

Visit of Polish Prime Minister

4282. SHRI UTTAM RATHOD :
 PROF. NIRMALA KUMARI :
 SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN :

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS be pleased to state :

(a) whether any agreements were entered into for bilateral co-operation between India and Poland during the recent visit of the Polish Prime Minister to Delhi; and

(b) if so, the details thereof ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI KHURSHEED ALAM KHAN) : (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) An agreement for cooperation in radio and television broadcasting was signed on February 12, 1985 by Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting on behalf of the Indian Government and by the Chairman of the Polish State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting on behalf of the Polish Government. The agreement provides for exchange of radio and television programmes and of personnel.

12.01 hrs.

MOTION RE: SITUATION IN
 AHMEDABAD

[English]

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : rose
 (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : All of you please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I will come to you. Please sit down.

Mr. Chavan.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN) : I beg to move :

"That this House do consider the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on 23-4-1985 regarding the Ahmedabad situation."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved ;

"That this House do consider the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on 23-4-1985 regarding the Ahmedabad situation."

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Do we take it that he has already moved and we can start the debate right now ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I will fix the time.

Mr. K. K. Tewary to initiate the discussion.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He has already initiated, I will not allow anybody else. . . .

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Usually the representative from the largest Opposition Group will initiate the debate.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT) : The Home Minister has already moved the motion. The Opposition also wants a discussion. The Government also wants a discussion. The Home Minister has moved the motion. So let us have the discussion straightaway.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Before that I want to have one small item disposed of the papers to be laid.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : That can be taken up later on. That is not the convention of the House. He has already moved the motion and the debate has started. It cannot be interrupted by anything else.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the happenings in Ahmedabad. . . .

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, I rise on a point of order.

Normally the procedure is that even from the Treasury Benches when the motion is moved, either the mover of the motion makes his observations in the beginning or if the debate begins, it is the leader of the largest opposition group in the House who makes the first speech. Then alternately the speakers are called, That is the convention,

But you are at liberty to break the conventions and set a new precedent, but it is left to you.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT : He has already moved that his statement be taken into consideration. It is a Government motion and that takes precedence.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The Parliamentary Affairs Minister is yet to learn parliamentary procedures.

[*Translation*]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM (Nagarkurnool) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the situation prevailing in the Gujarat State at present, it is to be seen whether any Government has been or has not been functioning there. In the Gujarat State, offices of the Press were burnt by policemen. They also beat up the press photographers and other pressmen. The whole of Gujarat is burning. It is all due to the malfunctioning of the State police. Even our friends who are sitting opposite think that the incidents which have been taking place in Gujarat have not been good, but they are not expressing this view openly. It is a matter of regret. Though they are feeling unhappy over the incidents which have been taking place in the State, they prefer to keep mum about the same.

As you know, the Gujarat Government have completely failed in maintaining the law and order situation in the State. So, there is no justification for the continuance of the present Government in the State. This Government should be dismissed. The Army was also sent there, but they have also not been able to cope with situation prevailing in the state.

[*English*]

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Sir, he has not been supplied with a copy of the statement.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The statement was made yesterday.

[*Translation*]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : Had it been a Non-Gongress Government, the present Government in the State would have been dismissed. Since it is a Congress Government, so it is still continuing.

(*English*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Order. Order. If silence is not observed I will not allow further discussion.

(*Translation*)

SHRI V. TULSIRAM : Our Prime Minister is present here. I have great respect for him. I was a member of fifth and sixth Lok Sabha also. I know that Shri Rajivji is a thorough gentleman. Previously he was not in politics, but it is a matter of chance that he entered politics. His intention is good and for that we respect him. I would like to invite the attention of the Hon. Prime Minister to the situation of lawlessness which is at present prevailing in Gujarat. The life and property of the poor people and others are in danger. Their property is being burnt. Steps should be taken soon to protect them. As I have already said, the Opposition Members will also support him if he takes good steps, but we shall not support him if his actions are not good. We the Opposition Members would welcome every good action of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister should take steps to get the Gujarat State Government dismissed. If it is done we would be grateful to him and this step would enhance his prestige in the minds of the Opposition.

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I request hon. Members that when other members are speaking they should not give them any provocation. I say this to all sides of the House. I request Members to be silent because the Members want to express their ideas. So, please do not intervene in the Members' speeches. The time allotted is only 2 hours. Therefore, members may please try to restrict themselves within this time.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY (Buxar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the happenings in Gujarat have agitated the minds of the hon. Members; they are equally agitating the minds of the people outside this House. I am very much disappointed to hear the speech made by the previous speaker. After all the sound and fury about Gujarat I did not expect the first speaker to reduce this matter to this level. It has after all greater dimensions to it. If you really want to understand the problem, violence of course, has taken

place but violence has not dropped from the high heavens. There are reasons for this violence. If you are interested in peace and stability in the country and harmonious social and political relationship in the country then you will have to analyse the causes which lead to this ugly and monstrous eruptions in our country and give a bad name to our democratic process and democratic polity.

Talking about Gujarat my mind goes to a similar agitation launched by more or less the same combination in 1974. You will remember, Sir that in 1974 an agitation of similar dimension, of similar intensity, was launched. Mrs. Gandhi was the Prime Minister then and she became the target of virulent calumny and tirades. This agitation was started by an organisation which suddenly came into being and was called Nav Nirman Samiti. Let us not forget the background of what happened in 1974. Madam Gandhi was victor in the war for restoration of human rights in Bangladesh. After that she had taken monumental historic decisions for socio-economic changes, basic changes in our society, namely, the abolition of privy purses—that remnant of feudalism and then the nationalisation of banks, which promised justice to the down trodden people. A promise was made for ushering in a real egalitarian social order. This was too much for the people who were out to debunk the historic achievements of Madam Gandhi. On the one hand the same forces acclaimed her as Durga, as Mother of the nation; and on the other hand, when she acquired fame and reputation and got the confidence of the people of India they became active and the product of the process of destabilisation started, which resulted into what was called total revolution. Total revolution was the product,—a very ugly product—of the process of destabilisation, the instruments of destabilisation and the forces of destabilisation and it is an irony of fate that ** who is now an hon. leader of a political party, that is, the Janata Party, was our leader then in the Assembly. When he was in the congress he was accused of all conceivable vices, of all kinds of corruption. A propaganda was started against him. But after the agitation subsided, after this country faced black prospect. and when total revolution succeeded

in destabilising the Government of Madam Gandhi in 1977, the same ** who was being blackened with all kinds of accusations,—the same man,—migrated from our party and joined the ranks of the people who had promised to usher in an *El Darado* in India.

It promised to usher in a brave new world in India with the dawn of that ramshackle combination called the Janata Party. Sir, if we really want to understand this scenario, this terrible scenario in Gujarat, we will have to look at this background. Even now, the agitation is going on. What happens? The forces of destabilisation are at large. Let us not forget the assassination of Madam Gandhi. Let us also not forget that freedom, unity and oneness of the people of India is not guaranteed, is not protected by any political party or group of political parties. It is the people of India who have stood for freedom of India. It is they who have fought for liberation of India and protected the prestige and integrity of the nation. When we were ruled by the British, we had no army and we had no police force. Who fought for freedom? Who fought for the freedom of the people of India? It is the people of India who fought, led by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Maulana Azad under the banner of the Indian National Congress. So resurgence of India was ushered in through this mighty political party.

When danger came after the assassination of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, it is the same people of India, who had fought the British Empire under the inspiring leadership of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi, the same people rose as one and fought against the forces of destabilisation, subversion, murder, chaos and anarchy and it is they who strengthened the hand of Rajiv Gandhi. Shri Rajiv Gandhi was voted to power just not to become Prime Minister of India, but to guarantee the freedom of this vast country, to protect the heritage that we have got the heritage of freedom, the heritage of our struggle against imperialism, the heritage of fighting against communal and obscurantist forces who have always been at their game in dividing and weakening our country. Those people were sent out on political holiday by the people of India. I can name the political parties, Janata, BJP and RSS. These people were

sent out on political holiday by the people of India because they realised that those people cannot do anything, they cannot guarantee the freedom of the people, they cannot guarantee the integrity of India. Therefore, Congress (I) under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi was voted to power, precisely for the reason that the people of India were deeply apprehensive, genuinely apprehensive about the threat to the continued freedom of India, and about the threat to the continued independence and integrity of India.

In this backdrop, how can we forget the statements made by no less a person than** the leader of the Janata Party, the General Secretary of the Janata Party. He said, "We have lost at the hustings. We have lost the elections, but we will take politics to streets and we will not allow this."

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : How can he make allegations against a person who is not in the House Sir ? (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : He is said that.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He has not said that. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It is not an allegation. The name will not go on record. (Interruptions) Why are you raising it again ? The name will not go on record. Please sit down.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : I am referring to a political party and to the conduct of the political party or parties. After the massive victory of the Congress (I) people stood by us. Why ? People avenged the death of Madam Gandhi and they guaranteed the freedom of the country. After that Sir, a conspiracy has started and I make this statement with full responsibility.

Those political parties which were now reduced to the state of insignificance started plotting; and I can tell the House and the Government also : 'Let us not undermine the potentialities of these.' Now it is Gujarat. Similar incidents are being planned all over the country, as it happened in 1971 when Madam Gandhi's victory was not tolerated, was not acceptable to the people who have

always been factors of de-stabilization, and to their mentors abroad.

Similarly, the same forces are ganging up again, and the ugly incidents in Gujarat started with reservation. I do not think the Opposition is very clear, very unequivocal on the issue of reservation, so far as Harijans and tribals are concerned. That is unquestionable, and our Prime Minister has made statements to this effect—and the Home Minister also—about the constitutional guarantees given to the oppressed people, people who remained disinherited, dispossessed of their basic human rights for centuries. They will continue to enjoy the constitutional guarantees. We have stated it, and we stand by it.

So far as reservations for backward classes are concerned, we have shown the path. (Interruptions) The Opposition parties are talking of a national consensus about reservation for the backward classes. We took the initiative, without caring for what the Opposition said. If they have any love for the poor people, they should come out in unequivocal terms, in clear terms, that they are for reservation. But they have just been beating about the bush, they have been running with the hare and hunting with the hound. On the one side they support the reservations, and then quietly and surreptitiously they go and instigate people who are opposed to reservation. This policy of dog in the manger is very simple thing. There is a famous saying that if you lose, or if you cannot enjoy the fruits, you will not allow others to enjoy them. Why don't the Opposition leaders come out openly ?

Our Government took the initiative, gave a certain percentage of reservation to the backward classes in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and other places. Who were responsible for unleashing this reign of terror ? It is the Opposition, particularly the BJP, the people who have been arrested in Gujarat.

DR. A.K. PATEL (Mehsana) : I strongly protest.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : The Home Minister should clearly tell the House details about what is happening. The Home Minister must come out clearly and state, lay on the Table of the House, the details of persons

** Not recorded.

arrested during the agitation, and their political affiliations. I assert that the Janata Party, BJP and RSS—these three retrograde force, reactionary forces combined; and a plan was hatched, because they were waiting for an opportunity; and without caring for the economic betterment of the people for whom reservations had been done, they took this opportunity to organize the students. The students have been used as the cannon fodder. They have always been the cannon fodder of the Opposition. The Opposition will never come in front. From behind, they will pull the strings, and the young boys were again brought to the fore—this time in Gujarat.

A Nav Rachna Samiti or something has been launched, a Samiti promising new reconstruction of society has been floated. I charge the Opposition with full responsibility of backing this up. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : When he is speaking, why are you interfering? Then your turn comes to speak, you can reply.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : I charge them with exposing the people of Gujarat to this kind of a violence. It is very instructive, very interesting and very revealing how the agitation which started with a clear stance of the agitationists, *viz.* that reservation should not be given to backward classes, suddenly turned into a communal riot.

Not only the poor sections, the Harijans, and the backward, they were made target of attack. From casteism, it turned into communalism, sheer shameless communalism; and the houses and areas inhabited by the helpless minority were exposed to the onslaught of hoodlums and brigands with torches burning in their hands; they marched in to these localities and houses were razed to ground, destroyed. Children, old men and women were killed by these people.

What the State would have done? The State intervened; the Chief Minister intervened; and while this agitation was going on, an hon. member of this House, Prof. Dandavate—I think there will be no objection since he is present in the House; he is member of the House—

AN HON. MEMBER : He has gone out.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Unleashed

a war of calumny against the Chief Minister, bringing all kinds of allegations. So, you can discern the pattern. While the agitation is on in Gujarat, the Chief Minister is sought to be arraigned in the House, sought to be pilloried in the house, sought to be put in the cock. That Chief Minister loses credibility; Congress Government in Gujarat loses credibility; and from this the agitationists, they derive strength, derive sustenance and they carry out their agitation. Therefore, I at least personally and I am sure my government will also see, perceive the pattern of destabilization. This is going to spread, the threat held out by the opposition that now politics will be decided—401 members majority in Lok Sabha is of no consequence; they said, it is of no consequence; we will reduced to nothingness and we will take politics to the street. Gujarat is the first manifestation of this diabolical plan which was hatched here and it has the support outside the borders of India. Therefore, I request the Government to be very very careful in future and our law and order machinery needs to be strengthened because of these forces of destabilisation, instrument of subversion because of casteism and communalism.

In India, let us try to analyse these factors; there are factors; political, socio-economic factors. In India, you cannot apply economic factors for this. Somehow, people have become stonewalled, resigned to their fate. It is only religion which can play havoc; it is only casteism which can play havoc. So, the pattern of destabilisation was scientifically planned; it is a scientifically planned phenomenon; it is applied to third world countries, to areas which are vulnerable. In India, casteism, regionalism, linguism and overall communalism, these are the areas in which forces of destabilisation work. So, Gujarat again I repeat is the first manifestation and the first success also I will say of the forces of destabilisation, forces of anarchism which have ceased to be relevant to society, forces of communalism represented by BJP and Janata; Janata represented subversion, destabilisation; BJP represented the worst example of communalism, revivalism, and obscurantism. Therefore, the Government has to be very very careful, about the violence that has taken place, I am really proud of the law and order machinery in Gujarat, that in spite of these planned attacks, they have stood the ground; they

are facing bravely the agitation; and people who have been killed, naturally, we are all sorry for them. But the bigger dimension must not be lost sight of. There was so much furor when I referred to this. Can you deny the leader I referred to. Where is ** He is in V. K.; he is addressing meetings in Gurdwaras. I can give you an example. In *The Times of India*, there is a report that supporters of Khalistan, (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Parvathipuram) : He is speaking non-stop. When we speak, you should not object to that also.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. Whether is not relevant will not go on record. I will see. The name will not go on record.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : Let them deny that he is addressing meetings in Gurdwaras. Why should he not mention his name ? (*Interruptions*)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : The gentleman happens to be in the U. K. now. There is a report in today's *Times of India*. He has been addressing pro-Khalistan audiences in Gurdwaras in the U. K. and he has made inflammatory speeches, anti-Indian speeches in all those Gurdwaras. How can you defend him ? His role in Punjab is well-known. Similarly, I would also refer, since I am talking about a very troubled spot in the country—Gujarat—and it will not be out of place to refer to similar incidents elsewhere.

In Delhi it happened. The communal carnage in Delhi which followed the assassination of Madam Gandhi is relevant. I do not know how up till now mind has not been applied to find the real culprits for the Delhi carnage. As Madam Gandhi was assassinated, people who had planned the assassination, people who were expecting the assassination of Madam Gandhi—I ascertained this—this made the Government alert to this dimension of the tragedy which followed the assassination of Madam Gandhi in Delhi (*Interruptions*) The people who expecting the murder, the people who had planned the murder, they had kept their powder ready,

and as the news of Madam' assassination spread in the country, naturally the law and order machinery was disrupted.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : We did not know that the murder was expected.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : These people, who planned it, so much planning was done, unleashing terror against the Sikhs, and unnecessarily we were blamed. This aspect of the situation unfortunately has not been realised now. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please wind up.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Five minutes more.

In this scenario, in this background. I would also like to bring to the notice of the House the role of the High Court in Gujarat. I would not like to cast any aspersions on the Hon. High Court, but it is very intriguing that the judgment at this pitch was announced, when violence was taking place, when people were being killed, the High Court passed a judgment. This is unprecedented in the history of the judicial history. This must be the first precedent in the judicial history of the world.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : He is casting aspersions on the judgment of the High Court.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : The Police force is restrained from going to certain areas and an inquiry is ordered by the Court. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I rise on a point of order.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : There no point of order. I am not yielding.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : How can he say that there is no point of order ? You have to decide it. You cannot prohibit me from raising a point of order. Far from Mr. Tewary, you too cannot prevent me from raising a point of order.

Sir, according to the constitutional provisions neither the Judges of the High Court or of the Supreme Court can actually comment on the working functioning and working of the Parliament and conversely. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER : He has done it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am referring to it. And, similarly, no Member of Parliament can discuss the conduct of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Courts and therefore I object to his reference to the High Court Judges.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He has not mentioned any Judges.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : He has referred to the Judgment given by the High Court. He has referred to it. We will also refer.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If it is not relevant I will not allow. I will see. You sit down. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If there is anything objectionable, it will not go on record. I have already said it.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Mr. Dandavate has made a vary naive attempt.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Whatever is irrelevant it will be expunged. I have already said it.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : You cannot allow these things. *(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am reading article 121 of the Constitution :

“No discussion shall take place in Parliament with respect to the conduct of any Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court in the discharge of his duties except upon a motion for presenting an address to to the President praying for the removal of the Judge as hereinafter provided.”

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Regarding the conduct you cannot discuss, but regarding the judgment you can discuss.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : But he referred to the role of the High Court. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I request all of you to sit down. I have already given my ruling. *(Interruptions)* Why is everybody shouting like this ? When everybody is argu-

ing, how can I listen to anybody ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I have not collectively raised the point of order. I have singly raised the point of order. You tried to explain to me about this. When referring to a judgment I can understand it, but they have tried to refer to the judges that they have done this or that, how can they do it ? This is the conduct of the High Court. I have no objection to Mr. Tewary referring to any judgment. We had referred to judgment in the past. Golaknath judgment was discussed here. But you are referring to the judges.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Anything is that is referred to about the conduct of the judges will be expunged.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : I am sorry at this naive attempt of Mr. Dandavate to distort my statement. He has been referring to such judgments very often in this House. What I referred was a news item about this judgment. My view is that this judgment was untimely. When the agitation was at its height barring the policemen by declaring certain areas of Ahmedabad as out of bounds for policemen, that exposed the population in these areas to the assaults of hoodlums, trouble makers and also attack on police. That had enraged them. So because of this, this unfortunate situation took place.

I will come to the important aspect which has taken place *i.e.* the role of the police. They have been over-stretched in Gujarat. Police forces observed their duties. They have done their best to maintain law and order. Whatever failures have taken place, that speaks volume about the agitations and intensity of the people, who have been organising and whipping up this agitation. So, this is not the failure of the police force. They, day in and day out, have been blaming the police force and our armed forces, which is unnecessarily demoralising them and it helps the people who want to destabilise our country, create trouble and fish in the troubled waters.

In conclusion I will say that we are all concerned with this situation. Any attempt to blame the Government or to demand the ouster of the Chief Minister should not be entertained and no attempt should be made to demoralise the police force and our

Army. I know that there is a calculated attempt to demoralise and defame our Armed Forces. So, in such situations they become ineffective or they get demoralised. This attempt is being made. Therefore, in conclusion, I say that this Gujarat situation has not suddenly arisen, careful planning has gone into it. Many people in the country and outside are trying to create more such trouble spots. Therefore, the Government must be careful and the people of the country, through this House, must be alerted to this danger of destabilisation in the country.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Substitute Motions give up to one O'clock will be taken into consideration.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Within five minutes I have given, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : There is still time, you can give up to one O'clock. Now Prof. Dandavate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, first I will read the Substitute Motion that I propose to move. While condemning the.....(*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Professor, your Motion is still under consideration, You can speak on the subject. Copies of the Motion they will just circulate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Do you want me to speak on the Motion first and formulate the Motion afterwards ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No, it is under consideration and will be circulated. You can speak on the Motion.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Let him read, Sir. No harm.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I can assure you. Sir, I will read exactly what I have submitted. "While condemning the unprecedented violence and arson in Ahmedabad, the atrocities by the police and their violence against the Press and total breakdown of the Constitutional Machinery in Gujarat State, the House recommends that the Union Government should effectively and immediately intervene to restore normalcy in Ahmedabad."

Before I place my observations on the Motion.....(*Interruptions*),

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I request all of you to be silent. Let him Speak, why are you disturbing ? Only two hours have been allotted to this and there so many other Members who are to speak.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Normally I do not mind heckling but due to the election campaign, my voice is choked, otherwise I appreciate.....(*Interruptions*). You see me in the chamber outside.

Sir, while giving my views on the Motion that I have moved, I wish to make one thing explicitly clear on behalf of the Janata Party. Our irrevocable commitment to the guarantees that are given to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes in the country on the basis of the sacred Constitution of the country. We are second to none in standing by the irrevocable commitment to the Constitutional provisions and guarantees, and therefore...(*Interruptions*). Sir, let them get up, I am prepared to yield. I wish to make it very clear that our irrevocable commitment to the Constitutional guarantees given to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes remains completely irrevocable and we do not wish to have any reverse from that. Certain aspects of the problem, spelling out the details, the modalities of working out the guarantees, are the ones on which national consensus can be arrived at. I am quite sure, tomorrow if the Government makes an effort—on one occasion the Prime Minister has already made a statement to that effect,—in that case we will not be lacking in offering the cooperation so that a national consensus can be evolved on the modalities of implementing the guarantees that are to be given to the Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes. The problem is not that. Actually, the original problem why we started the agitation in Ahmedabad, has been side-tracked. For some time it actually stirred back into communal trouble and communal conflagration. When the Home Minister visited Ahmedabad in the past and came back and reported to this House, he did not make a single allegation against the Opposition parties then.

But within a few days, when the Prime Minister visited Ahmedabad, in a Press Conference, he blamed the Opposition and he said that the Opposition was responsible for the disturbances and riots in Ahmedabad,

We recorded our strongest protest in the House and we withdrew from the House to record our protest. So, we wish to put the record straight that the Opposition does not want to side with any-one who tries to disturb peace, who tries to threaten the interests of Gujarat. We want normalcy in Gujarat.

But what is the role the police has to play and what is the role the Army has to play? The very fact that the Army was inducted into Gujarat—it was deployed in Ahmedabad and the sensitive posts were occupied by the Army—indicates that the normal machinery in Gujarat has totally broken down. If the police machinery was perfectly in order and they were capable of controlling the situation even if they were not to become a party to the disturbances in Ahmedabad, the Central Government would not have been requested to deploy the Army in Gujarat. Sir, according to the rules and provisions of the Constitution, the Army does not step into the picture unless the State concerned asks for the deployment of the Armed Forces. So, they themselves have made it clear that the existing police machinery in Gujarat was not able to control the situation.

I carefully read the statement that has been made by the hon. Home Minister yesterday under repeated pressures. In that certain elements were very clear.

Throughout the statement, with a microscope, I was trying to find out whether at any place the Minister has condemned the destruction of the Press. Sir, there is a method in their madness. I want to point out to you and I want to go on record that it is not for nothing that the *Gujarat Samachar* has been attacked, their establishments destroyed and their Press has been destroyed and burnt to ashes. There is a method in their madness. Why did the police do it? I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Gujarat Government was formerly giving advertisements to the *Gujarat Samachar*. Afterwards when disturbances took place in Ahmedabad, the *Gujarat Samachar* was critical about the behaviour of the police. They have editorially condemned the atrocities of the police. They have also brought out very strongly, some of the malpractices that had taken place in the Government. They had exposed the Mrugesh affair. They have exposed...

SHRI B. K. GADHVI : What was exposed?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Do you want me to tell these things? Since he is asking for the clarification, I will clarify. You know the manner in which at a throw away price, the land was given for a stadium in the name of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Mrugesh wanted to build that stadium. The Cricket Control Board wanted to build that stadium. At a throw away price, the land was actually given. It was left to 4 MPs, 7 MLAs and 20 District Congress Presidents of Gujarat to write a letter to Mrs. Indira Gandhi saying that this would bring them into disrepute. Another Antulay is in the making. So, please do not allow your name to be given to the stadium. The *Gujarat Samachar* wrote on this episode. The *Gujarat Samachar* wrote editorials and they have issued write-ups on the misbehaviour of the policemen. For all this, they are very angry and at a later stage, after this Mrugesh affair known through the editorial which appeared in the *Gujarat Samachar*, actually the Government advertisements to the *Gujarat Samachar* were discontinued. Please remember that the entire matter went to the Press Council. The Press Council took cognizance of this episode and the Press Council really upheld the petition that was filed by the Editor of the *Gujarat Samachar*. Ultimately the observation made by and the decision of the Press Council was that in discontinuing the advertisements to the *Gujarat Samachar* the Government had indulged in vindictive attitude. That was what the Press Council has said.

This was all said. As a result of that, the police were angry, the Government was angry and they wanted some opportunity.

There are so many newspapers in the country. Why did they pick up *Gujarat Samachar*? Why did they pick up *Indian Express*? Why did they pick up *Janasatta*? The police were asked to attack the Press...

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Baseless.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You carefully read the statement of the Home Minister. The Home Minister said that the police acted under provocation. He has admitted that the police resorted to violence. It is an accepted fact that petrol bombs were thrown at *Gujarat Samachar*, *Indian Express* and *Janasatta* by the police. All this has

been established and, as a result of that, certain situation developed.

I am sure, on one aspect, the members on both sides of the House will be in total agreement on the behaviour of the police in certain areas. It has not been contradicted. To cow down the people in their resistance to the police, in one particular locality of Ahmedabad, 30 policemen and some of the officers took off their uniforms, they became semi-naked and they paraded in certain streets. The Congressmen have recorded protests. They said, "we do not agree with the agitation; we do not disagree with the Government. But the way some police officers and rank and file of the police were directed to terrorise women abominable. It is the women who were in the forefront against the agitation, against the police, and semi-naked policemen paraded in the streets. I am reminded of the days of freedom struggle when in places like chimur and Ashti the military paraded naked and Shri Bharali had to undertake a fast unto death to atone for the crimes of the police and the military. That was the atmosphere of freedom struggle. Today, the same things are happening.

The High Court had taken certain decision. I have made it very clear that I have no objection to Mr. Tewary referring to any decision and judgment of the High Court. In fact, when we discussed the Twenty-fourth Constitution Amendment Bill and when we discussed my colleague Mr. Nath Pai's Constitution Amendment Bill and when I spoke on the Constitution Amendment Bill moved by the Government—I thought there could be no better memorial to my colleague Barrister Nath Pai—I fully seconded the Bill. I stood by the Bill which the Treasury Benches had brought forward in the form of Twenty-fourth Constitution Amendment Bill. We discussed the judgment on the Golak Nath case; we discussed the property aspect and we discussed the *pros and cons* of that. The members on both the sides of the House referred to it. But we never cast aspersions on the judgment.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : You are insinuating.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You can use any vocabulary.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA : Even

the judgment of the High Court referred as to under what limitations the Police had to work to maintain law and order.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : There are three wings of the Indian Union, not three wings of the Government. One of the text-books in Civics has described Parliament, executive and judiciary actually as three wings of the Indian Government. I am coming with a privilege motion against that. We will discuss it separately. Indian Union has got three wings. Whenever People want justice, whenever people want protection, they can seek protection from the executive; they can seek protection from Parliament by way of Members of Parliament giving expression to the anger of the people. If they fail to get justice from Parliament and from the executive, then they are bound to turn to the third limb of the Indian Union, that is, the judiciary in the country.

There have been occasions in the life of this country, before Emergency, during Emergency and after Emergency and we are proud to say that there is a free judiciary in the country. Even in the dark days of Emergency, there were High Court judgments which upheld and strengthened the spirit of freedom in the country. Therefore, if there is insecurity, when the women's dignity is in jeopardy and when the policemen are parading naked in the streets, and if we do not pin down certain officers who are committing the crime, if the Parliament and the Government does not take cognizance. If the Parliament and the Government does not take cognizance, if the Assembly is not there to take cognizance, the only alternative left to the people is to go to the judiciary and seek the protection of the third limb of the Indian Union and that is what they have done. We can discuss on the merits of the judgment but I tell you that when two limbs of the Indian Union fail to protect the dignity of women on the streets of Ahmedabad, what other course is left open to women except to go to the judiciary and direct that certain officers should not have a right to move in certain areas and prohibit certain elements which are going to resort to acts which lead to indignity of women. I am glad that when the police failed, when military failed, when the Chief Minister failed, when the Prime Minister failed, it is the judiciary that came to the help of the people and protected them.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : They also passed a judgment for an enquiry. This had never happened. When there is faith in the Government in Delhi, then, an enquiry could have been ordered but judiciary immediately intervened without taking into account the consequences of the action, they passed a judgment, ordering an inquiry. Has this ever happened ? This worsened the situation.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I thought that our learned Professor will take cognisance of the dynamic processes of change in the judiciary. A time may come when the Parliament and the Assemblies will be forced to take recourse to institution of judicial enquiry. Since he has raised that issue, I will give the precedent which fortunately the Government and the Labour Minister accepted.

It was a question of bonded labour. Bonded labour at Faridabnd were suffering beause their probems were not being tackled. They were subjected to atrocities. Migrant labour were involved. The matter went to the Supreme Court and they followed an extraordinary procedure of sending the Registrar of the Supreme Court to go and enquire into the injustice done to the bonded labour. That Registrar came back. He gave the report to the Supreme Court and Supreme Court ultimately gave a judgment and protected the rights and dignity of the bonded labour at Faridabad. I welcome that step.

When a Call Attention Motion was tabled here during the proceedings of the House, the Labour Minister admitted that it was good that Supreme Court intervened in the matter and he said, "What to do ? We are powerless. State Government is not listening to us." At one of the tripartite meetings, he said "Our hands are tied. Our powers are limited. It is the State Government that should act, They do not act." And I am glad that the Supreme Court has delivered the judgment. They followed the extraordinary procedure of sending the representative to enquire into the matter and they have finally given the judgment. This judgment has to be implemented in a time-frame. There is a precedent. That is exactly what has happened. What the judgment had done, might not be to the liking of Prof. K. K. Tewary. But as far as the process of giving some judgments is concerned, I quote

it as a precedent which was quoted in this House and it was approved and appreciated by the Union Labour Minister in this country. That is why, I wanted to set the record straight.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY: The question is different.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Exactly similar. Women were raped. They were molested and the Government did not take cognisance. Police were responsible for it.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Why did they not condemn violence ? Did the judgment refer to violence ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : They have condemned the goondas, they have condemned the mafia gangs, everything has been done. You do not know the problem, Mr. Tewary. You are sitting in the cosy chambers of Lok Sabha. I have gone I there and given a Dharna along with the bonded labour. I faced the lathis of the Police along with them. Therefore, I know the realities of the situation.

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : It is not a Dharna. We have done several Dharnas like that. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. MADAU DANDAVATE : I do not mind even if hundred times Prof. K. K. Tewary rises. I will sit down and let him speak. But let him take note of the fact that when he is speaking, I never disturbed him I was drafting my substitute motion, Prof. Tewary, when I gave one ear to the Deputy Speaker and second ear to you.

13.00 hrs.

I have the dual capacity. I was listening to you and was also listening to him.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Professor, please carry on and try to be brief.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : So, sir, such things have happened, I have with me here all the papers from Gujarat. Here is a woman who was molested by the police. She gave a statement; her sari was stripped; she had been attacked; her dignity was violated. If our sense of anger does not get roused when an Indian woman's dignity is violated, what else will

rouse our sense of anger ? It is but natural that we are bound to be provoked by such acts. We are in Parliament not only to worry about Constitution and indulge in Constitution wranglings, but we are also here to reflect the hunger and anger of the people outside. And when we find that our sisters are molested in the streets of Ahmedabad, any one who is a sensitive human being will have to react to this, and if we have angrily reacted to it, our anger is the reflection of the anger of the raped women in Ahmedabad. Take note of that. That is what we are condemning. In a civilized government it is the responsibility of the police, it is the responsibility of the military, it is the responsibility of the Government, to see that dignity of women is protected. But we find that it is not. Here are the pictures and here are other versions: Here is another lady who has been injured. These are the people who have been beaten by the police. We are told that the policemen were attacked and, therefore, they indulged in this. Let me tell you what happens in European democratic countries. In France when students took to a revolt in Paris and elsewhere, the police were warned by the Government not to use the bullets to cow down and shoot down the students but to use only rubber bullets and water hose pipes; they were told not to use the bullets at all. Once Lok Nayak Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said when there was a firing in Kerala when the PSP Government was there...

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum) : On a point of order. Prof. Madhu Dandavate has said that he is in agreement with the policy enunciated in the Constitution in respect of reservation. Can he say that he is in agreement with the steps taken by the State Government for implementing the reservation ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. There is no point of order.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : This is a point of information. You could have asked me outside and I would have given you. There is no point of order. There is a distinction between a point of order and a point of information. Since the hon. Member has raised this question, let me make it very clear that if the Central Government or any State Government does anything to imple-

ment the provisions of the Constitution, we will be the Central Government, we will be with that State Government, we will be with the common people. Let me assure him of that. On that, I shall not budge an inch. (*Interruptions*)

The statement, almost indirectly, gives an alibi for all the atrocities committed by the police as if they were provoked. This is exactly the typical argument that the Britishers gave us in 1942; the Britishers always used to say that they resorted to firing because of the provocative actions of the freedom-fighters. Once late Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan, during a debate in Kerala. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Please do not compare those hoodlums who burnt the houses with those who participated in the freedom movement. (*Interruption*).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I will give another instance. When in Kerala there was a firing when the PSP Government was there, late Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan, addressing a PSP Conference told Shri Pattam Thanu Pillai in no uncertain terms, "When you are in power, when the police have arms and when you are in charge of law and order, you must be prepared to face more than what the people do; you will have to be more tolerant than the people; at times, even if a policeman is killed, you will have to acquiesce in that; you cannot indiscriminately fire at people and try to kill them."

That is the code of conduct that we have prescribed for the Police and the Army in the country. That is why I say that these types of atrocities cannot be justified on the ground that some policeman was killed, I am one among those... (*Interruptions*) Yes, that indication was there. I was very careful to listen to Prof Tewary. Please don't disturb. He said that the policeman were acting under heavy provocation, their morale was shattered and their morale was to be built and as a result of that they reacted. Will I, a civilised man, even in my angry mood resort to rape and molestation or parade myself naked in the streets of Ahmedabad ? Is this a civilised way of reacting ? I can understand the police firing. But I cannot understand the policeman raping and molesting women...

SHRI B. K. GADHVI : That is totally untrue.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Indian woman will never give a lie about her molestation. On the contrary, even when women are molested, when they appear before the court, in order to save their dignity, they refuse to testify the fact that they are molested. But here even women come forward, educated woman come forward, women working in social movements come forward and open out their clothes and say 'These are the scars, these are the bruises and these are the indignities suffered at the hands of Police.' You cannot reject that.

Therefore, the attack on the freedom of the Press, the deliberate attack on *Gujarat Samachar*, *Indian Express* and *Janasatta* because the Press Council has given a decision that action of the Government was vindictive only because these papers condemned the atrocities by the Police in Ahmedabad. That is the reason why they were basically chosen for the attack. There are so many papers in the country. In Gujarat there are so many papers and some journals which are subservient to the government. None of them were touched. Only those who tried to expose the atrocities of the Police and also the injustices perpetrated by the Gujarat Ministry, the Gujarat Chief Minister were attacked. We have to take note of that. I have enough material here. I have received a telegram from Shanti Bhai, the Editor of *Gujarat Samachar* I do not want to read out the entire telegram. It gives in detail the atrocities of the Police, the attack on woman, the attack on children, burning of the Press, burning of the institutions...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I will conclude in two minutes. The moment you say 'Sit down'. I will finish in ten minutes;

Let me tell you there were some women who were sought to be molested. When they were interviewed, they told the facts and when they told the facts, the policemen said 'We were provoked.' They said, 'We have

to go to the court of law. They admitted the things that had happened and as a result of that, the judiciary had to intervene. All these aspects of the case have to be taken note of. When everything has happened, then the first responsibility of the Centre is to send the Army to assist the local administration. I am told that even the Army men who have gone there did not like the Police firing and bursting tear gas shells in their presence. They said, 'We have been sent here to man sensitive points. Give us the freedom and latitude to deal with the situation.' But there the Policemen interfered and intervened in the affairs of the Army patrolling those areas. How can then peace be brought? That is the reason. I have deliberately said let the Centre effectively and immediately intervene, in my substitute motion. I have deliberately used the words 'immediately and effectively intervene'. So the way of intervention is left to the government. May be internally they may take the decision and through proper constitutional channels the Gujarat Ministry may be dismissed. It has really no moral authority to continue in power. They cannot continue in power on the debris of the dignity and the rights of woman. Therefore, it is left to them. Either they can dismiss the Ministry and bring the President's rule... (Interruptions).

I am not pointing out any particular thing. Anyway this Ministry should go.

In conclusion I may say... (Interruptions) Mr. Tewary is an educated**

In the first sentence of my substitute motion I have mentioned, namely, while condemning the unprecedented violence and arson in Ahmedabad—I separate it from others and the atrocities committed by the police. Whoever commits arson and violence I have mentioned about it in my substitute motion. That is why I say Prof. Tewary is an educated ** (Interruptions) If he exhibits such an ignorance then how many students must have suffered at the hands of the professor... (Interruptions).

PROF. K. K. TEWARY : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Professor Dandavate has grown** I did not expect his speech to degenerate to this level. He is behaving like a

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

*****(Interruptions)*** He has made a personal attack against me. It is most unwarranted and in bad taste. He is stooping to the level of calling names and abuses. *(Interruptions)*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, I do not gloat over the flattery by Prof. Tewary. He can say it. I like learning but I don't like experience. *(Interruptions)*

Therefore, in conclusion I would again read my substitute motion :

“While condemning the unprecedented violence and arson in Ahmedabad, the atrocities by the Police and their violence against the Press and total breakdown of the Constitutional machinery in the Gujarat State, the House recommends that the Union Government should effectively and immediately intervene to restore normalcy in Ahmedabad.”

Sir, we are using the highest parliamentary forum to give justice to women and the common man in Ahmedabad. If Parliament does not give them justice then we will have to fight even outside the Parliament but never surrender our right to fight injustice.

I beg to move :

“This House, having considered the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on 23rd April, 1985 regarding Ahmedabad situation, condemns the unprecedented violence and arson in Ahmedabad, atrocities by the Police and their violence against the Press and total breakdown of the constitutional machinery in Gujarat State and recommends that the Union Government should immediately and effectively intervene to bring normalcy in Ahmedabad.”

[*Translation*]

SHRI NARSINH MAKWANA (Dhandhuka) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have great respect for the Opposition leader. Shri Dandavate If Shri Dandavate had collected the correct information about various incidents which took place in Gujarat, then he would have presented a correct picture of the situation. Whatever happened

in Gujarat was really distressing. Here daily the Opposition Leaders speak loudly and ask that the recommendations of the Mandal Commission should be implemented. In Gujarat, the State Government have increase the reservation for the people of backward communities by 18 per cent, This was made the main issue at the time of election. This announcement was made by the Chief Minister even before the Lok Sabha elections. The people made it a major issue for fighting elections to Lok Sabha and the *Vidhan Sabha*. Even then, the people of Gujarat have given their mandate in favour of the Congress. From this State the Congress Party won more seats for *Vidhan Sabha* than for Lok Sabha. Now the Opposition Members are opposing the 18 per cent increase in reservation but on this very issue the people of Gujarat had given majority to the Congress party. The Congress party won the elections in the State and the Congress Government was formed there under the leadership of Shri Madhvsinh Solanki. Thereafter, all the opposition people joined hands and started the agitation. These people launched the agitation because they were rejected by the people in the elections. This agitation was not launched by the students or the people but this was rather started by the managements of the private schools. And now that very agitation has taken the present shape. Considering the facts that examinations of the students are on the and offing the future of five lakh students will be marred if examinations are not conducted at the proper time, the Government of Gujarat deferred the implementation of the 18 per cent increase in reservation for a period of one year. The Government also declared that after one year a committee would be constituted which would hear the views of all concerned and will give its report after considering all aspects of the matter. Thus, the Government have postponed their decision. The increase in reservation was made the major issue at the time of elections, on the basis of which the Congress got the massive support of the people. The Government postponed the implementation of their decision only to save one academic year of the students from being wasted and to save the loss to public life and property. But this could not satisfy the Opposition. When the agitation started by the Opposition did not succeed, they gave

a communal touch to that agitation. Thus, the Opposition people are responsible for turning this agitation into communal riots. If Shri Dandavate takes the trouble to visit Kharia and Saraspur then he will himself see that the Opposition people are responsible for the communal trouble in the city. The people of Gujarat sensed the intention of the Opposition people. When this agitation failed these people took to other tactics. These people were very clever and they started the agitation in another form. Kharia is a stronghold of BJP. They started another agitation from this place. They used the ladies as cover to attack the police from behind. They threw hot water on the police from the roofs of three-storeyed buildings. They also threw acid bulbs and big stones on the police. Under such circumstances, what could the police do? The police were not in a position to protect themselves and also to protect the life and property of the people. The agitationists resorted to every kind of bad tactics to harass the police. The pressmen also did not cooperate and acted against the interests of the country at this time. They insulted policemen, Wrong news was given against policemen. Wrong photographs were published and concocted stories about the police were given out in the press. All this demoralised the police. If you see the *Gujarat Samachar* of the last three days, you will find that the police were attacked at several places. When curfew was relaxed in Saraspur area on 21st, the agitationists caught hold of a sub-inspector and beat him up, His motorcycle was also burnt. The constable accompanying him was also beaten up. That constable is still in the hospital. What happened the other day? When a High Court Commission reached there to make on the spot inquiry, the police men accompanying the Commission were also attacked with axes. In such a situation, it was natural for the policemen to lose their temper and act defiantly. If Shri Dandavate personally visits Ahmedabad and arrives at the conclusion that the police had committed excesses while discharging their duties, then I am ready to undergo any punishment he likes. He will himself see that the policemen discharged their duties within limits and did not do anything which could be termed as excess. He will himself see that many policemen are still in hospital and a number of people have been killed in the agitation. So, it is no use making unfounded allegations against the police.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am unable to understand the judgement of the High Court also. In our country, the duties of the judiciary and the executive are demarcated. It is the duty of the judiciary to give justice and the judiciary should not encroach upon the functions of the executive. The Gujarat Government had to take such steps in view of the vertical of the High Court. The Gujarat Government was in a fix whether to act in accordance with the verdict of the High Court or not. Even then the Gujarat Government complied with the order of the High Court knowing full well that the judiciary had gone beyond its powers in performing a function which was of an administrative nature. The State Government followed the directive of the High Court keeping the fact in mind that the Commission later on will look into all the facts, will make proper inquiry before giving its report. The Commission's report will make it quite clear that the police is not at fault and the allegations made against the police are wrong and baseless. Shri Dandavate has made a mention of the 'Gujarat Samachar'. If he goes through the copies of the *Gujarat Samachar* of the last month he would find that this newspaper had tried to incite communal riots, had tried to escalate the conflict between the two communities in order to destroy the unity of the country. What are the functions of the press? As far as I understand, the function of the press is to present a true picture of the situation before the people. But the *Gujarat Samachar* and one other paper did not perform their functions with responsibility. On the other hand, they abetted the agitation, They defamed the police to the extent that the police lost their temper and in retaliation attacked them? In such a situation, what could the Government do? Therefore, I want to say emphatically that the utterances made on the speeches by the Members sitting opposite here are incorrect and baseless.

As regards the issue of reservation it is not proper for the opposition members to say one thing while in Gujarat and another while in the House. In the House, they demand that the recommendations of the Mandal Commission should be implemented. On the other hand, they go to Gujarat to oppose the said reservation. We as members of a particular political party,

should always talk in one strain. It is not good to say one thing while in power and to say another while in the Opposition.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, whether happened in Kharia was the out come of a strategy of the BJP. They put certain ladies in the front line and used them as cover to fight with the other party. They knew that if ladies would be attacked, the news relating to such attacks would be given wide publicity in the newspapers their names and photographs would be printed in newspapers and the agitation would further spread. But this did not happen because the people of Gujarat and Ahmedabad were clever enough to sense these tactics of the agitationists and did not fall in their trap.

I want to tell you this thing also that Shri Rajiv went to Ahmedabad and visited the riot-affected areas, gave assurance to the people and took them into confidence then the communal riots stopped at once. But the BJP people again started them. They called a meeting at a particular place and a plan was drawn up indicating what work would be done by whom. Not only this, they also invited certain people from other States who were expert in stone throwing and in fighting. They made use of these professionals in disturbing the peace in Ahmedabad. These very people played a very big role in inciting the communal riots.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir I do not want to take much time of the House, but I want to make it clear that the speech made by Shri Dandvate was not based on facts. In his speech, he did not make a mention of the Harijan localities which were set on fire. During the last three days, the Harijan localities were attacked the Harijans were beaten up, they were prevented from going to attend their duties. On whose shoulders lies the responsibility of checking all these things? The day before yesterday, the police refused to do their duty. At that time, all the poor people, the Harijans and the people belonging to the weaker sections were shaking with terror thinking that now there was nobody to protect them. Last night, up to 3 a. m., I was receiving telephone calls to the effects that the poor people were being attacked and they were asking for protection. The Harijans and the people belonging to the weaker sections were subjected to atrocities. Shri Dandavate did not refer to such happenings in his speech.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir I want to say that now we are living in a democracy and there is a definite meaning of the term democracy. The meaning of democracy is that the party which gets a majority in the elections should be allowed to run the Government. A month has hardly elapsed when the people of Gujarat gave their verdict in favour of the Congress Party to run the Government in the State under the leadership of Shri Madhav Singh Solanki. Now the Opposition Members are demanding that the Gujarat Government should be dismissed. You can yourself imagine how much faith the opposition people have in democracy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the people of Gujarat had successfully launched an agitation in 1974, under the leadership of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. On that very pattern the Opposition people tried to launch this agitation. The intention behind this agitation is to topple the Congress Government in the State but the agitations will not succeed in their mission. The people of Gujarat will not allow these agitationists to achieve their objective. The people, who were in the beginning supporting these agitationists, are now telling them that they were on the wrong path. The leader of the Janata Party Indubhai Patel was not beaten up by the police but was beaten up by her own followers. Her followers told her that she should not indulge in such acts which were meant to destroy the unity and integrity of the country. We should bear this development in mind because it is not an ordinary thing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the statement made by the Home Minister is correct but I want to go a bit further and say that some arrangement must be made to help those who have suffered much on account of this agitation.

[English]

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa) : In this debate, it is not intended to discuss the law and order situation in Gujarat. It is more than that : the kind of inferno that is now evidenced there; the caste war, and in it the communal elements added; and above all, the behaviour of the Police and their attack on the people and on the rights of the journalists—these are the aspects which we want to condemn very much. So many innocent people have died. We are pained at this wanton killing, at this

kind of attack that is going on. We now want to reveal the forces, the causes behind this kind of an eruption in Gujarat.

Much has been spoken. In his statement, the Minister has given an account of the happenings. But it has not revealed the whole thing. There are more reports from Gujarat pouring in. When the hon. Members from that side tried to defend Police action, on the part that they were provoked, it was most shameful and deplorable. By no account can you justify the action of the Police who are there to maintain law and order, who are to diffuse any tension that might erupt among communities. It is their responsibility. I am not blaming any person in the Police force. My point is that the mentality which the Police are now having in our country, the kind of criminal attitude that they are having, intolerance that they are having that is very much responsible. And it is at the root of it. The Governments in the States particularly Congress I ruled States—you may differ with me—the kind of anti-people attitude they take, that has percolated into police; and it was very much evident in the past. There is no proper method, proper training of a real harmony to be brought between the police and the people. This atrocious type of behaviour they are encouraged to pursue only with the patronage of the political party in power. Otherwise, they cannot do it. When they go to meet a situation, it is the duty of the government to see that they are put in charge of sensible officers; and what had happened when they were going to carry the order of the High Court? They were attacked by the mob. Does it show any efficiency of the Government? We very much condemn this behaviour of the police and I charge the government for failure to maintain law and order and to advise the police to act in a manner that is not desirable in Gujarat.

How did this problem of reservation, anti-reservation occur? For all this, the policy of the government is responsible. For long we demanded in this House a discussion on the Mandal Commission Report. The Rana Commission submitted their Report in 1983 in Gujarat. But the Central and State government sat tightly all through; and just before the election, they thought it fit to declare their policy of reservation for the

backward classes. This type of opportunism vote catching device is very much responsible for it. Why did you not allow a consensus to be formed on the Madnal Commission Report? On such matters, we require national consensus, but you shun from all this also; and before elections you thought you would get some votes, you declared it and then after that you went back on that; this kind of policy you pursue. You are really creating danger to the integrity of our country. For infusing this kind of communal poison in the issues of unemployment and other economic issues, you are responsible. I request the Home Minister to impress upon the Government of Gujarat to make an enquiry into the causes that led to the eruption of these riots. I am not demanding the dismissal of the government. It is for the people of the State to do it; no doubt an inefficient government has to go; and they have every right to launch a genuine agitation if they feel so. I will request you to impress upon the government of Gujarat to order a judicial enquiry into the causes that led to the eruption of these riots that is very much necessary and I demand this. The speech of Prof. Tewary is not conducive at all to harmony to be maintained for the people of our country, it is an unqualified allegation against the opposition. They did not blame our party or any of the left, but for a sensible person to say that BJP and JP have an equal role in Gujarat, I think it is imprudent. If we are really serious we have to think seriously about it, what is the root of the trouble, and on that, I request this government to impress upon the Government of Gujarat to make an enquiry into the causes that led to the eruption of these riots,

The victims now very much require relief, compensation; and that should be rushed to them immediately.

You have to see that they are properly given relief and their misery are to some extent removed. With these words I, condemn all the caste elements which have brought this Gujarat problem, that led to this and demand a national consensus, and of a consensus in this House on Mandal Commission Report and other things, Before doing all that, I request the Government, not to go isolatedly, do not go just piecemeal, when you have to do it, you have got to do it with the consensus of the nation, of the House, of the people, and you have got

to do it very much. You are not at all serious about the SC/ST reservations. Well, very good, you have said that you are not going back on that. But is it implemented in the Congress (I) ruled States? How far? What is the percentage? Not at all! Now, this reservation has become some kind of preservation of the caste division, of that dismal imbalance of the people. This is no reservation. This is preservation, that is what is going on. In that respect we have to seriously think about it. We all should shun instigating any kind of agitation, that leads to this kind of communal and caste agitation in this country. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Howrah) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, at the outset I like to make it absolutely clear that we all condemn the kind of burning that has taken place including that of *Gujarat Samachar* and the attempt on other leading institutions of the Press.

Now, I do not consider the Gujarat incident as an isolated incident. If you can take the history in recent past the entire thing that appears to me is part of a grand global strategy to destabilise the whole country.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Anglo-American imperialism.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : Now there are only two forces of polarisation in the country; one is for the unity of the country and on the other side there is one for de-stabilisation of the country. I do not like to mention A, B, C and D into any category. While saying things, I substantiate them with documents and certain references.

The problem that we are faced with now in the country, well I will say it is not a new problem. The problem of Assam, the problem of Meghalaya, Nagaland, the problem of Punjab and the problem of Gujarat. If you just go back to the history and if you go to the original genesis of this problem, and put all of them into the political analytical laboratory you will find that there is a link in between all these.

The genesis of this Assam problem rose when Gulab Barhara was the Chief Minister of Assam. But when he got out of office, things flared up and Mrs. Gandhi came back

to power in 1980. The so-called clash between the forward and the backward classes was generated in a high pitch battle in Bihar when Mr. Karpuri Thakur was the Chief Minister of Bihar and the Janta Party was in power. The matter was not discussed in Parliament in so much detail as we are discussing today.

Earlier the Khalistan movement and the demands of the extremists and the Akalis were very much in the dark and they were not discussed. Shri Surjit Singh Barnala who happened to sit on that side was the Agriculture Minister in the Janta Party Government. At that time they did not talk of all these things. At the time the Janata Government was busy to find out whether Non-alignment was genuine or not, whether the Camp David Agreement was to be supported or not.

Why I am saying all these things, I have some reasons for it. Now, the other day, when we were discussing the Punjab issue, and Mr. Tewary was referring to some book written by Mr. Hardgrave in an American journal, who anticipated Mrs. Gandhi's killing two months in advance, two months before the killing took place; he said that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi may take over but that he would not settle and that it will not stabilise the country. Well, I say all these things after thinking very well. This Government. After coming into office, the Prime Minister gave the first priority and laid emphasis on Punjab and Assam and started creating the right atmosphere in the country. The whole effort was opposed by a section of forces, intelligent enough to expand the area of disintegration right up to Gujarat and to organise and unite the forces of disruption. These are all linked. If you go through it you will find it. You can laugh, Mr. Jaipal Reddy. But I am talking with sense. This is a deliberate attempt by the imperialist forces with their agents in the country to exploit every problem and to go far into it to see that things are absolutely deteriorated.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : It is a global phenomenon.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : It is not a global phenomenon. It is a part of the grand strategy to destabilise the country.

The Kudal commission's Report—I have not gone through it page by page—says that

the money from the Gandhi Peace Foundation was spent during the Nav Nirman Samiti's agitation. I had been to Gujarat in those days with Mr. H. K. L. Bhagat. The agitation was against *bharastachar* pin-pointing** Brick batting was there in the streets. A similar kind of speech was made, as Mr. Modhu Dandavate was making today, by Mr. Morarji Desai from that side. I had been there in Ahmedabad. The ultimate theme was not *bharastachar hatao* but dissolution of the Government because Chimanbhai was heading the Government. And the funny thing is, today that Chimanbhai is with Mr. Madhu Dandavate's party, When he talks of the moral authority of the Gujarat Government I say that they have no moral authority to rule the Gujarat State headed by Shri Madhavsinh Solanki, I do not know what moral authority Mr. Madhu Dandavate, has go to take the name of Jayaprakash by getting Chimanbhai Patel in his Party to lead the agitation.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If I have no right to take the name of Jayaprakash Narayan, why do you support the Emergency by taking the name of Jayaprakash Narayan ?

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : I have seen one thing. When the opposition levels various charges against any Congress leader and when that leader is thrown out of Congress, they accept him as their cream. When Mr. Biju Patnaik happened to sit in the Treasury benches with Pandit Nehru, the opposition had made a lot of accusations against him. But when Mr. Biju Patnaik chose to be out of Congress, he became the champion of democracy. Similar is the case with Mr. Chimanbhai Patel. This is also a part of the strategy.

Now, I am coming to Gujarat. Mr. Tewary and many other friends have said that we cannot go back from our commitment of constitutional guarantee to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. That is not only the policy of the constitution but also the desire of most of the political parties in the country. Today I was feeling really sorry when I had found Leftist friends behaving in this way. I do not like to have a quarrel with them here by bringing Bengal issue; I have not stood for

that. They may be having thousands of quarrels with the Congress and the Government and they may be having thousands of accusations against us, but our friends in the opposition, specially the Leftists at least know that Mrs. Gandhi was a victim of the great imperialist conspiracy. They at least know that their satellites and agents are still active in India to take every chance to exploit the situation every moment. While we accuse RSS and many other communal forces for creating this situation, I am surprised that the Leftists do not do so. Rather they support them. If they go on doing like this, I am sorry to say that one day their red flag will be turned into black by them only and not by us.

About the Gujarat incident, first the movement was led by Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad. It was reported on 17 March, 1985 that the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, which had initiated the agitation, has now backed out expressing satisfaction over the revised stand of the Government. It further says that in a statement issued here this evening, it wanted that high school and higher secondary examinations be held as per schedule. Then the appeal was made by the court itself to call off the agitation in view of the Government's decision not to implement the revised reservation policy in the current academic year. Immediately after this the Navrachana Samiti, a by-product of Nav Nirman Andolan of Gujarat, came forward. I can well imagine the frustration of the opposition especially the Janta Party and BJP. I can very well imagine the way they have been out-voted by the people in the last Lok Sabha elections. But I thought that when they preach Gandhiji's principles and take his name, they would not have appreciated this kind of violence in Gujarat.

They talk of police atrocities. Here I am not going to defend the police. It is for the Gajarat Government to do it. I would only wish to refer to one thing. While the Home Minister of the Central Government has chosen to visited Gujarat because of the serious situation and chosen to make a statement in the House thereby allowing a discussion in this House, I hope and wish that the Minister will make a similar kind of

* Not recorded.

effort in many other parts of the country whenever similar situation arises and allow the House to take up that matter.

After the appeal was made by the court, the Navrachana Samiti came out with a statement that they were not going to listen to it. They will intensify the agitation. On 22nd March it was reported, Justice R.C. Manked appealed to the student community to call off the agitation in view of the Government's decision not to implement the revised reservation policy during 1985-86. In spite of that, the Nav Rachna Samity came and said, "We shall continue to do it because we feel we are unsafe". No Opposition leader till this date has made it clear in unambiguous terms whether they support the agitation or not. They are talking of violence, they are talking of this and that, they are trying to sidetrack the whole issue. I would like to know from Shri Madhu Dandavate and his party whether they support the agitation or not...(*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : No.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : If you do not support the agitation, then why do you defend the activities and the strategy that has been adopted by the Nav Rachna Samiti ?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : We did.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : You did not say that. I am coming to the statement by your party. In Ahmedabad, Janata Party came forward and said "There is lot of substance in the agitation because there is a resentment among the people there feeling unsafe". Unsafe for what ? The reservation is there in Karnataka, the reservation is there in Andhra, the reservation is there in Tamil Nadu, the reservation is there in many other parts, may be 50 per cent, may be 40 per cent, may be 60 per cent. But tell me why the spot for the movement was chosen as Gujarat. It is because Congress is ruling in Gujarat. That is the only point, there is no other point. Serious riots were there in Hyderabad while Shri N.T. Rama Rao was in power. We never demanded dissolution of that Government in this House. Riots were there in Karnataka but we never demanded that Hegde Government should be dissolved, Riots were there in Jamshedpur for four months continuously when Shri Karpuri

Thakur was the Chief Minister, but we never demanded dissolution, we might have demanded inquiry. When Madhu Dandavate is demanding Presidential rule in Gujarat and immediately throwing out the Chief Minister, I smell something very serious in it in the nature of 1973-74 agitation of Gujarat. It begins with Gujarat because there is a positive resort given by the Gandhi Peace Foundation. I again repeat it with all authority. The Minister may investigate through his agencies. This money is being spent for these forces whenever the occasion comes. I can imagine when the women are beaten by the police and molested, no one in this House will defend that kind of activity of the police but one thing I would say. Mr. Dandavate must be knowing the kind of hoodlums hired in such agitations. No sensible people go in the streets for rioting. It is the hoodlums, the bootleggers who are hired by the organised gangsters and they do all such activities. If a hoodlum goes and burns a house and if the police is there, will the police go and kiss him ? If a hoodlum goes and robs a bank and the police is there, will the police go and kiss him ? My friend from the CPI(M) party, Mr. Saifuddin Chowdhury was also referring to the freedom of Press and all these things. I share his sentiments, but would like to remind him that as we all condemn the atrocities on *Gujarat Samachar* and *Jansatta Patrika* in Calcutta. Similar efforts were made there. They brought the gangsters, beat the journalists entered into the press, It is on record, it is a fact. If it is irrelevant, let the Press Council say it. If the Press Council says it is irrelevant, I will resign from the Parliament. Don't hide. In the Gujarat agitation, now the situation has taken a new turn. The turn is nothing, it is very simple.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, after the session of the Parliament will make a trip abroad to preach for world peace, and to promote better understanding between India and other countries. Before his departure, the same forces want to exhibit to the third world countries and to the super powers that India is not strong enough to keep itself united. That is the reason why this kind of fomentations are going on there. I am quite clear that the matter should be sorted out amicably. While the Chief Minister of Gujarat was considering most of the demands

and was in a mood to talk to the people, what happened was that immediately after his decision, within fortyeight hours riots erupted. What happened? The police went into the streets, whether being naked or half naked as Prof. Madhu Dandavate has stated, and started beating the people and became ferocious. The police is a force which belongs to our own community. They are not an imported community from abroad. When the police feel that some of their compatriots and comrades have been killed, they should not have been agitated, I also said that, but they did. In Calcutta, when a Deputy Commissioner of Police was brutally killed in broad day light, the police wanted to rebel. But then the Government and all the political parties and the Chief Minister made an appeal. They said this was not an issue of politics. They should see that the police does not make a revolt. We all supported the stand of the Chief Minister says that was not the occasion to encourage the police. If the hon. Minister enquires through the State Government about what happened in Gujarat he will also find that there are some forces actively engaged to incite the police to go to the streets. There is a section which engineered the same thing in 1973-74. I was in Circuit House then. When I came out and met the boys in the streets, none else than Nav Nirman students told us that a section of the police is being patronised by some of the leaders of the opposition whom they did not know. I remember the name of that person. He was Uma Kant Makan. I do not know whether he is in politics now or not.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He is now Congress (I) MLA.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI : Thanks. He is wise enough and he came to our side. He precisely says how truthful he was. At that time he was in agitation and he said a section of the police had been hired by the opposition. He was not at that time with us. Let Mr. Jaipal Reddy note that** who was accused during that time as a thief, he is now in the Janata Party lap and Mr. Uma Kant Makan, who was for Morarji Bhai a singh of youth power, is now with the Congress. So you can easily imagine what is happening in Gujarat.

I would like to wind up with three suggestions. My first suggestion is that the Home Minister of the Union Cabinet should see that under no circumstances the Chief Minister of Gujarat is weakened. His moral authority will have to be supported by this House. Secondly adequate compensation must be paid by the Gujarat Government for the atrocities committed against the Press, the arson and looting and to see that normalcy is restored there. Thirdly, the culprits who have been detained and arrested for getting funds from abroad and certain other agencies and voluntary organisations, including the organisation of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, their names should be declared and the lists of those persons should be tabled in the House so that the whole House should know who are behind this. I further would like to say that if the Home Minister feels he should send an impartial team to Gujarat to find out who are actual architects behind Nav Rachna Samiti and who did what. I can prove it the most of them campaigned for the Janata Government and the BJP in the last elections. And after having failed to score in the battle, now they are taking shelter under Nav Rachna. Nav Rachna is not Nav Rachna of Gujarat. It is the Nav Rachna of the Opposition. I wish the leftist parties at least should not club themselves with this.

Before concluding I once again say through you that the Government should enquire into the matter in regard to the foreign hand into the agitation, whether it is in Assam, or in Gujarat or in Punjab.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Time left for this topic is only twenty minutes, but the number of the speakers on the list is quite large. Therefore, I would request the Members to be very brief. I would not allow more than four minutes.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Generally what is called Half-an-Hour discussion goes up to even three hours. Therefore, when you say two hour discussion, it can be extended to six hours.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : More or less all the Members are coming to the similar points. Therefore, I am giving four minutes

**Not recorded.

to each Member. That is all. Not more than that.

If you are not able to finish within that time. I am sorry for that.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : Even for them, you gave more time.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : They were to initiate the discussion. So, I gave them some time. That is my discretion. You cannot question my discretion.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : Within such a short time, how can we cover all the points. ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have to cover. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee, you have been given 5 minutes. That is all. Please try to conclude within that time.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Geetaji, time is to be taken. It is never given.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to stress that the situation in Gujarat is too serious for just apportioning blames. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to the victims of the violence and those who are suffering in Gujarat today. I also strongly condemn the meaningless vandalism resorted to by the anti-reservation movement *wallas* in Gujarat. I also condemn the police behaviour very strongly because there cannot be any plea for those who are protectors of law and order to steep to such a low level where they can go to public rape and molestation of women, under any pretext or any circumstances. I also condemn the killing of the police personnel. I don't think that should be done.

Now, Sir, I am really very sorry to read the statement made by the Home Minister. Not a word of condemnation about the police behaviour is there. I am coming to the attack on the Press also. I very strongly condemn the attack on the Press and the burning of their establishments. In this connection, I would like to state that I had been to Gujarat and Ahmedabad just after the riots. So, I have a little first hand experience of that riots. That is why, I wanted to take a little more time.

As I said, I very strongly condemn the attack on the Press because I know that the *Gujarat Samachar* and some other Press were critical of the Government. That is a fact.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : What about the reservation policy and the anti-reservation movement ?

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : I am coming to that. Now, I would like to go to the whole back of the thing. When the question of apportioning blames and all that comes, let me make my position absolutely clear. First of all, when I went there in Gujarat, I found that there were very strong grounds for complaints—the complaints that I heard—that many BJP workers were actively associated with this anti-reservationist movement. So, I don't think that all can be left out. But I did not hear a general involvement of the Janata Party workers as such. Let me, for clarity sake, make it very clear. But I would also like to state clearly that I heard very serious complaints against a section of the Congress-I men, particularly a gentleman who was in the last Cabinet but subsequently dropped and who had an axe to grind so far as present Home Minister is because he belongs to the lower caste. That is why, there is an involvement of a section of the Congress leadership, who may be disgruntled—I do not know.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Are they still in the Congress-I ?

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : Yes, they are still in the Congress-I.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : But you said, he was not a 'gentleman'.

14.00 hrs.

So, let me make these things very clear.

My hon. friend, Shri Priya Ranjan Das Muni ; just now warned us, the leftists, and he accused us of lumping the whole opposition together. I want to make it clear that when I went to Ahmedabad, immediately after Hindu-Muslim riot, I heard from all quarters that when the hon. Prime Minister went there, he condemned all the opposition without making any differentiation in the opposition and he said that they were all responsible for the situation. That was not liked by the people there. I would like to point out that

lumping together of the opposition was not started by anyone of us. It was started by the Prime Minister himself, going over there. You please search your own minds.

What I saw there was that really the upper castes belonging to various parties, not the leftist ones—let me make it very clear—were ganging up. The Solanki Government just before the elections declared this policy with which I am not quarreling at all. May I ask why for the defence of that policy, a general mobilisation of the Congress-I workers was not done by the Congress-I Government? Why was that not taken up by the Solanki Government? (*Interruptions*). This is a very relevant point. I knew that when I would ask that, immediately there will be a great clamour. But I want to give the devil his due wherever it is.

I heard, after declaration of the policy, there was a tremendous pressure from the upper castes in various parties including that of the Congress-I and there was an after-thought in certain quarters that it should be withdrawn. Therefore, the situation today is a complex one. That is why, I say, every party should search their mind. The position of the leftists, the Communist Party of India, is very clear with regard to this matter.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Our position is extremely clear.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : I also met some Janta Party leaders. They did not say that they are against it. But there may be some elements in certain Parties. So, every Party should search their mind on this question.

My first appeal at the moment is for restoration of Peace and amity in Gujarat. Already, between communities a very deep cleavage has been created and naturally, the biggest sufferers are the poor people of Gujarat. Trying to blame each other will not do. If you are for national integration, if you are for protecting the rights of downtrodden, then you should rise above all these bickerings which are going there and don't lump together the whole opposition, as a group. You find out who are the people responsible for it. I have heard some complaints against BJP: I have heard some complaints against certain sections of other parties. All these things are to be gone into thoroughly and properly.

About the policy of reservation, naturally, the backward castes deserve some special treatment. That is true. How to do it must be very seriously thought over and a national consensus must be arrived at on that. Economically depressed sections of other castes also deserve some special treatment.

Today that question also cannot be given up. (*Interruptions*) Naturally, the constitutional obligation about the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is incumbent on every one. That being the situation, I would request that on these questions let there be a very serious attempt to come to a national consensus. Unless this is done, whether it is Gujarat or some other place, this will go on rolling and rolling. Therefore, while the Gujarat situation is really very deplorable, a stop must be put to this. The inept heading of the Government of Congress-I cannot escape being branded. They must squarely own their responsibility. I hope that the Gujarat situation will subside. Every section should take a lesson from this and come to a national consensus. This is how I want to place my point of view and my party's point of view before the House.

SHRI B. K. GADHVI (Banaskatha) : Sir, I heard the speech of Prof. Madhu Dandavate with rapt attention. He tried to put lot of colour in the skeleton which is from his own cupboard and now the original design is totally clear.

So far as the cult of violence is concerned, it may be in any faction, it may be anywhere in the country. It has to be condemned. But, when we try to analyse and assess the situation in Gujarat, then its history, as has been told by other speakers, has got relevance to it.

I would like to ask the BJP and Janata Party to clarify in unequivocal terms whether they support the present hike in the reservation quota or not. Let them come out because they are talking in two tongues. In Gujarat, 65% of the people....

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Two persons talk with two tongues.

SHRI B. K. GADHVI : Including Harijans and Adivasis are Backward classes and now gradually, the gist of the speeches, the decisions of the Navarachana Samiti

and others are coming up. In a phased manner, they also want to away with all types of reservations including reservation for Harijans and Adivasis.

It is good that Prime Minister very recently made it clear that so far as reservations for SC and ST are concerned, there is no question of rethinking or even reassessment and all that.

But the opposition parties are hand in glove with agitators and also trying to prompt them from behind. Is the role of the opposition conducive to the restoration of peace or is it adding fuel to the fire? Ahmedabad areas are which predominantly represented by the BJP MLAs. Why they did not want police? The answer is that after the communal tension in Ahmedabad, when the Prime Minister and the Home Minister visited Ahmedabad, and when they came back, normalcy and peace were restored and during that peace, in the poles (streets) of Ahmedabad where BJP and other workers are working, barrels of petrol were procured, weapons were purchased cotton waste was stored and they were kept there and the local police were knowing as to where those goods were held and, therefore, they resented that local police should not enter the localities and with that view, they started all sorts of character assassination and maligning campaign against the police. The press including Gujarat Samachar highlighted the things which were bogus.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate said that police firing is unprovoked.

I would like to ask him whether the police are part of society or not.

I want to ask whether the police is a part of the society or not. You can imagine the lot of the policemen who is on duty for 1-1/2 or 2 months which all the tension, his family not knowing his whereabouts...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You are asking whether police is a part of the society or not. Tomorrow if some people indulge in thefts and dacoities, will you say that they are also a part and parcel of the society?

SHRI B. K. GADHVI : I am talking about the role played by the Opposition Parties there. These policemen are engaged in duty for 1-1/2 or 2 months without

having time even to take two square meals. Even the Police Commissioner, when he goes out on duty for 15 or 20 days, does not have proper sleep except the siesta which he has sitting in the chair.

Have you seen the vehicles in Gujarat? Most of the vehicles were written upon with filthy abuses against police, against the Congress people, against the Chief Minister. And what did those workers do? They stopped the vehicles, and the passengers were forced to speak filthy abuses against the policemen and the Government. The Policemen, after all, are having their own families. When they went back to their homes, their families were asking them. "Is this your behaviour?" Totally baseless allegations of policemen parading half-naked or naked in the streets were made out; concocted stories were given about police atrocities. Some policemen were also assaulted policemen were beaten and assaulted. But nothing has come out in the press. Is there a single line in the press that policemen were also assaulted to such an extent that there are fractures and serious injuries sustained by them? Nothing of this nature has come. A misrepresentation was made to the High Court and a judgment was passed preventing the police officers from entering into particular areas. Have you ever heard of a police officer on duty being restrained and asked to go away from that places, And an unknown person who does not know the places who does not know who the miscreants are, who does not know are the hoodlums, takes his place. The police officers, who had the knowledge, were ousted from duty. That was the judgment passed by the judiciary. You say that judiciary was the pillar of democracy. It was the pillar, no doubt, and it is the pillar. But if there is a canker in an apple, we have to say that there is a canker in the apple. We It was a perverse judgement. Therefore, the entire morale of the police force went down. It is not that the Gujarat Government has not taken steps. Immediate steps were taken when riots broken out to put them down. Relief camps were organized and every victim of the police bullet is being paid Rs. 20,000. The family police officer was paid Rs. 1 lakh and his daughter is about to be employed of killed. I congratulate the government of Gujarat and the Chief Minister for that gesture. You cannot suspend the police force and thereafter blame the Government.

The design of the Opposition was very clear. In Bombay they had a meeting. Mr. Madhu Mehta was there. They said that they would take the agitation to other States also. When somebody asked, "Why not to Karnataka and other non-Congress States?" The reply was that they should not do anything there because they are ruled by non-Congress Governments. They concentrated on Gujarat because Gujarat had given the highest percentage of votes in favour of Congress. The tall claims that they made in the past crumbled down and, therefore, it is the frustration and failure that has engendered or created this sort of provocation.

They are not denigrating the police people. Look at the behaviour of the police officers. I was in Ahmedabad at that time. A posse of reserve police constabulary were going to the High Court and to the places of high Court judges. Those police officers who had been restrained from going to particular areas pleaded with those police constables. "Here are the officers; you should not go to the High Court and other places and you should not do any harm to them." And the constables went back. The same police officers against whom strictures were passed protected the High Court and the judges. These are the facts.

We all talk of high things. We all talk that violence should be curbed. But you are asking people to take the issues to the streets. You have already started 'We will take issue to the streets.' My submission to the Home Minister is; there is a case where government has on record the involvement of BJP and Janata in creation and escalation of tension and violence in Gujarat. Therefore the Government also should not feel shy of expressing those things and bringing these things to the notice of the people.

I am happy that the situation is restoring to calm and normalcy. So far as other allegations are concerned, perhaps once the tiger has tasted the blood in 1974 by the Nav Nirman movement when you saw to it that the Government which was headed at that time by the Congress Chief Minister and now your leader, Mr. Chiman Bhai

Patel was brought down, it wants to try again. At that time it was the Janata Morcha. In 1975 when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi went to Oonja and tried to explain the situation, stones were pelted at her because Chiman Bhai Ptel was Congress (I) Chief Minister. Now the same Chiman Bhai was elected from Oonja. This is the trend. This is the psychology and the BJP and Janata are hand in glove with these elements. Kindly refrain from that. Otherwise, I would not be surprised if the Backward Classes people also start retaliation and in that case the blame would be squarely on your shoulders.

The Gujarat Government has kept in abeyance the increase in reservation quota. I wish that ought not to have been done because Backward Classes people are entitled to be equated with the Forward Communities and they are entitled to have benefits and privileges that have been assured to them in the Constitution. Despite all these things, the government of Gujarat, the Chief Minister of Gujarat, with a view that there should be clam and quiet, with a view that there should not be any violence, with a view that issue should be settled across the table, released the students, kept in abeyance the increase in reservation quota and agreed to consider their demands with a view that normally is restored and the future of 5 lakhs students is not spoilt and they are made to appear in the examination. But the olive branch which was extended was, unfortunately not accepted. Therefore, this atmosphere has come. Now violence has subsided and peace is returning. Therefore, I would plead with Prof. Madhu Dandavate and other opposition leaders, let us sit together and consider a constructive way to bring about normalcy so that examinations are held early and the future of the 5 lakhs students of Gujarat is not put in jeopardy.

With these words I welcome the statement made by the hon. Home Minister.

[Translation]

*SHRI R. ANNA NAMBI (Pollachi) : Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker. Sir, on behalf of my party the All India Anna D. M. K.,

*The speech originally delivered in Tamil.

I wish to say a few words on the situation prevailing in Gujarat today. In response to the demand of the Opposition Party Members, the hon. Home Minister made a detailed statement yesterday about the regrettable state of affairs in the State of Gujarat. Shri Madhu Dandavate has moved a substitute motion to the motion of Home Minister. Many hon. Members have ventilated their views during the past two hours. The Members belonging to different political parties have expressed themselves according to their understanding of the problem.

I am saying this in great anguish that the Gujarat Government's laudable action in hiking the reservation of backward classes should have led to this kind of chaotic situation in the State. The Gujarat Government wanted to redress the genuine grievances of the people belonging to backward classes in the State. Under the leadership of our hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the Congress Party Government in Gujarat increased the reservation for backward classes by 20%. Can anyone in his senses object to this and that too violently? The people of Gujarat returned to power the same Gujarat Congress Government in the General Elections. They returned to Lok Sabha all Congress Members except from one Constituency. This showed that the people of Gujarat have reposed their faith in Congress Party Government in delivering the goods. There was stray opposition here and there before the Elections to the reservation policy of the State Government. But after the Elections, the defeated candidates in the Elections joined the fray and fanned the flames of agitation. There is nothing wrong in the students agitating for their rights. But when the political parties and other anti-social elements incite the students to violence, then everything is going aflame.

From the newspaper we come to know that police men have received grievous injuries. We also see that high-placed officers are hit in the melee. The State Janata Party President has been injured in this violence. The State Government is endeavouring its best to restore normalcy in the State. I would appeal to the Centre that whichever State brings suitable measures to uplift the backward classes and downtrodden they should be assisted in the implementation processes. All the hurdles in their imple-

mentation must be removed. It is also not in the long-term interest of any political party to stall the implementation of such social welfare measures. The political parties should raise above immediate political gains through agitation.

Here I have to refer that in Tamil Nadu there is 50% reservation for backward classes and 18% reservation for Scheduled Castes. Even for forward classes concessions are being given by the State Government. The Government of Tamil Nadu under the leadership of Dr. Puratchi Thalaivar M. G. R. is in the forefront of social resurgence in the country. Our beloved leader Dr. M. G. R., whose soul force is the support of the common people of the State, is implementing vigorously the social tenets handed over to him by the Father of Social Reformation Thanthai Periyar and the torch-bearer of his ideals Perarignar Anna. Dr. M. G. R. is committed to the establishment of a classless and casteless society in Tamil Nadu. Perarignar Anna used to say that he would like to see a Muslim without a *lungi*, a christian without a cross and a Hindu without the mark of ashes on his forehead. There is perennial peace in the State of Tamil Nadu and there is universal support for the great endeavours of our Chief Minister. There is no agitation of any kind in Tamil Nadu about the reservation percentage. The entire population of Tamil Nadu has identified its interests with the ideals of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

Sir, I would once again stress that the State Government of Gujarat should not rescind its reservation policy at any cost. The General Government should help the State Government in restoring law and order in the State, and in putting down the agitation with all the force at its command. With these words I support the statement of the hon. Home Minister.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Before I call upon the next hon. Member to speak, I wish to announce that Notice of Substitute Motions have been received from Prof. Madhu Dandavate and Shri S. Jaipal Reddy. Prof. Dandavate has already moved his Substitute Motion. Now Shri S. Jaipal Reddy may move his substitute motion if he decide to move it.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I beg to move :

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely :—

“This House having considered the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on 23rd April, 1985 regarding Ahmedabad situation, takes note of the collapse of and defiance by law enforcing machinery in Gujarat and calls upon the Government of India to intervene to restore normalcy in the State.”

[Translation]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHIR (Ghazipur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Shri Madhu Dandavate is not present in the house. The last thing that he said was not in good taste. He said that if his demand was not accepted by this House, he would fight outside the House also. When a leader of the stature of Shri Madhu Dandavate talks in such terms, it is not surprising that other members of his party and also of other parties would also think of taking the matter to the streets instead of deciding it through this House in a democratic manner. The Members had said at length that we were heading towards the 1974 situation ... (Interruptions).

That is what you want but we are not going to do that.

Such an atmosphere had been created for the first time in Gujarat in 1974 and it slowly spread to the other states as well. At that time also, a demand for the dismissal of the Gujarat Government had been made and Shri Morarji Desai, who subsequently became the Prime Minister had observed a fast unto death in Ahmedabad over this demand. Our then Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, took Shri Morarji Desai to be a well intentioned man and dismissed the Government in Gujarat but his intentions were *mala fide*. In this way this movement, starting from Gujarat, reached Bihar incidents of violence were witnessed in the entire country and thus an atmosphere of violence pervaded throughout the length and breadth of the country. Politics then shifted its venue from the democratic institutions to the streets. Therefore, Government was left with no other alternative but to declare a state of Emergency in the country. These people reaped the benefits of the Emergency and came to power in 1977.

These persons are eager to repeat that experiment once again. The people of the country had then voted them out and had not entrusted them with the responsibility to rule the country and these people are now in the opposition but in the opposition also they are not discharging their responsibilities properly. I have been observing for the last two days that the opposition Members are very much agitated over the behaviour of the police and the goings on the Gujarat. For the last ten days I had been expecting the Opposition to demand discussion on the anti-reservation movement being launched in Gujarat. The anti-reservation movement had been started in Gujarat earlier also over the question of reservation in medical colleges and I remember that in the Sixth Lok Sabha as well the opposition members had adopted all possible ways to have a discussion over the issue here. They had even staged a *dharna* in the House. At that time, the members of the Scheduled Castes were in a majority in the Opposition and they had compelled the Speaker to allow discussion on the issue but this time they are keeping mum. So, their statement about reservation for the Scheduled Caste, the Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes is totally hollow. When the police deals with the anti-reservationists with a heavy hand, they feel pertained and say that the police have been beating the agitationists and committing excesses on them. For the last two days, they have been impatient to have a discussion on this issue.

But in the present context, I feel that the most important point is not about the police excesses but it is about the efforts being made to launch an agitation against reservation in Gujarat which is the birth place of Mahatma Gandhi. The saddest part of it is that such a movement has been launched in Gujarat and not in any other part of the country. It is the most important national issue which they had ignored and on which they have not demanded a discussion. Dandavateji might remember that the Opposition Members had exerted great pressure on the Speaker at that time for having a discussion and had also staged a *dharna*. At that time, the Members of the Scheduled Castes were in a majority in the Opposition and they were quite vocal. But this time they have chosen to keep mum. I have been observing the activities of the s :

people for the last one week. They should have demanded discussion in this regard at that time. If a discussion had taken place in the House at that time then what is happening in Gujarat at present could have been avoided. A discussion in this House could have a salutary effect on the people of Gujarat.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The Prime Minister had made a statement in Ahmedabad which gave the impression that he wanted to change the policy of reservation and the Home Minister had told me in this House that this wrong impression had been created by the press. The Home Minister has assured that the basis of reservation would not be changed.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER : But you had not demanded a discussion on the anti-reservation movement being launched in Gujarat. A discussion ought to have been held in this House in regard to that movement. A discussion had taken place in the past as well in which he (Prof. Madhu Dandavate) had also taken part. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee had talked about the Bharatiya Janata Party. You would remember the speech of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. In the first half of his speech he had talked about anti-reservationists and in the latter half he had spoken in favour of reservation. This was, perhaps, his most confused speech. Prof. Madhu Dandavate is a very learned leader and he has full faith in democracy. I hold him in high esteem. But what he had stated at the end of his speech started everyone here. He had said that if his plea was not accepted in the House he would fight outside the House also.

[English]

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur) : Mr. Dandavate, have you resiled from the position ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : All struggles do not take place inside the House. Through peaceful and non-violent means, we shall fight outside the House also.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : I am glad that you said this, after I pointed it out.

[Translation]

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER : Is this your

faith in the democratic values ? If Prof. Madhu Dandavate can speak in these terms, then what the General Secretary of his party had said in England must be cent per cent true. The opposition parties are hatching a conspiracy to bring back the situation of 1977. I warn the Government and the Home Minister to guard against the designs of these people because they want to create the same type of atmosphere again. They are planning to enact the same drama in Maharashtra also. Efforts are afoot to create the same situation in Bihar and in Uttar Pradesh. They want to create an atmosphere of violence in the entire country so that the police and the Government are compelled to take action. In that situation, there is likelihood of some excess being committed somewhere and they would get an opportunity to exploit it to their advantage for coming into power. These persons want to capture power by hoot or by ruck. Government should see through the game of the Opposition and put down their movements with an iron hand. Besides, efforts should be made to create a political atmosphere in the country wherein the people could be warned against such elements.

How will a democratic decision be taken ? Who will be elected to this House ? How will the country be governed ? Will these matters be decided by the votes of the people or fought out on the streets ? The people have recently given their verdict. After five years, voting will be held again. Prof. Madhu Dandavate and the members of his party and of other opposition parties should go to the people and tell them where our policies had gone wrong and when the people vote for them, they can come to power. But the democracy in the country will not be a success if we take the issues to the streets and take recourse to the politics of violence. We being in the ruling party, our responsibility to run the Government in a democratic manner is the greatest. Therefore, I warn the Government of India to guard against such activities of the opposition parties and enlighten the people about them. The material collected about their activities should be made available to the people. But the mistake of imposing Emergency and of dismissing the Gujarat Government should not be repeated. At that time the Government of Gujarat had been dismissed with good intentions. The present Government

came to power after getting three-fourths of the total votes. We should not interfere with this verdict of the people. About 10 or 5 per cent people are out to create an atmosphere of violence. It would not be proper to interfere in the affairs of the Gujarat Government. Prof. Madhu Dandavate may stage a *dharna* in the House of launch a movement in the streets but there is no question of dismissing the Gujarat Government.

AN HON. MEMBER : The people will throw them out.

SHRI ZAINUL BASHER : Let the people throw them out. People threw you out and can throw any party out. But democracy will not be successful if we take recourse to violence. The opposition parties are as much responsible for running the country on democratic lines as we are. It is regrettable that the opposition parties are not discharging their responsibilities properly in this regard.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak and with these words, I conclude my speech.

[*English*]

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Parvathipuram) : Before I start, let me first make it clear that on the policy of reservation, whether it was for SC and ST or the backward communities, we have always supported its continuance and its implementation as per the provisions in the Constitution and in the right spirit. The members who have spoken earlier have spoken emotionally, trying to draw a parallel between Punjab and Assam and to the situation that is confronting Gujarat. (*Interruptions*) Yes, there may be a parallel, but the record has to be put straight. What happened in Punjab? It was this government which deliberately delayed or deferred the solution in Punjab. I know there was a time when Sardar Swaran Singh was almost on the verge of clinching the Punjab issue when he was called back. I do not know for what reasons. You did it for political gains to get Hindu votes from the northern belt. You got them, but at what cost? You got them at the cost of the life of the late Prime Minister. Let this not happen in Gujarat and elsewhere. It was the Chief Minister of Gujarat, Madhav Singh Solanki who promised on the eve of elections

that he will implement the reservation policy. Why has he put it in the cold storage after the elections are over? Was it not for political gains? Before hon. members from that side speak, I would request them to introspect their own souls.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Roberts-ganj) : Why had all opposition parties and also members from this side been demanding time and again before the elections that the recommendations of the Mandal Commission should be implemented?

[*English*]

Time and again, you have been demanding it. What were the reasons? Let me know. (*Interruptions*) Elections are to be held now.

[*Translation*]

This aspect would also have to be kept in mind and when you speak, you bear it in mind.

[*English*]

They have been divided due to political reasons. (*Interruptions*) I want that the whole House should know about it and through it the country should know about it.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : I want my friends to listen to the translation of my speech before they intervene.

We have supported the Mandal Commission Report; we had pressed for a discussion on that Report in this House; in the 6th Lok Sabha, we had supported it. Even now, we stand by it. (*Interruptions*) If the people have voted for you, if you have got the majority and if you think that you are the saviour of the people, why have you not done it? If we come to power, we will do it; it is not your business to ask about it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Now the Karnataka Government has gone one step ahead of the Mandal Commission Report.

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : What has happened in Gujarat deserves to be condemned by all. We certainly do deplore the way the Head

Constable was killed and the way unruly elements participated in the violence and the way police turned into hoodlums and the acts of vandalism. This cannot be excused by anybody. It was shocking to hear friends from the other side trying to defend the barbarous attitude that the police had adopted in Gujarat. I charge the way made use of by the ruling party to wreak vengeance against political opponents and against those who wanted to do it.

A friend of mine from the other side—he is not here—Shri Das Munsii was referring to the attack of the CPM on *Anand Bazaar Patrika*. I would like to ask him what happened to *Anand Bazaar Patrika* man when he went to Ahmedabad. I am sure many of you must have read the *Times of India* today. You must have seen the picture of a young journalist with a bandage, with a fractured hand. I saw him, I met him. He had gone to Ahmedabad. While he was on the streets of Ahmedabad a pregnant lady was going to the hospital with a curfew pass. She was stripped and beaten by the Police and she delivered on the road. And this journalist, this young journalist, a friend of mine, whom I met today and from whom I verified wanted to take a photograph of this to complai. They took away his cameras and they beat him up for two hours, fractured his hand and later on in the Police Station he was told that if he opened his mouth or said anything about what happened earlier, he would be killed and cut up and thrown to the gutter. If this is the attitude of the Police, I charge that the Police was misused in this manner against the journalists, for the exposure that they made against this Government earlier for all the corrupt practices that** was involved in.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : What.

SHRI V. KRISHNA CHANDRA S. DEO : Yes, it is my charge.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE : We have discussed it.

SHRI V. KRISHNA CHANDRA S. DEO : Yes, we discussed it.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE : We have discussed it.

I will send a copy of my speech to Mr. Ranga.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That name will not go on record.

SHRI V. KRISHNA CHANDRA S. DEO : Yes, we have discussed it in this very House. There is no time for me now to mention it.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE : Sir, you also said** goes ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : His name would go.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : He went to the people, he came back again with an overwhelming majority.

SHRI V. KRISHNA CHANDRA S. DEO : Mr. Deputy Speaker, three days before this arson and looting took place in Gujarat, I am also told that the Chief Minister had warned certain journalists that if they did not behave themselves they had to meet with certain grave consequences which they ultimately met with after three days. A friend here asked what the Chief Minister had got to do with it ! What ? The Chief Minister had nothing to do with it ? Who was responsible ? The Chief Minister was responsible for the breakdown of the constitutional machinery in that State.

SHRI AJAY MUSHRAN : I did not say this. What I said was...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. I will not allow the hon. Member.

SHRI V. KRISHNA CHANDRA S. DEO : I am not yielding. This is the third time that I am in this House. I have participated in the discussions on various subjects. When a Chief Minister fails to control even the Police and on the other hand becomes an a better to turning them into hoodlums and vandals then the Chief Minister deserves to be sacked lock, stock and barrel. If this was done in any other State, the President's Rule would have been imposed forthwith. But what was done in Gujarat ? Nothing was done. Unless this Government is removed, unless it is dismissed nothing can come out, what the truth is, that has led to these various developments in that particular State.

Friends have referred, sarcastically to certain statements made about going to the streets. I would remind my friends from the other side of what they did between 1977 and 1979. When we talk of taking to the streets, we do not mean what they did in 1979. I do not mean going into court rooms, breaking chairs etc. But in a democracy, if a Government fails to protect the freedom, fails to govern, fails to educate, legislation fails, we have to go to the streets to educate the people about the issues; and we have to educate them.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : How ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : By non-violent and peaceful means. Mahatma Gandhi would not be killed so easily in this country.

SHRI V. KRISHNA CHANDRA S. DEO : I would like to repeat that if this Government fails, we will have no other alternative but to go to the streets to educate the people about the follies of this Government.

Several Members have referred to 1974-75 situation. Some Members also forgot that this is a democracy. After all, what happened in 1974-77 ? The answer to it was given by the people in 1977. The events proved what the ruling party was doing, and what the opposition was fighting for. But what happened was the culmination of the events of 1974-77 when the Congress was thrown out lock stock and barrel for certain things which had been encouraged by the people at high places and even the ruling Party. And if that happens again, a repetition will take place. Let me warn you about it.

AN HON. MEMBER : How many Chief Ministers were thrown out ?

SHRI V. KRISHNA CHANDRA S. DEO : Yes, lock stock and barrel. (Interruptions)

The Home Minister, in his statement, has not expressed a single word of condemnation for the act of vandalism that was unleashed on the journalists. The press buildings were burnt and set fire too, people were manhandled and beaten and women were molested. Nothing has been mentioned about that. There is only a solitary reference to what the Police had indulged in. And there too nothing has been mentioned in detail. No

sympathy has been expressed for the innocent people who have either lost their lives or limbs or property in the situation that has been created. So, I demand that this Government be dismissed forthwith.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Tripura ?

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO : If other Governments behave like this, we will demand their dismissals also.

I would appeal to the Home Minister to let the House know how they are going to deal with the victims and those who have been badly affected in the recent riots. I would also like to know the attitude of the Central Government towards its own State Government which is completely responsible for this situation which has been created in Gujarat and how it is thinking of solving this problem at an early date.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Shillong) : I do not know the position today. But what had happened in Gujarat till yesterday was deeply distressing and unsettling. I would like to say that what happens in Gujarat now is an object lesson. It may happen in any other part of the country tomorrow. So, in that respect, I would like to compliment the Home Minister and the Government for having come forward *Sou motu* for a discussion on this problem in the House. I think, we should take the Motion of the Government in that spirit that they have nothing to hide; they would like to hear our views in order to find a way to a solution and if possible, to have the full support of this House in what they should do in order to overcome the situation in Gujarat.

As far as I can see the original question of reservation has taken a back seat in Gujarat today. It is no longer the struggle between the reservationists and the anti-reservationists. The struggle is multi-dimensional. It is inter-caste-what business one caste has got against the other. It is communal-what one community has got against the other. And it has involved a certain behaviour of the security forces, which is an unusual situation.

Since you have said that I have only five minutes to speak, I would confine myself to that. What is the demand in Gujarat today ? The first is that the policy of reservation should be dropped here and now. The

reservation policy has been a policy of this country over the years in which there has been a consensus in this House. Is it reasonable for anybody, not on the Floor of the House but on the street, through killing, through obscenity, to demand that policy should be dropped here and now? Is it possible? Is it expected of any Government to succumb to that kind of demand? I would ask my friends in the Opposition whether they would like a situation like that?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : In that case there will be no democracy in this country, it will be the rule of the mob and the rule of the street. On this question of reservation, the Government has made its position very clear. As far as the reservation for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is concerned, it is already there. It is only the question of reservation of certain Backward Classes in which they say they have an open mind, they would like a discussion to arrive at a consensus. What more sensible offer can be there be? What I am saying is that the people who are out on the streets in Ahmedabad, who started the agitation, they are asking that the policy of reservation in toto... (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER : No.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : I am talking of the people on the streets in Ahmedabad, not about him. I give him the benefit of the doubt, I am not going to include him in that mob. Their demand is that this reservation should be dropped here and now. That is something which nobody can support. I would like the Opposition to say here and now that they support the Government insofar as this policy of reservation is concerned.

The second thing that is being demanded today is that the present Government of Gujarat should go. We follow democracy. Only a couple of months ago, there were elections free and fair elections in a democratic way... (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER : Doubtful.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : If it is doubtful there, it is doubtful everywhere. It could be doubtful in Karnataka, it would be doubtful in Andhra Pradesh. You can say many things on that. But the point is that there

were elections, free and fair as far as possible and the people of Gujarat have returned this party and this Government to power. Does it lie in a few hoodlums in the State and that too in one city in the State I am not sure how far the whole Gujarat is involved in it—does it lie in those few people to say that this Government should go and does it lie in the Opposition to lend support to that kind of a demand? If we do that sort of thing, today it happens in Gujarat, tomorrow it may happen in Bengal and day after tomorrow it may happen in Tripura. Then where do we stand? In Karnataka it can happen. It is easy to engineer trouble, to get a few people on the streets. It is easy to do that. There are any number of disgruntled political elements... (*Interruptions*). What I can say is that policemen are also human beings, just as you and I are. When I am placed in that position, I am attacked or certain things are done to me, I am likely to react in any form. It depends on a person. I may react in the sense that I might kill ten people with my own hands in a certain situation.

15.00 hrs.

Of course, I can never perceive of any decent man trying to react in his anger by obscenity on women. It is really a kind of insanity. But I really do not know what is the situation in Gujarat. If certain things have happened there and the police have done certain things, the question is why it is done. It is because the situation there is bad. It is a multi-dimensional situation prevailing there. There is, as I said, so much of a confusing situation, there is so much of onmity, so much of bad feeling against each other. And this is why I say that Gujarat today is an objective lesson for whole of India. Therefore, I think there is no point in this debate unless and until we are able to send out a message to the people of Gujarat that this is what the Parliament wants. What do we want? We want that this madness in Gujarat must stop. This is one clear lesson that should go from here. We want to see that the process of democracy in this country is kept in tact. If today you say that the present Chief Minister is not desirable then there is a way of removing him, but not by heeding and succumbing to the demands of a few hoodlums in the street. I think we should have one opinion as far as this thing is concerned.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : So many Chief Ministers have been removed.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : Yes, but through democratic process with the fall of their Government in the assembly.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : He was elected only two months ago and now you want him to be dismissed.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : If Mr. Madhav Singh Solanki has been found....

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Mr. Arjun Singh was removed within twenty four hours.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : No, he was never removed. Don't have wrong ideas.

I am saying you want Mr. Madhav Singh Solanki to be removed, but in action it seems you are his best friends, because by this kind of demand no Government, no authority worth the salt is going to listen to you. On the other hand if he is found to be inadequate for the situation as it is prevailing, it is not for the Opposition, but I think it is for the People in the Congress Party who are there. If they think that somebody else can do a better job, any time they can take a decision in that regard. Therefore, let the democratic process take its course. Let us not mix up the things. Let us not make the situation worse in Gujarat. This debate will not serve any purpose, if we start laying blame on each other. If we do that, what has happened in Gujarat will be taken into the floor of this House and into the whole of the country. So, let us at least on consensus send a message down to Gujarat that Parliament is one in its desire that the madness in Gujarat must stop. And what is the instrument for doing that? Of course, it is the Government that can do that.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Will you say a word about the destruction of the Press?

SHRI G. G. SWELL : Whatever has happened to the Press, whatever has happened to our sisters in Gujarat, whatever has happened to others, I put the blame on the madness. It is the mad situation in which everybody has behaved in a most irrational manner. It would not serve any purpose to say that this has been done and that has been done. So many things can be done and everyone can put the blame, on each other, but it does not

help here if we do the same thing which they are doing in Gujarat. If we do so, then we are doing that with our tongue what they are doing with their hands, fighting against each other, killing each other. Therefore, what I would like to appeal is that some sanity should be restored, and some clear message should go to Gujarat that the Government of India and the Parliament of India are one in their desire that they want this madness should stop. Everybody should raise his hands in favour of this. Everybody should discuss this matter coolly, because it is not only Gujarat that is being destroyed, if such a trend is continued may be whole of India may be destroyed tomorrow.

I would now refer to the substitute motions tabled by my friend Prof. Madhu Dandavate and my friend Mr. Jaipal Reddy. I can see that the thrust of the substitute motion is that the Union Government should immediately and effectively intervene to bring normalcy in Ahmedabad. What has the Central Government not been doing? They have done everything to use their good offices to bring normalcy there. The Home Minister has gone there. He is very much involved about it and the very fact that he has brought this motion before the House an indication of his involvement and his desire to seek your support.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Thanks for supporting the substitute motion.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : You are not saying anything new in that case. And as far as the other thing is concerned, I think the assistance of the Army has been called to bring about the normalcy. So, everything has been done as far as that is concerned. But if you have any other political motive, then I say that you are lacking in sincerity and not really wanting to bring the situation in Gujarat under control. And therefore, if you are sincere about it, you should hear what the Home Minister says. As a matter of fact, if he has added a few words after moving his motion and told us what the situation in Gujarat is today, whether it has improved or not, perhaps it would have helped us. We really do not know about it. All our sources of information are only the newspapers, we really do not know what is happening there. We do not know whether all that the newspapers say is true or may be they are not saying as much as they

should. But I would say, let this debate be processed. If we say the Government must intervene, they will intervene in all possible ways in order to bring that situation under control. Let us give the Government our full support to do that. Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Sir, after his speech, I think the Minister can accept my substitute motion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Let us see.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Even the Deputy Speaker is hopeful.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Let us see. That is all.

DR. A. K. PATEL (Mehsana) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to say something about the present grave situation in Gujarat. Before I say something, I would like to clarify about the reservation policy of my Party. We are being unnecessarily and wrongly blamed by the Ruling Party friends saying that the BJP is supporting this agitation. I tell you, Sir, that very recently the State Executive Committee meeting was held at Junagadh only on 13th and 14th of this month. We are very clear about this reservation policy and we have given this press note that we favour this reservation, and we have been unnecessarily and wrongly blamed for supporting the agitation.

Much has been said about the present situation by my friends. I would like to say about this only in a nutshell. On last Friday only I approached the hon. Speaker in his Chamber with the press notes and cuttings and some information which I got from Gujarat. He was not prepared to believe about this hooliganism of the police people in Ahmedabad. Then, I contacted people at Ahmedabad on telephone and I confirmed that the matter was very clear and it was a fact. So, the next day morning I left for Ahmedabad. Along with me there were some of my friends from the Congress (I) in the train; I also requested them to accompany me to go through the streets and study the exact situation. But in one or the other way they avoided and I moved through the streets. (Interruptions). They were guilty conscious. (Interruptions)

I visited more than 1000 families, moved about 10 miles on foot for two days to collect the information and on Monday morning I tried to raise that problem here immediately after Question Hour, but I was

not allowed. Then in the Speaker's Chamber I submitted photos specially showing the atrocities of police on ladies during this agitation. The matter has not been looked into seriously. This things which happened two days back should not have happened. I tell you, this agitation is independently handled by the students and parents. Very recently I came to know that actually the people who are interested in this agitation and are taking part are the people from the Ruling Party, those who had not been given tickets in the last election.

SHRI B.K. GADHVI : That is not correct.

(Interruptions)

DR. A. K. PATEL : I have got the information. I would not name them, but I can submit them to you.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No, no. Don't do that.

(Interruptions).

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : They are inviting even names !

(Interruptions).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Only the Chair can name.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I do not want to name anybody now.

DR. A. K. PATEL : I mention about the rowdism in the Gomtipur area. I solemnly say that I personally visited the Gomtipur area adjacent to Bramhapur area and talked to the ladies who were affected. One lady narrated the whole thing. In her area, the police came. She saw more than 6 or 7 policemen moving in the nude without clothes. One of them entered her house and one old lady was sleeping on the cot. She was severely injured in the police beating. Police gave a blow to her left leg and it got fractured. One child of two years old was just playing near the cot. She was thrown off. It was really a ghastly incident. I would not like to say much. That policeman climbed on the roof of the house and he was maked. He stayed on for some hours. The widow lady had 4 daughters and she tried to hide all the children in side her house. I am prepared to accept any challenge. If I am proved wrong in this matter, I am prepared to resign. I would invite even some of my colleagues MPs and hon. Lady MPs to accompany me to the

site of the incident. I give you names. They can go and visit Ahmedabad and find out the facts. I would give you the full and correct addresses. In this matter, I am very clear and sure about these things.

Much has been said about other atrocities and I would not like to add much. The reservation policy was declared during the time of elections. That was only for political gain. Had other friends in other Parties been taken into confidence, this situation would not have happened. After the political gains Mr. Solanki CM, withdrew this policy. This brought the reaction in the people who believed in reservation. This was actually the cause of the agitation. Because of Government's this attitude, the agitation started. It was because of a political gain to them.

For the last two days, the behaviour of the police is the worst. I cannot describe it. I have no words to describe the beastiality of the police in which they behaved in Ahmedabad only a few days back. I also strongly condemn the murder of the police. But what about so many other people who were killed in this agitation? They were also equal citizens. So far as the life is concerned, any other man or a policeman, it is the same. They should also be equally respected and compensated.

Much has been said about the freedom of the Press and other things. But the worst thing is the damage done to the *Gujarat Samachar*. I tell you, it was giving the exact picture of Gujarat. But it was not subduing to the will of the Chief Minister. That is why, it was attacked and destroyed. When I visited Ahmedabad at 5 p.m. yesterday. It was still on fire. I heard the story from the *Dharwan* or *Gorkha* the gateman. He told me that the policemen came in a jeep. They severely beat that gate man and pushed him down. They entered with gallons of petrol and petrol bomb and threw them in the area and set it a fire. It is still going on. The firemen came but they were not allowed to extinguish the fire. The worst possible damage has been done economically to the *Gujarat Samachar*. What about the freedom of the Press which has been thus deprived of?

Well, Sir, I would not like to say much. But I will demand only two things. The

position in Gujarat should be normalised immediately. That should be done by giving the charge to the military to look after the welfare of the people. Though the police are there on duty they are just onlookers. They just instigated the people. I visited Ahmedabad and many mohallahs. I visited a mohallah near the civil hospital. That was of Patel Mohallah. I just entered there and talked with them and requested them not to become party in the agitation and in this sort of thing. Then they told me that one PSI—the name I can give but I would not like to give it here—came with the people from a Harijan Mohallah and tried to attack these people. These are the disturbances created by the police themselves.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : Not whole of the police. Best of them are doing their job.

DR. A. K. PATEL : May be. But they are part and parcel of the police. The SRP and other people have become mad claps, as my predecessors have pointed out.

SHRI B. K. GADHVI : Please don't tell the story which provokes people. That is how the weaker sections are being attacked by the upper castes. Please don't tell that Harijans came to attack Patels. But, in fact, Patels have attacked Harijans. You kindly stop telling that story because that will lead to further escalation in the situation.

DR. A. K. PATEL : I do not agree with you.

Lastly, I would say that the Central Government should immediately intervene in this matter and stop all this nonsense and mad behaviour of the police either by imposing the President's rule or by giving the charge to a proper person who can handle the situation in Gujarat nicely.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK : He was going to clarify his party's position. What about that?

DR. A. K. PATEL : We have issued a press notification in Junagarh and it has come in newspapers also.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN (Cooch Bihar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to condemn the police violence in Gujarat in the strongest terms. At the same time, I condemn the behaviour of the police which is no better than anyone else's. I strongly

protest against the attack on the freedom of the press. No one can deny the grave situation that is prevailing in Gujarat, the arson, the looting, the raping of women and killing of people there. All these things are doing on.

The hon. Member opposite, Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munsii, posed a question before : Who is the architect of the anti-reservation agitation ? I would like to take full responsibility in saying that it is the Central Government which is responsible for this agitation. It is the Prime Minister of India who is responsible for this agitation. It is the Chief Minister of Gujarat who is responsible for this agitation...*(Interruptions)* I say it with full responsibility.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If you say that the Centre is responsible, they may demand that the State should intervene in the Centre.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : If you kindly see the Approach Paper on the Seventh Plan, in that you will find that there is a mention that the reservation policy will be reviewed. It is from there that the anti-reservation agitation started. You cannot deny it. It is the Prime Minister who made a statement just before the Assembly elections that there would be a review of the reservation policy. It is the Chief Minister of Gujarat who said that there will be 49 per cent reservation and, ultimately, just after the elections, he said, no, it will not be there. It may be an election stunt. But they played with fire.

The Congress-I Party is doing very much the same as what the Britishers used to do here. They used to follow the divide-and-rule policy *vis-a-vis* Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other castes and communities.

The Congress wants to do the same thing throughout India as they have done in Gujarat. On one side, you are prohibiting reservation and on the other, you are following anti-reservation policy.

AN HON. MEMBER : Divide and rule.

SHRI AMAR ROYPRADHAN : Certainly it is. What has happened to Scheduled Castes in Gujarat ? There in schools and colleges, the reservation for SC is 15%

and for ST 7½% and in Services, the reservation for SC and ST is only 10.6%. Even after 36 years, this is the position. It is a shame not only to the Congress but to the entire country. Gujarat is the birth-place of Mahatma Gandhi. Have you read the Scheduled Caste Commissioner's report He has stated that even today there are some places where the people are not allowed to have their drinking water from the same well in Gujarat. It is the birth-place of Mahatma Gandhi!*(Interruptions)*.

In particular areas in Gujarat, there are some schools which are meant for only the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The other schools are meant for the general public. It is in Gujarat. In the birth-place of Mahatma Gandhi, water is given with one glass to Scheduled Castes, one to Scheduled Tribes, one to Muslims and one for the caste Hindus! Even after 37 years, this is the practice. It is not my view. It is the view of the Scheduled Caste Commissioner. It is a fact that cannot be denied.

I condemn the attitude of the Central Government in this respect also because it is the Central Government which has engineered all this policy of division in different States. It is the proper time that the Chief Minister of Gujarat should resign immediately.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I have tabled the substitute motion. Let me speak.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Not necessary.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I have moved the motion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have already given sufficient time to all the Members. That is enough. The hon. Minister will speak now.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I do not want the practice of a person moving a substitute motion not being allowed to speak.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I think the motions moved are circulated. He must be given some time.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have given a chance to every party.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : He wants to speak on his Motion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Sometimes five or six Members may give substitute Motions. The Chair cannot give time to all of them to speak. We have already taken more than three and a half hours. I cannot allow. The Minister will reply. I am sorry.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I must express my thanks to all the hon. Members...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : What is your ruling, Sir ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Minister will reply.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : I have raised a point of order. You cannot rule out a point of order like this. You have to offer an explanation.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have ruled out the point of order. I need not give any explanation. The Minister will reply.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I must express my thanks to all the hon. Members who have participated in this discussion and given their views about the situation prevailing in Gujarat. In fact, in the beginning I thought that the statement which I had made yesterday contained all the details the Government wanted to give and there was hardly anything that I should have added. But, after listening to some of the speeches which the hon. Members have made here, I cannot resist myself, and I would like to clarify some of the points which have been raised.

I am in full agreement with the hon. Member, Shri Swell, that ultimately, the upshot of the entire discussion should be that this House is at one in appealing to all sections in Gujarat, all political parties all sections of the people, inclusive of the police too, to restore normalcy and see that normal conditions prevail in Gujarat.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The Home Minister should appeal to the police not to molest women.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I would also

appeal to you to kindly bear in mind some of the statements that you have made on the floor of the House, to which I am going to refer in a short while.

Unnecessarily this has generated a kind of emotion which normally should have been avoided in this House where every matter is dispassionately and objectively discussed and we come to good conclusions. Looking to the precedents that we have, I can say, we have been following a very good tradition of creating normalcy wherever things have gone wrong.

The whole agitation started with the policy of reservation announced by the Gujarat Government which later on degenerated into a communal strife; later on, I am sorry to say, some sections have even gone to the extent of opposing even the reservation given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Their leaders speak here all right. It will not be out of place if I were to mention this. A delegation came to me yesterday. After having gone back, they have given a Press Conference and certain things were stated there. I do not propose to deal with other matters. But this aspect, I did ask them : how is it that in Gujarat the leaders happen to be signatories to an appeal requesting all sections in Gujarat to see that normal conditions are created in that area and the agitation is stopped ? The kind of attitude which the Gujarat Government took, the Chief Minister called the members of the student community, different political parties, they threadbare discussed the entire issue and they issued an appeal requesting all sections to create normalcy in that area. But thereafter we find that though the leaders have signed the appeal, their followers have been continuing the agitation.

Hon. Members were pleased to state that the Home Minister went to Ahmedabad and after coming back he did not say anything against any political party while the Prime Minister who went there has blamed the Opposition parties. It is a fact that I had gone to Ahmedabad. I met a large number of people. I also carried the same impression as the Prime Minister did. But I did not mention it. But most probably he was pressed by a number of Press people to come out with something which normally he himself would have avoided. But the fact

of the matter is : are they prepared to say that the ABVP is not a part of some political organisation ? Is it a fact that it happens to be a student wing of a certain political organisation ? If that be so, are you going to disown that and say that though it is the student wing of our political organisation still we have not supported this kind of agitation ? If it is openly said, certainly I am prepared to accept what you say I cannot possibly challenge what you are saying. But the fact of the matter still remains that I have the impression that some political parties seem to be supporting this kind of an agitation and that is why in spite of the fact that the whole thing was almost over, they have come to some kind of an understanding and a composite appeal was also made to the people, things are continuing and this is a matter which each one of the hon. Members will have to apply his mind to and find out where things have gone wrong.

I am sure that my hon. friend, Mr. Madhu Dandavate never meant it. But in one sentence he said. That is why it has created this impression in my mind. He said, 'A consensus needs to be developed on the reservation policy of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes'...

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE : Let me correct. I have checked the record. I spoke and I said that whatever guarantees are given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and also Backward Classes, my commitment and my Party's commitment to them is irrevocable and further I said that as far as the implementation of these policies is concerned, we can evolve a consensus about the modalities of the implementation. Let the Government take the initiative and we are prepared to cooperate. These are my exact words.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I think I have made this absolutely clear. At the cost of repeating what I have stated earlier, the Government is fully committed so far as reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned and there is no question of going back. There is no question of going back... (Interruptions) About other Backward Classes, the Prime Minister made the statement that a national consensus needs to be developed. We have to find out how

best a consensus can be evolved by which ideas should be crystal clear and we should be able to evolve a non-controversial policy issue which we should be in a position to implement without this kind of acrimonious sort of thing which is going on in certain areas.

Sir, I have the statement which has in a way intrigued me. I have not been able to appreciate it. When I say this, I presume that I have understood the hon. Member correctly. In a democratic functioning every part of this democratic institution, democratic set-up has its own functions. There is an executive. There are clear-cut functions laid down. There is a judiciary. Clear-cut functions have also been laid down for judiciary. for legislature, powers of the legislatures have been clearly defined. So long as each one of these institutions were to work within the jurisdiction assigned to it under the Constitution there is hardly any scope for any kind of conflict between anyone, either two or three taken together. Sometimes there are areas which are encroached upon and sometimes not knowing the full implication of what ultimately is going to take place if there is an encroachment. Without meaning any disrespect to any members of the judiciary if the court takes a view that policemen should not be allowed to enter a particular area, fair enough, I do not quarrel on that issue. Who has to take the responsibility of maintaining law and order in that area ? Is the judiciary to take the responsibility of maintaining law and order ? I am sure...

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE : Particular policeman.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : This has not happened in one or two but three or four areas. This has also intrigued me. I have not been able to appreciate exactly what was the intention. What was the purpose for which police officers are not allowed to enter a particular...

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Particular policeman.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : They are being lynched practically. The Head Constable who was killed was in a very bad circumstance. In fact, the kind of report that we have received gives a very bad impression of the kind of crowd which must have lynched this Head Constable who had gone on the

instructions of the High Court. High Court wanted discreet inquiry to be conducted by a Revenue Secretary to be assisted by the Registrar of the High Court and his Assistant Registrar. Then were to be assisted by two police people. One was the Head Constable, another was a Home Guard and the Photographer. The damaged property was to be photographed. When they went there, I do not know, without any provocation they were being attacked and the Head Constable succumbed to his injuries on the spot. The Home Guard was very badly injured. He had to be admitted in the hospital. His condition yesterday was stated to be very serious. I don't have the latest report but if you are going to take this kind of attitude, I think,...(Interruptions).

[Translation]

SHRI C. MADHAV REDDY : The police personnel who have been killed and the other people who are being killed... (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. No interruptions, please. Mr. Reddi, please listen to me. Nothing will go on record without my permission.

(Interruptions)**

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I am not yielding. You had an opportunity at that time. You did not mention the point that you are now raising. If you had mentioned certainly I would have clarified the same. But the point which I was during at was that there are certain areas and it will be always advisable, if the legislature were to be within its right and jurisdiction and not encroaching on the rights and responsibility either of the judiciary or of the executive normally the situation will not arise; and *vice versa* too. Mr. Madhu Dandavate gave us to understand this. Having failed to get justice from the executive—he has also mentioned—if the officers were to fail in getting justice even in this august House—the latter portion I would not like to repeat—because he himself has said, or at least his friend has clarified, that it is with a view to educate the people they will like to go to the people. Fair enough. There is nothing wrong about it. Actually when

he mentioned it, it was in a different spirit. So, I think, as it is being clarified, I have nothing to say about it.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE : We will go out and fight it in the non-violent way of Mahatma Gandhi.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : You are now saying it. You did not say it.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE : Can you point out a single violent incident in which I have participated ?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : In fact I have clarified that position. I don't have any quarrel on that issue at all. My only object is this : Are we going to support this kind of a proposal that if executive, according to you, were not to give whatever you want, it is the judiciary through which you are going to get it? And if that process is being continued—the way it is being stated here—I think it will be a very unfortunate thing. Then it is a clearcut invitation for some of the wings of this democratic institution to go on encroaching without taking the responsibility. We don't have anything to say against it. After all, they are within their right. They have full right to exercise; I have nothing to say about it. But at the same time when you exercise your judgment, your right, it has to be coupled with the responsibility also. You say that we don't allow the Government to go to a particular area, the area is totally excluded for the executive. Fair enough. Then it should be substituted by something else. There is nothing. That is why I must appreciate that later on when the High Court was approached and the whole thing was placed before them that this is the situation, this is the kind of law and order situation prevailing in that area and if you have to still give injunction not to allow the police officer to enter in that area, then, the law and order issue will become all the more complicated, things are found to deteriorate, that is why they were pleased to give a stay order. They stayed the entire action. There is the discreet enquiry which they ordered, of which the report is expected by the 25th of this month. They themselves have given us stay order. The whole thing happened in a very proper

**Not to be recorded.

atmosphere, I must say. Each one can understand and appreciate...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, since he has referred to the judgment of the high court I would suggest that the court judgment should be laid on the table of the House. We will find out whether the entire police were prevented or only a particular notorious officer was prevented...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Court judgment is public property. It is published. If it has to be made available to every one of us, it will take some time for me to get it.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : I am sure you have got a copy of it ?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I don't have a copy.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : What you are saying—is it based on some messages or some information which you have received ?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : This information was supplied to us. On that basis I am saying this. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : It is total misinterpretation.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I will lay the judgment on the table of the House.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : That is all right. The offshoot of the whole discussion was this. (*Interruptions*) I don't think I need say anything else. But there is a kind of feeling that we get that these are not isolated instances or isolated incidents which have been taking place. Somehow we get this kind of impression that the whole thing seems to be connected. In different areas, certain things are happening and we do not know whether it is designed or whether they are doing it independently. I do not have any material to substantiate if I have to say that the whole thing is linked up. I do not have that material at my disposal at this stage. But I wish that it were not so.

AN HON. MEMBER : I will give you the material.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I wish the whole thing is not connected. I do not think that

any of the hon. members of the House are interested in creating any kind of a situation which would lead to destabilisation. At least we believe so.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Why do you say so ? Be charitable enough in giving us compliments.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I said that this is my belief.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : I understand the subtlety.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : If you were to take this as a left-handed compliment, certainly I do not have any objection to it. But, at the same time, the whole thing is not connected. But certain things happening in certain areas at least give the ordinary man an impression that other forces are working within the country, which are trying to create a situation of destabilisation. Duly elected governments are being asked to be dismissed and the President's Rule is demanded.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Who said so ? On the contrary, I said, "I am not demanding President's Rule. I want Union's intervention." It can be anything. For instance, tomorrow your Party may decide to change the Chief Minister. They have been changing so many Chief Ministers.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : It is my mistake that I have not properly understood you. If none of the hon. members is interested in having the President's Rule, why should I unnecessarily go into it ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : We do not want to trouble the President too much, Sir.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : If duly elected governments are going to be sacked and the manner in which it was being stated on the floor of the House...

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : As in Sikkim, as in Andhra Pradesh and as in Jammu and Kashmir...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please, Mr. Unnikrishnan, do not interrupt.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Right to interruption is there.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It is there only if he yields and not otherwise.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : So you would like the same thing to be repeated. Mr. Unnikrishnan would like the same thing to be repeated here. You won't like to have double standards.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : That is exactly what they want.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I do not think that any of the hon. members will have a wish that the Central Government should intervene in Andhra Pradesh, In Tripura and so on to see that the duly elected governments are sacked. I do not think that we can afford to have double standards. I do not think that the situation as is prevailing in Gujarat should be allowed to deteriorate. On the other hand, we should help them in coming to a normal situation. One of the sinister motives and in fact I am rather intrigued on that issue—seems to be that there is a systematic effort to see that the police organisation is also blamed in such a manner and demoralised so that it becomes ineffective. I am not going to subscribe to the kind of actions which they have resorted to. On the other hand, I have made it absolutely clear in my statement and if you have gone through the statement, you would have noticed it. Whatever be the provocation—and provocation in fact was there, there is no doubt it, but at the same time—the uniformed service is not supposed to behave in the way in which they have behaved. There is no doubt about it.

I may also say this that Government is not against freedom of press. Maximum freedom is being enjoyed by the press in this country and there should be no question of putting any curb on their freedom.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : What is the decision of the Press Council regarding stopping of advertisements to *Gujarat Samachar* ?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I do not think that all things concerning Gujarat should be decided by the Home Ministry or the Government of India. On all those other matters which have been discussed here, if Gujarat Government is competent to take whatever proper decisions, we would not like have any backward precedent being created by

our interfering in the normal functioning of the State Government. We would like to give them full freedom. They are also created under the Constitution; they know what their rights and responsibilities are, and it would not be proper on the part on the Central Government to interfere in their day-to-day affairs. If there are major issues on which we would like to use our good offices, certainly we do that. Matters of this nature sometimes are being discussed; and thereafter, I would not be surprised if similar matters are also raised by other Members, and if there is a temptation to raise those issues here, and have some kind of a discussion. Then it would be very difficult for the Government also to resist any such move on the part of anyone else.

I do not propose to dilate any more. I think on some of the points, I have tried to clarify the position. But again I will appeal to all the sections of this House and through you, Sir, to the people of Gujarat particularly : Gujarat has enjoyed a very good reputation in matters of administration, and in matters of development. It is a very good, industrially advanced State. In other developmental matters, they have done excellent work. So, this kind of an image which is being tried to be created, I hope, would be a temporary phase which would be erased within the shortest possible time; and every effort should be made to see that we approach the problem, not with any vindictiveness, but in a spirit of goodwill, in a spirit of understanding. Even if the students or anyone else has committed a mistake, let us be generous and large-hearted, and see that we begin a new chapter with a spirit of understanding. This kind of a message, I am sure, with the assistance and cooperation of all the sections of this House, will be carried to the people of Gujarat.

I am totally opposed to the two substitute motions which have been tabled here. I oppose them, and request the movers of those substitute motions kindly to withdraw them. If they do not withdraw them, I would request the House to reject them.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Only one crucial point : the Press has been attacked for the first time; the press has been burnt. They have picked up three papers. Therefore, I want to know from him; just as he has tried to link up the agitation with

the atrocities, and the attacks with violence, similarly, is it not a fact that because these three papers viz. *Gujarat Samachar*, *Indian Express* and *Jasatta* exposed the atrocities of the Police, and because in the Mrugesh case on the stadium matter, they had opposed, the Chief Minister, that is why advertisements have been stopped, and that is why the matter is before the Press Council? All these things are inter-linked. Is this a fact or not? He is refusing to clarify this point, and in his entire statement, he has not at all condemned the attack on the Press. Read it carefully. He has not condemned the attack—not a word. Even now he has not condemned.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Reddy, do you want to seek any clarification?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Mahbubnagar) : I would like to know whether the Home Minister has seen a news item in the *Indian Express* this morning about the statement of Mr. Solanki to the effect that he would not take action against the policemen who led the attack on the Press, because their feelings were hurt, and their feelings were hurt by the news item that appeared in the newspapers? Does the Government of India subscribe to this policy line?

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I do not have the authentic copy of the statement made by the Chief Minister. I will try to find out, and ascertain the facts from him. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Mr. Solanki has refused to condemn the attack on the Press; on the country, he has condoned the attack in so many words. He refused to take action against the police. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara) : Did he condemn the attack on the Press? (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I request all of you not stand like this. All of you please sit down.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please all of you sit down.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Let the Home Minister stand up and condemn it for failure. (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No, I cannot compel him. I request all of you to sit down. He is on his legs. I cannot allow all of you here. If you don't listen, I will put it to the vote. If everybody is standing like this, I cannot allow.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : If you take all the clarifications together, he is likely to forget that. He has forgotten the question which I raised. Shall I repeat it? (Interruptions). It is a very serious thing. There is cause-effect relationship—the attack on the Press and the issue before the Press Council and the exposure of the police authority.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have already put your question. Definitely, he would have known about it. But he is not interested in replying to these things.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : He is not reacting to the boycott of the Press this morning. You are not condemning the attack on the Press, The whole nation's Press boycotted the proceedings of Parliament for two hours; and we raised it on the Floor of the House and the government did not react to it. Mr. Salanki refused to condemn the attack on the Press. (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If the hon. Minister wants to say anything about it.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I would not be able to clarify about it. I do not know about the facts; I do not have the details.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Why have you come here for a discussion? You brought the motion.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : I don't think that it is a connected matter. All the connected matters, I am prepared to clarify. The few points which were raised, if you see paragraph 11 of my statement yesterday, I made a very clear statement condemning all kind of violence including... (Interruptions).

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Specifically you have nothing to say about it; you don't want to condemn the attack on the Press. That is the point, not violence. (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Let him finish.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Let

him at least make an obituary reference to the Press that was dead in Ahmedabad. He does not say even now; he does not feel about it. (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

SHRI V. TULSIRAM (Nagerkurnool) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am asking the same thing. The hon. Minister spoke so long but he spoke only on the report of his Department and the police.

The whole press has been set on fire and the pressmen and other people have been beaten up and looted there. The Government have failed to maintain law and order there. But he has no report about that. He is giving an evasive reply. The hon. Minister should enlighten us in this regard.

[*English*]

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : I would like to know...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. I cannot allow others.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Be chivalrous !

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You may yield to the lady Member.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I cannot yield to you also. I will proceed further.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : I would like to know...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I request you to please sit down. You already spoke. Nothing will go on record, whatever she speaks.

(*Interruptions*)**

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I have given a substitute motion. I believe I have a right to reply.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : No. There is no right of reply. Do you want to withdraw your substitute motion ?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : The Home Minister has appealed to me that I should withdraw the substitute motion. But in the light of what Mr. Swell has said, I press my motion.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I shall now put the substitute motion moved by Prof. Madhu Dandavate to the vote of the House :

The question is :

"This House having considered the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on 23rd April, 1985 regarding Ahmedabad situation, condemns the unprecedented violence and arson in Ahmedabad, atrocities by the Police and their violence against the Press and total breakdown of the constitutional machinery in Gujarat State and recommends that the Union Government should immediately and effectively intervene to bring normalcy in Ahmedabad."

The motion was put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Jaipal Reddy, are you pressing your substitute motion ?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY : Since the Home Minister consistently refused to condemn the attack on the Press. I press it.

16.00 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I will now put the Substitute Motion No. 2, moved by Shri S. Jaipal Reddy, to the vote of the House.

The question is :

"This House, having considered the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs in the House on 23rd April, 1985 regarding Ahmedabad situation, takes note of the collapse of and defiance by law enforcing machinery in Gujarat and calls upon the Government of India to intervene to restore normalcy in the State."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Substitute Motion is negatived. Now we take up papers laid on the Table.

Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh.