

problem of modernisation of our ports. Then I came to understand that the International Ports and Harbour Association would be in a position to give some technical assistance. So I had discussions with the Chairman of the International Assistance Committee in New York and he agreed to send a team of 3 experts. We were only responsible for their travelling allowances and their hospitality in the country and the terms of reference were to make a very quick survey of our major ports in order to find out what depth studies have got to be conducted in order to have a programme for modernisation of ports. Incidentally, of course, they also have seen all the ports and I expect that the report will contain some very valuable suggestions as to what is wrong and what should be done.

(Interruption)

MR. CHAIRMAN: When there is going to be further discussion, why are you anxious to put more questions?

Next question.

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

*213. SHRI A. D. MANI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the statement purported to have been made by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee at Kanpur recently that there should be a code of conduct for political parties enjoining upon them to eschew violence from public life; and

(b) if so, what is Government's reaction to the suggestion?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA):
(a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Government welcome the suggestion. There was general agreement on this subject amongst those present in the National Integration Conference held in September-October

1961. The National Integration Council had in June 1962 reaffirmed the code recommended by the Conference for adoption by political parties. It is hoped that this matter also will be taken up for consideration by the National Integration Council when it meets next.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, the hon. Minister is aware that during the last General Elections, election meetings used to be broken up by those opposed to certain candidates and it was very difficult to have a free discussion on public issues at such meetings. At that time suggestions were made that the Government should amend the Indian Penal Code to provide enhanced penalties for the breaking up of election meetings. May I ask the Minister whether the Election Commission has made any suggestion to the Government regarding violent speeches made at public meetings and the steps that the Government should take to curb such speeches?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: When this Code of Conduct for political parties was discussed in 1961 certain suggestions were made regarding the breaking up of political meetings by opposing political parties but I am not aware whether any specific suggestion was made for amendment of the Indian Penal Code. But I assume that when the next meeting of the National Integration Council takes place, this matter may be considered.

SHRI A. D. MANI: May I ask the Minister whether his attention has been drawn to a suggestion made some time back in the press that in regard to election meetings, in view of the fact that inflammatory speeches and speeches inciting people to violence are often made at such meetings, there should be compulsory taperecording of the speeches at the expenses of the Election Commission, so that the public may know for themselves what kind of speeches are made by the candidates concerned?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA:
I am not aware that any suggestion has been made and I do not think this kind of thing would be practicable.

श्री राजनारायण : क्या मंत्री जी ने ऐसा कहा कि 1961 में कोई कोड आफ कन्डक्ट का सुझाव आया था, क्या मंत्री जी के पास उसका व्योरा इस समय है और क्या वे उसका व्योरा इस समय दे सकते हैं ? इसी को मद्देनजर रखते हुए क्या मंत्री जी के पास कोई ऐसा सुझाव आया है कि विभिन्न राजनीतिक दल एक प्रतिज्ञा करें कि एक पार्टी का टिकट अगर कोई उम्मीदवार माँगता है और वह रिजेक्ट हो जाता है तो दूसरी पार्टी उस रिजेक्टेड उम्मीदवार को टिकट न दे और एक पार्टी के टिकट पर कोई उम्मीदवार चुनकर आता है और वह फ्लोर क्राश करता है तो उसको इस्तीफा देना चाहिए और इस्तीफा देकर 6 महीने के अन्दर अन्दर फिर चुनाव लड़ना चाहिये यदि वह चाहे तो। तीसरी बात, अगर कोई पार्टी का सदस्य पार्लियामेंट का या राज्य सभा या विधान सभा का पार्टी छोड़ कर जाता है तो उसको मंत्री न बनाया जाये या मुख्य मंत्री न बनाया जाये। इसके साथ साथ चाँथा सुझाव सरकार के सामने क्या यह भी विचारार्थ है कि कोई भी व्यक्ति यदि साल भर पहले अपनी पार्टी से पोलिटिकल डिफरेंस होने के कारण उसे त्याग दे तो उसकी उम्मीदवारी पर अवश्य विचार किया जा सकता है पर केवल टिकट लेने के लिए—जब इलैक्शन का दौर शुरू हो जाये—इलैक्शन से 4-6 महीने पूर्व यदि एक पार्टी छोड़कर दूसरी पार्टी में कोई जाये तो उसको हरगिज हरगिज टिकट न मिले ? अगर यह सुझाव सरकार के सामने है तो क्या सरकार उस पर विचार कर रही है ? इसी के साथ साथ क्या यह भी सुझाव—पाँचवाँ सुझाव—सरकार के सामने है—इलैक्शन कमीशन के सामने तो है ही और इस सदन में भी जब पीपुल्स रिप्रेजेंटेशन एक्ट पर चर्चा हो रही थी तब उसने सुझाव

दिया था—कि जो एनडाइरेक्ट इलैक्शन होते हैं उनमें कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था सरकार कराने की कोशिश करे जिसमें सीक्रेसी आफ बैलट पेपर आसानी से खोली जा सके क्योंकि, श्रीमान, यह कोई माम इलैक्शन नहीं है और असेम्बली के मेम्बर 150, 200, 300 या 400 होते हैं और वोटों की आसानी से जाँच की जा सकती है; देखा जा सकता है, उसमें कोई ज्यादा परेशानी नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि विधान सभाओं में अक्सर देखा जाता है...

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE:
There should be some Code of Conduct here; he should not be allowed to make long speeches.

श्री राजनारायण : क्या सरकार इस पर विचार कर रही है कि जो विधान सभाओं में चुनाव हो रहे हैं विधान परिषद के लिए राज्य सभा के लिए उनमें सीक्रेसी आफ बैलट पेपर आसानी से खोली जा सके ताकि केवल धन खर्च करके जो धनपति यहाँ पर आते हैं और पार्टियों से गद्दारी कराकर उनमें वोटों से चुनकर आते हैं वह बन्द हो क्योंकि हमारी मान्यता है कि जो पार्टी से गद्दारी करता है वह मुल्क से भी गद्दारी कर सकता है पैसे के लालच में ?

श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल : माननीय सदस्य ने जो पहला प्रश्न पूछा था वह यह था कि मेरे पास व्योरा है यह नहीं कि किस तरह कोड आफ कन्डक्ट बनाया गया। मेरे पास व्योरा है। किस तरह का कोड आफ कन्डक्ट 1961 में नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन कौंसिल ने रिक्मेंड किया था वह व्योरा तो इस सभा के सामने आ चुका है और यदि आप आज्ञा देंगे तो मैं फिर उसे सभा के पटल पर रख दूंगा। पिछले आम चुनाव के पहले माननीय गृह मंत्री महोदय ने एक सभा बुलाई थी 7 जनवरी 1967 को जिसमें संसद में जितने भी राजनीतिक दल हैं उनके नेतागण बुलाए गए थे और उसके बाद एक कोड आफ

कन्डक्ट बनाया गया था। उसका व्योरा मेरे पास है यदि आपकी आज्ञा होगी तो उसे भी सभा पटल पर रख दूंगा। उसके बाद इसके बारे में सोचकर विचार हो सकता है। जहाँ तक हमारे प्रश्नों का मवाल है, शायद आपको यह मालूम होगा कि लोक सभा में ऐसा सकल्प हुआ था जिसके अनुसार एक समिति बनाई गई है जो इस बात पर विचार कर रही है और जांच कर रही है कि किस तरह राजनीतिक दल-बदल की प्रवृत्ति, जो चल रही है उस पर रोक लगाई जाये, किम तरह के कानूनी प्रावधान किए जायें जिसमें इस तरह की प्रवृत्ति रुके और प्रजातंत्र को जो खतरा पैदा हो गया है वह खतरा कम हो सके या खत्म हो सके। जब इस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने आ जायेगी तब इसके बारे में हम आगे विचार करेंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : क्या सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है कि 1961 में जो कोड आफ कन्डक्ट बना था सबसे पहले उस कोड आफ कन्डक्ट को—उत्तर प्रदेश का मुझे मालूम है उत्तर प्रदेश में बना था, हमारे दस्तखत है उस पर, चन्द्रभान गुप्त के दस्तखत है—किसी दल ने तोड़ा तो कांग्रेस ने तोड़ा ?

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : आपकी पार्टी के मेम्बर बिक गए।

श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल : यह बात बहुत गलत है कि इस तरह के कोई आरोप पोलिटिकल पार्टियों पर लगाये जायें। यह जरूर कहा जा सकता है कि जो कोड आफ कन्डक्ट बनाया गया उसका कोई ऐसा सम्मान मही किया गया आम चुनाव के वक्त।

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE : It is essential that violence should be eschewed from public life but I would like to know from the Minister whether the Government would change its policy so as to redress the legitimate grievances of the masses so that

they will not have to resort to agitation. There might be certain agitations by political parties for political purposes. But there is no doubt that sometimes the masses have to resort to direct action just to solve certain problems, to redress their grievances which are legitimate. If that is the position, I would like to know whether the Government is going to adopt such policies for redressing the grievances so that the people do not have to resort to direct action?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I do not accept that insinuation of the Member that mass violence is as a result of inaction by the Governor or not agreeing to proper demands. There could be occasions when this may be the case but there are very few cases like that. Most of the time our experience has been that violence has erupted not because any body wanted it or planned it but because the situation went out of the hands of the people who organised that movement or demonstration. In this Code of Conduct which was formulated, one of the first things suggested was that violent agitations should not be encouraged or organised and practically very political party who had attended the Conference had agreed to this suggestion.

SHRI K. DAMODARAN : From the Minister's reply to the first question it appears that all parties in the country and the Government are against violence or are for non-violence. Still violence breaks out in various parts of the country. For example, the people belonging to a particular community in a planned manner go out to under the people belonging to another community. Does the Government think that there is absolutely no politics behind it or political party behind it? Has the Government gone into the reasons behind the killings of human beings?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : Yes, we have thought about this. As far as the question of political mur-

de goes, I am sure the whole House will be with me when I condemn it and say that this is not helpful to our democracy.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: He referred to the atrocities perpetrated against certain communities.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: So far as banning violence is concerned, it is true that the Government and practically all the political parties—I am not saying all political parties but practically all the political parties—are against violence in public life. Still if violence goes on, as I have already said in the answer, it is mainly because the situation which is created by certain political parties who organised the agitation, goes out of their hands. Sometimes it may be deliberate also but most of the time it is not deliberate and it so happens.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: May I know the names of the parties that attended the 1961 meeting and may I also know the names of the parties that though invited to that National Integration Council meeting, refused to attend it?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: As far as this meeting that evolved the Code of Conduct on the 7th of January 1967 was concerned, it was attended by Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy, Shri N. G. Goray, Shri U. M. Trivedi on behalf of the Jan Sangh, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, Shri Dahyabhai Patel was to come out could not come and Shri Mohammad Ismail. He was to come but he sent a letter saying that he fully agreed with the measures that would be taken for evolving a Code of Conduct. The four parties that did not attend were the S.S.P., the C.P.I., the C.F.I. (Marxists) and the D.M.K.

SHRI PITAMBAR DAS: I would like to know what steps were taken to implement these two Codes of Conduct, one in 1961 and another in 1965 and also what steps does the Government propose to take in the future to get them implemented?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: It is obvious that this Code was voluntary. The Government was not supposed to take any legal action to enforce the Code, which was a voluntary agreement of all the participants. It was up to the participants to live up to the agreements they had made.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन, आन ए पीइन्ट आफ इन्फरमेशन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं मंत्री जी से कि यह नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन की जो एक कौंसिल है यह अलग है और जो इलेक्शन के कोड आफ कंडक्ट के लिये कोई कमेटी हुई यह अलग है। तो मैं मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या दोनों एक हैं या अलग अलग क्योंकि मंत्री जी अभी कह रहे हैं कि नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन कौंसिल का और उसका परपञ्च भिन्न है। और जो इलेक्शन के लिये कोड आफ कंडक्ट बनाने की मीटिंग की, वह हर एक राज्य में अलग अलग हुई थी और जो उत्तर प्रदेश में हुई उसमें कांग्रेस के मंत्री श्री ए० जी० खेर थे, श्री पी० नन्दरदास भी थे, जो महाराष्ट्र में हुई उसमें हमारी पार्टी के लोग शामिल थे। हां यह सही है कि जो नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन की कोई कमेटी बनी उसके लिये हमने कहा था कि यह नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन करने वाली कमेटी नहीं है, केवल नाम का प्रचार करती है और डिसइन्टीग्रेशन का काम करती है। उसमें अंग्रेजी का इस्तेमाल अपने कामों में करने की वजह से हमारे लोग मीटिंग से बाक आउट कर गये थे।

श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल : यह मामला काफी साफ है। मैंने पहले ही कह दिया था कि 1961 में जो नेशनल इन्टीग्रेशन कांफरेन्स हुई थी उसमें केवल एक कोड आफ कंडक्ट पोलिटिकल पार्टियों के लिये बना था, उसके बाद पिछले आम चुनाव के समय जो मीटिंग गृह मंत्री महोदय ने बुलाई थी, जो 7 जनवरी, 1967 को हुई थी, उसमें इलेक्शन के समय कैसा व्यवहार राजनैतिक दलों का होना चाहिये, इसके बारे में सोच विचार हुआ था, एक कोड आफ कंडक्ट बनाया गया था। यह बात मैंने पहले साफ कर दी थी।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mention has been made of a particular meeting where a Code of Conduct was supposed to have been drawn up. It may give the impression that the others are not interested in putting an end to violence in public life but as far as these matters are concerned, sometimes some bright idea comes in the head of a Minister and he calls a meeting in some room, calls some Members, discusses something and then he says it is a Code. This is not how violence is going to be prevented. First of all you must have an idea of the meeting. It is a very high-sounding way in which he has put it. I would like to know, if the Government is serious at all in putting an end to violence in public life, what steps it is taking to advise the ruling party—ruling at the Centre fortunately and not in many places—to stop violence for achieving its political ends by terrorising and intimidating its political opponents; I come from Bengal and I know how they indulge in violence. *(Interruptions)* You do not see it and you support them, whether you are a Governor or a Minister. Secondly I would like to know what advice and direction the Central Government has given to their own party State Governments or for that matter, other State Governments in regard to the steps the State must take at the official level so that there is no cause for provocation to violence? In our public life violence takes place because of the policies of the exploiting classes—the landlords and the capitalists—and also the policies of the Government. I would like to know at least at the Government level what they have done to stop such provocation. Thirdly I would like to know whether the Government is prepared to hold an enquiry into such incidents, judicial enquiry as a matter of routine, as a matter of policy, to find out the reasons for such violence?

Finally I would like to know from the Government when they are parading the Code of Conduct here, whether they are prepared to appoint

high-powered commission of eminent men in the country, impartial people, to go into the entire question to find out why the violence takes place and to what extent the Congress Governments and the State machinery under their control are responsible for giving constant provocation to the people. who, when they have no other alternative left, react in a violent manner. Sir, when a child is shot before the mother, before the parents—as you have seen in West Bengal—you can imagine what the reaction of the people will be. Therefore let him explain this thing rather than tell us about the code of conduct.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Sir, I am not standing to defend any political party or accuse any political party, but I may say this here that, as far as I am aware of the position as of today, no complaints have been received by us about violence by the Congress Party anywhere, and I cannot say... *(Interruptions)* I should be allowed to complete my answer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The letter is now with me.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: ... and I cannot say the same thing for many other parties. Sir, as far as the question of provocation by Government to violence is concerned, this allegation is completely unfounded and wrong. There is no such thing and Government has never been provoking people to any violence anywhere. Sir, the third point that he made was about judicial inquiries in violent incidents. Sir, we had instituted judicial inquiries in violent incidents whenever it was considered necessary. But no rule can be made that every violent occurrence would be inquired into by a judicial person.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Next question.

ACTIVITIES OF R.S.S.

*214. **SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN:** Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention