there is a just case for raising the age of retirement of the IAS to 60. If we look at the report, there is reference to the fact that a large number of first class candidates are not appearing in the IAS examination and very few are appearing. There has been a fall in the quality of the IAS officers who are now being recruited. If the IAS is to attract the cream of talent in this country, the age of retirement should be raised to 60 which is the age of retirement in the Home Civil Service in England and I hope the Home Minister would give consideration to the question of raising the age of retirement for the IAS.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : I offer you my thanks for calling me at least at the far end of the debate and when we are discussing the performance of the Home Ministry, we are talking of violence in the entire area of the country which is surcharged with violence. Even the Home Ministry in its report has admitted that the trend towards the growth of tension continues and the Ministry took such and such measures to tackle the problem. When we are discussing the performance of the Home Ministry, we have to see the crime position in the country and the comparative study for the last five years from 1962 to 1967 where we find murder has increased by 13.5%, kidnapping by 8.1%, dacoity by 26.3%, robbery by 27.4%, riot by 34.7% and the total cognizable crime by 21.2% in the last 5 years, from 1962 to 1967. So far as the communal riots are concerned, it has been admitted in the Report that in 1968, 346 communal riots took place in different parts of the country. And even in 1969, when we were celebrating the birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukharjee]

who, throughout his life, advocated communal harmony and peace, even in that year we could not check communal riots, and they increased from 346 in 1968 to 519 last year. Sir, we must go into the depth of the causes of this violence. On the floor of this House we have talked much about the Naxalites. Some of us have tried to eulogise them. Some of us have tried to vilify them. Apart from the Naxalites, who are a group of young men however misguided they may be, take the case of mature politicians, who talk of violence, who preach violence and who strongly advocate the cause of violence. And those persons are occupying responsible positions in society and even in administration. I know of one of the Ministers of the United Front Government in West Bengal who did not hesitate to say that he was proud of the gruesome murders committed in some places of the State. If a responsible man, who holds a very high position in the administration can openly advocate brutal murders, then, Sir, there is nothing to check violence. It has been admitted by my various friends on this side and belonging to the other side that the problem of the Naxalites will have to be tackled both from the political point of view and from the administrative point of view—Yesterday on the Calling Attention motion the Minister of State for Home Affairs was replying that they cannot ignore the political aspect of the problem. In this context, Sir, I like to point out about the problem of Naxalites in West Bengal. And some of us may remember that on the very floor of this House in the first week of March when replying to supplementary questions the Union Home Minister was saying that they were aware of the existence of a number of training centres for guerilla warfare in the Naxalite-affected areas of West Bengal. Thereafter, suppose the very Home Secretary, Mr. S. B. Roy, came forward with a statement sarcastically and in the most indignant manner denying the existence of the training centres for guerilla warfare in West Bengal, may I ask the Union Home Minister how he can expect that with the help of that Home Secretary, who still occupies the position of Home Secretary, he will be able to tackle the problem of Naxalites with the administrative machinery and with the police machinery? May I ask him whether this man, who dares to ignore the information given by the Union Home Minister on the floor of

the House, will come to the help of tackling the problem of Naxalites? In this connection, Sir, I must talk of the role of civil servants in a parliamentary set-up. We all know that in a parliamentary democracy civil servants have a very important role to play and that they should be committed to the principles professed and translated into action by the Ministers. And it is expected that the civil servants should not indulge in party politics. But recently the trend has developed in certain parts of the country that civil servants, the ICS and IAS officers, District Magistrates' and Superintendents of Police, are indulging in politics and political activities. Keeping an eye on the political parties who may come to power after the elections they try to serve their interests, and in this way they directly or indirectly involve themselves and create a large number of complications—May I ask the Union Home Minister to take serious note of these points and create a healthy precedent so that at least the civil servants may be kept out of the day to day politics and partisan politics and they remain outside the influence of the partisan interests of particular parties. In this connection, Sir, I must ask the Union Home Minister to take note of certain officers of West Bengal. There are allegations against them in the press and certain Members of Parliament have lodged complaints against them. And those officers particularly against whom complaints have been made by Members of Parliament that they are leaning to particular political parties, they should be taken to task and serious action should be taken against them. Particularly one officer has been mentioned on the floor of this House by my friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy. I like to mention two or three other members. One is Mr. Murshed, who is a Joint Secretary in the Home Department, and who served the interests of the Marxist Communist Party in West Bengal. Another officer is Mr. S. B. Roy, Home Secretary of West Bengal Government, who also identified himself with the interests of the Marxist Communist Party in West Bengal. So is the case with Mr. Kalyan Ghakravarti and Mr. Arun Mukherjee. These two officers belong to the Indian Police Service and both of them occupy very high positions in the Calcutta police. We want that under no circumstances police personnel and administrative personnel should be brought into politics.

Now, Sir, coming to the problem of the Naxalites, I entirely agree that it

cannot be solved not only from the administrative point of view. The Naxalite problem can be solved politically, and if adequate scope of employment be given to the Naxalite youths and if rapid agrarian reforms be brought out in West Bengal, I think the problem of Naxalites can be tackled more easily than in any other way. At the same time, Sir, we must take note of the fact that it is not only the Naxalites who are preaching violence. Those among them who are brave enough, they are preaching violence publicly. But there are certain paramilitary organisations patronised by political parties such as the RSS, Lachit Sena and Shiv Sena. The Union Home Minister should take note of all these organisations. Sir, our living in the India of today has a comparison, has a similarity with the last days of the Mughal empire when the different parts of the country tried to get autonomy, tried to overrule Delhi, tried to overrule Central administration. We are entering into that phase. So, each and every political party, now-a-days, they are thinking that without its own volunteer corps and armed volunteer corps they cannot protect themselves. And actually, fights are happening in different parts of the country and elsewhere. We cannot hold meetings if we do not post our volunteers with lathis and other deadly weapons. Otherwise, other political parties will come and they will break our meeting. This is the condition of our democratic machinery. This is the condition of our state and the Union Home Minister must take a serious note of it.

Another point I like to point out is regarding the crime situation. I must tell that it has increased to a very great extent as the figure; I have already placed before the House show. And I would ask the Home Minister to tackle this problem so that at least law and order is maintained. Not only politically and socio-economically this problem may be tackled. The Home Minister should take note of all these things.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, I welcome the move that the specific Ministry's functioning and policies are being discussed in this House. I am sure it will benefit this House as well as it will benefit the public, because it will have brought before the public many delicate questions.

Sir, I would confine myself only to the problem of Telengana. Before I

say anything about that I would say that the general trend in the country, whether it is among students or whether it is among communities, is to organise things through violence and get their point through violent activities. And that is a very dangerous trend, and without going into the details I would appeal to the Home Minister and to the Government of India, and I am sure, Sir, you will all agree with one mind that we must say that this trend not only to commit violence but in an organised way should be met effectively. Now, Sir, if my friend, Mr. Faju, would not have been in hospital, because he is a Member of this House and he represents Telengana more correctly than I do, I would not have requested you to give me some time regarding this matter. We have discussed many a time, we have discussed with the Home Minister, with the Prime Minister, this Telengana question but now the point to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister is this. Six months back in the consultative Committee we came to a unanimous decision—all the parties agreed to it—that there should be a conference of all the leaders of Telengana and Andhra and some solution should be sorted out, I know afterwards we discussed again and we thought that without calling this conference we could come to some solution but as it is, it is now evident that we could not come to any conclusion which would be effective or which would help the situation there. Let us understand very clearly that it is a crisis of confidence between the Telengana people and the Andhra people, let us not try to whitewash that. At the same time I am one of those, realising the difficulties that are there, who would not have a separate Telengana. I feel even in the interests of the Telengana people themselves a separate Telengana State is not the solution. At the same time I also realise that it will create difficulties for the Government of India, for the Home Ministry, for everybody. Let us sit together, representatives of the Andhra region, representatives of the Telengana region, under the chairmanship of the Home Minister or the Prime Minister and try to discuss all the aspects and thrash out this matter. You know two of our colleagues in Parliament, one belonging to our party and the other belonging to the Congress (Opposition) have offered satyagraha and courted arrest, they are Mr. Rameswara Rao and Mr. Surendra Reddy. The ex-Steel Minister of the

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan] Government of India, Dr. Ghenna Reddy, offered *salyagraha* and he has been arrested. Mr. Ramachandra Reddy who was the Revenue Minister offered *satyagraha* and he has been arrested. So let us understand that things are not so quiet as sometimes I feel the Government of India thinks it is. It is not so, we have to take up this problem, we are not to close our eyes to it. *(Interruption)* This problem started with the services but there are other problems also and I am not going into them now because there is no time and I must see that we close this debate soon. What I feel is this. That unanimous Resolution should be taken up, the leaders should be called here or the Home Minister should go to Hyderabad, call a conference, discuss with Mr. Brahma-nanda Reddy, Mr. Ghenna Reddy and all others. I am sure many of the parties do not subscribe to the idea of a separate Telangana except probably the Swa-tantra Party. We fully realise the difficulties of the Government of India. We do not want to create a precedent which will create demands in each State, in Maharashtra, in Gujarat, in U.P., in Bihar. No, we do not want that. At the same time you will have to find a solution to this unrest, to this feeling of no-confidence that has arisen unfortunately between the people of the Telangana region and the people of the Andhra region.

SHRI PREM MANOHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : How will you check this demand in other States?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : We are not conceding—at least I think we are not—separate Telangana.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : What is your solution?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : My solution is that the powers that have been given by a recent order, with little additions, can be made statutory.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : What are those additions?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : I mean if that is agreed, those powers at present are left to the discretion of the Chief Minister, the Regional Committee and the Governor. The ultimate decision is that of the Governor, and we all know that in difficult situation; the Governors are rightly guided by the Chief Ministers.

SHRI VENIGALLA SATYANARAYANA (Andhra Pradesh) : You mean the powers must be given to these three only ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : The final decision rests with the Governor. I say statutory power should be given to the Regional Committee. That is to say, within this ambit they can have a sub-State. *(Interruptions)* It is a limited thing. I do not want even like Meghalaya in Assam. There must be something done so that you can satisfy those people—more than one crore of people—and therefore what I feel is if you do not take up this matter, as time passes, as things move, things will become more difficult and it will create greater problems infinitely worse than what they are today. In that spirit in the greater interest of the integration of India, in the greater interest of the people of Andhra State and even of the Telangana people, I feel that a dialogue in this respect is very urgently needed and I do hope as you have always been very helpful in tackling problems and finding solutions, you will also try to tackle this problem and find out some solution which will be in the interests of all concerned.

Thank you.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Mr. Deputy Chairman, this debate has really speaking been a great help to me. I am glad that leaders from all the political parties have participated in this discussion, have made some useful suggestions, some constructive criticism and some angry observations too. But I take them in the spirit in which they were offered. Sir I do not propose to go point by point into all the matters that were referred to by Members. I would only take the general points that were made in their speeches and deal with them.

The most important point that was made was about the present law and order situation in the country, particularly with reference to communal tension and secondly with reference to what is now popularly known as the Naxalite movement. These are, as I have many times mentioned, the expression of some of the political, social and economic tensions that are existing in our country and if we have to deal with those problems we will have to see them in their proper perspective. When I try to explain or when I try to speak on these problems

some people feel that the Home Minister is in the habit of giving some facile explanations but would like to say here that these problems will have to be dealt with in a more careful manner. First of all we will have to understand what these problems are.

As far as the Naxalite movement is concerned, two or three different points of view were expressed here. One was the point of view of merely describing the atrocities committed and naturally the Government has to deal with those activities. These are serious and I agree with those Members that these atrocities deserve all condemnation. I do not think anybody can say otherwise. I quite agree that these atrocities and these activities of the Naxalites do pose a very serious threat to the administration, to democracy and to the general law and order situation in the country. There is no doubt about it. The question is how do we handle it. One way is if emphasizing it as purely a law and order problem to be dealt with firmly. I have no doubt that it will have to be dealt with firmly. Hon. Mr. Goray said that I will have to deal with it firmly. I agree that it will have to be dealt with firmly. But is it right that it should be treated merely as a law and order problem? I would say that will be an incomplete statement. We have to understand that this House is not a forum where we merely make some brave statements. I think this House is expected to go into the depth of the problem. Naturally, therefore, when I, on behalf of the Government, speak about a general problem in the country, must put it in a proper perspective. Therefore I would say that this certainly is a problem which needs to be studied and considered in the political context, in the social and in the economic context of the country, as a whole. I entirely agree that this has created very serious difficulties in certain parts of the country, particularly Bengal, some parts of Bihar, some parts of Andhra and also in some areas of Assam. In Assam also recently there was quite a spurt in the Naxalite activities. Some Members and particularly the hon. Member, Mr. Saiyapal—T do not think he is present here—said that they had contained the Naxalite activities in West Bengal. He tried to take credit for two achievements of the United Front Government which was really speaking the

SHRI KALYAN ROY : The Government was that of the United Front, but the Marxists had a big portfolio.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Technically 'Yes', but I was talking about the content of the Government.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE : You are talking about things to come.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The other things for which he took credit was that there was no communal riot as such during the United Front administration. I am not prepared to accept the first point. I may concede the second point but only partly because I know that there were some communal riots during the United Front Government in Bengal. There was quite a serious one in Jagdalpur, for example. I am speaking from memory. It was a very bad riot.

SHRI HAYATULLAH ANSARI : Howrah.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Howrah. Many of you can give illustrations. About the containment of Naxalite activities I am not prepared to accept what the communist Member said. Those people who are at the present moment directing ideologically, organisationally and programmatically the Naxalite movement, some of them, were in jail for some of those activities. The United Front Government released them. The prosecutions pending against some of them were withdrawn. How can you say that you wanted to deal with the problem? Even if you wanted to deal with the problem, is it right to allow these people to go and start working on their own programmes? Then, you say that you tried to contain it. Is it containment or is it appeasement? I am not prepared to accept the claim of the UF because the Naxalites were given opportunities to organise themselves. Their cadres were being built up and they were allowed to do many other things like that. Possibly they allowed their own rank and file to be influenced by them. Whatever is happening today is really speaking the result of whatever preparations they made during that period. So, I am prepared to accept the position that the United Front Government had contained the Naxalite activities. I hope that those who were partners in the United Front Government will also have a second look at this achievement, if at all they claim it to be an achievement.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIEN (Kerala): I think the hon. Minister is missing the essential point, namely that the United Front Government had tried to solve some of the basic problems which had led to the Naxaiite activities. For instance, the land problem is there. What is your present Government doing about it?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am coming to that. Why do you not have some patience? Then, what is the distinction or difference between the Naxaiite way and the democratic way? Problems are there. The problem of maldistribution of land is there. The problem of unemployment is there. Exploitation is there. We are not denying those things ...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : I think it is not inspired by China.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : ... but what is the method of solving it? Really speaking the problems that we are facing in this country are problems of an under developed country. We have got all the problems of a country which was under colonial domination for centuries, but what is the method by which we want to solve them? I think this country under the Constitution has accepted a democratic way of doing it. I think the country has generally accepted the socialist way of doing it, through democratic ids. This is the way we do it.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIEN : Read the reports of the Home Ministry . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The methods employed in solving these problems were according to me, not democratic methods and, therefore, it cannot be said that you are trying to contain the Naxaliies problem. As a matter of fact I am afraid with the tilings being done, you were laying down a firm foundation for a further expansion of Naxaiite activities in Bengal. Let us be atleast clear in our minds as to what we are talking about. I can say that those people are hone;t who say that this is the Naxaiite programme and stand by it, but saying that we are not Naxalites but supporting all the means and methods that the Naxalites employ is something very dangerous. If at all we want to solve the problem, let us understand it properly. I quite agree with the hon. Member who said that it would be tactically a dangerous tiling to allow them to go underground. Somebody made that point and it is a sensible one.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIEN : What about the Communal war?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Let us try to understand it. Ultimately the methods which were employed in this matter led to certain clashes amongst the partners "f the United Front Government.

AN HON. MEMBER : So-called United Front.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But what is that method? I think you will at least give credence to some of the things we say. We have stated on the floor of the House things on the basis of certain information and principles. In Andhra Pradesh and Punjab and especially in Andhra Pradesh people had been caught on mere suspicion, shot in police custody and their bodies thrown in the village field or in the street. Which method is it? Is it democracy?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am not denying the use of democratic method but when there are gangs of people who are going about and cutting off people's heads and parade them that way, they have to be dealt with as a law and order problem.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Even if I commit a murder and you arrest me, it is not the job of the police to shoot me in police custody.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Of course, not. I entirely agree with you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I gave you a memorandum, but up till now we do not know what has been done. The only reply we have got is from Punjab. It is not your Government and I do not blame you. In Punjab, in Rupar district a person belonging to our party, nothing to do with Naxalites, the President of the Kisan Sabha, was taken into police custody, shot down and his body was thrown in the street.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I know about your memorandum . . . -

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The Andhra Pradesh Government, your Government under Congress rule, is doing it almost every day. In Srikakulam district, you are arresting people as Naxalites !. . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : As I said earlier, there are terrible and difficult

problems and I think the Government there have a very difficult task to handle. Of course you have given me a memorandum which I have forwarded to the Andhra Government. I am sure they will look into it. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Home Minister, I do not want to interrupt you. As Home Minister, from his point of view he was giving certain suggestions about democratic methods and so on, but he is after all the Union Home Minister. When it has been pointed out how the law enforcement machinery was committing simple crime, and with night murders, what happens then? Will the Government of India move in the matter?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The point is this. Suppose the law and order authorities are trying to go and investigate matters and arrest some people, some gangs come and attack them. Are they not supposed to protect themselves?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I believe of you, Mr. Chavan, you will credit me with that much intelligence. I am talking of people being arrested, taken into police custody. There was no question of any encounter. They were beaten to death or shot dead, their bodies thrown out and an alibi was created or a false story was put out to it they have been shot down in an encounter . . .

SHRI M. / NANDAM : I repudiate your statement.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I understand your point, but these are matters of fact

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India makes such charges by going there on the spot, if Members of Parliament and Members of State Assemblies go there . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Why are you repeating it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Whenever voting comes, your people come and discuss it, but it is such matters you do not come. Now, Sir, this is very serious . . .

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Your point is very clear.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why do you not allow me to speak? I am saying that it is very serious. We are a responsible political party. We have got certain serious charges and at the highest level of the party we have taken it up with you and the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, but up till now not only have we not got any satisfaction from you, but on the contrary such shootings are taking place. I have given you the example of the Rupar case.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Why do you repeat it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now you are telling us to keep quiet. I have great regard for Mr. Chavan, but here it is not a question of personal regard. It is a question of a public issue. Whenever it suits them, the Central Government will listen to us. Whenever it does not suit them, as in Andhra Pradesh they will not listen to us. I would like to know what sort of investigation has been made. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Let him reply now. You have already made your point.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why are you protecting him? You are protecting the Andhra Pradesh Government. We also in these benches need some protection. We do not believe in Naxalite methods. There are parliamentary Naxalite methods also. Mr. Chavan, if these benches taught parliamentary Naxalite methods, I do not know where you will be.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I know where I will be.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am afraid you will not be Union Home Minister or Prime Minister.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Sir, Whenever you point out, we sit down quietly. Is only one Member to have all the privilege of getting up and talking?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, I will talk. I will certainly talk because I have got certain charges. Mr. Goray, your comrades have not been shot and killed. *(Interruptions)* My comrades have been shot. Therefore, I will not only shout, I will speak about it. You do whatever you like. I shall continue to speak because I know that people

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] are being shot. Mr. Goray, you also speak but never have you uttered any word of condemnation against this kind of brutal murder, cold-blooded murder in police custody. If you think, if any party thinks that it can shoot down Naxa-lites, we can take that challenge, we shall take that challenge.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I understand that these are matters on which he has given a memorandum. We have forwarded it to the Andhra Pradesh Government. I shall certainly discuss with the hon. Member again.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What about the point that many days ago we submitted a memorandum? Let him tell us what has happened to that memorandum. What happened to the other cases, not Naxalites but others being killed?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He has replied. He has received your memorandum and he has referred it to the State Government. Why do you interrupt again and again?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : His letter is ignored by Shri Brahmananda Reddy.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The point that I was making was, as far as the general problem of Naxalites is concerned, it has two aspects and I think both aspects will have to be taken into consideration, and where-ever it is necessary they will have to be dealt with firmly. As far as Bengal is concerned we will have to approach the problem from both aspects.

As far as the communal problem is concerned, Mr. Madani gave a very long speech about whatever he had found wherever he had gone. I think he very rightly made one point that it would be wrong to select any particular community for being considered or charged or alleged as having some sort of alliance with some enemy country of the nation. There I entirely agree with him and naturally in the last couple of years we have taken many administrative steps which I hope will ultimately result in the necessary spirit for necessary atmosphere being created in the country. We all know that the meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Integration Conference which I

was held in Delhi had made certain very useful suggestions; some of them are being implemented and some of them are yet in the process of implementation. But the main conclusion that we ultimately came to in the Standing Committee was that some sort of general campaign is necessary in the country to create the proper atmosphere.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : What about that campaign ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That has not yet started. An Organising Committee has been appointed for this matter. We do not want to make it an official programme. We would like to have some sort of sponsoring by leading political parties in the country. We are organising a Committee on which representatives of all the political parties will sit and prepare a programme. I hope immediately after the session this organising Committee will meet and have a programme because it will have to be a long-term programme which will have to be sustained for some months, years if necessary. I hope I will get the necessary co-operation in this particular matter from all the political parties concerned.

The other problems that were mentioned were about IAS and ICS officers.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : What about Calcutta Chief Justice?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Chief Justice P. B. Mukherjee is a very senior man. He was not making him permanent. The United Front Government wanted it, but there was something against him. You were not there then, it was in Pandit Pant's time. I know what it was, nothing much. Up till now he has not been made permanent.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This matter of appointment of permanent Chief Justice is under the consideration of the Government of India. He is appointed Acting Chief Justice. Naturally the Government is considering all aspects of the problem. There are some problems, as you yourself mentioned- They are being considered. I hope some decision will be reached early. This much I can say about this matter.

I was talking about IAS and ICS. The only point that was made by some Members was whether we should have some new angle to the problem of the Services, whether they are the only topmost service, whether we are not going to give

Some necessary importance to people who have got a scientific background, who are technologists. I think, yes, a new approach to the problem of administration has come to stay in our country. Fresh air is blowing in the country, and I must say that even the Administrative Reforms Commission has applied its mind to the problems. But at the same time having said all this, there is a tendency of denigrating the IAS and ICS. That should not be done. I do not say that they are the rascals, but when by our own decision we have created the Administrative Service naturally, we will have to give them the respect. This is the only point I would like to make in this particular matter. When they are doing good work, they should not feel that there is nobody in this Government. There is nobody in the administration or in Parliament, who is prepared to make a very balanced appreciation of what they are doing. While I am speaking on this problem, I must also speak and emphasize this aspect. Unfortunately we have got this tradition of the so-called steel-frame of the British rule. I can say I think most of the Members who have come in contact with the new generation of the IAS will agree that they are as patriotic young men of India, as some of us claim to be. But if you ask me whether, because they exist in the Administrative Service, are they the only instruments of administration? My answer will be 'No'. Unfortunately with the sort of superstitious bias that the people have, or traditionally, were in the habit, as a people, to attach more importance to those who are administrators. Because of our own tradition, we have not learnt to give importance to people who are professional experts and technocrats. We have taught ourselves to go and respect people who have got some authority.

7 P.M.

I mean, that change is also necessary in our own thinking.

About the other point which some Members made I think there is some danger in pleading for a sort of regional recruitment in the I.A.S. I find that some other Members made comments on regionalism, on Chauvinistic regionalism. Let us not introduce this sort of Chauvinistic regionalism in the field of service. I know, the State administration has to be run with people knowing the local language. And there is a way. From

amongst the State officers, from the provincial service people, quite a reasonable percentage are recruited into the I.A.S. Then some Members said that people coming from other States are not effective. I would like to tell the hon. Members because I have got experience of a State as Chief Minister. And most of the officers of the I.A.S. in my State are from the other States because rightly or wrongly I think it is a matter for the people coming from Maharashtra to be concerned about — in the last few years there is not much of a recruitment or selection of local boys in the I.A.S. But it does not matter. I have dealt with them personally and a larger number of them who come there have absolutely identified themselves with the people of that State. They speak that language as beautifully as the local people speak. They have identified themselves with the problems of the people. That sort of barrier does not exist. I think the process of integration of this country is to be seen here. Only the other day I was in one of the districts of Tamil Nadu and I saw a young man, a Sardarji, from Punjab. And the first thing I asked him was, "Do you speak the Tamil language?" And another Tamilian who was sitting by said, "He speaks better Tamil than I." He has completely identified himself with the problems there because he goes to the villages, talks the language. Therefore, this feeling should not be created that a man coming from the other States would be of no use, that only because his mother-tongue is something different, therefore he will not be a good officer. Once we create this feeling, I think there is going to be a permanent barrier in the different regions. Let us not fall a prey to that particular idea.

Many other items were also mentioned. Some Members mentioned the Centre-States relations and the specific suggestion that was made was, whatever the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission in this matter, they should be processed further. I can tell him that those recommendations are under very active consideration. Series of meetings are being held at the processing level and I think we should be in a position to formulate certain ideas soon because we propose to discuss these ideas on Centre-State relations in the National Integration Council also. This is one of the items. We are preparing some working papers. In that connection, we have asked the other political parties also to send us papers and ideas for the National Integration

[Shri Y. B. Chavan] Council. I think one party is ready with its ideas. The PSP has sent their paper on this matter. So, we will consolidate these ideas and come to some decision because the time has come when one has to give some more constructive and careful consideration to the problems of the Centre-State relations. I do not want to go into details and catalogue those items and what we think about it, at the present moment. I do not think that I should take the time of the House on that matter.

One point that I would like to make is about the speech Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam, — a very interesting speech; I heard it after a very long time. He made one point that in order to be effective, one must be in a majority. I can only tell him that this Government, in a parliamentary system, can last only if there is majority, only if there is the support of the House. So, the present Government has got the support of the Members of the House.

SHRI MOHAN LAL GAUTAM : Do you accept pressurising ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The only point that you were making was whether there was overwhelming majority in the House today. Once we take up that position, then there is no possibility of having a Government today. Are you taking that position ? When we say that the Government must have a majority, it means the majority in Parliament. This Government has consistently.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You should respect the opinions of the majority. This is the propounding. You have a majority but the trouble is that you forget some times that fact.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : It is a borrowed majority; you have borrowed people who are not quite reliable. . .
(Interruption)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order please.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Let us not go into that because I do not want to go into political polemics in this matter. The point that he made was this. It was as if this Government is without any majority. It cannot be. This is the only point that I would like to make on this matter. The hon. Shri. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But there should be honesty.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Mention about the problem of Telengana.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Do not interrupt him. About Telengana let us hear him.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He mentioned a point that we in the Consultative Committee decided to call a meeting, whether such a meeting did take place. One has to find out whether such discussions are going to lead to any constructive results. As far as discussion with all the leaders is concerned, I have not denied it. As a matter of fact, he...

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : At one place you have not collected people of Andhra and Telengana.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : You do not know. At the earlier stages, the leaders of Telengana and Andhra were also brought together by the Prime Minister. Only after discussion with them, she announced the eight point programme that she had in mind. Then I went to Hyderabad. And we were willing to discuss with them. Some of the leaders also were brought here, the members of the Regional Committee. We sat with them for hours together. The major problems involved have been dealt with. Two or three major aspects like the surplus funds to be utilised for the . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Safeguards.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Certain safe guards for the employees. Statutory guarantee was the point. As a matter of fact when this State was reorganised, at that time the question was gone into and a Regional Committee was constituted.

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh): It is a police State today. Is it merely a law and order problem or is it a political solution ? Is the Government of India clear on this point ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No problem in this country is purely and exclusively a law and order problem. There are political overtones.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : The erstwhile colleagues of Mr. Brahmananda Reddy have been put behind the bars. Not a single judicial inquiry has been instituted even though 350 people were killed. Is it democracy ?

AN HON. MEMBER : Schools and colleges have been closed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : We will discuss those points with him because he is a very leading member from Telengana. He was a member of the Regional Committee of Telengana also. So, I will discuss it with him.

SHRI BHUPI SH GUPTA : I hope he is not a Naxalite.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He is as good a democrat as I can find to be. But I cannot classify him along with you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Statutory guarantee you must keep.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Whatever the arrangements that are made in the Presidential Order, they have got all the statutory validity about them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not at all. It is not enforceable. It cannot be taken to the court—this Presidential Order.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : In a democracy, everything has the force of convention; I had merely mentioned this point to you; I am bringing about certain statutory changes means the amendment of the Constitution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : How do you know?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Well I have examined this point. Please take it from me—it would mean the amendment of the Constitution I do not think I can give any promise on this matter.

Well, Sir, I come to the last point which was first made by my young friend, Dr. Bhai Mahavir.

I can assure him that he need not feel that we are trying to protect any wrong person. I can assure him of that thing. I can tell him that as Home Minister I do not deal with the N.D.M.C. The day-to-day administration of the N.D.M.C. is dealt with by the Health Ministry, and the Lt. Governor has certain reserve powers about it. The N.D.M.C is a statutory body. It is run under the Punjab Municipal Act as related to the Delhi part of it. The only point at which the Home Ministry comes in contact with it is when the members of the N.D.M.C. are nominated, because it is a nominated body. There are crucial problems of New Delhi. Therefore,

it has to be a nominated body. The nomination of the N.D.M.C. is made by the Lt. Governor in consultation with the Home Minister. As a policy the Health Ministry is also consulted in that process. I would like to tell the hon'ble Member—he also knows about it—that when the question of nomination to this body was concerned, I did take into consideration the representative character in Delhi itself, and a sort of parity was also arranged, and along with the Congress members some members of the Jan Sangh were also nominated.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What about others?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Your party today has no representation in Parliament. You do not have even one Member of your party in either House. But this is not the question that I raised.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Why not?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Mr. Gujral was the only member of the ruling party. But I did not refer to it. Even the Punjab Municipal Act under which it is run there are provisions regarding financial powers of spending. Those provisions are flouted. The records are flouted. The President is a nominated officer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why is there political complexion in a nominated body? You nominate your own people. Your association with it is on behalf of Parliament and therefore, you are accountable to Parliament. Then, if you are nominating, why should you nominate a person only from the Jan Sangh or even from your own party?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Because the C.P.I. does not exist in Delhi.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Then on that analogy in the Constitutive Committee on Bengal, not one Member from the Jan Sangh should go, because in the West Bengal Assembly there was not even one member of Jan Sangh.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : If you were to nominate a Committee, would you nominate from the Jan Sangh... (*Interruption by Shri Bhupesh Gupta*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have left it to the Lt. Governor to nominate a body to administer the affairs of the New Delhi Municipal Committee. If that is so you are acting on behalf of Parliament. You are Home Minister. Your actions are accountable. How is it that in this matter you did not take into account the fact that while you are representing Parliament and while most other parties are not represented you are taking only the Jan Sangh nominee ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Will you listen to what I was saying . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You should give to that body representatives from the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra, the P. S. P. the G. P. I. , the G. P. (M). After all, we also live in Delhi.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I understand your point of view.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On the West Bengal Parliamentary Consultative Committee you are insisting that the Jan Sangh and others should be there while they have not even one Member in the House of 80.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Will you sit down now ? This is a suggestion which can be considered. When the time expires and when we are renominating the body, it is the Lt. Governor who will nominate them. I shall not nominate them- I was merely being consulted in the matter. The Lt. Governor, Delhi, really speaking, is supposed to nominate that body. I was merely consulted.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Mohan Dharia should go there, for example.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The suggestion which you have made would be considered when we are renominating the body. My only point is in regard to his allegation that we are trying to help our party. It is not so.

He mentioned certain enquiries. I can only give some information with regard to the C.B.I. When I spoke yesterday in reply to a question, certain doubts were raised. It only meant that when certain allegations are made they cannot be taken as proved or established. The Investigating officer had raised certain doubts. Naturally, that report came to the Director. He made a recommendation for transfer. The Director, however, said that no transfer

[is necessary. But his report required that it should go to the Central Vigilance Commission. Sir, when the Central Vigilance Commission has exonerated Shri Chhabra I would not raise doubts. I did not expect this type of charge from him that we tried to influence the Central Vigilance Commission. The present Central Vigilance Commissioner is a very honourable person, an experienced Administrator whose integrity cannot be doubted. He functioned as the Central Vigilance Commissioner even in Bengal at the time of the non-Congress Government. So how can we make allegations like this ? I can give full freedom to Dr. Mahavir to disagree with me even violently. But this type of allegation I did not expect from Dr. Bhai Mahavir.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : It is not an allegation. The results of the investigation show that the allegations are proved. You should not consider it only as a wild allegation.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I tell you the investigating authority, ultimately, is the Director who is the most important person of that organisation. When he studied all the papers he said that he did not see any element of corruption. At the same time he said that it would be much better if the whole matter went to the Central Vigilance Commission. The Central Vigilance Commission called the explanation of President N- D.M.C. The Commission went into all the details again and exonerated him. What are we supposed to do then ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You should send this thing to Guruji Gol-walkar.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Which I will never do.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta considers Naxalites more honourable than anybody else.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : Yes, Naxalites are more honourable than Guruji.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Therefore, the matter should be referred to them for opinion because the D. I. G. of the C. B. I. is not the representative of the Delhi Administration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He has already replied to that point.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : ...The Director was persuaded into altering it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This is all that I had to say about the points that Dr. Bhai Mahavir made. I will certainly assure him that in dealing with this matter there is no special concession, there is no special consideration.

Then he made certain other points. I admit I do take personal interest in some of the projects because I am the co-ordinating Minister. When some new good things were done in New Delhi, they wanted me to come and see some new arrangements they had made. Certainly, I went around to see the new projects because I do take interest in problems of the capital. And I do not think I have made any mistake. Thank you very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : One point . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No interruption, please.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : About the privy purses Mr. N. G. Goray felt that there is going to be back-sliding. There is no question of back-sliding. The Government

has announced its decision to introduce this Bill in this session and the Government stands by that assurance.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Which House? This House?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Parliament.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We want this Bill to come to this House first.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We have had enough discussion. Today's business is over.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You should look into a particular case regarding Anamma which was withdrawn by the joint order of Shri Ajoy Mukherjee and Shri Jyoti Basu, one of the most important things of the United Front Government. It is surprising that the Governor, Mr. Dhawan, has cancelled that withdrawal order. Remember, it was withdrawn by the joint order. The two of them had signed it . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is enough, Mr.

Gupta. The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at nineteen minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 1st of May, 1970.