MOTION RE EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSES ON THE .DELHI RENT CONTROL (AMENDMENT BILL, 1964)

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SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill further to amend the Delhi Rent Control Act, 1958, be extended up to the last day of the Sixtysixth (November-December, 1968) Session of the Rajya Sabha.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1964 (to amend article 291)-Contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Balachandra Menon was speaking when we adjourned last. Is he here

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Dahyabhai PateL

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I listened to a part of the debate when I was able to. Unfortunately, on the last occasion when I wanted to speak I had to go away to another Committee meeting and I should be excused if I have to do the same thing today because it is the usual practice here that certain Committee meetings are kept on Friday evenings and, therefore, for some of us it is not possible to sit in both the places.

Sir, the question of privy purses was settled, I think, many years ago. In 1948 when we had our freedom the whole world was looking to see whether we shall be able to hold together. The prophets of doom, particularly some of our officers of the ex-Rulers, I mean the British I. C. S. officers, felt that the task was far beyond us that we would not be able to do it, and one of the difficulties that was raised was the question of the ruling princes. Let it be said that due to the patriotic action, the patriotic response that the Rulers gave to the call from our Government

and which my father as the Home Minister gave, we have a unified India in spite of repeated efforts to divide the country.

I know and those people in this House at least who read and write should know that certain States were sought to be taken away from us by temptations from unfriendly people around our borders. It is a pity that in spite of our efforts to make them friendly they persist in their attitude even till today. We know what the vacillating attitude of the border State on the North has cost us. But, by and large, it was the patriotic action of the Princely States of India and their Rulers that has given us a united India. This fact was recognised by all authorities. The then President of the Congress, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, wrote a letter complimenting their action and saying that it was perhaps the largest sacrifice anybody made for winning freedom and making a unified India.. He used somewhat similar words in the letter that he sent to them as President of the Congress. Others paid their tributes in this House and outside.

Now, Sir, I do not know for what reason the present Government seems to be wanting to get out of that contract. Senior Members in the Government should particularly know-we know that the Government is a house divided against itself-something of this history, if their conscience pricks them and tells them not do this, that this is not right. Some of them are not in the Government today. But those who were in important positions in the Government have also said so. We have-still people like Mr. K. M. Munshi, our leader, Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. S. K. Patil, who was in the Government at that time, who have said that it would be wrong and immoral for the Government to take this step. Unfortunately, I do not understand why the present Home Minister has taken a different line, and particularly what I could not understand is the distinction between morality inside and morality outside.

When the Kutch Agreement was discussed in this House, Mr. Chavan strongly defended and asked what would be our picture in the outside world if we did not stand by the Agreement that we have signed, that our image in the world would be something different. Sir, does this House feet

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

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that the morality and the image of this country are two different things when it is before the outside world and when it is with the people of this country. If mora] words are the sameand I hope they will remain the same-if moral standards are the same, if the plighted word given before the United Nations has to be observed, similarly the plighted word given in Parliament and outside to the people of this country and to the citizens of this country has to be kept.

And, Sir, what is this quarrel about ? I am sure the Treasury Benches know better what the amount of the privy purse was when it was introduced and what it is today. The figure has been continuously dropping and as was thought of and envisaged, in a period of years it will be negligible. To my mind, it is negligible if the Government will look at it in its proper perspective and not be driven by political motives. Where were they during the struggle for freedom? Everybody knows that out of the Trojan Budget of the Government of India, I think an amount of 0.01 per cent, goes towards the privy purses. May I ask how much goes to making good the losses of the public sector projects? How much money goes to the setting up of steel plants which do not pay? And we are still embarking on another white elephant project, the Bokaro steel plant. Which of the costly luxuries that we have are very necessary? We do not think for one minute before embarking upon these schemes which cost us a lot om money. We think of only little things like this which cost us 0.01 per cent of our budget.

Now, some niceties and distinctions about the Constitution have been discussed. Sir, I am not a lawyer and I do not wish to enter into that argument. But whether it is a question of amendment of the Constitution or not, basically it is a question of whether the Government of India can be permitted to ignore the contract that it entered into. We have seen in many places businessmen and lawvers entering into a contract and then trying to get rid of it or get out of it through some niceties of law- But is it right for Government to do that? It will be most immoral for Government to do that. J am sorry that this Government has been doing it on the sly slowly and encroaching upon the rights

of the people one by one. The first to be affected was the farmer.. The poor farmer who could never combine is deprived of his lands in the name of land reform. Proper compensation is not paid. If you want to introduce land reforms, do it; I am not against it. But pay proper compensation.

(Amdt.) Bill, 1964

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY

(Mysore): They have not implemented the land reforms at all. Only the zamindari system has been abolished.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:

It has been implemented very much in Guiarat. I know it has not been implemented in Bihar from where a large number of Congressmen come and where they distributed them among themselves. There was that Betia zamindari about which there was a scandal. Is there a Congressman who has not got a share in that loot? And how many acres did they get? Four hundred acres, 500 acres, 1000 acres and so on; is that land reform? Anyway that is beside the point. I do not want to be distracted from the main point that I want to place before the

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): Let me inform the hon. Member that my big holdings were taken away and I have not got one single decimal acre from the Government of Bihar.. There are thousands and thousands of Congressmen like that.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I bow to the hon. exception. I am sorry I made a sweeping remark like that. If there are exceptions like you, you will be honoured. But I have toured Bihar quite a lot and I know what happened. There may be honourable exceptions like our friend there, Mr. Sinha. Perhaps there are others.

AWADHESHWAR **PRASAD** SINHA (Bihar): Sir, there is another Sinha who has not got an inch of land from the Government.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Good, I am glad. I wish- you behave as good Congressmen as you used to behave 20 years ago. What has happened to you? Why have you come under this new idea of morality of Mr. Chavan that it is one thing to honour your commitments outside the country and it is another thing to honour your commitments inside the country? Why

have you to accept this new morality? Stand up and say moral standards are the same whether in India or outside India. If you have given your plighted word, stand by it. And what is the amount it costs? It costs us 0.01 per cent of our budget when we are spending lakhs, why lakhs, crores of rupees on public sector projects, those white elephants, on external publicity and developing our relations and what not, on dovetailing—what tailing -I do not know; we do not know the whole truth of it. Therefore, Sir, this is a very undesirable measure that is sought to be taken.

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LOKANATH (Orissa): The mover of the Bill himself is not serious about it; he is absent.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): I am here

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You fellow-travellers. You Communists yourselves.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: But I am a supporter of the Bill.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: The mover of the Bill has become a little complacent because he thinks he has got new supporters inside the Congress Party. We have heard some of their loud voices here on this Bill and also on other matters. Therefore, he has felt encouraged. I hope they will take a little more time and think over this measure calmly, whether it is the right time, whether it is the right approach. To do a right thing no time is necessary. But if one is going to do a wrong thing, if one is being pushed towards doing a wrong thing, the first thing to do is to stop and think; think once or twice or three times, but do not allow yourself to be rushed into doing it. Therefore, Sir, I would appeal to this House not to give countenance to this Bill. This is something which will put the clock back. It will mean going backwards, not progress. Since we have come under the influence of Communist jargon, words have lost their meaning. What is expropriatory is called progressive. So people want to be called progressive and not be thought of as, shall we say, conservatives or no-changers or . . .

N. K. **SHEJWALKAR** (Ma-*1, ya Pradesh): Recationary.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:

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or reactionary. Thank you for providing the word. I am a no-changer, as you must have seen me for the last ten years; I look the same and behave in the same manner; and not wan* to change, if changing means this, if change is doing good to my country, 1 will be very happy to support it. Bur I do not see such a change. I do not see that any of the changes that have been brought about by this sort of progressive thought, has taken us anywhere. land reform Their has not brought increased food production. They do not know how increased food production could be brought about. It was only when I brought the method of growing more rice from Taiwan that this Government was forced to look at it. They had never looked at it before. They never thought of anything. Similarly in industry also, because our friends shout so much we having trouble. Nobody tells the are people of this country that the strikes are not the way to progress. And what do you find to-day? Strikes everywhere. Every third place we have a strike. How many man-hours are we losing in dis way? If we want to progress, if we want to build up our country, will need production and more production. But there is a certain section, the Naxalbari group if I may call them, do not want this country to progress; they want to cut off that piece and hand it over to their friends on the other side of the border; that is their intention. I hope Members of this not share those feelings, House do live up to what is expected of will the ideals that they stood for under Gandhiji, under the old Congress, to which I was proud to belong at one time. I hope they will shed the new ideas and will not rush them. There is an old saying that some people rush in where angles fear to tread. I hope the new Congressmen will pause and think before being rushed into such measures as this Thank you.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is an extremely ill-conceived measure. I am reminded, Mr. Vice-Chairman, of the derision with which Lenin, the great master of Communism, one of the greatest figures that world history has produced, used to refer to those who gave promises and broke them very easily. His words are still ringing in my ears. Anybody who reads of his works of the period 1917

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[Shri B. K. P. Sinha.] will see that in innumerable places he has referred to promise-breakers and said promises are cheap; promises cost nothing. Since then, it seems, Communism has developed a new philosophy which is being projected by the mover of this Bill. What Lenin said in derision, the mover of the Bill seems to think should be the norm of action of any responsible Government. Mr. Vice-Chairman, it has already been referred to by the previous speaker that our plighted word to the Princes are there. It was not only Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who gave that promise to the Princes; the promise was endorsed by the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, a man who felt for the masses, who held views which were genuinely socialist. When these given, the Father of the promises were Nation was living and the Father of the Nation also had accepted that those words should be conveyed to the Princes. Mr. Vice-Chairman, what was the situation in India when it became free? There were about 600 or more, what used to be called, native States. They were under the para-mountcy of the British power and when the British power decided to withdraw, in the Indian Independence Act and in some of their Proclamations it was made very clear that after the withdrawal of paramountcy the Indian native States became supreme and sovereign in their own territory. They had become sovereign entities. If you look at the picture of India, the map of India of that period, you will find that the chain of Princely States ran from the north-west of India to the southwest of India. Even in India itself was subdivided into several compartments by the bigger States coming in between that territory. In that situation, when there was encouragement from many and sides for the Princes to declare stick to their independence which had been to them by the Indian Independence Act and the Proclamations of the British power, the Princes out of a sense of patriotism decided to merge their destiny with the destiny of the people of this country. Those who will refer to records and documents relating to the period in which accession and merger of the States came about, will find Mr. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, gave his fountain-pen and a blank paper to the Maharaja of Jodhpur and some other Rajasthan and told them "You Princes of write down the terms on

which you are prepared to come; your autonomy or sovereignty shall be fully guaranteed by the State of Pakistan; I shall sign that document without looking into it." Such allurement was given to the Princes. It was open to them to accede to Pakistan and nobody could have prevented that accession, because that territory was contiguous to the territory of Pakistan. If the Rajasthan Princes had acceded, I do not know what consequences would have followed.. But out of a sense of patriotism they spurned his offer and decided to merge their destiny with the destiny of the people of this country. They agreed to the reduction of their powers, agreed to hand over their States to the people and proclaimed that they would be satisfied with a very small amount as privy purses each year. Now when we keep these things in mind, it is rather shocking that within 20 years of the promise made by our great leaders, including the Father of the Nation, an attempt is being made to deprive them of their privy purses and certain privileges.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, what was the quantum of the privy purses when accession came about, when India became free? It was more than Rs. 5 crores. And what was the national Budget then? It was Rs. 450 crores. Therefore these privy purses were more than 1 per cent, of the national Budget. And what is the Budget of the Government of India today? It is Rs.. 2000 crores and more. If you take into consideration the Budget of the States, the Budget has increased manifold: the national wealth has increased mainfold and it is increasing every day. And as time passes, probably what goes to the Princes as privy purses is proportionately declining and declining constantly. Therefore, I see no reason why in the light of these facts an attempt should be made to go back on the plighted words of our great leaders given at the time of independence and in a difficult situation and take away the privy purses and privileges of the Princes.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am reminded of what Lenin did after Russia established Soviet power. Lenin repudiated the debts incurred by the Czarist State. While the Communist Party was in the wilderness, it had incurred debts and those debts were owed to certaiD Russian capitalists, the bourgeois. But

X.enin declared that while he was repudiating those Czarist, debts, he would pay with interest every pie of the money that he had received from the bourgeois whom he was demolishing in Russia. Mr. Vice-Chairman, there can be no communism extremer than the communism of China. When China took over certain industries and trade, the Chinese Government agreed to give yearly compensation to about 200 or 300 families or business-houses. If anybody has cared to read the documents concerning China, he must be aware that those payments are being made regularly even now by the Communist Government of China to those families and to those business houses. This has appeared even in the Russian documents. In fact this is one of the charges levelled by the Soviet power against the Communist Party of China. Communist Russia knows how to keep its promises. The extreme communist Government of China knows how to keep its promises. But we are expected not to keep our promises.. That appears to me to be a very shocking situation.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, lastly it is stated that we gave many promises to the people in the Constitution. Yes, we gave. But if Rs. 4 crores would be enough to fulfil all the promises that we have given to the people in the Constitution, I am sure the Princes would say "Take away our privy purses and with Rs. 4 crores make India flow with milk and honey, make the people prosperous." But Rs. 4 crores are a mere drop in the economy of the Indian nation. As the hon. Member pointed out, if we manage our national undertakings well, if we plug the holes which are known as corruption, probably we would be saving Rs. 100 crores per year. But instead of making an endeavour in that direction, an easy method is indicated to us to give up our promises and abolish the privy purses.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, moreover if this Bill is adopted, it will introduce serious anomalies in the Constitution, because privy purses and Rulers are not mentioned only in article 291, they are also mentioned in article 362 and article 363. Therefore if you abrogate article 291, articles 362 and 363 would become meaningless and an element of anomaly would be introduced in the 3 ?.M. Constitution. Therefore I feel that from whatever angle we look, it is appropriate that this measure should not receive the approval of this House. Thank you..

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to oppose this Bill with deep anguish. In my opinion there could be no more lightheartedly conceived measure than this Bill. The Mover of the Bill, in his Statement of Objects and Reasons, has stated something at which I am sure he himself must be laughing. There can never be a more hollow Statement of Objects and Reasons for this Bill. I happen to be one of those who participated in the negotiations at the time of the integration for the removal of this ruler-ship and the fixation of the Privy Purses. The same misgivings which we experience to-day were in the minds of some of the, alas now gone, great Princes. They expressed these misgivings frankly and freely to Sardar Val-labhai Patel but Sardar Patel said: 'Do not be afraid. That day will never come because I shall see that these pledges are embodied in the sacred Constitution of India'. It was ultimately done but now the days have come when those in whose hands this Constitution, this sacred book....

SHRI BRAHMANANDA **PANDA** (Orissa): To whom did he say this?

DR. B. N. ANTANI: To the Princes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: To whom else he can say?

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Now, following the tendency on the part of many even on. those Benches which I see today which are very vociferously calling the Concord of the Princes at home and in so many quarters, when this Bill is being debated, I see ihe Benches vacant because the hon. Home Minister considers and he told me when I raised this question at the time of the Kutch Agreement—"The hon. Member forgets that this is an internal agreement and that is an external agreement" and 1 now understand the difference from the Home Minister. I can break an agreement with my wife because it is an internal agreement but I cannot break an agreement with my mother-inlaw. If this is the interpretation of the sacred pledges given in the Constitution and the Constitution as a fresh carrot could be played with, what is the value of the Constitution which we consider as a sacred pledge of the nation that we have given unto ourselves? The point is that this Bill will 'be a betrayal of the sacred and plighted

pledge given by the nation to these erstwhile Princes and to Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. I know that my leader rightly said just now that he is in an embarassing position because he happens to be a Leader here and he happens to be the son of that great man. It was an embarassing time when some of the Princes were vacillating where to go and we know what difficulties we had with Hyderabad. There would have been 562 Hyderabads at that time if this step had not been taken and if this patriotic scarifice by the erstwhile Princes had not taken place but now that we are in the hands of Kosygin and what not, we can play as we like, to our utter shame. The time has come as Mahatma Gandhi said to Lord Wil-lingdon: 'With the change of time even manners change.'

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AN HON. MEMBER: Morals also.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: The Home Minister has said that he wants to see the rulership abolished. Does he conceive that his rulership, his personal rulership, is immortal in this country? I remember one saying in our Gujarati which says that when the leaves of the Peepal tree in autumn come down, the budding things laugh at them saying: 'Look at that leaf. At that time the leaves tell the buddings :

पीपल पान खरन्ति, हसति कुंपलियां, मझ बीति तुझ बीत से, घीरि वापल्लियां।

"What happens to me to-day is going to happen to you tomorrow". Therefore before you take this step and touch the sacred Constitution of India and disgrace the plighted word, see that you are creating a history. Who will believe you? You will not be believed inside, you will not be believed outside the country and therefore for such a little, paltry, trivial sum, as my friend Mr. Sinha and my leader Mr. Patel have made clear, do not insult your conscience. Do not insult the memory of the great Sardar, even Pandit Nehru for the matter of that and the Father of the Nation. Therefore my request to the Mover of the Bill is to withdraw. I can understand he is playing very lightheartedly because those people in the Congress who have raised this issue know that it is the writing on the wall.

पिंड गरज मन और है, सरी गरज मन और। राम रुठत तब क्या करन, अवली मित मां हेत ।

(Amdt.) Bill, 1964

In every direction is the writing on the wall. Let this warning be heard and therefore I oppose this Bill in conclusion with one warning that you are creating a dangerous precedent by even touching and thinking on this Bili. The abolition of the Privy Purses is not so easy. Do not consider these erstwhile Rulers as weak to-day. in my opinion you are weaker than these erstwhile Rulers to-day. If you touch their Privy Purses, I do not know, 1 do not want to visualise, what the consequences for the country will be.

AWADHESHWAR SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, this Bill for amendment of the Constitution by my friend Mr. Gupta raises certain problems. As Shri Sinha said, if it is accepted, it will introduce certain anomalies as well. Besides, there are certain problems which face us. Even the Constitution and the Government have made certain commitments. There are certain provisions in the Constitution and that cannot be denied but we should not forget that the times change and our democracy is a dynamic democracy, is a vital democracy.

And we cannot have things which do not fit in with our democratic structure, but at the same time it is also true that a Nation or a Government or a Constitution, which does not stand by its word is not worth the name. That is also a fact, 1 must admit it and I must say it. So our problem is to strike a mean between the demands of democracy and the commitments of the Constitution or the commitments of the Government and come to a decision. And that cannot be done in an authoritarian manner, I must say very frankly to the Government. That must come through negotiation as Sardar Patel did in 1947 and the persons who are in charge of the Government of India today have got to do the same today. Thay have not to impose any decision on those who get the privy purses, but to win their hearts and their goodwill. I know many of them. They are patriots. If they responded to the call of Sardar Patel then, they are bound to respond to the call of the leaders of today. And that is the only method whereby we can meet this problem.

And hon. Member there, Dr. An-tani, said about the Constitution. But I would remind him-I am not saying it in any critical mood—that his party has said time and again that they stand by the Constitution as passed originally and not by the amendments which had taken place after that. So, if they have a reservation about the Consiliution, so has Shri Bhupesh Gupta a reservation about the Constitution. If one has a reservation and a tight in this regard, another has the same right, and I am one of those who stand committed to the Constitution in toto. Since 1950, When I became a Member of Parliament, many amendments have taken place and we have stood by those amendments, and those amendments have enriched the socioeconomic content of our Constitution and 1 say that in the world ours is the best Constitution possible. Now, to surmount those difficulties which are demands of our democracy, I would like to say that still we see certain cars plying with red number plates and here I must say very frankly, with all my affection and love for those people who get privy purses, that this is an anachronism and (his does not fit in any manner with our democratic structure. If I were one of those getting privy purses, I would have been the first to remove that red-coloured plate-I must say that, Mr. Vice-Chairman. But about the privy purses, it is a commitment both in the Constitution and a commitment by our great leaders. Sardar Palel, Jawabar-lalji, and Mahatma Gandhi himself, and a nation or a party or a Government which does not stand by its Constitution is not worth the name, as I have said before. So this thing has got to be done through negotiation: negotiation is the only way through which we can do it, not by changing the Constitution, against the will of those who get privy purses, nor by imposing any decision on those people who get privy purses-I do not call them rulers but I call them as people who get the privy purses. They ceased to be rulers in 1947; thwy are no more rulers. What are they ruling over? They are getting the privy purses for 1he surrender of their territory to this Indian Union. That is all. Of course they did a patriotic act and I admire them for this, but if their getting the privy purses does not fit in with the present democratic structure, the commitment in this regard has eot to be diluted and negotiations for this 5—18 R.S/68

have got to be set in motion. There can be no advice of the Law Ministry in this. The Law Minister is there and I tell him this most respectfully. And no advice of the Home Ministry nor any advice of any organisation will avail before these commitments. These commitments are like the rock in Gib-ralter. So, if you want to get over them, the only way is negotiation. If Home Minister Mr. Chavan were to be here, I would like to tell him to use his skill in his own way. Sardar Patel was a great man. He did it in one way; I used to watch every day how one State after another, in the twinkle of an eye, he could get into the Indian Union with his adroit and deft handling of the situation. Mr. Chavan has the same deftness and the same adroitness and I am sure i hat as Home Minister he will not say, "We are deciding like this; you accept the decision." This is not the way in this case. We have to win the hearts and the goodwill of these people who are getting the privy purses, and I know many of them; they are as great patriots as any one of us, which they proved in 1947. They can prove it even today and they can be won over by negotiation, by persuasion, and that is the only method that should be used, and I am very much for the Government to apply this method in the matter of the special privileges which do not fit in with the democratic structure, and the quantum of privy purses, if it is to be modified, must be modified through the goodwill, co-operation and consent of the princes, and I hope, if it is done deftly and adroitly, they are patriotic enough to agree to this.

Having said this I say that I am opposed to this amendment because of the reasons I have given. Thank you.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : आदर-णीय श्रीमन्, हमारे सामने कांस्टीट्युशन में संशोधन करने के लिये एक बिल लाया गया है। यह देखने में बहुत छोटा सा है लेकिन इसके परिणाम बहुत बड़े हैं। यहां पर न तो हम राजाओं की बकालत करने को खड़े हए हैं, न उग्रवादी बन कर ही कोई ऐसा कदम उठाने वाले हैं कि जिसका परिणाम भारत वर्ष के लिये बहुत बुरा हो।

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

हमारे यहां स्वतंत्रता की लडाई के समय राजा तीन प्रकार के होते थे। एक प्रकार के तो ऐसे राजा हए, जिन्होंने पग पग पर स्वतंत्रता की लडाई में बाधा पहुंचाई, अंग्रेजों का साथ दिया और जिस समय हम पूर्ण रूप से स्वतंत्र हो गये उस समय भी विरोध किया कि जिससे भारत वर्ष की स्वतंत्रता को कोई लाभ न पहुंचे। दूसरी तरफ मध्यम मार्ग के ऐसे राजा हुए कि जिन्होंने संघियां समाप्त करने के साथ स्वतंत्र रहने के लिये कुछ अधिकार मांगे और तीसरे प्रकार के राजा ऐसे थे, जिन्होंने बहुत स्वेच्छा से, देश भक्त राजाओं की तरह से, चपचाप जो कुछ भी भारत सरकार ने कहा उसे स्वीकार कर लिया। प्रत्येक सत्ता आती है और वह यह समझती है कि जब तक सूर्य और चन्द्रमा है तब तक उनकी राजसता जाने वाली नहीं है। कृत्व मीनार को जाने वाले जो भी यात्री है उनको मालम होगा कि वहां पर एक लाट गड़ी हुई है, सम्प्राट चन्द्रगुप्त की प्रशस्ति में उसमें भी लिखा है कि संसार में चन्द्रगुप्त एक बड़ा सम्प्राट था और उसका राज्य तब तक रहेगा जब तक सुर्य और चन्द्रमा हैं। वह राज्य भी चले गये और चले जाने के वाद जब अगर कोई कहे कि इस समय राजाओं को जो अधिकार दिये हैं और संवि-घान में जो अधिकार दिये हैं, उन्हें बहुत जल्दी से छड़ा लिया जात्र या छीन झपट करके हस्तगत कर लिया जाय, यह बात भी अच्छी नहीं है। हमको चाहिये कि कांस्टी-ट्यशन में जो कुछ भी गारन्टी दी गई है, उसका पालन करें। हमारे देश का प्रजातंत्र अधिकांश में अंग्रेजों के देश के प्रजातंत्र की एक नकल है। उस देश में भी जब वहां के प्रजातंत्र के अधिकारियों के साथ वहाँ के राजाओं का संघर्ष हुआ और उस संघर्ष में एक राजा को फांसी भी लगादी गई तब भी वहां पर राजसत्ता बराबर चलती रही, राजा-ओं का अधिकार रहा, उनका प्रेरोगेटिव्ह रहा और आजतक वहां राजसना चली आ रही

है। इसी प्रकार सन् 1947 में जब हमको स्वतंत्रता मिली थी, उससे दो तीन वर्ष पहले जापान बिलकुल खत्म हो गया था, वहां पर भी प्रजातंत्र है, लेकिन वहां पर जो संघियां हुइ, उसके अनुसार ही वहां भी राजा रहता है और उसके भी कुछ अधिकार हैं। कहने को तात्पर्य यह है कि जो कुछ हमने पिवत्रता के साथ संघियों की हैं उन संघियों का परिपालन करना चाहिये।

कुछ मित्रों ने अभी लेनिन साहब का नाम लिया। लेनिन साहब रूस के एक बडे भारी वामपंथी नेता थे, उन्होंने वहां पर जो वडे बड़े राज्य खिलाफतें जिनको कहते हैं वह थी, वहां पर खलीकाओं की जो सल्तनतें थीं। उनको मिटाया तो सही, लेकिन 1942 और 1943 में कफा में और ताशकंद में जो घामिक और राजनैतिक क्षेत्र के अधिकारी मसलिम खलीकाओं के उतराधिकारी थे, उनको भी कुछ अधिकार दे दिये और उनको सुरक्षित रखा। यह तो कम्यनिस्ट देश की बात है। हमारे देश में हमें इस बात पर बहुत दृ:ख होता है कि हमारे कांग्रेस के बहत से मित्र जो वास्तव में वामपक्षी नहीं हैं, लेकिन वामपक्ष वालों से सहमत हैं। उनसे मैं एक प्रश्न करूंगा कि राजाओं को, जिनको कि हमने उनकी स्वयं की खुशी से और उनकी प्रसन्नता से उनके राज्यों को ले कर भारतवर्ष का महान प्रजातंत्र बनाया, उन के लिये कुछ अधिकार रखे. यह वे राजा थे. जिन्होंने अपने वंश परंपरा के अधिकांश व्यक्तियों को समाप्त कराया था और बड़े बड़े बलिदान कियेथे, तब वे राजा बन कर बैठेथे, लेकिन स्वतंत्रता के संग्राम में कुछ वामपन्थी कांग्रेती मित्र ऐसे भी थे, जिन्होंने कि केवल एक महीने के लिये जेल - काटी और फीडम फाइटर्स के नाम पर अधिक से अधिक अधिकारों की मांग की और उसके लिये वे सरकार के पास पहुंचे। इस समय हमारा किसी को बुराभला कहने का मन्तव्य नहीं है, लेकिन हम यह समझते हैं कि संधियों का पालन होना चाहिये और लाभ उठाने की मनोवत्ति नहीं होनी

चाहिये। एक राजा का हमें किस्सा मालुम है कि उस राजा के साथ में यहां को, भारतवर्ष की सरकार ने संधि की कि जब तक उनका जीवन है वह राजप्रमुख रहगा और साढ़े सत्ताइस लाख रुपया उसे मिलता रहगा। कुछ दिनों के बाद 25 लाख रुपय रह गये और वह जीवन भरकेलिय राजप्रमुख थे, लेकिन उनको राजप्रमुख की गद्दी पर से हटा दिया गया और फिर दस लाख रुपया उनका रह गया।

Constitution

इसी प्रकार समय समय पर जो परिवर्तन होते रहते हैं, जैसा कि हमारे योग्य मित्र श्री डाह्याभाई पटेल और कुछ दूसरे मित्रों ने कहा, समय के साथ मन्त्य को चलना चाहिये। इस बात को ध्यान में रख राजाओं की इच्छाओं के साथ, उनसे प्रेम और स्नेह के साथ, उनसे आपस में संघियों के साथ अगर हम कदम आगे बढ़ाते हैं तो जनता के एक बड़े भाग को हम अपने साथ ले कर चलते है। लेकिन अगर हम संघियों का पालन नहीं करते हैं, तो हमें यह कहने का अधिकार नहीं है कि पाकिस्तान ने और चीन ने हमारे साथ जो संधियां की थीं, उनकी क्यों तोड़ा गया। हम संधि जो करते हैं वह एक बडप्पन के साथ करते हैं, स्वाभिमान के साथ करते हैं और उनका पालन किया ही जाना चाहिये। रुपये की कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है। जिन राजाओं के साथ हम संघि करते हैं। अगर उन राजाओं को प्रीवी पसं नहीं दियां जायगा, तो वह भुखे नहीं मरने लगेंगे। वे बहुत से दूसरे उद्योग करने लगेंगे, लेकिन आपका जो एक महान प्रजातंत्र है, यह प्रजातंत्र जिसके साथ जो समझौता करता है उस समझौते का यह देश पूर्णतः पालन करेगा ऐसी आशा लोग आग चलकर नहीं करेंगे। इस दृष्टिकोण से लोग जो प्रजातंत्र के हामी हैं, और जो प्रजातंत्र को आग फलते फुलते रूप में देखना चाहते हैं उनके लिये आवश्यक है कि वे बराबर जो संघियां वे करते आये है उन पर अमल करें। हमारे देश की बात

एक छोटी सी बात है। लेकिन हम यह कहते है कि संसार के जितने बड़े बड़े प्रजातंत्र है वह दूसरे देशों के साथ जितनी संघियां करते है, वे बराबर उन संवियों का पालन करते चले आते हैं और इसके लिये में वामपक्षी देश रूस का उदाहरण देना चाहता है। रूस ने अजरबेजान के मामले में ईरान के साथ जो संधि की उसका बराबर पालन होता चला जा रहा है। रूस ने अफगानिस्तान के शाह के साथ जो संधि की उसका बराबर पालन होता चलां जा रहा है, यद्यपि आज स्थिति यह है कि रूस के मुकाबले में अफ-गानिस्तान बहुत छोटा देश है, रूस के मुका-बले में ईरान एक छोटा देश है, लेकिन संघि का पालन किया जा रहा है और जैसा हमारे एक योग्य मित्र ने कहा कि इस समय कम्य-निस्टों का सबसे बड़ा देश चीन है, चीन भी राजाओं के साथ संधि करता है। आगे चल कर चाहे हालात क्यों न बदल जायं, उस समय की स्थिति उसके अनुसार होगी, लेकिन इस समय तो चीनने नेपाल के साथ संघि की है। उस देश के साथ संघि की है जहां एक राजा है। हमारे देश में वचन भंग सब से बुरा समझा जाता है। एक बार किसी ने वचन दे दिया उसका पालन किया ही जाना चाहिये और इस दिशा में और इस देश में जहां कि हम संधियों का बड़ा मान करते हैं, हमारे चरित्र से, हमारी वार्ता से अपने घर में ही एक विवाद खड़ा हो जाय यह उचित नहीं खास कर उस समय जब कि हमारे देश में बहुत से विवाद सुलझाने को पड़े हुए हैं।

इस प्रकार हमारे भाई श्री भपेश गुप्त जी जो अमेंडमेंट यहां पर लाये हैं और यह समझते हैं कि कांस्टीट्य्शन के जरिये से राजाओं के वह समस्त भत्ते और उनका जो प्रीवी पर्स का मामला है, उसे समाप्त कर उसके द्वारा जो धन मिलने जा रहा है, उसे बचा लें, तो यह समय नहीं है और विशेषतः उस देश में जब कि हमारे यहां की फाइनशियल हालत Cmttitution

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हमारे यहां की आधिक हालत इतनी खराब होती चली जा रही है कि इतने घन से वह सूघरने वाली नहीं है। बाज बाज पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग्स में करोड़ों रुपयों का घाटा हो रहा है और बराबर घाटा होता चला जा रहा है। हमें उसे सुघारने की अपेक्षा अपने देश के उस भाग को जिसने बीस साल पहले हमारी स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई के बाद स्थिरता के हेत् हमारा साथ दिया था, बलिदान किया, उसे दृश्मन बनाने से कोई लाभ नहीं है। समय आयेगा और अवश्य आयेगा, यह प्रोरोगे, टिब्ज जो अधिकार हैं और जो यह एक प्रकार से पैसे देने की परंपरा है, यह बहुत दिनों तक कायम नहीं रह सकती और न रहेगी। जिस प्रकार से राज्य समाप्त हो गये, उसी प्रकार से राजाओं के अधिकार भी समाप्त होने वाले हैं। इसमें नहीं हैं। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि उसे समाप्त करने के लिये कौनसा ढंग लाना चाहिये, क्या अरेंजमेंट करना चाहिये। मेरी नम्म राय में यह ढंग अच्छा नहीं है कि एक झटके से किसी के सिर को कलम कर दिया जाय और उन के अधिकार समाप्त कर दिये जायं। उनके जो अधिकार हैं, उनको स्तेह की भाषा में. समझौते के साथ, अधिक से अधिक आगे जा कर उनकी सहायता से ही ऐसे मार्ग का अवलम्बन किया जाय, जिससे कि हमारे देश में एक महान परंपरा कायम हो और जिस में सब मिल कर योगदान दें। उस योगदान के लिये वह बराबर आगे बढ़ते रहे हैं और इस प्रकार जो यह बिल समय से पूर्व और बृद्धि और विवेक से परे इस सदन में लाया गया है उसका मैं विरोध करता हं और मैं आशा करता हूं कि यह बिल अपने आप गिर जायगा।

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I just want to draw the attention of the House to article 13(1) of the Constitution of India which says:

"All laws in force in the territory ot India immediately before the

commencement of this Constitution, in so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this Part, shall, to the extent of such inconsistency be void.'

(Amdt.) Bill, 1964

And clause 2 is very important. It says:

"The State shall not make any law which takes aWay or abridges the rights conferred by this Part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void.'

Here I want to draw the attention of this August House to the fact that the proposed amendment is a contravention of the provisions of sub-section (2) of article 13 of the Constitution of India. If the Government want any money they have very many sources of income but they cannot just plunder a man on the way who has got money. Simply because a person has amassed wealth they cannot plunder him. This is something like that; in common parlance it would be called daylight dacoity. The Rulers have amassed huge properties, wealth and estates not by taking away what belongs to the poor people. They have been inherited by them. The Constitution clearly says that no law can be made in contravention of the rights conferred on them which they have' been enjoying at the commencement of the Constitution. Further there is article 291 of the Constitution which savs:

"Where under any covenant or agreement entered into by the Ruler of any Indian State, before the commencement of Constitution, the payment of any sums, free of tax, has been guaranteed or assured by the Government of the Dominion of India to any Ruler of such State as privy purse-such sums shall be charged on, and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India; and

the sums so paid to any Ruler shall be exempt from all taxes on income.'

Here it is a sacred guarantee, a promise and an assurance given to the Rulers—erstwhile by the Government of India when their States were taken over and you cannot change it every day. Suppose a person makes a solemn promise. Even if

he wants to correct it or alter it, it becomes void and he is dragged into a court or law. Now, you want to make such a bold attempt as to deprive all these Rulers of their privy purses guaranteed by the wholesome Constitution, the sacred Indian Constitution. So, it is a clear contravention and violation the principles of the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution in respect of the noble Rulers. For your kind information, the present-day Rulers are more adored as Gods. They are not the Rulers of the past when they were highhanded, anti-democratic, autocratic, etc. Now, they are more common. Most of the Rulers are more charitable, more Godfearing and what not. In spite of all these facts, if this Congress Government wants to take away and to go back on their words, 1 think they will be wounding the feelings of the departed souls like Nehruji, Gandhiji Patelji who, through kind will and kind command over the Rulers of the States in India, achieved this. It was a miracle. course, I still remember one particular day when the armies marched to some States and the next morning we heard the happy news throughout India that most of the States had agreed to come under the Constitution of India, under the Dominion of India. It was a red-letter day. Do you want to create If only the Rulers of these to create another war? States could join together, there would be a civil war against this Congress Government. It is not wholesome. It is not good. I request the Government to look into other things. Of course, there are many things. If they want, they can run the Government on more economic lines. They need not pay subsidies and ransom to all the people, even to failed candidates, people who have failed in the elections. should not treat the Government Thev money, the poor man's money, as their own privy purse. Rather than trying to stop the privy purses of the Rulers, you can stop giving ransom to those Congress candidates who have been defeated, in the elections by loaves of office and position. People have put coal-tar on their face. I am very unhappy about it and this is not a good step. I strongly protest and I request that this amending Bill may be dropped. I request the Members of the Congress Party in Parliament not to join even their Government and let them be there. At least let them be honest and independent while voting on this. Let them throw this Bill out of our House by voting against it.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose this Bill, which seems to have been the life's passion of my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. He has been after this Bill for the past four years. It was for long in the archives of the Rajya Sabha, when on account of his insistent pressure, die other Members agreed to withdraw their Bills, so that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta may have the opportunity of piloting this Bill on the floor of this House. I am not a lover of Maharajas or anybody connected with the Maharajas. I do not admire palaces. I do not admire wealth. I do not admire Maharajas. I do not admire Maharanis. I do not admire.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh): And yet you oppose this Bui.

(Interruptions).

SHRI A. D. MANI: Please listen. This Bill, if I may say so, is clumsily worded. If you read clause 2 of the Bill, it says:

"Article 291 of the Constitution shall be renumbered as clause (1) of that article and after the said clause as so re-numbered, the following clause shall be inserted, namely:-

"(2) No payment under this article shall be made after the 31st day of December,

If we read article 291 of the Constitution, it says :-

"Where under any covenant or agreement entered into by the Ruler of any Indian State before the commencement of this Constitution, the payment of any sums* free of tax, has been guaranteed or assured by the Government of the Dominion of India to any Ruler of such State as privy purse-

(a) such sums shall be charged on, and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India;"...

After this article, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta wants us to put in a sub-clause saying that no payment under this article shall be made after the 31st December, 1964. I want to ask every Member of this House, would we no'

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into with the Rulers of India.

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I was one of those who were in Nagpur during the very critical days of 1947-48, when Sardar Patel conducted negotiations with the Rulers of the Eastern India States Agency. At that time, the Rulers of the Eastern India States Agency, including the Ruler of Khairagarh, were most unwilling to sign the agreement with the Government of India. A meeting was held in Nagpur, which was attended by Sardar Patel and Mr. D. P. Misra, who was then the Home Minister of the Madhya Pradesh Government, attended it. The very elegant Rani of Nandgaon was just holding a fountainpen: "Shall I sign or not sign?" That was the state in which most of the Rulers were. If we recall the history of what happened in 1947, the British left all the Rulers paramount. That position was accepted by our Legal Department also. After 1947 it was open to the Rulers not to accede to any of the Dominions—either the Dominion of Pakistan or the Dominion of India. First, we were so timorous ourselves that we wanted their accession only on three limited subjects, viz., Defence. External Affairs Communications. We did not even take up the question of Finance. Sardar Patel was not thinking in terms of integrating the States, but only thinking of limited accession. It was on account of the genius of Sardar Patel and his foresight, that the first pressure'was exercised on the Rulers of the Eastern India States Agency from Khairgarh to Bolangir in Orissa. He put pressure on those people and asked them to integrate with the rest of India. It was on account of this very aood example set by the Rulers of the Eastern India States Agency that Sardar Patel was in a position to put forward his proposal to the other Rulers that their accession should be complete. Under the rules of accession, the Princes, whether they deserved it or not, surrendered their revenues and

a good part of the privileges that they had. It may be that in a democratic India there is no room for such monarchy or absolute rulership. As a result of these agreements, the Government of India also has gained a good deal, because they have augmented the Central Government's revenues. We were not in a position to impose the Central Government's taxes in all these territories. It may be recalled that in the State of Gwalior, from which my hon, friend, Mr. , Niranjan Varma, hails, the Birlas used to go and start factories, because they could escape income-tax. That was also the position in the State of Baroda. Tne Alembic Chemical Works established their factory in Baroda just because they wanted to escape income-tax.

(Amdt.) Bill, 1964

If we really draw a balance sheet of what we have gained by the financial integration of thdse areas it will be found that we have gained by not 5 crores but ten times of 5 crores, that the Indian Government had pocketed by this integration of these areas with the rest of India. Sir, I feel that having entered into a solemn pledge with the rulers it is not proper for us to go back on our words. Now in this connection, delivering the Sardar Patel Memorial Lectures, Mr. Mo-rarji Desai said: "When we consider the advantages that the country has derived from this integration and the conditions that prevailed in August 1947 I make bold to say that not only would it be ungenerous and petty-minded to question the settlement, but it would be immoral to disown." This is what he says. Then he later on went on to say, a very brief quotation . . .

(.Interruptions)

You don't bother about morality. The Soviet Union does not know morality. W|?| -Icnow, we are the heirs of ... (Interruption) You have no Mahatma Gandhi. You have got only Stalin. You have got only Kosygin before

"These words read as true today", 'his is what Mr. Morarji Desai said "as they did when they were spoken and it would be as wrong to question 'he binding of the commitments today as it would have been or as it was recognised to be then." The aptness of what the Sardar said can be better appreciated if it is borne in mind that

the accession of one State alone in respect of which you have got to entangled with a foreign power and whose security and safeguard over the last 15 or 16 years must have cost us much more than the capitalised value of the total amount we spent on privy purse commitments of 554 States covering many times the area and the population of that State. In other words, on Kashmir we have spent much more than what we have spent on the capitalised value of the 5 crores that we have paid.

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Sir, in course of time as princes die-the princes are not immortal, they will die one day—their successors will get reduced privy purses and after a lapse of lime all these privy purses will disappear . . . (Interruption) . because in course of time you have got the right to fix a privy purse on the death of a prince

THE MINISTER OF LAW (SHRI P. GOVINDA MENON): If it is to be stopped it should be stopped.

SHRI A. D. MANI: My point is, why do you use the word "guarantee" Why do you use the word "covenant"?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Does not the Law Minister know that the privy purse deminishes with every death in the family?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): So the princes must quickly die out.

SHRI A. D. MANI: My point is this. Sir I want to mention here when the Earl of Hume became Sir Alec Hume all that happened was he was not deprived of his money, he was deprived of his title. I can quite understand if the Law Minister says, you are getting pension from the Government of India. You are getting pension free of income tax. We want vou to forego certain privileges. If you want to receive a privy purse and want to stand for election, we will regard the receipt of a privy purse as an office of profit. I can understand this issue.

Now, Sir, in regard to the minor privileges if somebody wants to hold a darbar, that is a part of our history. Why should we be ashamed of privy purses? In England Mr. Churchil was

the Warden of Cinque Ports. He had a big key which was placed in his hand. My honourable friend Mr. Antani is laughing because he knows the areas of Cinque Ports, the big castle . . (Interruption) . . . the British people are proud of them. We seem to be ashamed of our history. We have become so much socialist and infected by what is happening in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union they want to destroy everything. Sir, I have been to Czecholovakia. Czechoslovakia is so rich in history. For the past few years the people of Czechoslovakia have flouted and forgotten their history. They are now remembering their history and trying to regain their soul.

Sir, I feel that if we were to pass this Bill, nobody would enter into a trade agreement with us. If I am to meet anybody across the conference table and if he asks me, "Are Indians going to honour their word?" I would not be in a position to say that Indians are persons who will honour their word, because you are going against a solemn pledge given under the Constitution. I feel, Sir, that the present activities going on in the ruling party, the Congress Party, and the attempt of one or two Members of the Cabinet to revive this issue are to bolstar up the failing fortunes of the Congress Party. If the image of the Congress Party is to be restored, let it be restored in the constructive and economic fields. I want the Congress Party to be strong. We want a very strong opposition. Suppose you come to power, we want a strong opposition also. The Congress Party has a very big role to play. Sir, we have stated that Mahatma Gandhi is the Father of the nation. We say that our ideals, our foreign policy, our non-involvement in the blocs and our devotion to peace, are all a part of the heritage Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi wanted us to be true to our words. You may recall that he was prepared to go on fast when Sardar Patel was not prepared to give 50 crores which as a part of the debt to Pakistan. He said, what you are doing is wrong. On account of his insistence Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel agreed to give 50 crores. That cost him his life. Sir, I do not want that we should, within 20 years after the death of Mahatma Gandhi, repudiate him because if you repudiate this

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agreement, we repudiate the heritage of Mahatma Gandhi. And I feel, during the Centenary year of Mahatma Gandhi, I do not know how the Law Minister goes about saying, though not administratively, "I can pass an order". This is going to a court of law, Mr. Law Minister. Whatever you may say, the people are thinking of going to the International Court of Justice.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But we will not give them visas and passports.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, I feel that this Bill, which will really make a mockery of our pledges and solemn promises, should be thrown out without any ceremony by the House though I know my honourable friend Mr. Gupta is capable of many enthusiasms. But this is a very wrong kind of enthusiasm which he has shown to a Bill which he should not have brought before this House.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I very strongly and emphatically support this Bill and I brush aside all the fantastic reactionary arguments that have been advanced by the two previous speakers. I listened to the gentleman down there at the back. He has praised the princes almost as incarnations of God on earth today. They are noble, they are great, they are God-fearing; they are generous. These are all Godly virtues and I hung my head in shame when I saw an honourable Member of the House in this year of grace 1968, in the 20th century, talking about princes in this manner. Where do we live today? Do we live in a world of progress, the world of equality, the world of fraternity of human beings, the world in which man is going up higher and higher, is attaining great levels, a world of socialism, of advance towards of communism? They are talking of preserving the rajas, keeping them alive, feeding them. Feeding whom? Snakes and serpents? Who are they? Are they the shadows of God on earth? {Interruption}. There are so many good people elected and bad people elected. That is why election is no criterion. Are they shadows of God or shadows of Satan? Look at their history. They descend from those tyrants who have taken the skin of living people, who have burnt people

alive, who have massacred the people. These are the descendants of the ruling aristocracy India. Gone are the days that existed in when the descendants of that ruling tyrannical aristocracy could be nourished and fed on the blood of the people. Therefore, consistent with the spirit of the times, consistent with the declaration that all of us have made that we Want India to be a progressive India, a socialist India in which equality of man will be restorred, this Bill should be accepted by all. I exclude those henchmen of the princes, I exclude them because they can never get a proper understanding of this problem. Swatantra Party is weeping for the princes because all the cash they get for elections comes from the princes, and without that cash they will not be able to fight the elections. Therefore, I exclude them from the category of decent, ordinary human being with a progressive outlook who believe in the greatness of man, who believe in the equality of man. They are henchmen of princes, they are bad people, so I exclude them completely. But I do think that there is a large section in our House belonging to both sides who should agree that the privileges and privy purses of the princes should I am glad that consistent with their go. own traditions certain Congressmen have raised this issue. I have been a Congressman, was twenty years in the Congress. know the Congress at that _ time had a tradition of fighting for justice and equality. I am happy that basing themselves on those traditions today some Congressmen are raising their voice powerfully, and they have done so in the All India Congress Committee, not only Congressmen at the lower level but some of the Congressmen at the top; let these elements stand firm. Today you may throw out this Bill. It does But I ask Congressmen to fight not matter for this measure inside their organisation and outside. It is not a question of a few crores of rupees. After all if Rs. 90 crores or Rs. 100 crores have been paid, that is not a large sum. The question raises ^ certain moral issues, moral questions in the India of today which is marching towards socialism. Are we going to allow this federal order to exist? The question has to be faced as such because the payment of these Rs. 5 crores or Rs. 7 crores or Rs. 8 crores per year is an index of something bad, something rotten in the structure of our

State, in the structure of our society, a cancer that has to be removed.

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Therefore, I hope that my friends on the other side and all of my friends on this side excluding these henchmen who are sitting all round will support this Bill and will continue to raise their voice strongly in their respective organisations that the princes must go lock, stock and barrel, and that this order should be thrown into the dustbin of history. I do not want any negotiations to be carried on with them. Why? On what basis? Compensation for what? For having murdered people, generations and generations of people Compensation for what? No compensation should be paid. Let them go and work as ordinary people. Wo do not want to kill anybody, but compensation for what? Therefore, I do not want any negotiations to be carried on. I want Mr. Chavan to take a firm stand, not to enter into negotiation for giving the princes this percentage or that percentage of the total amount spread over a number of years, which ultimately comes to the same amount. Not that sort of thing. I want this order should go. As the Law Minister said, if it has to go, let it go earlier . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Including their properties, including their houses?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: I need only two rooms to live in. I do not need ten rooms. I do not put my leg in one room and my arm in another and my head in the third. Give them Rs. 400 or Rs. 500 a month. We the topmost people in India get that amount. Why do they want Rs. 5 lakhs or Rs. 10 lakhs a month? Why do you say all this? You should know better, and you should feel ashamed of yourself saying all these things.

I do not want to say much. I support this Bill, and hope with firmness we will carry on the struggle, and in the coming few months we shall create an atmosphere in the country on the basis of which we shall see to it that this order is done away with •and, as I said, all the princes go lock, stock and barrel, and thrown into the dustbin of history.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I support the Bill moved by our friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, and

this House has had a debate on the question of the abolition of the privy purses and privileges on several days. In the course of the debate certain questions have been raised, and even today certain questions have been raised. I am amused to hear certain speeches particularly of certain Members whose heart, it appears has started bleeding for the sake of some people of the country who did nothing tor the freedom of the country, who did nothing for the progress of the country, who had reaction entrenched in their own domain. It has been referred to here by somebody that they had a very generous role, a big role and a great role to play for the integration of this nationhood of this country of ours. It is not historically a

Mr. Vice-Chairman, is it not a fact in history that during the freedom movement of our country the people of the States rose in revolt in support of the freedom movement in our country? Is it not a fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to run from one State to another State for the organisation of the States' People's Conference and integrate the States' People's Conference in the broad stream of the national freedom movement of the country? Is it also not a fact that when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to face many tortures, those people who took part in the freedom movement within the States had to suffer a lot because they took part in the freedom movement? It has been said-I do not want* to dilate on that matter-it has been said that the unity of the country has been possible only because of the generosity of these rulers of the States. In this matter our late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has been referred to. Sir, in this connection I would also refer to certain observations made by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He said, at the time when the Constitution was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly, to the members of the Congress Party who were not willing to give the guarantee as it is found today in the Constitution for the privileges and privy purses of the rulers: "We agreed to this arrangement just as we agreed to the partition of India. We accepted it because we had no option to act otherwise". It is under duress that this kind of agreement was entered into. It is under duress that our founding fathers of the

[Shri Chitta Basu]

Constitution had to agree to incorporate those particular clauses in the Constitution of our country. Now we are living in a different phase of the country's progress. Certainly with the changing of the times, with the progress of the society, the people who are suffering have got the right to amend the Constitution.

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The Constitution is for the people, the Constitution should serve, should reflect the urges of the people and we cannot violate the Constitution. When you refer to the constitutional guarantee about the privy purses and the privileges, the Constitution has also guaranteed certain fundamental rights to the people of our country, the Constitution has also got the Directive Principles and the Constitution also guarantees equality of rights between citizen and citizen. It is an anachronism in the whole scheme of the Constitution that a certain section of the citizens of this country will have certain different kinds of privileges and will enjoy those privileges and also the funds of this country because they were once upon a time great Rulers, so-called noble Rulers, and their nobility and greatness lie more in oppression than in their identification with the common masses of this country.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: More oppression than even the Congress administration.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : That I shall not say.

Again, I am amused to hear my friend, Mr. Mani. He is always there to support them. He has got ears for them. [see that he has got a very bis judicial bent of mind. He says that in everything what the Supreme Court savs should be accepted and that nothing should be said against it. And what does the Supreme Court say regarding the privy purses and the privileges of the ex-Rulers. I shall refer to the observations made by Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar—

"But considered broadly in the light of the basic principle of the equality before law, it seems somewhat odd that S. 87B should continue to operate for all time. For past dealings and transactions, protection may justifiably be given to Rulers of former Indian States; but the Central Government may examine the question as to whether for transactions subsequent to the 26th of January 1950, this protection need or should be continued. If under the Constitution all citizens are equal, it may' be desirable to confine the operation of S. 87B to past transactions and not to perpetuate the anomaly of the distinction between the rest of the citizens and Rulers of former Indian states."

Now, it is quite clear. The question has been raised regarding quid pro quo. I will refer in this connection to the observation of the hon. Law Minister. He said some time ago that the question of quid pro quo does not arise at all. It is not a question of its being of a legal nature. What might be said by somebody, however eminent he may be, is not part of the law. Therefore, if that question arises, I think the present generation of our people are sufficiently intelligent enough or competent enough to say that now, we do not feel it our obligation to honour that agreement which we were forced to enter into under certain set of circumstances, particularly under duress. So far as the legal question is concerned, I leave it in the hands of the Law Minister because he has already publicly committed that the abolition of the privileges and the privy purses does not even require a constitutional amendment... (Interruptions.) That can be done simply by a stroke of the pen, by an executive order.

DR. B. N. ANTANI : He has changed his mind now.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I do not know. But he is on record as saying all these things. I do not think he will repudiate them. Therefore, there is no necessity of the debate at all, there is no need for any kind of legislation of this nature. If the Law Ministry is convinced that the privy purses and the privileges can go simply by a stroke of the pen or an executive order, my charge against the Government is, why is it that they have taken so much of time prolonging this debate and why was not that thing done as yet? (Interruptions.) Is it simply because that they cannot afford to, and they are not in a position to, be hostile to these big Rulers who have got a very big role to play in the matter of the manipulation of power in this country today? Is it

because of the fact that ruling party will have to face certain difficulties if they are hostile to them? If it is so, I think there is immorality on the part of the Government, when they are certain that no amendment of this nature is necessary and that it can be done by a simple executive order.

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Mr. Vice-chairman, I am also surprisedwhile the Congress Party is committed by its resolution in the All India Congress Committee to the forthwith abolition of their privy purses and privileges, why is it that the Home Minister of the country belonging to the Congress Party itself now says that we should settle the matter by way of negotiation? Negotiation for which purpose? Negotiation for what ? Now, it is also suggested that compensation should be given, giving them certain time, spread over 20 years or so. For myself, I feel that there is no necessity of continuing any negotiation with the Rulers because when the policy of the Government is decided upon, when the ruling party has decided in favour of the abolition of the privy purses and the privileges, there is no scope for continuing such a prolonged negotiation with the Rulers.

Sir. I think you know that the Princes have thrown up a challenge that they will not take things lying low. Even today, our most esteemed friend, Dr. Antani, said that the Rulers are not going to take things lying low; they are very important persons, they have got something to do. Am I to conclude that the Government is afraid of them? Am 1 to conclude that really the Congress Party and the Congress Government will not be able to meet the challenge of these 500 odd Rulers, some of whom are also in the Cabinet, in the Congress Party and in the Congress echelon? Am I to conclude that they are afraid? If the Congress Party is committed to certain principles, if the Consress Party pays respect to the ideology of the party, respects the heritage of Mahatma Gandhi or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or is even willing to pursue the nolicy set out or laid down by them, they should not wait, they should not give time, they should not hesitate in the matter of the nbolition of the privy purses and the privileges. If they do so, please permit me to say, it is cowardice, sheer cowardice, acceptance of defeat. And those people will feel that they are formidable force

today. When the Government can break popular struggles, when they can drown so many popular movements 'in the country and when the Government does not feel weak in the matter of attacking people who simply organise or conduct their movements, I do not know why it feels itself so weak-kneed in the matter of meeting this challenge. There are friends like Dr. Antani. . . . (Interruptions) . . . Therefore, this does not brook any further

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Mr. Vice-Chairman, before concluding I say that it is high time that the Government made up its mind, it is high time that the Government took a firm decision, it is high time that the Government implemented the spirit of the Constitution and it is high time that the Government guaranteed equality of law in this country.

Thank you very much.

श्री ह्यातल्ला अन्सारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अभी मेरे साथियों ने, जो बिल लाये हैं, उस की मखालिफत की है। उन का खयाल यह है कि प्रिसेज से हम ने उन की स्टेट ले ली है, जायदाद ले ली है और उस के एवज में उन को कुछ थोड़ा पैसा देते हैं वह जारी रहना चाहिये। वह जायदाद समझते हैं। जिस तरह से कि मकान ले लिया जाय या मेरे पास कोई बाग हो, वह ले लिया जाय। तो ऐसा उन का खयाल है कि प्रिसेज की स्टेट जो थी वह उन की जायदाद थी। अब वहां कुछ आदमी बसते थे। उन को आप भेड़ बकरी समझ लीजिये। तो भेड़ वकरियों को यह हक नहीं होता कि जायदाद पर कब्जा कर लें। इस लिए अगर कांग्रस ने उन की जायदाद खरीदी है तो उन्हें पैसा मिल जाना चाहिये। इस आर्गुमेंट को बोड़ा और आगे बढ़ा लिया जाय तो कहा जा सकता है कि हिन्दस्तान एक जायदाद थी अंग्रेजों की। हम ने यह उन से खरीद ली है तो हम को चाहिये कि अपने बजट का कम से कम 80 परसेंट हिस्सा उनको देदिया करें। यह ईश्यू गडहमहड हो गया है और मैं बताना चाहता हं कि कर्तई कोई चीज उन से ली नहीं गयी बल्कि बाज लोगों की चींजें जो उन के

[श्री हयात्ल्ला अन्सारी]

कब्जे में थीं, जो उन्होंने छीन ली थीं, वह वापस ले ली गयीं और अगर यह आग्मेंट नहीं मानियेगा तो इंडिपेंडेंस के कोई मानी नहीं। लेकिन में पहले एक बात और बता दं। इस ईस्यू में कई चीज गड़मड़ हो गयी हैं। इसलिये बात कुछ उलझ गयी है। एक बात तो यह है कि यह आया है कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की तरफ से। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी वर्डस में तो बहादुर है, लेकिन डीइस में उस ने कुछ दिखाया नहीं। जहां तक डीड्स की बात है, वह सब से ज्यादा खिलाफ रही जनसंघ के, लेकिन पहला मौका मिलते ही उस ने जनसंघ से समझौता कर लिया। अकाली दल के वह बहुत खिलाफ थी, लेकिन जब मौका मिला उस ने अकाली दल से समझौता कर लिया। वह मस्लिम लीग के खिलाफ थी लेकिन मौका मिला और उस ने मुस्लिम लीग से समझौता कर लिया। प्रिइंडिपेंडस डेज में बड़ी बहादरी से साम्राज्य से जाकर समझौता कर लिया और में यकीन दिलाता हं कि अगर मौका मिल जाय तो वे स्वतंत्र पार्टी से समझौता कर लेंगे । इसलिये यह डीड्स में बहुत पीछे और वर्ड्स में बहुत आगे रहे हैं। यह चीज गड़बड़ा देती है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि ए० आई० सी० सी० इसे मंजर कर चुकी है और यह बात तय हो चकी है कि प्रीवी पर्सेज को एवालिश कर देना है। कैसे, यह बात छोड़ दी गयी है। इस के लिये बातचीत हो रही है। यह लोग कह रहे हैं कि बातचीत न करो। अब आप को मालम है कि जमहरियत में सारी लड़ाई बात-चीत से होती है, समझा बुझा कर होती है, फैसले बातचीत से होते हैं। यहां आप लोग लड़ते नहीं हैं। हम आप को समझायेंगे, आप की बात हम समझेंगे। यहां पार्टियां समझ कर फैसला करती हैं, डंडों से फैसला नहीं करती हैं। या तो आप हमारी बात मान जायेंगे या हम आप की और वोटिंग से फैसला होगा। इस चीज को नेगोशियेशन्स कहते

हैं। ओपेनली दो पार्टियों में बातचीत होती है, डिस्कशन्स होते हैं और डेमोकसी में इसी तरह बात होती है। वह हम करने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन उस को भी प्वाइंट बना लिया गया है। इन चीजों ने गड़मड़ हो कर ईश्य विगाड़ दिया है, लेकिन में आप को बताना चाहता हूं कि यह प्रिसेज हैं क्या चीज। ओटों-केटिक रूल काएक जमाना था। हिन्द-स्तान पर अंग्रेजों ने कब्जा कर लिया। इस कब्जे से पहले, अगर कब्जान होता तो गालिबन एक बहुत बड़ी लड़ाई यहां चलती आजादी की, जो स्टेटों में भी चलती। लेकिन वह मौका नहीं मिला। उस के बाद अंग्रेजों ने गलती की। उन्होंने देखा कि यह बड़े बड़े स्टेटस हैं। उन्होंने शरू में उन से टक्कर लेना मुनासिब नहीं समझा। उन को एक स्टेटस दिया लेकिन बाद में उन को हड़प करने के लिये उन्होंने बहुत से बहाने बनाये, जैसे किसी राजा को अगर कोई बेटा न हो तो वह गोद नहीं ले सकता । और इसी तरह की बहुत सी बातें उन्होंने बना लीं। तो 1857 में हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई हुई। उस के अंदर प्रिसेज ने बहुत बड़ा भाग लिया और महारानी झांसी तो एक वडी हीरो बन गयीं। वह लड़ाई अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ थी और इस से स्टेटस की बहुत इज्जत हो गयी और आज तक उस का असर बाकी है। आज तक हमारे यहां बहुत से लोगों में स्टेट्स की इज्जत है, लेकिन वह लड़ाई जो जनता की थी, मासेज की थी, उसे जब अंग्रेजों ने खत्म कर दिया तो जो सब से बड़े उन के गुलाम बने वे ये प्रिसेज ही थे। सब से ज्यादा प्रेस भी उस लड़ाई को इन प्रिसेज ने ही किया। जवाहरलाल जी ने अपनी आटोबायोग्राफी में लिखा है, एक तज्बी उन्होंने बयान किया है और वैसे उन्होंने संस्मरण लिखा है कि लड़ाई हिन्द-स्तान में अंग्रजों और हिन्दूस्तानियों में तो है लेकिन उस के अलावा किसानों और जमींदारों में भी है, मजदूरों और सरमायादारों में भी है और रियाया और स्टेट्स में भी है। यह उन्होंने साफ साफ लिखा है। इस के बाद जब लड़ाई

(Amdt.) Bill, 1964

एक माननीय सदस्य : बीस लाख और पच्चीस लाख।

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी: 20 लाख और 25 लाख दे रहे हैं इसलिये कि एक आदमी ऐश और आराम से रहे। उन आदमियों पर तरस आता है कि जो यह कहते हैं कि 50 या 25 लाख में रहने वाला 5 सौ में रहेगा तो हम कैसे देख सकेंगे। वह कैसे

रहेंगे यह सोच कर वे रो रहे हैं। यहां उन्हें यह देख कर रोना आता है कि जो हजारों मन अनाज खा जाते हैं उन को पाव भर रोटी मिलेगी, लेकिन जो एक एक दाने को तरस रहे हैं उन के लिये उन को रोना नहीं आता। यह जहनियत है। सौ साल से हम इस मेटेंलिटी सेलड़ रहे हैं। जब आप दौलतमंद और करोडपित को देखते हैं और उस के पास थोड़ा खाना देखते हैं तो उस के लिये आप को रोना आता है, उस के लिये आप आंसू बहाते हैं, लेकिन जब अ।प किसी गरीब आदमी को देखते हैं कि वह भूखा मर गया तो आप सोचते हैं कि यह तो मरते ही रहते हैं। इस टेंडेंसी के विरुद्ध हम को लड़ना है। जो लोग इस को नहीं समझते उन्होंने हिन्द्स्तान को नहीं समझा है। यह नहीं हो सकता है कि आप एक आदमी को तो 50 लाख रुपया पेट भरने के लिये दें और दूसरे को 5 दाने भी न दे सकें। चल सकता है हिन्दस्तान इस तरह ? निभा सकती है कोई गवर्नमेंट ? रह सकती है कोई पार्टी ? इस लिये यह बात हम को अच्छी तरह से समझ लेनी है।

में फिर कहता हूं कि और बहुत से वायदे थे जो कांग्रेस ने किये थे उन की याद क्यों नहीं दिलाते हैं? मासेज से कहा था कि एज्केशन देंगे, दी एज्केशन ? मैं पूछता हं यह कि अगर हम ने प्रीवी पर्स खत्म कर दिया तो क्या इस से एक स्कूल नहीं खोल सकेंगे? एक स्कूल, और क्या यही एक स्कूल से हम 500 लड़कों को एज्केट नहीं कर सकेंगे ? यह 500 लड़कों की एजकेशन बड़ी होगी या इन 5,000 आदिमियों का पेट भरना बड़ा होगा ? वह कहते हैं कि उन्होंने बडा बडा करेक्टर दिखाया, वह करेक्टर देखने को नहीं मिलता । मैं जानता हं कि जब बिहार और दूसरी जगहों में कहत पड़ा है और उस समय अगर ये वालियाने रियासत घर घर में जाकर घुमते तो हम समझते कि हां उन्होंने कुछ किया है। उन को वोट ही नहीं

[श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी]
देते, बल्कि उन को गद्दी पर बिटाते, लेकिन कहीं कोई नजर नहीं आया। वही वालि-याने रियासत हैं और उन्हों की रियाया भूखों मर रही है। उड़ीसा का कहत देख लीजिये। उन्होंने जो किया उस में बाह बाही की क्या बात है? क्या क्या मेहर-बातियां वह कर रहे हैं, क्या करेक्टर उन्होंने दिखाया है। मुमकिन है कि एक आध आद-मियों ने वह करेक्टर देखा हो, लेकिन मैंने, मासेज ने वह करेक्टर नहीं देखा। लोगों से पुछिये, वे कहीं नजर नहीं आये।

उन्होंने वायदे और भी किये थे। मासेज से वायदे कियेथे। यह कहा था कि बेकारी दूर करेंगे। उसका क्या हुआ। ? यह समझ लीजिये कि कांग्रेस ने वायदा किया था मासेज से और नुमाइन्दों ने वायदा किया था। अब हम प्रिसेज के वायदे परे करें या मासेज के वायदे पूरे करें ! और माइनारिटीज से भी हम ने बायदा किया था। वह क्या पुरा हुआ ? हरिजनों से वायदा किया था। वह क्या पूरा हअ: ? जब व यदों को रखने और निभाने की बात है तो दोनों को एक तराज पर तोलना होगा। एक तरफ बालियाने रियासत हैं और दूसरी तरफ मासेज। इंसाफ के मायने यह नहीं हैं कि अगर रियासत के राजा हैं तो उन के वायदे कटने नहीं चाहियें। अगर वायदे कटते हैं तो दोनों तरफ के कटने चाहियें। अगर मासेज के वायदे पूरे नहीं हुए तो प्रिसेज के बायदे भी पूरे नहीं होंगे। अगर बेकारी दूर नहीं होगी, मासेज का पेट नहीं भरेगा, तो हम प्रिसेज को भी कुछ नहीं दे सकेंगे। उन की कोई जायदाद हम ने नहीं ली थी। वह इसलिये ली गयी थी कि मासेज के साथ उन की लड़ाई न हो। उन में आपस में दृश्मनी न पैदा हो जाय । लेकिन जब उन्होंने वायदा पूरा नहीं किया तो कौन वायदा पूरा कर सकता है। इन अल्फाज के साथ यह में इल्लाजा करूंगा भूपेण गप्त जी से कि जब कांग्रेस आप के साथ चल रही है, बातें हो रही है, ऐक्शन में हम लाने वाले हैं, उस वक्त आप को जल्दी क्यों पड़ रही है ? क्यों एक किस्म की फूट पैदा कर रहे हैं ? क्यों न इसे वापस लेलीजिये ?

भी देवी सिंह (राजस्थान): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन के सामने जो संशो-धन माननीय भपेश जीने रखा है मैं उसका विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं। अगर हम इसको देखें तो तीन दृष्टि से इसके ऊपर विचार किया जा सकता था, पहला कान्नी दृष्टि से, दूसरा नैतिक दृष्टि से और तीसरा आर्थिक दृष्टि से। कानुनी दिष्टि से, जैसा कि हमारे पूर्व वक्ता महोदय कहरहे थे कि यह कोई समझौता ही नहीं था. अगर ऐसा था तो उस बक्त यह कवेनेंट करने की क्या आवश्यकता पड़ी थी और उस वक्त राजाओं से दस्तखत करवाने की क्या आवश्यकता थी ? जिस वक्त हमको आवश्य-कता थी हमने दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया, हमने देश के फायदे के लिये एक समझौता किया और आज हम उस समझौते को, जो कि हमारे संविधान के अन्दर है, तोड़ना चाहते हैं। इस कानुनी चीज पर हम ज्यादा नहीं जाना चाहते हैं।

इसके बाद आता है नैतिक प्रश्न । नैतिक प्रश्न के बारे में हमारे पूर्व बक्ताओं ने बहुत प्रकाश डाला है कि जो बायदा हमने किया, हमारे देश ने किया, हमारे बड़े बड़े नेताओं ने किया उसपर हम को अडिंग रहना चाहिये। हमारे मित्र कम्यनिस्ट सदस्य जो अभी बोल गये वे भावना में इतना बह गये कि उन्होंने कहा कि यह रईस थे, यह तो गहार थे देश के। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हुं कि अगर वे खबाल करें कि जिस वक्त देश को आजादी मिली और उस वक्त जो हैदराबाद का ऐक्शन हुआ अगर उसी तरह से तमाम रियासतें खिलाफ होतीं तो क्या हालत होती ? उसको आप क्या गहारी कहते हैं या देश की स्वामिनवित । अगर रईस उस वक्त देश के साथ न होते, अगर वे अपना अलग हिस्सा बनाते जैसा कि अंग्रेज उस

वक्त देने के लिये तैयार थे तो क्या हालत होती ? इस पर आज हम नहीं खयाल करते है। फिर सबसे ज्यादा कम्युनिस्ट लोग यह कहते हैं। में उनसे पूछना चाहता हं कि जब वे चीन और रूस के साथ हाथ मिलाते हैंतो फिर हमारेदेण के साथ गहारीक्यों करते हैं ? इस चीज का उनको खबाल नहीं होता है कि वे उनके बारे में कहते हैं जिल्होंने देश को अखंड बनाने में साथ दिया। ताज्जब की चीज यह होती है कि फिर इसके साब **उन्होंने** पुराने इतिहास पर भी बहा प्रकाश डाला और कहा कि इस फेंमिलीज का, इनके खानदानों का इतिहास तो खुन से भरा हुआ है। उन्होंने बहुत से आदिमियों का खुन करवाया । में उनसे पूछना चाहता हुं कि रूस, चीन आदि देशों का जो खन का इतिहास है जहां हजारों और लाखों आदिमयों को एक दिनमें मार दिया जाताया उसके बारे में आप क्या कहते हैं ? दस पांच आद-मियों के बारे में आपकी बड़ा इस हुआ और होना चाहिये, परन्तु जहां हजारों और लाखों आदमी मारे गये आपके द्वारा कम्युतिस्ट देशों के अन्दर, उनको आप प्रगतिशील देश कहते हैं। चीन को आप प्रगतिशील देश कहते हैं, रूस को आप प्रगतिगील देश कहते हैं।

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अब इसके साथ जो इसका आर्थिक प्रकत है उसके ऊपर भी में दो शब्द निवेदन करना चाहता है। जैसा कि हमारे डाह्या गाई पटेल जी ने बनाया और दूसरे मिलों ने भी बनाया कि प्रिसेज को जो प्रियी पर्स इस बक्त दिया जाता है वह साढ़े चार करोड़ के करीब है। साढे चार करोड आज के हमारे वजट का. 01 पर सेंट होता है। तो अगर आर्थिक दृष्टि के हिसाब से यह सोचा जाय कि देश की भलाई के लिये, देंग की बहबदी के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि यह खत्म किया जाय तो में पूछना चाहता हूं कि हमारे हिन्दस्तान स्टील के अन्दर आज एक हजार करोड़ का इनवेस्टमेंट है जिस में हर साल हमारा 40

करोड़ का नुक्सान होता है। आज यह देखिये कि उसकी आप वर्दास्त कर रहे हैं। उसकी बदइन्तजामी को हम बदस्ति कर रह हैं, 40 करोड़ का नुक्सान हम भ्गत रहे है, परन्तु चार, साढ़े चार करोड़ का जो नक्सान है, जिस को ये नुकसान कहते हैं, उसको भगतने के लिये ये तैयार नहीं हैं। अगर हमारे भूपेश जीको हमारे देश के आर्थिक नकसान का इतना अफसोस है और होना चाहिये तो मैं उनसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हं कि हमारे देश के अन्दर बहुत से ऐसे कार्य जो हो रहे हैं जैसे नक्सलबाड़ी का हुआ, जैसे कि आसाम के अन्दर 26 जनवरी को हुआ जिस में एक रोज में 25 करोड २० का नकसान हुआ और ये घेराब आदि आदि जो होते हैं जिन में लाखों करोड़ों का नुकसान होता है इनको उन्हें बन्द कर के देश की प्रगति करनी चाहिये। परन्तु उसके बजाय ऐसी चीज की तरफ यह आते हैं और देश की एक मजबूत राष्ट्र बनाने के लिये उस बबत के रूलिंग प्रिसेज ने जो समझीता किया था, हमारे देश के नेता नेहरू जी ओर पटेल जीने जो समझौता किया था और जो हमारे संविधान में रखा गया था उसको यह बोड़े से पैसों के लिये तोड़ देना चाहते हैं।

इसलिये मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि वास्तव में यह जो विधान में संशोधन लाया गया है इससे हमारे देश का न आधिक लाम है, न यह नैतिक है और न यह कानुनी है। किसी दिष्ट से यह चीज फायदेमन्द नहीं है और इस निधे में अपने मित्र भूपेश जी से निवेदन करूगा कि अच्छा यह है कि वे इसे वापस मे ला

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA) (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, S;r, I support this Bill. Most of the Members opposed the Bill on the ground that purses and other privilege; were given because these Princes acted most patriotically. But I say that if they signed the agreement for integration, it is not on account of patriotism on

[Shri Kesavan (Thazhava)] their part, but because the people of their States were for integration. This fact is ignored by all the people who spoke on this subject here. Sir, before integration, I belonged to the Travancore State and it was under a Maharajah. It was ruled by Maharajah Chittirathirunal and his Dewan was Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer. Then certain Members say that these rulers were patriotic, I would like to ask them: How many of these rulers actually took part in the freedom movement? If there is any one who took part in the freedom movement and suffered, he should be rewarded not with privy purses, but with something else. My ruler, the Maharajah of Travancore, at the time of independence declared that Travancore would be independent. Was that declaration due to patriotism towards India? That can never be. The people of Travancore, when Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiver declared the independence of Travancore on behalf of the Maharajah, gifted him with a cut on his check with a chopper. And there ended the independence of Travancore. Sir, C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer was then leading all the rulers of the native States. In fact the task of bringing these native States into the Indian Union was minimised by that single cut. The people were responsible for that. The leaders at the Centre, either the Iron Man of India, Sardar Vallabhai Patel or our great national leader Jawaharlal Nehru, were not responsible for that. We the people of Travancore wanted integration. If Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer and the Maharajah of Travancore had continued to stick to their stand, I do not know what would have happened to the royal family of Travancore and to Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer. They had their supporters, I know. But I do not want to say anything about them here. They were selfseeking fellows and most of them are now the leaders of the present Congress Party there. What I want to say is that it is the people of Travancore who wanted integration, and that

was why this agreement was entered into by

the ruler of Travancore. So is the case in every

Stale, fr the people of these native States were

against this integration, against joining the

Indian Union, certainly this intearation would

not have been possible. Nobody, therefore, can

say that it is out of patriotism that all these rulers agreed to this integration; it is not so.

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these agreements about privy purses were entered into without the knowledge and consent of the people of those native States. On that ground itself they are invalid. It is an ex parte agreement entered into by Sardar Vallabhai Patel's man, V. P. Menon, with the rulers of the native States. The citizens of these native States were not aware of this. We never agreed to this agreement and so they are not entitled to these privileges and privy purses. Now why should they be given these privy purses? The amount may be very little, about Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 crores; it may be a drop in the ocean if the total income of the Government is taken into consideration.

{Atndt.) Bill, 1964

This amount may be very small but why should we give it to them? They have vast estates even now. The Maharaia of Travancore and his family own vast immovable properties. Rs. 18 lakhs are given to him. Why should it be given? Mr. V. P. Menon came there and conspired with some people. The Maharaja agreed because he had no other go. That is why all these Rulers agreed and entered into such agreements. They did not do so on account of patriotism for this country. It was done because the people were against them and they knew that integration was going to take place. So they thought it would be better if they got something. Therefore they agreed to it. Otherwise the very existence of these Rulers would have been in peril. That is the reason why they signed these agreements. Even today, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are people, even Members of Parliament, who think that these Rulers are Gods. That sort of mentality we must put an end to. Some Members here say that these promises were made by Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, My submission is that so many promises were made at the time of independence movement to the people but nothing has been fulfilled even today. Congress had a slogan that agricultural land must go to agriculturists. But they did not get it even today. Mahatma Gandhi said that the highest salary should be Rs. 500. What has happened to that ? Even our great national leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, said that the ICS people were white elephants and they must be put an end to. But we find now that some new category of people—IAS—has been created. Mahatma Gandhi never wanted the Congress organisation to be

(Amdt.) Bill, 1964

converted into a political party. But what happened? Against his will it was converted into a political party. So there is no necessity to say that Mahatmaji, Nehru and Sardar Patel made promises to the Princes. Sardar Patel at that time saved the situation by entering into agreements with the Princes who have no support of the people. Even the provisions of the Constitution are not against stopping these privy purses and other emoluments given to them. So my submission is that in the interest of the country and for the progress of the country we must stop these privy purses and necessary amendments should be made in the Constitution, if necessary. Some people say China is coming from the North and Pakistan is coming from the East and West, so if these privy purses are taken away, the Princes will rise against India. There is no need for such a fear because the Princes are not going to do anything. A Prince is only a man just like any other. They are not Gods. Mahatmaji was fasting for Harijans, for Hindu-Muslim unity and all that but fulfilled nothing. These people who oppose the bill now say "Think of Mahatmaji" because it now suits their purpose. So my submission is that we must put an end to these rich and powerful Gods. At least in the future they must be men like others. We must take away their privy purses and other emoluments. Thank you.

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श्री चन्द्र शेखर (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभा-ध्यक्ष जी. मैं अपने मित्र माननीय भपेश जी को इस बात के लिए बधाई देता हुं कि उन्होंने यह विधेयक हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया और इस सदन का और देश का ध्यान इस समस्या की ओर आकृष्ट किया कि संविधान में यह आवश्यक है कि पूराने राजाओं को जो प्रिवी पर्स और विशेषाधिकार मिले हुए हैं उनको समाप्त किया जाय।

इस प्रश्न पर पिछले कई सालों से विवाद हो रहा है और गत एक साल के अन्दर यह विवाद बहुत तेजी पर रहा है। बाहर भी और सदन के भीतर भी कई बारयह प्रश्न उठाया गया । मैं इसके वैधानिक पहल पर नहीं जाना चाहता क्योंकि इस सम्बन्ध में

बहत से लोगों ने अपने विचार ध्यवत किए है। हमारे विधि मंत्री महोदय यहां पर उन्होंने भी अपने विचार व्यक्त किए हैं और दूसरे विधिवक्ताओं ने भी इस पर अपनी राय जाहिर की है। जो विधि-वक्त इसके समर्थन में नहीं हैं, वे केवल इतना ही कह सकते हैं कि 'संविधान में संशोधन करने की आवश्यकता है। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है और यह बात कुछ हास्यास्पद भी मालम होता है जब हमारे कुछ मिन्न कहते हैं, यह धारणा फैलाते हैं कि अगर संविधान में संशोधन हो गया तो कोई बड़ी भारी भारतीय परम्परा टुट जायगी। यह बताने की कोशिश की जाती है कि शायद सारे भारत का जो अतीत है वह धूमिल हो जायगा इस लिए कि हम अपने वादों को पूरा नहीं करते जिन लोगों ने यह संविधान बनाया था शायद उन्होंने यह कभी नहीं सोचा होगा कि संविधान की कोई ऐसी धारा है जिसका संशोधन कभी नहीं किया जा सकता। जिन्होंने संविधान बनाया उन्होंने इस को और इस देश की जनता को यह भी अधिकार दिया कि संविधान की विभिन्न धाराओं का संशोधन भी हो सकता है। कई वार संविधान का संशोधन हुआ, कई वार घाराएं बदली गईं, लेकिन कभी यह सवाल नहीं उठाया गया कि देश की जनता के विश्वासों को ठेस लग जायगी, कभी यह सवाल नहीं उठाया गया कि भारतीय परम्परा जायगी। यह पहली बार है। जिस समय हमारे देवी सिंह बोल रहे थे तो ऐसा लगा कि जैसे सारे भारत कि गरिमा इसी एक संविधान की धारा में छिपी हई है। दूसरी तरफ कहा जाता है कि संवि-धान की पविवता टूट जायगी। महोदय, इस सदन मैं एक बार नहीं, अनेक बार हमने दुखद घटनाएं सुनी हैं। छूआछूत के सवाल को लेकर देश में जघन्य अपराध हो रहे हैं। इसी संविधान की एक धारा है जिसमें लिखा हआ है कि छुआछुत का रोग इस देश से मिटाया जाय। उसके ऊपर कभी मैन

[श्री चद्र भेखर] जज्वातों को उभरते हुए नहीं देखा, इस पर कभी मैंने अपने मिलों की भावनाओं को इतने जोर से प्रगट होते हए नहीं देखा। इसी संविधान के अन्दर है कि गरीबी, अमीरी का भेद इतना नहीं बढ़ जायेगा जिससे गरीब तिलमिलाकर जिन्दगी को बेहाल समझे। उन धाराओं के अन्दर जो हमारी राजनीति के उदार सिद्धान्त हैं उनकी ओर ध्यान हमारे मिल देवी सिंह जी का नहीं गया। उसकी ओर हमारे उन मिल्लों का ध्यान नहीं गया जो आज बड़े जोरों से इस बात की दहाई देते हैं कि संविधान की पविवता और संविधान की मंशा और संविधान की मर्यादा ट्ट जायगी। महोदय, मैं आपसे कहना चाहंगा कि संविधान के पीछे कौन सी मंशा है, संविधान की आत्मा क्या है। संविधान की आत्मा यह है कि इस देश काएक एक प्राणी यहां इस देश का सहभागी है, इस देश में आजादी आई तो उसका हिस्सेदार एक गरीब भी होगा और एक अमीर भी होगा, इस देश में दुख दारिद्रय और दैन्य है तो उसका भागीदार एक गरीब भी होगा और एक अमीर भी होगा। मैं मानता हूं कि अगर देश गरीब है तो उस गरीबी में सब को सहकारी, सहयोगी और समनागी होना चाहिये लेकिन महोदय. में आपसे जानना चाहता हूं, आप भारतीय संस्कृति के पूजारी हैं, कि यह कौन सी संस्कृति की गरिमा है, महानता है कि लक्ष्मी के बरद पुत्रों को सारी उपभोग्य की बस्तूएं उपलब्ध हों और दूसरी ओर गरीब तिलमिला तिल-मिला कर रहें और इस संसद में जब जब गरीबों का जिक हो, उसका जो जिक्र करे उसको कहा जाय कि ये देश के साथ दूश्मनी करने वाले लोग है, अगर हम भी कभी यह बात करें तो त्रंत कहा जाय कि यह किसी कन्यनिस्ट के, किसी साम्यवाद के प्रभाव में पड गया है।

Constkutkn

श्री वालकृष्ण गुप्त (विहार) : कांग्रेस ने गरीबों के लिये क्या किया जो इतना आप चिल्ला रहे हैं।

श्री डाह्याभाई व० पटेल: कांग्रेस ने इनको यहां से उठा कर वहां ले गये यह सब से वडा काम किया है।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर: अब क्या में इस तरह की बातों को जवाब दूं। मैं नहीं दूंगा क्योंकि श्री डाह्याभाई बुजुर्ग हो चुके हैं, वह कोई नई वात नहीं सीख सकते हैं, उन पर तरस आता है, उन पर कभी गस्सा नहीं आता।

तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह स्थिति है। मैं यह कहरहा थाकि इस संविधान मैं यह भी कहा गया है कि गरीबों की आशाओं और आकांक्षाओं को पुरा करने के लिये कुछ काम किया जाना चाहिये और इस ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। यह ध्यान क्यों नहीं दिया जाता। इसके पीछे एक ही मान्यता है कि जिस समाज में हम और आप रहते हैं उस समाज की कुछ पुरानी मान्य-ताएं हैं और उन मान्यताओं को तोड़ने के लिये जब भी कोई कदम उठाया जायगा तब उस कदम का विरोध होगा और मैं अपने मित्र श्री बालकृष्ण गप्त जी से यह कहंगा कि वह विरोध कांग्रेस की ओर से ही नहीं, जनसंघ की ओर से ही नहीं, स्वतंत्र पार्टी की ओर से नहीं, बल्कि कम्युनिस्ट सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ऐसी समाजवादी पार्टियों में भी ऐसे तत्व हैं जो व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति के अधिकार को पवित्र मानते हैं, जो ऐसा समझते हैं कि सम्पत्ति ले कर के मनच्य भगवान के दर-बार से पैदा हुआ है, जिनके दिलों में भगवान बसा हुआ है, जिनके दिलों में इंसान की कोई मर्यादा नहीं है वह हर परम्परा को तोड़ने के हर प्रयास का विरोध करते हैं और चाहे कांग्रेस पार्टी के अन्दर लोग हों, चाहे स्वतंत्र पार्टी या दूसरी पार्टियों के अन्दर लोग हों, जो लोग ऐसे हैं वह समाज के सड़े हए ढांचे को बनाये रखना चाहते हैं। जिसको कि वनाये रखने कि कितनी ही कोशिश की जाय वह बना रहने बाला नहीं है, क्योंकि, महो-दय, मैं कई बार इस सदन के सामने कह चका

इतिहास कारथ जो है वह किसी के नहीं चल सकता, हमारे और आपके लिये केवल एक ही बात निश्चय करने की होती है कि इस इतिहास के रथ के हम सारथी हों और इतिहास को एक नई दिशा दें या इतिहास के रख के शिकार हों और इतिहास का रथ हमारे सिर के ऊपर से गुजर जाय, और दूसरा कोई चारा नहीं है।

Constitution

आज हमारे मित्र जो पुराने राजे थे, आज जो उसके कुछ अधिकारों का उपभोग कर रहे हैं वे समझ सकते हैं कि हो सकता है कि यह संसद या यह संविधान उनको कुछ दिन की और फूर्सत दे दे लेकिन इसका चुकता उनको बुरी तरह से करना पड़ेगा क्योंकि इतिहास रकने वाला नहीं है।

महोदय, अब मैं एक दूसरी बात की ओर ध्यान देना चाहता हूं। संविधान की मर्यादा की बात करने वालों की यह बात है। दूसरी बात परम्परा की बात है। महोदय, क्या भारत की परम्परा रही है। श्रीमान आप जानते हैं कि इस देश में पूराने जमाने से, बेदों के जमान से, राजा का एक काम माना गया है कि जहां पर सम्पदा एकत्रित हो वहां से ले कर सम्पटा को वहां पहुंचाया जाय जहां कि भुखमरी हो, गरीबी हो। हमारे यहां राजा कौन माना गया है। हमारे यहां वेदों में राजा इन्द्र को माना गया है। इन्द्रकाका**म यह** है कि वह सागर से जहां कि पानी का कोष भरा पड़ा है वहां से सूर्य के जरिये उस पानी को सुखा कर वरुण के जरिये और पवन की सहायता से उसे मरुस्थल में बरसाये जहां कि पानी के बिना लोग तरस रहे हैं। लेकिन आज तो उल्टी गंगा वह रही है, हमारे भाई डाह्याभाई पटेल राजाओं का दुसरा कर्तव्य बताते हैं, वह राजा का कर्तव्य बताते हैं कि उनके पास सम्पदा सदियों से रही है और वह रहनी है और जो गरीब हैं वह कुछ दिन तक भूखें ही मरेंगे। हम समझते हैं कि हमारे शास्त्रों में, हमारी परम्परा में, कभी यह नहीं रहा है। हमारे यहां यह रहा है कि जहां पर सम्पदा है वहां से सम्पदां ले कर गरीब की कृटिया तक पहुंचाना राजा का कर्तथ्य है। (Time bell rings.) महोदय, केवल दो मिनट। इन्द्र का कर्तव्य यही कहा गया है कि सागर से पानी को ले कर महस्यल में पहुंचाये और जो राजा इस काम को पूरा नहीं करता वह राजा राजा होने का अधिकारी नहीं रहता, अगर भारतीय संसद् अपने इस कर्तव्य की पूरा नहीं करती, अगर भारत सरकार इस काम को पूरा नहीं करती तो मैं यह कहना चाहुंगा नम्रता के साथ, कि यह सारी भारतीय परम्परा और संस्कृति के विरुद्ध एक कदम होगा।

{Amdt.) Bill, 1964

महोदय, दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहंगा कि बड़ा जिक होता है कि राजाओं ने बड़ा भारी त्याग किया, बड़ी तपस्या की । मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है कि उनके त्याग, उनकी तपस्या, उनकी कुर्वानी का जित्र वह लोग करें जो लोग कि भारत के इतिहास की नहीं जानते या वह लोग करें जो कि अ जादी की लड़ाई के जमाने में दूसरी तरफ रहते थे लेकिन जब डाह्याभाई पटेल ऐसे आदमी-चाहे आज वह भले ही गुभराह हों लेकिन भारतीय स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई में उनका एक हिस्सा है-जिस समय कहते हैं कि ये भारतीय राजा महाराजा हैं, इनके देश-प्रेम की एक यह कहानी है, उन्होंने मर्जर किया, उस समय शायद उसे भूल जाते हैं कि देशी रियासतों में किन लोगों ने अपनी कुर्बानी दी, उन्हें मूल जाते हैं जिन्होंने अपनी शहादत पेश की । आज वह उनकी स्मृति का अनादर करते हैं। मैंने एक किताव मंगाई है, इस समय मेरे पास समय नहीं है, यह श्री कन्हैयालाल माणिकलाल मुंशी की एक पुस्तक है जो कि उन्होंने हैदराबाद के बारे में लिखी है और इस पुस्तक में उन्होंने लिखा है कि सैकड़ों राजा और नवाब जो आज इस देश के अन्दर वसे हुये हैं, बने हुये हैं, उनमें केवल 18 लोग ऐसे ये जो कि अंग्रेजी राज्य आने के पहले इस देश में रूलिंग डायनेस्टीज में थे, शासन करने वाले परिवार में थे, बाकी सारे लोग अंग्रेजी जमाने के बीच शासक और राजा बन गये। क्यों बन गये ?

श्री देवी सिंह: बिल्कुल गलत है।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर:श्री कन्हैयालाल माणिकलाल मुंशी की पुस्तक है, उनसे अधिक आप जानते होंगे, आपके ही नेता की पुस्तक है कि ये 18 लोग ही पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान दोनों को मिला कर यहां ऐसे थे और बाकी सारे लोग...

श्री देवी सिंह: राजस्थान में ही अकेले 18 से ज्यादाथे।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर: राजस्थान में रहे होंगे लेकिन अंग्रेजों के आने के पहले सब लोगों ने दासता स्वीकार कर ली थी और अंग्रेजों ने वहां इसलिये इनको राजा बनाया कि अंग्रेजी प्रभुसना बनाये रखने में उन्होंने देश के साथ गद्दारी की । मैं इस बात को इसलिये कह रहा हूं कि अगर यही देश-प्रेम है तो जिन्होंने देशी राजाओं के जुल्मों को सहन किया, जिन्होंने मुक्त कराने की कोशिश की उनकी याददाश्त के साथ, उनकी स्मृति के साथ हम अन्याय करेंगे ।

श्री देवी सिंह जी ने आज एक प्रश्न पूछा कि अगर ये राजा भी बगावत कर देते तो क्या होता; बही होता जो हर ऐसे लोगों के साथ होता है जो कि इतिहास के रुख को नहीं पहिचानते। वहीं होता । जिस प्रकार अनेकों के राज-मुकुट, केवल हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं बल्कि सारी दुनिया में, एक एक कर के भूलुंठित हो रहे हैं, वही होता। रोज सुना जाता है कि एक या दूसरा शाह हवाई जहाज पकड़ कर के दूसरे देशों को भागने के लिये मजबूर होता है। तो देश की जनता इसके लिये मजबूर करती। मुझे विश्वास है कि राजाओं ने बृद्धिमानी का काम उस समय किया और मुझे आशा है कि ये राजा फिर बद्धिमानी का परिचय देंगे और इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेंगे, इन विशेषाधिकारों को समय रहते छोड़ देंगे और वह इस बात के लिये विवश नहीं करेंग कि जनता और देश का इतिहास उनको इस बात के लिये मजबूर करे कि उनको इसकी तिलांजिल देनी है। घन्यवाद।

श्री सूरज प्रसाद (बिहार): महोदय, इस सदन में बोलते हुये कुछ माननीय साथियों ने यह कहने की कोशिश की कि प्रिवीप सं को इसलिये नहीं उठाया जाय क्यों कि यह हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान के प्रतिकृत है। उन्होंने यह कहा कि प्रिवीप सं को इसलिये नहीं उठाया जाय क्यों कि यह बिल्कुल ही अनैतिक कार्य होगा। उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह इसलिये नहीं किया जाय क्यों कि इस सरकार ने राजा महाराजाओं के साथ जो शतीनामा किया है उसके यह खिलाफ होगा। उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह इसलिये नहीं उठाया जाय क्यों कि शतीनामा किया है उसके यह खिलाफ होगा। उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह इसलिये नहीं उठाया जाय क्यों कि यह हिन्दुस्तान के जनतंत्र और हिन्दुस्तान की पुरानी परम्पराओं के खिलाफ होगा।

जब वह इन बातों को बोल रहे थे तो मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत हो रहा था कि वह नहीं बोल हैं, मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत हो रहा था कि उनकी वाणी नहीं है बल्कि यह वाणी उनकी है जिनका कि वह प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। उनके पेट में, उनके उदर में, जो राजा महाराजों का दाना है वह दाना उछल उछल कर उनको यह कहने के लिये बाध्य करता है कि आप हमारा प्रतिनिधित्व सही ढंग से पालियामेंट के अंदर करें। तो मैं उनसे इस संबंध में यह कहना चाहुंगा कि जहां तक हिन्द्स्तान की नैतिकता का प्रश्न है, हिन्द्-स्तान की नैतिकता के दो पहलू हैं। एक तरफ हिन्द्स्तान के अंदर किसान और मजदूर हैं और दूसरी तरफ हिन्द्स्तान के अंदर राजे महाराजे और हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े बड़े पुंजीपति है। यह लोग जो राजे महाराजों की बकालत करते हैं, जिनका वह प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, आखिर वे कैसी नैतिकता चाहते हैं। वे हिन्द्स्तान के राजे महाराजों की नैतिकता चाहते हैं। हिन्द्स्तान के अंदर जो किसान हैं, जो मजदूर हैं, जो मेहनतकश जमात है, उसकी नैतिकता अलग चाहते हैं। उनकी बातों से यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि हिन्द्स्तान के अंदर जो शोषण होता है, हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर जो लूट है, हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर वर्षों से जो पददलित कि ये जा रहे है

उनकी वाणियों को वह घोषित नहीं कर रहे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान की घोषित और पीड़ित जनता की बातों को वह नहीं कह रहे हैं।

इस सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि आखिर कितने रुपए इसमें खर्च होते हैं ? .002 परसेन्ट हिन्दस्तान का पूरे बजट का प्रिवी पर्स पर खर्च होता है। लेकिन देखा जाय तो यह मालूम होगा कि पूरे 20 वर्ष के अंदर हिन्दुस्तान के राजे महाराजों को 80 करोड़ रुपया अभी तक दिया जा चुका है और हर साल 5 करोड़ रु० दिया जाता है। आखिर 80 करोड़ रूपया जो राजे महाराजों को दिया क्या उसका कोई मुल्य नहीं है, 5 करोड़ रु०जो हर साल उनके लिये दिया जाता है क्या यह कोई बड़ी चीज नहीं है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों, हिद्स्तान के मजदूरों और मेहनतकश जमात की मेहनत की कमायी का यह रूपया है। हिन्दूस्तान के करोड़ करोड़ लोग ऐसे हैं जो किसान हैं, मजदूर हैं, जो खेतों और खलिहानों में काम करते हैं। हिन्द्स्तान की कोटि कोटि जनता है जो मेहनत की कमायी सरकार को टैक्स के रूप में देती है, वही पैसा राजे महाराजों की थैलियां भरने के लिये दिया जा रहा है जबकि इन पैसों का आम जनता के लिए बड़ा महत्व है। गांवों के अंदर जायेंगे तो देखेंग वहां की अवस्था क्या है। शिक्षा आज हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर 29 प्रतिशत है, हिन्दू-स्तान के अंदर आज लाखों करोड़ों लोग बैकार पड़े हैं। एक दिन इसी सदन के अंदर बात हो रही थी कि हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर 80,000 इन्जी-नियर बेकार पड़े हुए हैं, उन्हें काम देने का सवाल है। हिन्दुस्तान की पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये आज साघन नहीं है। रुपयों की व्यवस्था नहीं है। रुपया इसलिये दिया जायेगा कि राजे महाराजों का चाय पानी का खर्चा कैसे चलेगा। क्या यह सोचा जाये कि राजे महाराजे भीव मांगने की अवस्था में पहुंचे हैं। जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है हिन्द्स्तान के राजे महाराजों के गस अब भी हजारों एकड जमीन है जिसकी इथबंदी नहीं हुई है। इस राजे महाराजों के

पास आज भी कारखाने हैं, इन राजे महाराजों के पास शहरों में बड़े बड़े मकानात हैं, इन राजे महाराजों के पास खाने हैं, दूसरी सम्पन्ति है जिससे वह हजारों लाखों रुपये महीना कमाते हैं और इनके पास सोने का अकृत मंडार है जो गाड़ कर रखा गया है। हैदराबाद निजाम की आपको भी जानकारी है, हमको भी जानकारी है। तो क्या जि**नके** पास अभी करोड़ों की सम्पत्ति है, ऐसी सम्पत्ति रखने वाले लोगों को हर साल 5 करोड़ रू० देना क्या उचित होगा। अगर यही उनकी नैतिकता है कि हिन्द्स्तान के अंदर करोड़ करोड़ लोग भूखे मरें, जिन्हें खाने को दाना न मिले, जो लाखों करोड़ों की संख्या में बेकार हों, वह एक तरफ रहें और हिन्द्स्तान के मुट्ठी भर राजे महाराजे जिनकी देश में कोई वुकत नहीं जो हिन्दुस्तान की मध्य-युगीय व्यवस्था के प्रतीक है, तो हमें उन पर आइचर्य होता है जब हम ऐसी बाते लोगों के मुंह से सुनते हैं तो बड़ा आश्यर्य होता है और हम बड़ी द्विधा में पड़ जाते हैं। आखिर ये किस देश के, किस जमाने के, किस सम्यता के प्रतीक हैं। माल्म यह होता है कि हिन्द स्तान की कोटि कोटि जनता का चित्र उनके सामने नहीं आता है। हिन्द्स्तान के करोड़ करोड़ लोग आज भूखी और नंगी अवस्था में पड़े हैं, कपड़े के लिये, दाने के लिये तरसते हैं। उनके सामने यह चित्र नहीं है। मृट्ठी भर राजे महाराजे जिनकी संख्या हिन्द्स्तान के अंदर 662 है, उनकी ही सेवा उनकी ही सुश्रुषा वाली बातें उनको अच्छी लगती हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की दूसरी जमात की बातें उनके दिमाग में नहीं घुसतीं। उनका यह दिष्टकोण है और वह यह समझते हैं कि उनको खुदा ने ही गरीब बना कर हिन्दुस्तान में रखा है, उनको इसी अवस्था में पड़े रहते का अधिकार है, हिन्दुस्तान में रह कर अच्छे जीवन को सोचने का उन्हें कोई अधिकार नहीं है। इसिलिये मैं आपसे कहना चाहूंगा कि आम जनता के हित में यह बिल है और इस बिल का हर तरह से समर्थन होना चाहिये। कांग्रेस पार्टी में भी ऐसे लोग हैं जो इस बिल का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। आखिर जहां तक हिन्दुस्तान

श्री सरज प्रभाद

Constitution

1949

के संविधान का प्रश्न है, उस में समता है, स्वतंत्रता है, भाईचारे का सिध्दान्त है। हिन्दुस्तान है अंदर मुट्ठी भर सम्पत्ति वाले कहते हैं कि इन मटडी भर लोगों के लिये ही सारी सुख-सुविय: मोहैय्या ही और बाकी हिन्दुस्तान की कोटि कोटि जनता को उस तरह की चीजों से हमेंगा के लिये महरूम किया जाय। जहां तक मैने समझा है यह हिन्दस्तान का संविधान नहीं कहता है। जिन मित्रों ने संविधान की बात की मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूं कि संविधान में इस पहलू पर गीर करें। जहां तक समझीते के उल्लंघन करने का सम्बन्ध है, समझौते के समय यहां की जो कोटिशः आम जनता थी उसकी राय नहीं ली गई थी। उस समय मुद्ठी भर राजे महाराजे, हिन्द्स्तान की सरकार के कुछ प्रति-निवियों ने मिला कर समझौता कर लिया। लेकिन हिंदुस्तान की कोटि कोटि जनता जो इस राष्ट्र में बसती थी उनका कोई प्रतिनिधित्व उस समय नहीं था। इसलिये राजे महाराजों को पैसा देते रहता यह एक गुनाह है क्योंकि इन्होंने वर्षों तक हमारा शोषण किया, वर्षों तक हमको लुटा है। यह हमारे खन की कमाई का पैसा है। उनके चेहरे पर जो लाली है वह हमारी कमाई की लाली है। इसलिये उनको पैसा देने का अब कीई भी औं चित्य नहीं है ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बिल की जीरदार समर्थन करता है।

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE INTER-STATE WATER DISPUTES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1968

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:-

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Inter-State Water Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 1968, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 1st August, 1968."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday.

> The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday the 5th of August, 1968.