

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

its verdict. Why do you embarrass an hon. Member who has come forward to assist you in the matter, Sir?

MR. SPEAKER: Kindly sit down. If you are not satisfied, I divest myself of that procedure; I put it before any Leader of the Opposition Mr. Patel, Mr. Sezhiyan, anybody.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: The only point that I wanted to make was. The Minister might have been more careful in the statement that he made.

MR. SPEAKER: He should have been. That is not deliberate.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Parliament is being treated with utmost regard and contempt. That is why, Sir, the Ministers do not hesitate to come out with untruths everyday, morning, afternoon, evening. You must be very firm with these people who are constantly telling,—I won't say lies because that would be unparliamentary,—unmixed untruths.

MR. SPEAKER: If I had to go by your advice, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu you will be the only Member left inside this House; everybody will be out.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.): When I was entering into the Parliament House I had an unusual scene and that is this. The main gate was almost closed. Only there was one small passage; only one person can get in.

MR. SPEAKER: You must have brought some of your guests along with you.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: They did not allow my taxi to enter. When I asked why have you done it, then they allowed me. I want to know from you because you are the custodian. There was a large contingent of Police. I want to know whether they have taken your permission or not, whether they have done it under your instructions or not. Am I not entitled to know as Member whether they had done it under your instructions or not?

MR. SPEAKER: Quite often, without my permission or any intimation to me, please don't raise such matters. You cannot raise this matter offhand without previous intimation to the Speaker.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Unusual and unprecedented sudden situation arises and how can I give you previous notice? I could not enter into the taxi and when I said they opened it. This is an unusual thing.

MR. SPEAKER: Don't raise this matter. You can write to me.

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी (कानपुर)
श्री जीव गेट के बारे में माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है उस गेट का कुछ इन्तजाम कीजिये वह चार आदमियों से नहीं खुलता मैं सड़के को धाया था तो मैं और मेरे टैक्सी ड्राइवर उस को हिला नहीं सके। उस गेट को ऐसा तो बनाइये जिस से वह आसानी से खुल सके। चार आदमियों से भी वह मुश्किल से खुलता है।

MR. SPEAKER: Next item. Shri Mirdha.

12.29 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION Re:
APPROVAL OF PROCLAMATION
IN RELATION TO THE STATE
OF GUJARAT

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSON-
NEL (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA):
Sir, I beg to move:

"That this, House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 9th February, 1974 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Gujarat."

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore):
Dikshitji is not here; his name is put down.

MR. SPEAKER: He has informed me that he will not be able to come.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): Why, Sir?

MR. SPEAKER: He gave me advance intimation.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: What was the reason, Sir?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-
TARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU
RAMAIAH). This matter came up be-
fore the B.A.C. also. I submitted
then—you were also present then—that
Dikshitji will be busy in the
other House; today they are discussing
it. (Interruptions). Just hear me
please He is to reply there. Today
proceedings are going on there and he
has to reply. We requested Mr.
Mirdhaji to be here Accordingly he
is here

MR. SPEAKER: Time allotted for
this discussion is whole day, 5 hours

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Ra-
japur). I am rising on a point of
order. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Order please. Let
it go on.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
Sir, I am on a point of order. That
is about the procedural matter in re-
gard to the Statutory Resolution. This
is a serious matter It would set a
precedent for the future. The hon.
Minister has already placed before
the House a Statutory Resolution ap-
proving the Proclamation issued by
the President.

Sir, I have already submitted to the
Secretary-General of Lok Sabha an
alternate motion.

MR. SPEAKER: That motion is not
in order.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
The officers informed me that that

particular alternate motion has not
been in order. Now, in this House,
we had been quoting precedents from
the House of Commons also. I think
I can quote a precedent from the Up-
per House in this Parliament.

Sir, permit me to raise my point of
order.

MR. SPEAKER: When you antici-
pate a discussion, an adjournment
motion cannot be allowed.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
In the Rajya Sabha, on an adjourn-
ment motion one Member moved an
alternate motion on the same lines on
which I have given. He was permit-
ted to move the alternate motion and
he was allowed to reply to the debate
and the motion was put to the vote.
In this House, why is my alternate
motion not allowed to be moved? That
is my point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: The other day,
when you brought the adjournment
motion, I had allowed it You were
not in proper strength and you your-
self requested that you do not want
to pursue it. Why is your memory
so short? The next week you forget
it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
What is your ruling?

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot bring
it up. That was all decided in this
House that a discussion will come up
today. Why do you raise it now?

May I tell you that this Motion is
a negative motion it is a censure mo-
tion. Why do you bring it now?
When this motion was brought last
week, we all took it up in the Busi-
ness Advisory Committee and we had
decided about it. In spite of that, if
you press that, I cannot allow it since
there is already an anticipated dis-
cussion on it in the form of a motion.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:
I now seek your clarification about
that.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI (Sajapur): In the Rajya Sabha the alternate motion was admitted. Why is it not allowed here?

MR. SPEAKER: I am going back on it. I am going to allow it. Please sit down. You read your adjournment motion. Don't quote it. Why do you quote it?

Last time I allowed you. In the Business Advisory Committee it was decided that this discussion would come up today. Why have you brought an identical motion again?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let me clarify the point. In the past I was told that this alternate motion amounts to an amendment which negatives the original motion. Leaving aside what happened last week, I want to know the procedure for the guidance for all times to come. Will you treat the alternate motion as a negative motion?

MR. SPEAKER: Why do you go on repeating it again?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not ask for an adjournment or anything of that sort. I wanted to add one sentence to what is already there, namely, that this House calls upon the President to dissolve the Gujarat Assembly and hold an election immediately. What is the harm in it?

MR. SPEAKER: Please sit down. This motion will be moved by him and this was the decision taken in the Committee where you are all represented and wherein you took this decision. I am going to allow it if you press it now. If you want it, let it come again. And if you again press it, I am going to allow it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I want a ruling for all times to come whether any such motion should be treated as an amendment to the ori-

ginal motion and whether that is admissible or not.

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot move an independent motion which goes against the decision of this House. It is not about the adjournment motion but it is about the disapproval of Proclamation.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I am asking the Government through you to add one sentence:

"That this House calls on the President to dissolve the Gujarat Assembly and hold the elections there immediately".

MR. SPEAKER: This is a statutory resolution for disapproval of the Proclamation and he wants to introduce it.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA. On the 21st February, the House has been furnished with an account of the details of the agitation and violence that had taken place in Gujarat recently. The loss of lives, the destruction of properties, the arson and loot and the suffering to which the people had been exposed, have caused us deep anguish. The Prime Minister while replying to the debate on President's Address has already referred to the broader aspects of this whole question and it would be wholly unnecessary for me to traverse the same ground again.

The whole country has been passing through a phase of acute shortages of essential commodities, foodgrains and economic hardship on account of rise in prices, and Gujarat has not been an exception. It is common knowledge that some political parties have been seeking systematically to exploit for their own ends the difficulties experienced by the people.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: It is absolutely nonsense.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: In Gujarat also, these agitations began in December, in the form of bands, demonstrations, etc. Not all of them were entirely peaceful. Determined efforts were made also by other interested groups to add to the economic difficulties in Gujarat. The involvement of students and teachers added a new dimension to the whole agitation.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No. No.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: While anti-social elements and interested political parties were undoubtedly exploiting the agitation for their own partisan ends, the agitation also included some motivated by considerations with which no one could quarrel. The manner in which the agitation as a whole was handled, the manner in which the deeper causes were being tackled and the grievances were being attended to resulted in a serious dissatisfaction within the Congress Party in Gujarat over the leadership in the party. All this is in public knowledge. Sir, we in the Union Government were faced with a very difficult set of problems. On the one hand, the Union Government... (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. Please sit down. I am not allowing anything. May I request you to listen to the hon. Minister?

If you go on like this, there will be no end. Nothing can be transacted. Will you please sit down or not?

Please sit down. You cannot interrupt like this. I have not allowed anything. I have not allowed any member to interrupt the Minister.

May I request you to let the House proceed?

He is deliberately interrupting the proceedings. Please do not do it. The hon. Member is deliberately interrupting the proceedings.

Please sit down. Parliament is not for shouting and abusing each other. Parliament is for discussing matters. You should not go on like this.

I have to bring to your notice that this member is deliberately interrupting the proceedings.

May I request you not to disturb the proceedings but to listen to each other? Whatever you do not like you have still to listen, and whatever you say they should listen. But if you go on like this, there is no use fixing this debate.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): You are right in saying that Parliament is not for shouting. But Parliament is not also for hearing lies from the Minister.

MR. SPEAKER: When your turn comes, you may reply to that. Please do not try to spoil the atmosphere. When your turn comes, you say what you like to say. But if you think that one or two members can interrupt the proceedings of the House, there is no use having this debate.

Please sit down. You are deliberately doing it.

Either let us have this debate or I will adjourn the House. If you allow this member to interrupt the proceedings like this, we will have it some other time.

Will you please sit down?

This member has gone too much. If you are not in a position to listen to my voice, your duty is to leave the House.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: On the one hand, the Union Government had to take note of the difficulties of a lawfully constituted Government enjoying a massive support in the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, the dissatisfaction within the Party as well as amongst the com-

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mon people was also something which we had to take note of. We considered it our duty to render all reasonable assistance to the lawfully constituted Government and provided such assistance without any hesitation. But as the Prime Minister had pointed out, we had to take note at the Party level of the increase in the loss of credibility and confidence.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members of the Opposition, I am very sorry he is holding up the proceedings. Either you control him or ask him to go out.

Mr. Bosu, either you sit quiet, or, if you are not listening to my advice, the only thing left is, I will have to follow the rules.

What should I do? May I seek the advice of the House?

Either you control him or I will have to adjourn the debate.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Sir, may I make a submission?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no question of submission. No debate on this. Either he should behave or we do not proceed with the business. He is not the only man here for the people.

No, please. I am not allowing him. I have not called him.

Now, please sit down. This is Parliament. If he is going to resort to shouting and if he thinks that by shouting any matters can be settled, I will decide in favour of the person who makes the most noise and shouts! There is one person here, and there are 300 persons on the other side. Please sit down.

May I tell you that you will have to keep quiet. If he goes on like this—and you are equally responsible for the proceedings—I am sorry I cannot allow it. The only alternative

left is to follow the procedure.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Sir, it was under these circumstances and at the party level that we had to ask the Chief Minister, Shri Chimanbhai Patel, to resign. In doing so, we were guided, our party was guided, only by the larger interests of the State and not by any narrow political considerations. It was only at that State that the Union Government as such, in terms of the Constitution, in terms of the democratic ways of life, could step in and when the Chief Minister had submitted his resignation, it was abundantly clear to the Governor that there was no alternative to fill the constitutional vacuum. The normal constitutional machinery had broken down at the State level and the Governor, therefore, recommended that we advise the President to accept his recommendation that the provisions of article 356 should be invoked in relation to Gujarat.

There cannot be a clearer case where Proclamation under article 356 is the only answer and this Proclamation will receive the whole-hearted support of the House. We have made it clear that there can be no question of forming any Government in Gujarat and that dissolution does not at this stage involve any question of policy or principle nor is it a question of prestige for us. The only question it involves at this stage is whether the constitutional decisions are going to be forced, whether the constitutional proprieties are going to be completely abdicated and, in doing so, whether we would be justified in creating a situation that would be wholly against the spirit and practice of constitutional democracy. When the situation is far from normal, when violence is still pervasive, the first task will obviously have to be to restore peace and restore normalcy. Once normalcy is restored, all other questions will naturally claim our urgent and prompt attention. I have no desire to go into the details of the incidents

of arson, loot and violence which have continued even after the imposition of the President's rule in Gujarat. Unfortunately, there have been losses of several innocent lives and extensive damage to properties

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): On a point of order. He has said that so many lives were lost. How many lives were lost?

MR. SPEAKER: You will have a number of opportunities to speak. There is no point of order involved in this. He is asking for information; there is no point of order.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Our sympathies are with those who have suffered and our duty is to bring back normalcy so that the more urgent problems facing the State and the country could be given our undivided attention. The law and order machinery and the police in the State have been functioning under unprecedented pressure and strain and I would appeal to all sections of the House and through the House to the people of Gujarat to condemn violence and assist in the restoration of an atmosphere of sanity and peace.

There have been some signs of improvement in the situation and if this continues, I have no doubt that the Government will go into the merits of the other problems which undoubtedly agitate the minds of the people in Gujarat and we can certainly take a decision on what to do in the future. But at this stage, I appeal to the House to approve the Proclamation that was issued under the circumstances on which there can be no difference of opinion, looking to the circumstances prevailing at that time.

Sir, I commend the Resolution for the acceptance of the House.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Be truthful and tell us how many lives were lost? I have risen on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: He is asking for information; it is not a point of order.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contal): On a point of order. According to the rules when the Speaker is on his legs, nobody should stand.

MR. SPEAKER: That is what you do.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Several times, when you were on your legs the hon. Minister went on reading his statement.

MR. SPEAKER: I have called him and I have allowed him. I asked the others who interrupted him to sit down.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am making a submission to you that the hon. Minister continued to read his statement, even while you were on your legs and making some remarks. We could not therefore hear what he said at those times. Will you please ask him to read out those portions again?

MR. SPEAKER: If others interrupt him, I have a right to ask them to resume their seats (*Interruptions*). Please deal with this motion according to the procedure. Why are you interrupting like this?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: At least allow these two lines to be added.

MR. SPEAKER: This is not the stage.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: When is the stage? I had sent it already, two days back.

MR. SPEAKER: If you had sent it already, then it will be allowed.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: That is the second one; because you may not accept it I sent the second one.

MR. SPEAKER: You give it at the Table.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Even on Friday I had given notice.

MR. SPEAKER: If you had given it on Saturday, it will be accepted.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI (Gandhinagar): I am asking for facts.

MR. SPEAKER: Will you please sit down now?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: What is the number of deaths in the police firings? How many people were killed?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Sir, you kindly read what I have said. I do not know what is the harm if you allow me to move this. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: When we had already decided that the Government Motion is to be taken up, why do you say all this?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I want to add this line in the Government Motion.

MR. SPEAKER: You give it to the Office. I will see to it. I cannot give you an off-hand decision on this.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: You have allowed it.

MR. SPEAKER: I did not allow it.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: We want the Minister to give us the factual details as to how many people were killed by the police.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: On behalf of the public, we want the hon. Minister to tell us as to how many people were killed.

MR. SPEAKER: He will give the facts when he replies.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: He must give the facts at least.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: Why don't you ask the Minister to give the details?

MR. SPEAKER: Why should I ask? You ask for the details in your speeches. I am not sitting here for seeking information. Kindly sit down.

Resolution moved:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 9th February, 1974 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Gujarat."

SHRI NOORUL HUDA (Cachar): Sir, it is about two months since the situation in the Gujarat State took a grave turn. The events leading to continuous turmoil in the State deserve close attention of the House. Already, Sir, more than hundred innocent lives have been taken by police firing and army action. The blood bath continues even today. The latest reports say that there was police firing yesterday. Nobody seems to know how many people have been injured. Thousands have been arrested and detained under MISA and on other criminal charges. Students' education has been disrupted; educational institutions have been closed; employees and workers are on strike with little signs of improvement in the situation in the near future.

Sir, in spite of the barrage of propaganda let loose by the Government agencies and other vested interests, the chain of events leading to the most extensive, prolonged and continuous upsurge of the people of Gujarat is becoming clear day by day. It all started with hungry and poverty-stricken people in the State demanding food at reasonable prices and protesting against steep and continuous price rise, and against large scale corruption and blackmarketing resorted to by highly-placed people in the State. I wish to ask the hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Home Minis-

ter and other Central Government leaders a simple question. Is it a crime to demand food at reasonable prices? Is it violence to protest against the steep and continuous price rise of all essential commodities? Have the people of Gujarat, the land of Mahatma Gandhi and a traditional stronghold of the ruling party, committed a sin by demanding the end of corruption and a corrupt regime?

13.00 hrs.

It is only natural that the students should take a lead in this mass upsurge. At the outset, during the beginning of this month, college students in Ahmedabad and Morvi demonstrated against the excessive rise in food prices and increased food bills in the hostels. This was considered a crime by the thoroughly inept, inefficient, callous and corrupt State Government of Gujarat and at its instance the police beat up the students mercilessly. Tens of thousands of students rose in protest by observing strikes and staging demonstrations. Clashes between the students and the police became a routine affair and the turmoil spread to Baroda, Surat and other places.

What was the food situation in the State at that time. Why did the administration fail to provide the minimum requirement of foodgrains to the people? If the Government means business and desires that the Gujarat type of turmoil is not repeated in other parts of the country, this should be gone into in some depth.

It was officially announced that the State Government had procured only 6,000 tonnes of bajra against a target of 1 lakh tonnes and only 14,000 tonnes of paddy against a target of 1.75 lakh tonnes. Production of wheat in Gujarat was officially estimated at 5 lakh tonnes, the marketable surplus was put at 1.75 lakh tonnes but the procurement of wheat was a mere 1,000 tonnes. What had led to such poor procurement? The reason was

that the State Government had completely surrendered to the unholy combine of big land owners, profiteers and hoarders. More and more concessions were granted to this combination and the loud talk of take over of wholesale trade in wheat was given a go-by. It became a cruel joke on the hungry people of Gujarat. In spite of a bumper crop of groundnuts, 50 per cent of the crop went underground and it was a paradise for dishonest traders and hoarders. It was freely talked about that the groundnut oil magnets had contributed liberally, to the extent of Rs. 52 lakhs, to the Congress election fund. If the sugar barons could contribute crores of rupees in exchange of increased sugar prices, why should the oil magnets lag behind? I charge the Congress leaders of Gujarat State, where so much of innocent blood has been spilled, of exporting and smuggling out of Gujarat vanaspati ghee, foodgrains, wheat, paddy etc. to Gulf countries where prices rule much higher, and I include in these Congress leaders the ex-Chief Minister, ex-Ministers, MLAs and other party leaders. This was done obviously in connivance with the Central Government. These people made money and, in effect, let the people of the State face starvation and sure death.

Under these circumstances, what was the role of the Central Government? Did it intervene to save the people from facing starvation? Did it feel it necessary to rush food to feed the hungry mouths in the unhappy State of Gujarat? Nothing of the kind. It was inglorious on the part of the Central Government to cut down foodgrains supplies to a mere 15,000 tonnes per month whereas the minimum requirement of the State was about 70,000 tonnes per month. So, the protest movement of the students and the ordinary people engulfed the whole State.

The trade union committees and the students' unions called for a Bandh on the 10th January, 1974 against police repression and in support of

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the people's demand for food. The starving people went to shops where grains were hoarded and demanded food at cheap price. They were shot down mercilessly. Protest actions spread like wild fire. In Ahmedabad, Rajkot, Surat and other places, the police let loose severe repression. Firing and tear-gas shelling went on a large scale. The police resorted to indiscriminate firing and lathi-charging. Curfew was imposed on all important towns and on thousands of people of Gujarat. Gandhiji's Gujarat was virtually turned into a big concentration camp. Beatings, shootings and assaults on innocent people began. There were several persons, men and women and students, who took the lead against the repressive action of the police. The people learnt about these atrocious events on the next morning, that is, 11th January. The trade union committees and the Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti called for Gujarat Bandh on 25th January along with boycott of Government functions on the next day, that is, on the Republic Day.

Dozens of towns observed local bandhs prior to 25th January. Rejecting the ignoring communal sentiments which were attempted to be roused by vested interests and administrative wings of the State Government, the people continued their fight with courage and determination for food, against price rise, repression and rampant corruption. Curfew was clamped on 50 towns and cities. The bandh was total on 25th January. Everything came to a standstill for 36 hours. The Government started arresting students, leaders of leftist political parties under MISA and on other charges.

The 14th August Committee and the Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti called out State-wide programme demanding dissolution of the Assembly and the resignation of the Ministry. The situation could have been retrieved if the Central Government had acted

in its wisdom and in time. But as the saying goes, Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning. The hon. Home Minister, without caring to visit Gujarat and being very busy collecting funds for U.P. and Orissa elections deemed it fit to state to the press that the trouble in Gujarat was not due to the popular discontent arising out of failure of public distribution system but that it was engineered by certain right Opposition parties. Of course, his own Minister of State contradicted this in the Rajya Sabha later.

I would like to draw your attention to the "Indian Express" dated 17th January, 1974 which let the cat out of the bag when it wrote:

"The Central leaders feel that any change in Gujarat at this stage would not help the forthcoming elections in U.P., Orissa, Pondicherry and Manipur."

Sir, the elections were more important to the Central Government leaders than the responsibility of feeding hungry mouths. Can callousness and heartlessness go farther?

Our most illustrious Prime Minister got enough time and interest for laying scores of foundation stones for U.P. projects but she just did not care to devote her time and energy to bring the situation in Gujarat to normalcy. Not only that. She added fuel to fire when she declared that affluent people in Gujarat had stirred up the struggle. This is totally untrue, to say the least. I think the Prime Minister did not give any thought before uttering such silly remarks. It was a slander against the most popular upsurge among the people of Gujarat who have risen in protest against the contemptible misrule of State Congress Ministry.

13.10 hrs.

[SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SENHA in the Chair]

So, Sir, in the face of such attitude exhibited by the top Congress leaders.

including the hon. Prime Minister, the inevitable happened. Brutal atrocities were perpetrated against the students and ordinary innocent people of Gujarat who are known for their mild nature and law-abiding, peaceful temperament. Even during the worst period under the British regime, the people of Gujarat were never known for turbulence and trouble-making. This time the situation appeared so difficult that the army was called out to aid the civil administration.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may keep in view the fact that maiden speeches are ordinarily shorter than this.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: Sir, I wish to register a strong protest against the use of our army and military personnel for suppressing people's movement for food, against hunger, steep price rise and corruption at high places. This is a very dangerous precedent, and unless the Government puts a step to such indiscriminate misuse of army and military personnel, the future of democracy in our country is bleak indeed. If it is a communal riot or a riot against linguistic minorities as were witnessed in my home State of Assam the year before last and in U.P., Maharashtra and Karnataka recently, the Government hesitate to call out military personnel, but when it is a people's movement, where tens of thousands of people rise in protest against wrong policies of the Government, the administration unnecessarily drags in army units and military personnel to aid the civil authorities.

Sir, I ask the hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Defence Minister and the Central Government: is the defence budget being increased to about Rs. 2,000 crores for employing the army to suppress people's movement, to suppress the helpless, innocent, unarmed people as we have witnessed in the State of Gujarat? I repeat that employment of military personnel in such a situation, during a popular

mass upsurge, would create bad blood between the army and the people, and this should be avoided under all circumstances.

Sir, the President's rule was imposed on Gujarat after the worthless and corrupt Ministry was made to resign. May I ask the hon. Prime Minister whether they are not following a double standard? Because, in 1959, when the present Prime Minister was the President of the undivided Congress Party, certain sections of vested interests in Kerala, in league with communal and religious parties, started a so-called liberation struggle, and the Central Government under the pretext of a non-existent mass upsurge dismissed the Constitutionally-elected popular Ministry and dissolved the Assembly. Not even a fraction of the intensity and spread of the movement that we see in Gujarat today was there in Kerala. However, the imposition of President's rule in Gujarat has not solved any problem because the people's basic requirements have not been met yet. The Central Government as the ruling Party, should ponder deeply why, in spite of massive majorities which they had acquired, in U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and now Gujarat, the Ministries had to quit office. It is because, in my humble opinion, the Congress Party at the Centre and in the States are following policies at the dictate of and in the interest of big business-landlord combine, which policies are accentuating economic crises in depth causing untold miseries, semi-starvation and hunger among the toiling peasantry, working classes, employees, middle class intelligentsia and small and middle businessmen. As long as our rulers stick to their present anti-people policies, people's basic necessities cannot be met and political instability and critical situation would not only continue but aggravate in the days to come, no matter how big an electoral victory is achieved or managed by the ruling Congress Party at the Centre and in the States. This is a lesson

[Shri Nooraj Huda]

which our ruling party and the Government can ignore only at their peril.

Sir, all shades of opinion, including lakhs of textile workers, middle class employees, students, college and university teachers in Gujarat as well as democratic opinion all over the country have been consistently demanding dissolution of the present Assembly and holding of fresh elections. I ask the Government, why stand on false prestige? The Prime Minister is reported to have stated that the Government cannot succumb to public pressure and act under duress. She said that normalcy must return to the State before the next step can be taken. Sir, may I ask as to who are responsible for the so-called abnormal situation in Gujarat? Surely, not the people of Gujarat. Then, please dissolve the Assembly and face the electorate for a fresh mandate within a reasonably short time. Till yesterday, 74 legislators have already resigned from the Assembly and its effective strength has been reduced to about 94 in a house of 168 members.

I congratulate the people of Gujarat on their glorious struggle against hunger, poverty, price rise and all round corruption. All glory to those who have sacrificed their lives at the hands of a brutal administration.

I charge the Government for surrendering to the big land-owner-cum-hoarder-profitier combine against the basic common interest of the people of Gujarat.

I accuse the Government of India of inept handling of the Gujarat situation in the interests of narrow party considerations and for winning elections in Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and other places. I charge the Government with suppressing the people's democratic movement by employing the army and using MISA and other preventive detention Acts.

I would again ask the Prime Minister and the Government of India not to stand on false prestige, but dis-

solve the Assembly immediately, release all arrested persons without any conditions, rush food and check the price-rise and arrange for fresh elections as expeditiously as possible so that the people of Gujarat are afforded opportunities to elect representatives of their choice to run a clean and honest administration.

The Prime Minister should, instead of rendering gratuitous advice to the people to eschew violence, look closely into her own party affairs and follow a policy, which instead of pampering and enriching the big business landlord combine, would give some relief to the suffering and toiling millions of our countrymen.

Lastly, I would ask the hon. Prime Minister and the Central Government not to hoodwink the people of Gujarat, who, I am sure, will not give up their glorious struggle until the Assembly is dissolved and the dates for the fresh poll are fixed and announced.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): This Resolution gives us an opportunity to consider a very important situation that is prevailing in Gujarat and causing anxiety to the people in the whole country.

What has happened in Gujarat during the last few months could not have pleased any one in this country. Any person with even the slightest democratic sense would be shocked at what has happened in Gujarat. I am willing to concede that to begin with the movement in Gujarat had an element of spontaneity in which because there was a rise in prices, there was scarcity created on account of improper handling of the situation by the then Government, and therefore there was immediately a movement against high prices. Even today in the Question Hour it was said that although production of foodgrains last year in respect of kharif crop went to the extent of 23 lakhs tonnes as

against 15 lakh tonnes of the previous year, the State Government was unable to procure enough to meet the requirements of its own people in the State. Obviously it was a case of utter mismanagement. It is all right to ask the Central Government to rush food, but after all, the Central Government can rush food only when it itself gets food from the States. Now, a State like Gujarat which has produced 8 lakh tonnes more is not able to give anything to the Central pool, but asks the Centre to rush food. I am afraid it is failure of duty on the part of the State Government.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA:
It was Congress Government.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: My dear friend, I am not here defending anybody. When I say it was a failure of the State Government I am aware fully of the fact that it was a Congress Government. I know fully well, if it had been a Marxist Government things would have been worse. Thank God it is not a Naxalite Government. You shoot down the people in daylight, you enter their homes, take them out, murder them, that has been the history of your Naxalite movement. Therefore don't talk like this.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA:
Talk of Gujarat.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I am talking of Gujarat and when I am talking of Gujarat, don't interrupt me. Learn that much..

MR. CHAIRMAN: No interruptions please.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I said it was mismanagement. They could not procure enough food. Obviously there was something lacking and that was, they might have allowed their food to be taken out by vested interests, by agents of vested interests, etc. This was the state of affairs. There appears to be a sort of uncer-

tainty to begin with. People felt oppressed by the recent increased prices, scarcity of food in the fair-price shops and other shops and also other edible articles. But, Sir, let us now consider how the situation developed. At that time what was their demand? They wanted Chimanbhai to go out. This was their focal point and target. There was no demand for dissolution of the Assembly. But I will come to this later on. When it was said that Chimanbhai Patel's Government had failed to deliver the goods, after all, in such matters, no Central Government can take snap decisions against a Government which is popularly elected, which has overwhelming majority in the State Assembly, which is even within the party popularly elected. Therefore the Central Government waited and watched the situation in the State and took the decision to remove Chimanbhai Patel's Government. President's rule was brought in. Please see the Constitutional implication of this.

When there is President's Rule, the Government is not removed. This was also made clear that there was no desire to bring in any popular Government in place of President's Rule in the foreseeable future. For all practical purposes, what does this mean? It means that the President's Rule will continue. Therefore, is it the demand that the President's Rule should be removed? Or what do you want? In the present critical situation, it is obvious that you cannot hold fresh elections overnight. After all, even for the fresh elections, you will have to give more time. Normalcy will have to prevail before fresh elections are held. What is the fear of the people. The people want, as was rightly pointed out, according to you, fresh elections. If so, what is the objection of the people to restore normalcy? Government nowhere has said that they are against dissolving the Assembly. On the contrary the Prime Minister has said it very clearly.

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

The Government has never taken a stand that our mind is closed as far as dissolution issue is concerned. All that is being asked is this. Let there be normalcy. It will be necessary both for elections and also for dissolution of the Assembly as a step precedent to it. Therefore, I do not see the objection to it. You must realise that the movement does not appear to be the movement against price rise; the movement does not appear to be against hunger. Food-grains have been rushed. 50,000 tonnes of foodgrains have already been rushed. The movement now is to dissolve the Assembly. One section of the people says that they will not be satisfied with that also. They will march to Delhi and would want 'Indira Hatao'. The movement is in a different direction. The movement is an utterly politically-motivated movement. This demand for dissolving the Assembly cannot be the demand against the price rise. The demand to dissolve the Assembly is a politically motivated one. Tomorrow you may continue the agitation and you will not restore the normalcy because it is not in your own interest to have normalcy till fresh elections are held. You cannot guarantee there would be normalcy if the Assembly is dissolved tomorrow. All leaders today are provoking the people of Gujarat in the name of students. The movement is in the hands of the extremist forces. On one side there is marxist element.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: What about CPI?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: They are left out. The right extremists are R.S.S. Who were the persons who gheraoed the M.L.As?

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: Congressmen.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: The Jan Sangh people gheraoed and dragged out Shri Dinker Desai and shaved his head. Therefore, it is obvious that the movement is in the hands of extre-

mist forces who are making only political demands. When the President's rule was imposed Shri Chimanbhai was removed. That was your demand. Then immediately normalcy should have been restored. So, the movement is no more a movement of the people of Gujarat but the movement has gone into the hands of goondas and ruffians who are aided by the foreign agents.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: We could say that goondas or anti-social elements may have crept in. But it is wrong to say that the movement is in the hands of goondas.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I will accept the amendment suggested by my friend, Shri Mavalankar. But the fact remains that today this movement has gone off the track. In fact, there is no coherent movement. Is there any identifiable leadership that can deliver the goods? You must guarantee normalcy. That is the crux of the matter. Is there any leader worth the name—whether Morarji or somebody else—who can ensure normalcy? That is the test of leadership. Unless you do that, you will have no *locus standi* there because you will only be doing, as they say in Hindi:

बहती गंगा मे हाथ धाला ।

There is this violence, there is this pressure. It is populist and cheap to go and say 'we are the ones; we get the clap'. It is all right for you. But courage is necessary to face the people and say 'Please restore normalcy'. If normalcy is restored, it has been said by the Prime Minister himself—the Government's mind is open—that 'we are not having a closed mind on the issue of dissolution'. Therefore, I would submit it is the duty of all of us to ensure restoration of normalcy. There is no use losing lives and having these young men shot in the streets of Gujarat. Is it not the primary interest of all of us to see that normalcy is restored in Gujarat, that peace is restored in Gujarat?

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: First dissolution.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Can you guarantee that if there is dissolution, there will be no violence tomorrow? You cannot.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: Will the Prime Minister be able to put this before the people of Gujarat? The Gujarat people will never surrender

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You asked for Chimanbhai's dismissal. You had not asked for dissolution.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: We had.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Some people had asked.

Therefore, I would say that it is the primary duty of every patriotic, peace-loving citizen today to try to bring about normalcy in Gujarat. After normalcy is restored, I can assure you that all of us who believe in democracy can then even unite and request Government to dissolve the Assembly and hold fresh elections in due course.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: In due course!

SHRI VASANT SATHE: There will have to be some time required. In your mind, you will pressurise and say 'this date according to my convenience'.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: The people of Gujarat can never be cheated like that. They are intelligent.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Then you go on pressurising. If this is the attitude, I think it is a pure political attitude; it has nothing to do with the movement against price rise; it has nothing to do any more with the movement against hunger or shortage of foodgrain. It has become a pure political movement to take advantage of this situation for political ends. The Opposition may think that now in this

troubled time if there is election they may come into power. Therefore, they want to take advantage of this fire. They want to pour oil into the fire. That is their attitude.

Therefore, I entirely support the resolution of Government and the steps taken by Government and hope that Government will not yield to any blackmail of the Opposition.

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा (जयनगर) सभापति महोदय, पिछले दो दार्द-महीने से गुजरात की समस्या ने सारे देश का ध्यान अपनी ओर आकषित किया है, यद्यपि इस समय यह गुजरात का मामला दिखलाई पड़ रहा है, लेकिन वास्तव में यह गुजरात का ही मामला नहीं है, यह खतरा है, भाष्य नहीं तो कल सारे देश को शायद गुजरात का ही रास्ता अपनाता पड़े।

हमारे मित्र कांग्रेस के सदस्य ने ठीक कहा है—गुजरात की सरकार ने प्रबि पैदावार के बावजूद गल्ला बसूली वही की, क्यों नहीं की ?

कांग्रेस के टूटने के बाद भाष्य बहां इल्जाम श्री मोरारजी देसाई पर नहीं आ सकता है, पुरानी कांग्रेस तो बहा से चली गई थीर पूरी तरह से बहा नई कांग्रेस की सरकार बनी थी, नई कांग्रेस बहां जीत कर आई, लेकिन उस में बड़े जमाखोरों, कुलकस और भ्रूस्वामियों को टिकट दे कर, गाय-बछड़े के निशान पर मोहर लगावा कर लाया गया, जिस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि बोलस बदल गई लेकिन सराब बही पुरानी की। ये बड़े बड़े जमाखोरों ने नेता विधान सभा से पहुंचे, गुजरात की सरकार में पहुंचे श्रीह जम्होने गल्ला बसूली नहीं होने दी। ठीक बही बात आज फज्जदीन अली इहमद और क्रिष्णे साहब सारे देश में बड़े पैमाने पर कर रहे हैं, गल्ला बसूली को बोनंटाज कर रहे हैं। ये बहीं चाहते हैं कि पूरा गल्ला बसूली

[श्री श्रीमं. शं. भा.]

हो, मैं चाहते हैं कि बिदेशी से गल्ला आये और हमारे देश की जनता की आजादी दूसरे के पास बन्धक बन जाय। यही बात गुजरात की सरकार ने की। इस लिये सारे देश के लिये आज यह खतरा की घन्टी है जो गुजरात में बज रही है और सब को आज इस से सबक लेना चाहिये।

आज अगर सरकार यह समझती है कि गुजरात के मामले में हम जनता के दबाव से या आन्दोलन के दबाव में आ कर नहीं झुकेगे, हर काम अपनी मर्जी से करेंगे तो मैं तो यही कह सकता हूँ कि इस से न अपने को धोखा दिया जा सकता है और न दूसरो को। क्योंकि सभी जानते हैं कि आज गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन भारत सरकार की इच्छा से नहीं हुआ, प्रधान मंत्री का इच्छा से नहीं हुआ बल्कि गुजरात के जन-आन्दोलन के दबाव से हुआ है, वहाँ की जनता के दबाव से हुआ है। इसलिये जनता की इच्छा के सामने झुकने में शर्म की कौन सी बात है? यह गौरव की बात है। अगर आप पहले से न समझ सके, देर से ही सही, जनता की इच्छा की कद्र करो तो यह गौरव की बात है। और यह सोचना कि एक बार विधान सभा या लोक सभा चुनी गई तो पांच साल के लिये हम बादशाह बन गये, वह जमाना लद गया। यह 1969 के पहले का जमाना कुछ हद तक चला था, अब नहीं है। इसलिये गुजरात के हम सदन को यह सबक लेना है कि अगर महंगी बढ़ती गई चोर व्यापारियों को छूट मिलती गई और उन से पैसा लेकर चुनाव जीतते गये और अष्टाचार बढ़ता गया तो हम फिर पांच साल तक टिके रहेंगे, यह लोक सभा के लिये भी गारन्टी नहीं है। इसलिये जनतंत्र की रक्षा के लिये यह जरूरी है कि विधान सभा और लोक सभा के अन्दर जनप्रतिनिधियों की आवाज को अनसुनी न करे। जब नौजवान मजदूर किसान सड़कों पर प्रदर्शन पर आते

हैं तो उन की आवाज को अनसुनी नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर उन की आवाज को केवल गुंडों की आवाज कह दे तो सारे देश के लिये एक नया खतरा मोल लेंगे जिसे भारत सरकार नहीं सभाल सकेगी।

आज यह समझा जा रहा है कि गुजरात में जन-आन्दोलन अगर पुलिस के गोली कांड से नहीं दबा तो फौज को बुला लिया गया, इस तरह फौज को बुला लेना बहुत ही खतरनाक मामला है। सारा देश इस को जानता रहा है कि हमारी फौज देश की अन्दरूनी राजनीति से अलग रही है। यह हमारे लिये गौरव की बात है। लेकिन आज अगर राइफल को हम सड़कों पर ले आते हैं, जहाँ तक गुजरात की घटना है और जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है कोई ऐसी कार्यवाही बड़े पैमाने पर फौज ने नहीं की जिस से हिंसा हुई हो। हिंसा फैलाने का सारा सेहरा गुजरात की पुलिस के सर है। उस ने ही हत्याकांड किया। फौज के लोग गये, उन्हें भ्रम में रखा गया कि साम्प्रदायिक दंगे के लिये जा रहे हैं। और जब मालूम हुआ कि महंगी के खिलाफ मुनाफाखोरी के खिलाफ आन्दोलन है तो उन की हमदर्दी हुई। उन्होंने कई जगह चोर गोदामों को तोड़ने में न - निर्माण समिति के लोगों की मदद की। चोर गोदामों में गल्ला निकलवाने और उनका बटाराग कराने में उन्होंने मदद की। नव गुजरात सरकार ने उन्हें हिदायत दी कि नहीं चोर गोदामों का गल्ला बटारने में आप मदद नहीं दे सकते। तो जब फौज जनहित की ओर रुख बढ़ाने लगी थी तो उन्हें भी रोक दिया गया।

ममा पतिजी, एक बात मैं कतना चाहता हूँ जिससे मारा देश मनाब है और सरकार भी पर नहीं है। अगर फौज को सड़कों पर बुलाने हैं तो फौज के जवान भी गरीबों के बेटे हैं जिनको खेतों में कहा कि वह वर्षाकारी किसान हैं, वह जमींदारों

और अन्धों के बँटे नहीं हैं, बड़े पैमाने पर इस की सड़कों पर शीप लाएँगे तो उनके घर में भी नहीं है, उन की बीबी भी बेहोश हैं और अन्धों का असर उन पर भी है। इसलिए जब अन्धों के खिलाफ आन्दोलन और पकड़ रखा है और सरकार अन्धों को बड़ाने में लगी हुई है, भारत सरकार लगी हुई है, इस मामले में बिमनभाई पटेल की सरकार या श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार अन्धों बड़ाने में कोई कमी नहीं रख रही है, एक ही रास्ता है और व्यापारियों को खुली छूट दो, देहात और शहरों के गल्ला बोरों की पूरी छूट दो इस मामले में जिस खतरनाक गति से वह सरकार बढ़ती चली जा रही है, उस हालत में फ़ौज को ब्लाकर आप शक्ति कायम नहीं रख सकते हैं। अगर फ़ौजों को सड़कों पर ले जायेंगे मार्च करायेंगे और जनता पर गोली चलाने को कहेंगे तो खतरा भा सकता है कि वह अबाउट टन हो सकते हैं और राष्ट्रकल उलटा भी दे। और तब रोने के सिवाए कोई चारा नहीं रह जायगा। इसलिए फ़ौज को बनाने की जो बात है अभी भी भारत सरकार इस कदम को वापस ले और फ़ौज को बैरकों में वापस भेजे।

जहाँ तक गुजरात के आन्दोलन का मामला है इस को देश के करोड़पतियों के अबाधार ने ठीक से प्रसारित नहीं किया और शायद इसी के असर में माननीय साठे बोल गये कि गुजरात का आन्दोलन गुडों का आन्दोलन है। नवनिर्माण समिति, 14 अगस्त की कमेटी जो टूंड यूनिशन के मजदूरों की कमेटी थी उसने जो बच का आग्रहान किया था 10 जनवरी और 25 जनवरी को उन्होंने मांग की थी गल्ला बसूली करो और उसके लिये लेब; कं; दर बढ़ाओ जयाबा गल्ला बसूली; और सस्ती दर पर बितरण करो। उनकी यह मांग नहीं थी कि आप बिदेस से ही केवल गल्ला मगायें। उन की मांग थी अन्धों के खिलाफ, गल्ला बसूली

के पक्ष में सरकार बल्ला बसूली बढ़े, बीबी से करे, इसके पक्ष में आन्दोलन का और उनको कुचलने के लिए गोली चलायी गई। और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गुजरात में जो कांग्रेस की सरकार अभी थी, जो अभी काम नहीं कर रही है वह कांग्रेस की सरकार और बिरोधी बल के, जिस में हमारे विश्व संबन्धन कांग्रेस के भी हैं, उन में अतमेद नहीं था। गुजरात का खेदुत संघ, जो गुजरात के बड़े भूस्वामियों का संबन्धन है, उस के ही इकारे पर बिमनभाई पटेल और गुजरात कांग्रेस सभठन के नेता एक मत थे, और अजब जब सबाल उठाया जा रहा है कि गुजरात की सरकार हट गई, सभा भग करने की मांग पहले नहीं थी अब क्यों उठाया जा रही है, मालूम होता है, था हमारे मिल साठे साहब बड़ी ईमानदारी से इस मामले में आभवस्त है कि यह नई मांग उठी है। अगर उन्ही की बात को हम मान लें, गुजरात की सरकार ने गल्ला बसूली नहीं की, देहात और शहरों के गल्ला बोरों को खुली छूट दे दी तो गुजरात की सरकार बिमन भाई ही अबेले जिम्मेदार नहीं थ बल्कि पूरी विधान सभा जिम्मेदार थी। इसलिये अगर जनता कहती है कि इस विधान सभा में बीबी ही सरकार बनेगी जो पहले थी इसलिये इस को जाना है और नया चुनाव होना है तो बहुत ही तर्कपूर्ण मांग है कि इस को भग कर के नया चुनाव किया जाय।

किन्तु एक दूसरा खतरा पैदा हो रहा है और वह यह कि खुद भारत सरकार और इस मामले में अब राजनीति का इलाज एक और हिसाब से करने जा रही है। इन्होंने सोचा कि बम्बई में अन्धों के खिलाफ असतोष है तो शिव सेना से समझौता कर के कांग्रेस और शिव सेना का बोट मिला कर हम किसी तरह से जीत जायेंगे। नो अरिथमेटिक से इन्होंने पोलिटिक्स का इलाज करने की कोशिश की। और इन का प्बस माइन्स हो गया। मद्रास में इन्होंने संग 5 न कांग्रेस के नेता थी

to Gujarat

[श्री भोगेन्द्र झा]

कामराज से समझौता करने की कोशिश की और जब इलाज राजनीतिक, आर्थिक हैं देहात और शहर के जमाखोरों पर चोट की जाय, जिस के नाम पर कांग्रेस ने 1969, 1971 और 1972 में आपने वोट लिया था, तो लोग मांग कर रहे हैं कि उस वायदे को निभाओ तब इस का इलाज अब देसी हिसाब से किया जा रहा है। गुजरात में भी सांठगांठ करने की कोशिश हो रही है। तो मद्रास में सांठगांठ का इलाज आप ने देख लिया। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और श्री कामराज का मिला जुला फोटो जनता को गुमराह नहीं कर सका, बम्बई का भी नतीजा देख लिया, कांग्रेस और शिव सेना की मिली हुई शक्ति आप को नहीं बचा सकी, और गुजरात में यह षड़यन्त्र चल रहा है कि मोरारजी देसाई को वापस लाया जाय गाय बछड़े में, और यह साजिश चल रही है। क्या इसी के लिये भारत सरकार समय मांग रही है कि अभी विधान ममा भंग नहीं करेंगे शायद मोरारजी भाई का हृदय परिवर्तन हो जाय और वह कांग्रेस में आ जायें। क्या इसीलिये समय मांगा जा रहा है? गुजरात में भी महंगी पर चोट नहीं कर के और मुनाफाखोरी पर चोट नहीं कर के केवल पुराने लोगों को बुला कर इस संकट का हल निकाला जाय यह साजिश तो नहीं चल रही है और इसलिये तो इन्तजाम नहीं किया जा रहा है? अगर ऐसा ही हुआ तो मर्ज गुजरात का ही नहीं रह जायगा और न इलाज गुजरात का रह जायगा।

सारे देश के पैमाने पर जो महंगी बढ़ रही है इस को आप रोक नहीं पायेंगे। अगर पार्लियामेंट सही रास्ते पर कदम बढ़ाती है, जनतंत्र को चालू रखती है, जनहित के मुताबिक काम करती है और मुनाफाखोरी पर चोट करने की हिम्मत कर सकती है तो जायग आप का साथ देंगे, जैसे 1969, 1971 और 1972 में साथ दिया था।

लेकिन जो खतरा मालूम पड़ रहा है, जो चिमन भाई पटेल ने वहां किया या जो भारत सरकार का अन्न मंत्रालय मौन रहा है कि जो भी अन्न को उगाही की जा रही है वह भी नहीं की जाएगी, देश को विदेश के इशारे पर रखा जायेगा। अमरीका के उप-राष्ट्रपति फ्रॉड साहब को निमन्त्रण दिया जा रहा है, एक बार बाजरा मंगाया तो धतूरे का बीज आया, अब पता नहीं कौन से धतूरे का या दूसरा बीज मंगाया जायगा इस तरह एक नए खतरे की साजिश अगर चल रही है तो मैं इस सदन के सभी सदस्यों को आगाह कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जो हाल चिमनभाई पटेल का हुआ है वही हाल सारे देश में इस संसद के सदस्यों का भी होने वाला है, जो हाल गुजरात असेम्बली के माननीय सदस्यों का हुआ है वही यहां के सदस्यों का भी होने वाला है। एक सदस्य के धाल काट कर, उसका नुंह काला करके उसको गधे पर चढ़ाने की वहां तैयारियां हो रही हैं। इस तरह की घटनाओं के लिए इस सदन के सदस्यों को भी तैयार रहना पड़ेगा। अगर जो समस्याएँ हैं उनका निदान आपने नहीं किया, जो वादे आपने किये थे उनको पूरा आपने नहीं किया, तो हमारा भी वही हाल होगा। इन वायदों के बल पर आप यहां जीत कर आये हैं। अगर इनको आपने पूरा नहीं किया तो गुजरात विधान ममा के सदस्यों का जो हाल हो रहा है वह यहां के सदस्यों का भी होगा। इनको आप प्रतिष्ठा का स्वाल न बनाएं। आप कहते हैं कि आप दबाव में आकर काम नहीं करेंगे। गुजरात सरकार को क्या आपने दबाव में आ कर भंग नहीं किया? जनता का दबाव क्या आप पर नहीं पड़ा था और तब आपने वहां राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू नहीं किया था? वह एक अकलमन्दी का काम आपने

किया। वह अकलमन्दी का काम आपका नहीं। कदम चलाए जायें। जनता की आवाज को ध्यान में रखते हुए ही अकलमन्दी का काम करे।

समाजिक महोदय, आज मैं कि वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति वासन है उन भी विमल भाई पटेल की नीतियों पर ही चलते रहे हैं। आज भी मुनाफाखोरों को बहुत गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जा रहा है, और बाकायदियों को गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जा रहा है, जमाखोरों को गिरफ्तार नहीं किया जा रहा है, उनके खिलाफ कड़े कदम नहीं उठाए जा रहे हैं। नव निर्माण समिति ही नहीं वहाँ का जन गण शक्ति है। वह समझता है कि न तो आपकी नीति बदली है और न ही नीयत बदली है। आपके ही दल के एक सदस्य ने कहा है कि मुनाफाखोरों को आपने जेल में नहीं डाला है। आन्दोलनकारी जो मांग करते हैं और जो बहुत जायज मांग है उनको आप गुंडों की सजा दे रहे हैं। जन गण का यह आन्दोलन है लेकिन हमारे दीक्षित जी जो उनके मन में आता है कह देते हैं। वह कह रहे हैं कि गुंडे ये सब काम कर रहे हैं। मुनाफाखोरों को आप जेलों में डालें, गलाखोरों को जेल में डालें, देहानों में जो बड़े उत्पादक हैं, उन से आप गला वसूल करें। इस तरह के काम जो राष्ट्रशासन काल में होने चाहिये वे वह भी नहीं हो रहे हैं। ऐसी अवस्था में जनगण के मन में आशंका है वह बिल्कुल स्वाभाविक है, बिल्कुल जायज है कि आपकी नीति नहीं बदल रही है। ऐसी अवस्था में वे जायज ही मांग कर रहे हैं कि विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया जाए। अब उनसे यह पुछा जा रहा है कि विधान सभा भंग कर दी जाएगी तो शान्ति की गारंटी कौन लेता है ? मैं आपसे यह सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ। 1969 में इतनी बड़ी कांग्रेस पार्टी टूट गई क्या तब शान्ति

कायम रही या नहीं रही ? 1971 में महा-गठजोड़ हुआ और कांग्रेस की पुनर्नामनी हुई। उरक बल गया, अब क्या ठेक में बर्तित रही या नहीं रही ? फिर विधान सभा भंग होकर है, सैन्य बाजार को धमकाने के लिए, मंहकरी को माथ रोकने के लिए, तो कोई क्रमचल नहीं है कि शान्ति कायम व हो। अगर बात अन्धकारियों को सुखी छूट देते हैं तो गुजरात में तो कुछ कड़ी भी शान्ति कायम नहीं रह सकेगी। गारे अन्धकार में नहीं रहनी। देश में अन्धकार नहीं रहे। वे सबकों पर आये, लेकिन अगर गुजरात में विधान सभा को भंग करके आप मुनाफाखोरी पर चोट करते हैं, तो जिस का बेटा मारा गया है जिस का सहाय नष्ट गया है जिस का भाई कत्ल हो गया है वह भी अगर देखेंगे, कि देर से ही सही सरकार ठीक रास्ते पर आ गई है और सही नीतियों पर प्रयत्न कर रही है तो उसको सात्वना मिलेगी। अहमदाबाद, मुरत आदि में जब वे देखेंगे कि मुनाफाखोरी को, चोर-बाजारीवो को, जमाखोरो को जेलों में डाला जा रहा है तो उनको सन्तवना मिलेगी और तब शान्ति कायम रखने के लिए आप को फौज की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी, राइफलों की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी जो लोग ही आपको शान्ति कायम रखने में मदद देंगे। फिर बाहर से हाथियार शस्त्र आदि ले जाने की आपको जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। सबाल हम वास्ते नीति का है। विमल भाई पटेल का यह सवाल नहीं है, उनका जो मन्दिमंडल था उस मन्दिमंडल के पांच सात या दस मन्दिमों से दुश्मनी हो सकती है लेकिन जो गड़बड़ियां वहा हुई हैं, जो अन्धकार वहा व्याप्त रहा है उनके लिए पूरी विधान सभा जिम्मेदार है और जो सारी गड़बड़ी हुई है उसके लिए वह जिम्मेदार है। लोग देख रहे हैं कि महागाई बढ़ती जा रही है, चोरबाजारी, मुनाफाखोरी हावी होती जा रही है समाज में

[श्री भोगेन्द्र झा]

धीरे से समझने लग गये हैं कि 1969 का जो परिवर्तन वा बहु बँकार बना गया है, जो लोग बाहर गए थे, इन्के दुक्के को छोड़ कर बाकी सब भीतर आ गए हैं, मनाफाखोरों की तादाद सरकार दल के बाहर जितनी है उससे कहीं ज्यादा दल के भीतर है, बड़े व्यापारियों की संख्या जितनी दल के बाहर है उससे कहीं ज्यादा दल के भीतर है, सिटीकेट जितना बाहर है उससे कहीं ज्यादा ग्राज शासक दल के भीतर पहुंच गया है, चोर बाजार करने वालों की जितनी तादाद बाहर है उससे ज्यादा शासक दल के भीतर है ।

मैं एक छोटा सा उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ । बिहार में मधुबनी में उपचुनाव हुआ । कोई नहीं कह सकता कि उस उपचुनाव में कितना रुपया खर्च हुआ । पच्चीस लाख हुआ या पचास लाख इसका ठीक हिसाब नहीं है । उस उपचुनाव के सिजदिसि में चार हजार राइफलधारी बुनाए गए । यह एक विधान सभा की सीट के लिए . . .

समावृत्ति महोदय : यह चीज अप्रामाणिक हो जाएगी ।

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा : गुजरात का पैसा हमारे यहा गया, हमें इसका शक है ।

श्रीमती सहोदरा बाई राय (सागर) : पैसा आपने गिना था ?

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा : जिस दिन हमारे सामने गिनने की बात होगी उस दिन देने वाले को भी हम नहीं रहने देंगे ।

वहां 86 सब डिजिजनल मजिस्ट्रेट मुकदर किए गए । और वे भी उस कमिश्नरी के बाहर के 1942 का नजारा बहा हो गया । इलेक्शन एजेंटों को लाठीचार्ज से पीटा गया और उनको जेलों में बन्द कर दिया गया । यह सब एक छोटे से उप चुनाव में हो गया ।

सारे देश में साथ व साथ, कलरा पैदा व हो और मतदान बनाने की जरूरत व वक्के इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि जो सम्पत्तियाँ हैं उनका विधान प्राप खोजें । पांच साल की अवधि समाप्त होने तक लोग इंतजार नहीं कर सकते हैं । इसका इलाज लोक सभा को करना होगा, जनगण की इच्छा का आदर हम को करना होगा । जो चीज अभी सम्भव है उसकी पूर्ति प्राप करें । विधान सभा को प्राप भंग करें । मंहगाई पर प्राप प्रंकुश लगाने के लिए कदम उठाएं । देहातों और शहरों में जो मुनाफाखोर हैं उन पर लयाम लगाने की जरूरत है । थोक व्यापार का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की जरूरत है । गल्ला बसूली सरकार अपने हाथ में ले लेकिन पिछले साल की तरह नहीं कि जो मार्किटबल सरप्लस होगा वहीं लेंगे, जो खुद-ब-खुद आएगा वहीं लेंगे । तब चिन्म भाई ने कहा था कि दिल्ली से बड़ा अनाज भेजा जाए । दिल्ली में श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद ने अमरीका से धतूरा और सोवियत संघ से गेहूं मगाया । इस तरह से मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि 55 करोड़ लोगों का पेट प्राप भर सकते हैं । इस साल सारे देश में धान की उपज बहुत ज्यादा हुई है । लेकिन फिर भी धान देशमें इतना मंहगा है जितना इतिहास में पहले कभी भी मंहगा नहीं था । प्रधान मंत्री कहती है उत्पादन बढ़ाओ कीमतें घट जाएंगी । अब यह भी मजाक ही मालूम पड़ रहा है । शायद वह भी अब यह कहना शुरू कर दें कि उत्पादन बढ़ जाने से मंहगाई घट जाएगी, यह बात गलत हो गई है । ममता आपको त्यागनी पड़ेगी, कुंसियो से जो मुहब्बत हो गई है उसको आपको छोड़ना होगा, कुंसी की रक्षा करने की फिक्र आपको त्यागनी होगी । शहरों और देहातों के जो चोरबाजारिये हैं उनके खिलाफ आपको सब्त कदम उठाने होंगे । गल्ला आपको सब्ती के साथ बसूल करना होगा और लोगों में उसका वितरण करना होगा । देश के लोगों ने आपको बोट दिया है, चोर बाजारियों को या गल्लाखोरों को नहीं । प्राप

कहते हैं कि उन लोगों ने होंठें कर लिया है ? अगर कर लिया है तो आप किस मर्ज की दवा हैं । लोगों की दवाने के लिए आप फौज तो बहुत जल्दी भेज देते हैं लेकिन क्यों नहीं आप इन लोगों के खिलाफ सख्त कदम उठाते हैं । नव निर्माण समिति या 14 अगस्त कमेटी के जो मजदूर हैं उनको तो आप पकड़ कर जेलों में ठूस देते हैं लेकिन जो मुनाफाखोर हैं, जो और बाजारी करते हैं जब उनको पकड़ने की बात आती है तो आपके हाथ को लकवा मार जाता है, आप में ताकत नहीं रहती है, आपकी कलम नहीं चलती है । सारा ? गुजरात की और आंखें लगाए हुए हैं ।

14 hrs

उत्तर प्रदेश में चुनाव हुए । कांग्रेस ने कहा कि खेत मजदूर, गरीब किसान, हरिजन, निचले तबके के लोगों ने उसको जम कर बोट दिए । यह सही बात है । यह भी मही है कि जो बड़े कुलक हैं, बड़े जमींदार हैं उन में से बारह चौदह आने लगे ने आपके खिलाफ वोट दिए हैं । लेकिन आप किस नीति पर चल रहे हैं ? जिन्होंने आपको वोट दिया वे तो भूखे मरे महगाई शिकार हो और जिन्होंने खिलाफ वोट दिया उन में से किसी को राज्य सभा के लिए आप टिकट दे और बाकियों को खुल कर लूटने की छुट दे इसको जनता बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकती है । उत्तर प्रदेश में भी गुजरात, बिहार में भी गुजरात ऐसी अवस्था में बन जाएगा । वह उसी रास्ते पर न जाए इसके लिए जरूरी है कि गुजरात में आप विधान सभा को भग करे और जो आप यह कहते हैं कि बहा शान्ति और व्यवस्था कायम करने का जिम्मा क न लेना तो वे कहना चाहता है कि आपके नीति जिम्मा लेगी । अगर राष्ट्रपति शासन के दौरान आपने चोरो के खिलाफ, मुनाफाखोरो के खिलाफ गुजरात में सख्त कदम उठाए तो नौखवान जो आज आपके खिलाफ आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं वे माला ले कर आपको पहनाने के लिए भागे आएंगे और आपके मालाओं से स्वागत करेंगे । जब वे देखेंगे कि देश में जो गल्ला है उसका समुचित

वितरण हो रहा है, जो सामान उपलब्ध है उसका समुचित वितरण हो रहा है तो स्वयंसेवक शक्ति का रास्ता वे अस्वीकार कर लें । मूंगफली की ब्लैक का सब से बड़ा अड्डा गुजरात है । इसकी छुट चिमनभाई ने दे दी थी । राष्ट्रपति शासन काल में भी इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं हुआ है । उस और आप कदम बढाते और आपने ऐसा किया होगा तो जिनके लिए आपको फौज बुलानी पडती है वही आपको मसाए पहनाने के लिए तैयार हो जाते । अगर आप ये सब काम नहीं करते हैं तो शान्ति की गारंटी लेने की ताकत किसी में नहीं है, न सरकारी दल में है और न बिरोधी दलों में है । जनता इससे भागे बढेगी । देश किसी के लिए रुका नहीं रहा है और न रुका रहेगा । यह हथ हभारा न हो जो और जगहों में हो चुका है इसलिए आवश्यक है कि फौज विधान सभा को भग किया जाय और जिस नीति पर गुजरात सरकार अभी तक चलती रही है उस नीति में परिवर्तन किया जाय । मुनाफाखोरी, चोर-बाजारी और गल्लचोरी के खिलाफ काम उठाया जाय । सारे देश के पैमाने पर अभी 15 तारीख को सारे मुख्य मंत्रियों को बुलाया जायगा और यह खतरा है कि बड़े बड़े चोर व्यापारी, बड़े बड़े मुनाफाखोर, बड़े बड़े भ्रुस्वामी जो गल्ला चोर है देहातो के या महरों के वे लोग मिल कर उन के जरिए से दबाव डालेंगे कि खुला बाजार रहने दिया जाय और खुल कर लूटने का मौका दिया जाय । ऐसी हालत में आप गुजरात में विधान सभा भग करे या न क महीने दो महीने चार महीने इतजार कर सकते हैं, लेकिन जो भूखे पेट है वह ज्यादा दिन इतजार नहीं कर सकता है । ऐसी स्थिति में सारा देश गुजरात बन जायगा यह खतरा है । इसलिए जिस नीति पर चिमन भाई पडेल की सरकार चलती थी उस में परिवर्तन कीजिए महगी और मुनाफाखोरी के खिलाफ चोट कीजिए । विधान सभा को भग क जिए । उस में आप के लिए को खतरे की आशंका नहीं है । अगर ऐसा आप करेंगे, नीति में परिवर्तन करेंगे और सही नीति की गारंटी देंगे तो गुजरात

(श्री भोगेन्द्र झा)

की जनता सारे देश की एकबार फिर अनुवाई करेगी जैसे उस ने बहुत पहले बारदोली में अगुवाई की थी। देश के लोग इसे गुन्डों का आन्दोलन नहीं समझ रहे हैं। देश के लोग समझ रहे हैं कि भ्रष्टाचार और मंहगी के खिलाफ गुजरात की आम जनता ने और वहां के मेहनतकश मजदूरों ने चोट की है। आप जानते हैं कि मित्र मालिक भी अब उस का फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं, चोर व्यापारी भी उस का फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं और देहात के गल्ला चोर भी उस का फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इस का इलाज भारत सरकार के हाथ में है। अभी वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन है। आज चिमन भाई पटेल उस के लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं। इसलिए आज नीति में परिवर्तन किया जाय और जनता के दुश्मनों पर चोट की जाय। मैं उन्हें गोली से मारने की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ। लेकिन उन्हें जेलों में तो बन्द किया जा सकता है, गिरफ्तार तो किया जा सकता है और फाजिल गल्ला जहां है वहां से ले कर सरकारी वितरण व्यवस्था के जरिए उस का सही बंटवारा तो किया जा सकता है। यह काम गुजरात में आप शुरू करें और सारे देश के लिए इस की और कदम उठाएं। फिर देश के लिए कोई अशांति का खतरा नहीं रहेगा। इतना ही कह कर मैं बैठना चाहता हूँ कि सभी दलों के लोग, कांग्रेस दल के लोग भी इस बात को सोचेंगे, इसे प्रतिष्ठा या पार्टीबन्दी का सवाल नहीं बनाएंगे कि अगर अभी हम ने विधान सभा भंग कर दी तो सभी जगह से यह मांग उठेगी। अगर आप ने नीति में परिवर्तन किया तो सभी जगह लोग उस का स्वागत करेंगे और अगर नहीं तो सारे भारत के गुजरात बनने का खतरा है। यही कह कर मैं बैठना चाहता हूँ और सभी दलों के लोगों से मैं आप्रह कहेगा कि लोग जोर देंगे सरकार पर कि वह विधान सभा को भंग करे, मंहगी में परिवर्तन लाए और मुनाफाखारी और चोर-बाजारी के खिलाफ कदम उठाए।

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA (Kutch): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this time I was hearing patiently three hon. Members but unfortunately, none of them was from Gujarat.

It requires a scientific study of the situation before we arrive at a certain conclusion. On 10th and 11th January, I myself was in Ahmedabad and I went round it. I think the whole situation should be divided into two phases. It is perfectly right that the first phase is upto the expulsion of Shri Chimanbhai Patel, the ex-Chief Minister of Gujarat and the movement thereafter. These are the two stages. They are totally different. We cannot make these two stages into one stage.

The movement sprang up definitely due to scarcity of essential commodities. Not only that. Corruption added fuel to fire. I totally agree with that. Let me tell you that while this movement was on, it was not from outsiders only but it was from the Cabinet Ministers also, that is, those who resigned against this corruption. (Interruptions) I may tell you what is Congress (O). Let me tell Mr. Chavda that Gandhinagar to-day stands as such as a monument of corruption. The Congress (O) President. Mr. Babubhai Jashbhai Patel, at that time, was the Minister of P.W.D. and Civil Supplies... (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: It seems, you have lost the track.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: I have not.

The originates from Gandhisagar. It is built on corruption....

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can come to that later.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: I was a Member of the Assembly. My hon. friend, Mr. Patel, was also there at that time. At that time even a charge-

sheet was put up against those things. I will come to Congress (O) afterwards also and say what they are and what they are doing.

As I was saying, these are two different phases. The first definitely started with scarcity of essential commodities and, as I said, it was corruption which added fuel to the fire. The people of Gujarat do not take lying down corruption; they are not with Americanised thinking that anything that adds to profits, irrespective of any means, will be alright. The people of Gujarat definitely took it very seriously. I must say that it was a sudden upsurge. It was not led by anybody. There was a cause for the students to revolt—food in hostels was not properly provided. The whole nation revolted. As I said, it was not only scarcity of food stuff; there was also corruption. The people in our party itself were revolting against corruption. They also resigned. It is only our party which wants purification of the party. It is only our Congress Party which cares for this. The other parties do not; they do wrong things and try to hide everything. It is only our Congress party which tries to build its character. That is why, after the resignation of a few Ministers from the Cabinet, the High Command asked the Chief Minister to step down. After his expulsion, things became suddenly different. I can understand the argument, put up by our friends, about dissolution. The High Command has never said that there would be no dissolution of the Assembly. The Prime Minister has repeatedly said that as soon as normalcy is restored, she will dissolve it. Even the parliamentary Board has not gone far away from it; it has said categorically that no government will be installed whether majority or minority, with the remaining members; it has categorically said that the Congress Party does not want to form the Government at all. President's rule will remain till normalcy is restored and then decision about dissolution will be taken. Naturally fresh elections will come. We

are not afraid of fresh elections. We have fought all over India; we have shown in U.P. and Orissa that we can fight elections and we can win; we have shown that our Party is enjoying the confidence of the People of India. Sometimes there is an upsurge of the people. I do agree. But we call this Congress (O) Party as the 'Chhabas' party; it is an emeciated, fragile party. They ask others to do and when others do, they say 'chhabas' to them. It is a Chhabas Party. Also about violence, I will tell you what they are doing. They are talking of Mahatma Gandhi; I will narrate an incident, what happened in Ahmedabad. A Harijan...

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): He is speaking about Congress (O). He should know that his is a discredited party. The faces of their members are being blackened and they are being mounted on donkeys.

MR. CHAIRMAN: References have been made to Parties....(Interruptions).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Can they move out of their houses, Sir?

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: No. They are all living here.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: He has got the audacity to say so about Congress (O).

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: These people are in the Gujarat Bhavan. They are not able to go to Gujarat.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member should not interrupt like this. He will have his opportunity...(Interruptions).

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: It is not your Opposition.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: It is the people's opposition.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: That is what I say. Not Cong (O).

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Then dissolve the Assembly and hold the elections. That is the proper remedy.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: Just a submission, Sir....

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid I cannot lend you my ears.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: There was Cong(O) Government and it has not happened. This is happening when your party is in power.... (Interruptions).

DR MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: What has happened to this Cong (O)? They are afraid they will lose in the elections when held. That is why they say all these things.

I was just talking about a Harijan MLA of 25 years' standing who was a heart patient....

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: You frankly speak like Mr Sathe. He has said everything.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: The hon. Member need not advise me. I cannot speak according to his advice as to what I should speak and what I should not speak. Let him keep his advice to himself.

A Harijan MLA, Shri Narsi Macwara—I repeatedly say, a Harijan MLA who was a heart-patient with high blood pressure....

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Who is he?

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: He is an MLA of a long-standing public work of 25 years. He was man-handled, he was harassed, tortured in the premises of the Municipality itself. Not only that, the people....

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Will you please give the name of that person?

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: I said Shri Narsi Macwara—a thousand times. It is not my fault if you did not hear me. Where were you when he was assaulted? He led thousands of people of different communities. Sir, the political parties under the guise of Nav Nirman Samiti is indulging in all these things.

I congratulate the students on the contrary for removing Mr. Chimanbhai Patel and his corrupt government. I, as a Congressman, congratulate them. I say that the first phase was all right. But, in the second phase, how they are utilising the students' movement—I cannot tell you. The people who talk of Suvarnas, Hindus and Muslims and those who from the bottom of their hearts attack these Harijans, beat them with Dharias, lathis and all these things.

Not only that, one Shri Yogendra Macwara, a Member from Rajya Sabha—his house was attacked. He is a Harijan member. It was not a Gandhite or a worker of Shri Jaya Prakash who come to his rescue. It was one Shri Bagadi who helped him.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Then why do you drag the name of a Harijan?

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: I do not understand why he is so sensitive about it. He is suffering from so much complex.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Actually, internally he was very pleased when you mentioned the Harijan name.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: There is a convention, Sir, that the moment you come to the Chair you cease to be a Congressman.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sure to adopt that convention.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: You know here the people are talking in different terms, instead of trying to

protect the weaker sections, what is being done is to protect the vested interests, to protect the interested parties. Not only that, Sir. I will describe the way it is being done. You might have heard about this. Only yesterday you might have read it in the papers. One MLA was taken out of his house, clean-shaved, his face was blackened and he was put on the donkey. Do you think this is the way of things you encourage? I will just request Morarjibhai. He is the only proper person who should go on fast for removing violence. Here are people who encourage such violence and I will therefore say, Morarjibhai is the only proper person in Gujarat who can purify his party by going on fast on this issue. He is a Gandhiite.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: He does not require your advice. He does not need your advice.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: I request him, he is an elderly man, I respect him and so I request him. There is another episode I will tell you, of Pratap Shah and Manubhai Vyas. What happened? Actually the Jan Sangh people—I can categorically name them,—had printed the posters. They threatened to arrest his son if he does not resign. They were manhandled. They were carried over physically to the Speaker. What is all this? Do you call this democracy? Under this pretext you want Assembly to be dissolved! Definitely not. Let the first thing, namely, restoration of normalcy, come first. I will still say, we can well understand the students' sincerity. But today things have taken quite a different turn. Today in Gujarat nobody knows what is the movement. Mr. Mavalankar is not here. He has gone away; he is the person to give the name Nav Nirman Samiti; he has gone out of it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
It is a very good name.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: That is what I say, after giving a good name,—I will just ask, why did he leave that? What are the reasons? The reason is that he cannot control it. Here are groups and groups of students: Jan Sanghi students, neutral students. I will remind you of one incident on the 23rd of January. The Secretary of the Jan Sangh Mr. Gajendragadkar said this. You might have read it in the papers. He said that the question of dissolution of the Assembly will be decided in the streets. It was Mr. Vajpayee who first congratulated Chimanbhai when he took over as Chief Minister. It was he who congratulated Chimanbhai first. And today it is these people, Chimanbhai Patel himself, who says like this. It has all come out in the papers—who all demand Assembly to be dissolved. The things is not like that. We want Gujarat to go according to our traditions. It is the first duty of everybody. I will just appeal to everybody concerned, to leaders of opposition parties over here also. Let us go by the traditions of Gujarat, Gujarat that has lived up to the most popular upsurge is against the old notion of corruption, against corruption. Let us treat it like that. Let us end it as beautifully as it has started. I tell you, it is the power of the students, it is the young people's power. It has given a new way telling them, here are the people who will raise their heads. I appeal to leaders of opposition parties. I appeal to their party. Let normalcy come first. Let us get rid of violence of the kind which is being created.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: First he said he was provoked by opposition; now he is appealing to opposition leaders!

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: That is why I appeal to you; instead of provoking, please do like that. I understand your mentality.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: You have not said a single word about the difficulties of the people of Gujarat.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why are you exhausting yourself so early?

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: Instead of asking for dissolution and making it a politically motivated move, I just appeal to them not to make it a politically motivated move. Really speaking you only mar the movement when you ask for the dissolution of the Assembly. As rightly stated by my hon., friends, this movement is not against the scarcity of foodgrains but it is directed against something else—a politically motivated move. Therefore I appeal that the sanctity of the movement on which it was started may remain. Let us end with that. First of all, let normalcy come. I agree that the people are perfectly right. But, we should not yield to the duress of the people. Definitely, the will of the people will prevail. There is no doubt about it provided of course the unsocial elements and those who take advantage of the agitation go out of it. Let this movement come to an end there be only opposition. I do not mind. But violence should go out. (*Interruptions*) I cannot understand why my friend Shri Solanki is not comfortable.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: You cannot say like this.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: I agree that at that time the Congress was not divided. But, Gandhinagar, I still maintain, is a monument of corruption. Who built up Gandhinagar? Whatever may be said about that, it is they who built it up. A member belonging, of course, to Swatantra Party, made some charges in the Assembly against Minister. I think Shri H. M. Patel can corroborate it. I cannot understand this. What right have these people got to

talk about corruption? The President of the Congress (O) is shouting at the top of his voice about corruption. Why should he not ask for an inquiry? I sincerely appeal to Shri Morarji Desai that he should go on fast for banning this violence by his partymen. That is because I respect him still, whatever may be our differences. He should go on fast and remove such leaders and should ask for holding an inquiry against Babubhai Jashbhai Patel along with Shri Chiman Patel also. An inquiry should be instituted against these people who fanned the violence in the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

With these words I support this resolution.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Why did not the Ministry institute an inquiry against him? You have been in power. I throw a challenge at your party to institute an inquiry against him. Why do not do that? Why should not Government institute an inquiry?

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: You ask the Government to do that. I shall be with you to ask the Government to hold an inquiry. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Why is he bringing in the name of the persons?

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी (शाजापुर) :
सभापति महोदय, गुजरात प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने की घोषणा पर सदन में बहस हो रही है। मामला काफ़ी उत्तेजित हो गया है क्योंकि एक तो कई दिनों से चालू है, किन्तु जनता की जो राय है, जनता का जो मत है उस का पूरा आदर करने की स्थिति न दिखाई देने पर आशंका इस बात की है कि शायद और परिस्थिति बिगड़ जाएगी, जो हम नहीं चाहते हैं। वास्तव में गुजरात में

जो मजबूतपूर्व आन्दोलन चला वह कई भागों में मजबूतपूर्व रहा। प्रवेश व्याप्त, व्याप्त प्रकटाकार प्रकट भासन, बढती हुई चीजों की कीमते और उन का धनाब, इन की वजह से जो सारे प्रदेश भर में प्रसतोष व्याप्त था वह ऐसे पैमाने पर फूट पड़ेगा थायद इस की कल्पना किनी की नहीं थी।

अब तरह तरह के आरोप यहां पर लगाये जा रहे हैं, कोई मेरे दल पर आरोप लगाता है, कोई कांग्रेस को परतो कोई सी० पी० एम० पर आरोप लगाता है। किन्तु तह में जा कर यदि देखें तो पायेंगे कि यह एक जन-आन्दोलन है। इस को हम स्वीकार करें तो प्रकटा होगा। केवल इस में प्रसाभाजिक तरव बुसे है, गुडे है, उन के हाथ में सारा आन्दोलन चला गया है, वह कह कर प्राप्ते मूद लेना समस्या का समाधानकारक हल नहीं निकाल मकेगा। कई लोगों ने गुजरात के बारे में एक ही बात कही कि वहां शांति स्थापित हो जाय उस के बाद विधान सभा भंग की जायगी। इस प्रकार की बात प्रधान मंत्री, गृह मंत्री और कांग्रेस के अन्य सम्मानित सदस्यों ने कही है। और जबवेस्ती के सामने यदि हम अपना सर झुकायें तो प्रजातन्त्र की जड़ें मजबूत होंगी या खोबली होंगी? यह एक महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है। किन्तु मैं अपने कांग्रेस के मित्रों और प्रधान मंत्री जी को भी बताना चाहता हू कि इस देश में अधिकार उन के हाथ में ही लज्जत रहा है, किन्तु प्रजातन्त्र को मजबूत बनता है वह केवल कायूची तरीके से नहीं बनता है, बल्कि

जो सकेत हम निर्णय करते हैं उन के मजबूते पर प्रजातन्त्र मजबूत होता है। बरा अपना ही मुह धाड़ने में देखें तो पता लगेगा कि एक ही मापदंड हम परिस्थितियों में लागू नहीं करते हैं। क्यों नहीं करते हैं? जैसे एक मित्र ने केरल का उदाहरण दिया। आज जिस रूप में जन-आन्दोलन चल रहा है गुजरात में उस जमाने में केरल का आन्दोलन शांतिपूर्ण था। किन्तु इतना होने के बाद भी केवल इस बात की और ध्यान दे कर कि वहां कम्युनिस्ट मान्यता या और स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री उस समय कांग्रेस की अध्यक्षता थी, जो निर्णय लिया गया उस के अनुसार वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ, विधान सभा भंग हो गई। और जब आज देखते हैं कि गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होता है किन्तु विधान सभा भंग नहीं होती है तो समझ में आता है कि एक मापदंड से नहीं चलते हैं।

उड़ीसा में क्या हुआ? वहां नन्दनी सतपथी का राज्य था, अब उन्हीं के दल के लोग छोड़ कर दूसरी जगह चले गये, वह खेल जारी है, जब उन को पता चला कि राज्य नहीं कर सकती तो उन्होंने त्यागपत्र दिया। किन्तु उड़ीसा में वहां के राज्यपाल महोदय ने विरोधी दलों को प्रवसर दिये बिना विधान सभा भंग की हालांकि स्वीकर्स कांग्रेस में हर बात पर निर्णय लिया गया था कि किस दल का बहुमत है इस का निर्णय राज्यपाल न करें, सदन में ही, इतना होने के बाद भी उड़ीसा के राज्यपाल ने विरोधी दलों के उस ग्रुप को भीका क्यों नहीं दिया?

[श्री जयलाल रत्न खोखरी]

और वहा विधान सभा क्यों खल हो गई ? कोई उत्तर मिले तो समझ में आ सकता है । हाँ तक कि हाई कोर्ट ने भी इस बारे में अपना मत प्रकट किया और राज्यपाल मंडोदय के बारे में बताया कि उन्हें प्रोका देना चाहिये था । और आज गुजरात में यही कहा जा रहा है कि वहा पहले नोमिनेसी रेस्टोर होनी चाहिये तब विधान सभा भंग की जाय । यह तो वही पुरानी कहावत हुई कि पागलपन को लाने बीजिये तब शादी होगी । न पागलपन जायगा और न शादी होगी । तो मान लें यह है कि प्रजातन्त्र की जड़ खोखली, कीन कर रहा है ? चिमन भाई पटल के भ्रष्ट शासन के खिलाफ इतना बड़ा जन-प्रान्दोलन हो और सरकार विश्रान सभा भंग न करे क्या इस को आप कहेगे कि प्रान्त-तक ठीक इग स आप चला रह है ? जन-प्रान्दोलन की नीच लाने की काशिश इन बिद्योपयोगी ने की न जनमघ ने की और न कांग्रेस (अ) ने की ? किमी ने नहीं की आप लोगों को ही यह महान कबडडी खेलने का शौक हा रहा है । आखिर चिमन भाई और उन के बीच में जो अपन ही विधापक दल के अन्तर्गत नेता चुनने की नीबत आ गई और च्ताव हुआ तो उस की गिनती गाधीनगर, अहमदाबाद में नहीं हुई, बल्कि यहा हुई । एक्सटर्नल एफेब्ररी मिनिस्ट्री के कमरे में गिनती करनी पडी । यह कौन सा प्रजातन्त्र है ? 1952 से देश भर में चुनाव होने जा रहे है । पचायत से ले कर पार्लियामेंट तक के चुनाव हूमे आ रहे है । यह भी कहा जाता रहा है कि चुनाव भी और फेयर हुए है । जब एक

दल को बहुमत मिल गया और वह अपना नेता चुनता है तो बीटों की गिनती गिनती में हो गया यह प्रजातन्त्र है ? चिमन भाई की टांग खीची एक की टांग दूसरा खीचता चला जाए यह ठीक नहीं है । यह एक दल का सवाल नहीं है । देश में अगर एक बार अव्यवस्था फल गई तो उसके जो दुष्परिणाम होंगे उनको सब को भगनना पडगा ।

आप कहते है कि गुजरात में नार्मल री रेस्टोर होनी चाहिए । लेकिन यहा सवाल उमक नहीं है । यह सवाल तो संकेत का है । 188 में स 74 लोगो ने यागपत्र दे दिए है । अब आप असेम्बली को डिस्साल्व करेग या नहीं करेगे ?

If you dont dislove it, then it will evaporate in thin air, then nothing will remain to be disloved
अपने आप जायेगा

अगर कोई त्यागपत्र नही देता है तो उसका हाल भी आपने देख लिया है । उसको पकड कर उसकी हजामत की गई उसका मुड काला किया गया । अब आगे आप और क्या चाहते हैं समझ में नही आया । उसको गध पर बिठाने की नीबत आ गई लेकिन गध ने क्या कहा ? उसने कहा यह मेरा अपमान है मैं नहीं बिठाऊगा । पुलिस बीच में आ गई और उसने उसको बिठाए जाने से रोका । मसल में नहीं आ रहा है कि राजनीति में गधे क्यों आ रहे हैं ? बहाराष्ट्र से परमगणी विश्वविद्यालय में भी इसी तरह की एक घटना गधे की वजह से हुई ।

मन्त्रा पत्रपुस्तक हो रहा है। गवर्नर का भी अपमान
प्रश्न क्यों कर रहे हैं? प्रजातन्त्र की जड़ें
आपको मजबूत करनी चाहिए। उसकी
जड़ें मजबूत करनी हैं तो आपको जन भावनाओं
का आदर करना होगा। यह जो मारी
गडबडी हुई है यह क्यों हुई है और कहा से
प्रागल्भ्य हुई है। अन्न के अभाव के कारण
बढती हुई कीमती के कारण और अशुभ शासन
के कारण। इन चीजों को ठीक करने की
कोशिश की जाए। आप ही तो इनको
ठीक कर सकते हैं। मैंने पिछले माल अन्न
मंत्री से बात की थी और मैंने उन से कहा था कि
यदि आप गेहूँ का व्यापार अपने हाथ में लेना
सकते हैं तो सोच समझ कर उसका मारा ध्यान
रख कर लें। आपको प्रोक्वोरमेंट की
स्टोरेज आदि की परमानेंट मशीनरी स्थापित
करनी पड़ेगी, वितरण का पूरा पूरा प्रबन्ध
करना पड़ेगा। हाफ हार्टिड वे मे अगर
आपने काम किया तो लोगों का भला नहीं
होगा। ठीक ढंग से आप जिस काम को भी
करना चाहते हैं लें। लेकिन गेहूँ का काम
आपने हाथ में लिया तो चावल का छोड़ दिया।
बाजरे आदि का अपने हाथ में लिया और अब
उसको खुला छोड़ दिया है। अब जो आपने
चीफ मिनिस्टर कांफ्रेस बुनाई है उस में
शायद आप गेहूँ को भी छोड़ देंगे। आपको
चाहिए कि निश्चित विचारों को ले कर आप
काम करें और आगे बढ़ें। हम विरोध करते
हैं या स्वागत करते हैं इसकी तरफ आप ध्यान
न दें। जो अच्छा लगेगा उसका हम स्वागत
करेंगे। किन्तु आपको क्या करना है यह
तो आप कम से कम लय करिये। अन्न के
उत्पादन सामने आ चुका है। बार बार

हम लोगों ने आपसे उठाई है हम पर।
कौन जिम्मेदार है इसके लिए? वितरण
करने से पहले किसी ने देखा था या नहीं।
अपुरा मिला हुआ है इसका पता लगने के बाद
भी कौन सज्जन थे जिन्होंने कहा कि इनको
पिसवाओ, इसका आटा बनाओ और लोगों
को इस को खिलाओ? कब तक जनता चुप
रहेगी? अन्न रोग लगा हुआ बाजरा लोगों
को खिलाया गया। इस तरह की चीजें जो
हैं इनको जनता महन नहीं करेगी। स्कूल
कालेज के जो विद्यार्थी मडकों पर आ गए
इन्होंने अन्न शासन के खिलाफ घण्टी
बजाई। यह घण्टी केवल मत्तारूढ़ दल के
लिए नहीं थी। ठीक ढंग से राज्य नहीं
चलायेगे तो यह जो प्रजातन्त्र है यह बचेगा
नहीं, यह रहेगा नहीं। मर्यादा के बाहर
कोई चीज नहीं हो जाने दी जानी चाहिए
जो गडबडी हुई है इसके लिए आप जिम्मेदार
हैं। गेहूँ मन्त्री खड़े हो कर कह देते हैं कि
भारतीय जन सच इसके पीछे है। हम तो
ममझते हैं कि हम इतने मजबूत नहीं हैं।
आप हम लोगों को मजबूत कर देंगे तो हम
आपका धन्यवाद करेंगे। गुजरात में 168
मेम्बरों में से हमारे दल के मेम्बरों की
संख्या केवल तीन है। आप बड़ा खचाखच
भरे हुए हैं। इतना होने के बाद भी आप
कहते हैं कि जनसच की वजह से यह सब हो रहा
है। यदि ऐसी बात है तो आप क्या कर
रहे हैं? आप धम चला रहें हैं। आप
गुजरात में क्यों नहीं जाते हैं। मैं प्रधान
मन्त्री से बड़ी विनम्रता से पूछना चाहता
हूँ और उन से यह पूछा भी गया था कि आप
गुजरात क्यों नहीं जाती है? उन्होंने कहा

[श्री जयलाल रथ बोली]

कि कबसे बताया गया है कि आपके वहाँ जाने से परिस्थिति बिगड़ेगी। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि देश में अगर गड़बड़ होती है तो इसके लिए प्रधान मंत्री जिम्मेदार हैं। मैं जाने का क्या मतलब है। आपके लोगों को जबर कान्फिडेंस में लेना चाहिए। आपके वहाँ जाने से परिस्थिति बिगड़ेगी, इसको मैं नहीं मानता हूँ। जनता जब बिगड़ जाती है तो उनकी ठीक रास्ते पर हम को लाया पड़ता है। प्रधान मंत्री का वहाँ न जाना मैं ठीक नहीं समझता हूँ। गृह मंत्री का बड़ा न जाना उचित नहीं समझता हूँ। कभी गोखले साहब को भेज देने हैं और कभी पन्त साहब को। श्री पन्त साहब का वहाँ पावर टैंगन को साल्ट करने के लिए भेजा गया था। समय में नहीं आता है कैसे काम हो रहा है। जिन को शान्ति और व्यवस्था कायम रखने की जिम्मेदारी है उनका जानना चाहिए था, हिम्मत से जनता को फन करना चाहिए और जो गनती हुई है उसको स्वीकार करना चाहिए। देश में प्रजापत्र को मजबूत करने के लिए तथा प्रजापत्र में विश्वास रखा कर बड़ा लोग यह मांग कर रहे हैं कि झूठ शासन पर हमारा विश्वास नहीं है, उस असेम्बली को डिसाल्ट किया जाए। उनको हटाने के लिए जनता नडको पर आ गई है, उसने बप्टी बजा दी है। विधन भाई ने त्यागपत्र दे दिया है। अब जनता यही चाहती है कि नए चुनाव हो वर्तमान विधान सभा अथवा की जाए और उस चुनाव में जो भी जीत कर आए, बहुमत में आए वह राज्य चलाए। वहाँ लोक बँधी

सरकार चाहते हैं वही सरकार पाने का उनको भाव भीका है। वह सरकारें की भी बहोत कम। क'क'अवस्था हैं उनका मन नि'को'को अब तक आप बड़ नहीं करेंगे मुझे नहीं दुःखदा है कि आन्दोलन बन्द होगा।

एक हफ्ता कौन गई थी, एक खबर निरन्तर गई थी कि राज्य सभा और लोक सभामें होने वाली चर्चा के बाद जो उत्तर दिया जाएगा उस में शायद विधान सभा को भग करने की घोषणा हो जाएगी। इसकी बजह से वहाँ दो चार दिन शान्ति रही। लेकिन अब लोगों को पता चला कि ऐसा नहीं होने वाला है तो वे प्रोबोक हो गए और उन्होंने फिर से आन्दोलन को तेज कर दिया है। ऐसा क्यों हुआ ? इस वास्ते कि वहाँ जनता को आपके नीयत पर शक है। मुझे शक करने की जरूरत नहीं रह गई है क्योंकि आपके दोमन ने ही पाफ कड़ा है, जा आपके साथ है उन्होंने साफ कहा है कि उनको आपके नीयत पर शक है। आध्र मे भी यही हुआ था। तेनेगाना आन्दोलन के दौरान वहाँ राष्ट्रभक्ति शानत स्थापित किया गया किन्तु विधान सभा को भग नहीं किया गया। उस समय भी यही कहा गया कि शान्ति होने दा हम करेगे। शान्ति ही गई लेकिन कुछ नहीं किया गया। महाराष्ट्र में गड़बड़ होती है तो यही कहा जाता है कि शान्त हो जाए। फिर उसके बाद कुछ नहीं होता है। नर्मदा कर पारे में भी वही हुआ। यह कहा गया शान्ति हो जाए। शान्ति हो गई लेकिन उसके बाद भी कुछ नहीं हुआ। जनता समझ गई है कि शान्ति के नाम पर सरकार उनको दबाती है, शान्ति स्थापित हो जाने के बाद भी उनकी मांगो को ताक पर रख देती है। अब वहाँ पर 74 एम एल एज में इस्तीफे दे दिए हैं। क्या आप 74 बाई इलेकाशस करेंगे ? इसका मतलब क्या है ? 168 में से 74 में त्यागपत्र दे दिए हैं। वहाँ आन्दोलन हिंसक नहीं

[श्री अण्णाय्य राव चौबीसी]

है। लेकिन हमें कुछ है कि बहुत-कुछ भी जगें नहीं हैं। आप चीनी का कहाँ से रहे हैं। हिंसा पुश्तक की तरफ से हुई है, जबकि पुश्तक की तरफ से हुई है। धर धर में जब कद पुश्तक ने सोनो को पीछा है। होस्टल में जा कर पीछा है। गोली ऐसी जगह बलाई है जहाँ कुछ मरबब नहीं थी। वहाँ किसी ने ट्रेन नहीं जलाई, बस नहीं बलाई। जनता ने गोछाउक जरूर लुटे हैं। क्यों न लुटे? वह माग कर रही है कि हमें बारह किलो राशन दो। उसकी दो सौ ग्राम ही बिधा जा रहा है। कोल इनने राशन से बिन्दा रह सकता है। धरती सोना उमलती है, भर भर कर बेती है, फिर भी आप उमकी ठीक व्यवस्था नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। चीनी को ले कर जो आन्दोलन हुआ था उस में दो लोग मारे गए। 42 लाख टन चीनी का उत्पादन होता है जोकि आवश्यकता से अधिक है, उस का भी आप ठीक तरह से वितरण नहीं कर सकते हैं, हर आदमी को उपलब्ध नहीं कर सकते हैं और पूरी मात्रा में नहीं कर सकते हैं। उत्पादन बढ़ने से कीमते बढ़ेगी, यह चीज भारत में गलत साबित हुई है। बनस्पति के मामले में हमेशा गडबडी चलती है। बनस्पति की इस्टाल्ड कंपैसेटी 16 लाख टन है और लाइसेंसड कंपैसेटी बारह लाख टन लेकिन पैदा होता है केवल छ लाख टन। यह जो गडबड है यह क्यों होती है? इसलिए होता है कि नीति तय नहीं है। गुजरात मूगफली पैदा करता है किन्तु 25,000 टन रूस को निर्यात की गई। यहाँ से बढिया चावल निर्यात किया जाता है, बढिया कपडा निर्यात किया जाता है। किस को निर्यात हो। है वह साबाल नहीं है। जनता मूगफली के लिए तरस्ती है लेकिन फिर भी उसका निर्यात होता है। पश्चिमी एशिया में तो निर्यात होता है, चावल भी होता है, जब

यहाँ जनता को नहीं मिलता और मंत्री महोदय यह बता कर हमारा समाधान करने की कोशिश करें कि एक किन्टल बढिया चावल बँच कर हम तीन किन्टल माइलो लाएंगे तो क्या इस से समाधान होगा? हमारे कन्नड में तो एक कहावत है जिसका अर्थ है कि कचरा खाने के बजाय थोड़ा खाना चाहिए

संजार्पात महोदय : जीशी जी, मैं एक बात आप से पूछू कि गुजरात में यह बात सत्य है कि 70 से अधिक त्यागपत्र हो चुके हैं। इतनी अधिक संख्या में उपभुभाव नहीं हो सकते हैं। तो इस बात को गुजरात की जनता को समझा नहीं सकते हैं आप और हम लोग सब मिल कर ?

एक आननीय सबस्य यदि सरकार समझ जाय तो सब काम चल जायेगा।

श्री अण्णाय्य राव चौबीसी हमारा तो काम है समझाने का लेकिन जब तक असेम्बली डिजाल्व नहीं होगी, जनता के मन की बात नहीं होगी, तब तक जा कर समझाना बहुत मुश्किल है। इसलिए मैं सकेन की बात कर रहा हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करत ही विधान सभा को भंग क्यों नहीं किया? केरल ने किया, उडीसा में किया और गुजरात में तो सारा डिजाल्व होता ही जा रहा है, फिर एक झुठे सम्मान की जान की ले कर बैठे रहना यह कोई अच्छा नहीं लगता। इसलिए मैंने कहा।

श्री इय्याय मन्वय मिथ्य अध्यक्ष महोदय ने कहा कि हम लोग समझाये जनता को तो क्या समझाए? इन्होंने तो माफ कह दिया है कि मिनिस्ट्री नहीं बनेगी। इन्होंने यह भी कह है कि राज्य सभा के चुनाव नहीं होंगे। यानी प्रसेम्बली फक्शनलेस हो गई, फिर भी बच्चो की तरह जिद पर डटे हुए हैं कि असेम्बली को भंग नहीं करेंगे इस से कितनी जल्द यह और लेना चाहें हैं यह माफ

साफ़ बता दें। 56 ज़ानें गईं तब राष्ट्रपति शासन हुआ। अब कितनी ज़ानें देने के बाद ये असेम्बली को विघटित करेंगे, यह बता दें। दिल्ली की देवी कितने नरमुंडों से खुश होगी यह हम को बता दें तो हम जनता को समझा देंगे।

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जीर्णो : अब गुजरात की जनता जिस को हम बुद्धिजीवी कहते हैं वह भी इस की झगड़ाई कर रहे हैं। प्रोफेसर हैं, साहित्यकार हैं, समाज में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त व्यक्ति हैं, सरकार के नाम पर जा कर उन्होंने साबरमती में स्नान कर लिया। हम को कोई शर्म होनी चाहिये, हम ने उस को प्रेत जैसे लटका कर रखा है। जब गुजरात की बुद्धिजीवी जनता ने स्नान करके और सिर मुड़ा कर बता दिया कि हमने तुम्हारे नाम पर पानी ले लिया तो आपकी समझ में यह क्यों नहीं आता है? अड़े रहेंगे तो क्या होगा कि और जाने जाएगी। क्या जाने इतनी सस्ती हो गई है? हर चीज़ महंगी है और केवल जान सस्ती है। जो विद्यार्थी सड़क पर आए उन को हम कैसे समझाए? अंगर अष्ट शासन को आप ऐसे ही रखेंगे तो कम से कम मैं तो नहीं समझा सकता। आप्र में यही हुआ है। फिर उन्हीं को लाने की कोशिश होगी। उन्होंने नरसिंह राव को हटा कर बैंगल राव को बना दिया यानी बैंगल सफेद हो या काला, टेस्ट तो एक ही आएगा। कोई अन्तर नहीं आता। यह जो आपका परमुटेशन और कम्बिनेश वही पर इधर उधर चल रहा है जनता ने इसको देखा है। इसलिए उसको लगता है कि अंगर हम ने अभी जार नहीं लगाया और जिसात नहीं कराया तो वह पीछे के दरवाजे से कुछ न कुछ करने की कोशिश करेंगे।

राष्ट्रपति शासन के आते ही राजन की मात्रा वहाँ कैसे बढ़ गई? इतने दिन आन्दोलन चलता रहा लेकिन अन्त में क्या हुआ है?

मध्य प्रदेश की बारे में संर्षा था। 38 लाख टन की मांग है लेकिन 20 लाख टन दे दिया जाता है, बारह लाख टन की मांग है तो दो लाख टन देते हैं, एक किलो की मांग है तो दो की ग्राम देते हैं। जनता कैसे जीवित रह सकती है इस अवस्था में? जनता की जिम्मेदारी लैते हैं ता था तो उस को पूरी करें बर्ना खुली छूट दें। फिर मेरे बगल के साथियों को बाली देने का मौका मिलेगा। मैंने कहा कि आप खुले बाजार से खरीदो। बाजार का नियंत्रण करना सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है कंट्रोल से बाजार का नियंत्रण नहीं होता। मोने का नियंत्रण मुरारजी भाई जब विल मंत्री थे उसी समय हुआ था लेकिन क्या उस का दाम घट गया? नियंत्रण न दाम नीचे नहीं आता। बाजार का आभास तो हमें होना चाहिये। 4हा चावल, गेहू, शक्कर आदि इतनी ज्यादा पैदा होने के बावजूद लोगों को मिलती क्यों नहीं? क्योंकि खरीदने की, रखने की और वितरण की आवस्था है। इस को कौन दूर करेगा? आपने सुपर बाजार खोना क्विब एड्ज इन दौ सुपर लासिम। इसके लिए तो नहीं खोना था। आज गुजरात में जिस बात को ले कर यह सारा आन्दोलन उभरा है वह क्या है? जनता आज जीवन की आवश्यक वस्तुओं की मांग करती है। उनको पसीने की कमाई करने का अधिकार है तो खरीदने का भी अधिकार है और जीवन बिताने का भी अधिकार है। आज हर इन्सान का यह अधिकार है कि वह सम्मान के साथ जीवन बिताए—नाट टु डूंग हिज एग्जिस्टेंस बट टु लिव एन आनरेबल लाइफ। यदि 25-26 लाख की आजादी के बाद हम रास्ते में लोगों को गोली से धूनें चले जाय तो यह क्या है? अंग्रेज के जमाने में भी गोली से इतने लोग मरे नहीं जितने अभी मरे हैं। यह बात

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

सही है। आखिर जानें इतनी सस्ती नहीं हैं।

आन्दोलन को कैसे कानून में लाएं, इस का भी अभ्यास होना चाहिए। लेकिन वह भी नहीं है। सारा मामला बड़ी स्टीरियो टाइप में चल रहा है — 144, कर्फ्यू, टीशरगैस और गन, देयर एन्ड्स दि मीटर। यह फाइव ऐक्ट ड्रामा जो अंग्रेज के जमाने से चला आ रहा है वही चल रहा है।

There is no psychological method to deal with all such problems, human problems as they are.

वह भी विचारियों के साथ जब हम करना चाहते हैं तो उस में भी वही सारे पुराने तरीके इस्तेमाल करने हैं। 144 लगाओ और वही सब करो। यहां नर्मज को पकड़ा गया डी० आई० आर० में। यह कोई सरकार है? विद्यार्थी नेता को भीसा में पकड़ो, किसी को डी० आई० आर० में पकड़ो, यह सब क्या है? ऐसी समस्या भी हल करने की क्षमता जिस सरकार में नहीं है उस सरकार का त्याग-पत्र देकर चले जाना अच्छा है। यदि चिपके रहेंगे तो आप के ही दोस्त ने यह बात कही कि गुजरात में जो हो रहा है वह खतरे की घंटी सारे देश के लिए है। वहां यदि हम ने ठीक कदम नहीं उठाया तो देश भर में यह होगा। हम नहीं चाहते कि यह हो। हम परिवर्तन जरूर चाहते हैं लेकिन वह शांति के साथ हो, प्रगति के साथ हो, जनता के सम्मान के साथ हो, जानें देकर नहीं, अव्यवस्था पैदा कर के नहीं, गुंडागर्दी को प्रभय दे कर नहीं। भारतीय जनसंघ तो कम से कम बिलकुल इस को पसंद नहीं करता। हम यही चाहते हैं कि शांति के साथ हो

इसलिए मैं फिर उसी मांग को दोहरा रहा हूँ और जिन जिन लोगों ने जन-आन्दोलन के जरिए अष्ट शासन को नीचे लाने का काम किया है उन सब को मैं हार्दिक धन्यवाद देता हूँ। आगे चल कर भी जब जब कोई अष्ट शासन आए नाहें वह किन्हीं भी दल का हो और अष्ट तरीके अपना कर चुनाव भी जीत कर गद्दी पर बैठने की कोशिश करे तो जन शक्ति को संगठित कर के गद्दी से नीचे लोग उसे खींचेंगे, छोड़ेंगे नहीं। उन्मत्त शासकों को नीचे लाने का इस देश में काम हुआ है और आगे भी होगा। हम यह नहीं चाहते कि इस तरह हो। इसलिए तुरत विधान सभा को भंग करें, नए चुनाव की तैयारी करें और जन आन्दोलन जो उभर कर आया है उसे मन्तुष्ट करें।

- श्री राम सहाय पांडे : (राजनन्दागांव)
कभी कभी राजनीति के परिवेश में यह भाष्य करना बड़ा कठिन होता है कि इंग राज नीति का अर्थ क्या है? क्या यह है कि आन्दोलन चले, सामूहिक उत्तरदायित्व के परिवेश से बाहर निकल कर लगी हुई आग को और भड़का दें या जनतंत्र की रक्षा के लिए अपने दायित्व को अपने आप में आह्वान करें या कोई बात अगर सही हो रही है तो उसका समर्थन हो और सही नहीं हो रही है तो उसका विरोध हो? मैंने इसलिए यह कहा कि हमें बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ जब श्री जय प्रकाश जी जिनका बड़ा आदर सारे देश में है वह वहां गए और विद्यार्थियों का आह्वान करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि वर्तमान परिस्थिति को देखते हुए उन्हें चाहिये कि कालेज छोड़ दें और सड़कों पर आ जाए। मैं दृष्टिकोण की बात बहवा हूँ, उनकी निन्दा नहीं कर रहा हूँ। नम्भव है उन के दृष्टिकोण से यह आह्वान उचित हो और उनके प्रोचिन्त्य

को सिद्ध करते या प्रयोग भी उन्होंने किया। मोरारजी भाई ने कल ही कहा— उन को भी मदन बड़े आदर भाव से देखता है चाहे वह हमारे माय ही या विरोध में ही— कि जो कुछ हो रहा है उसके लिए अब हमारे पास कुछ नहीं रहा, केवल इतना ही रह गया है कि हम आमरण अनशन करें।

श्री इयात्मन्धन विश्व यह घोषणा उन्होंने नहीं की।

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय लेकिन हमें यह सुन कर अच्छा नहीं लगा। दुख हुआ कि क्या परिस्थिति ऐसी आ गई है कि हमारे राष्ट्र नेता को अनशन करने की बात संचारी पड़े या सर्वोदय नेता श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण उनका आह्वान करने की स्थिति में आ गए हैं। ककस आफ दी प्राबलैम यही है।

हमार जो विद्यार्थी मारे गए है उन के प्रति स्वयं संवेदना की भावना प्रकट करते है। आखिर कोई न कोई निराकरण होना चाहिये, उन की जान गई, हम को निरर्थक नहीं मानना चाहिये—यह दृष्टिकोण मैं स्वयं अपने आप में मानता हूँ। आखिर राष्ट्रपति का शासन यहाँ क्यों लागू किया गया, किन तिये लागू किया गया? जब पता चला कि शासन में भ्रष्टाचार का नीलवाला है, अनाज कहीं कम गया है यहाँ नहीं पहुँच रहा है या वितरण नहीं हो रहा है, तो क्या हम ने भी कभी कहा कि भ्रष्टाचार नहीं है, हम ने कभी ऐसा नहीं कहा और ऐसे भ्रष्टाचार के प्रति यदि सारे देश के विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन करेंगे तो हम उस का समर्थन करेंगे। आज भ्रष्टाचार ने देश को खोखला कर दिया है ...

श्री इयात्मन्धन विश्व एन्वयायरो कमीशन क्यों नहीं बिताने है ?

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय एन्वयायरो कमीशन भी कष्ट है, उन की फायदेमि भी कुछ नहीं है। भ्रष्टाचार जीवन के किसी भी क्षेत्र को स्पर्श करता हो, राजनीति हो, नैतिक हो, आर्थिक हो या धन से सबंध रखता हो, जहाँ भी भ्रष्टाचार है समाज सुचारु रूप से नहीं चल सकता। हमारे देश में अनाज की कमी होने हुए भी जितना आर्थिकीति है उतनी चीज की कमी नहीं है लेकिन हम स्वीकार करते है कि कहीं न कहीं भ्रष्टाचार है, कहीं न कहीं मुनाफा खोरी है, कहीं न कहीं एजडन्टेगन है, कहीं न कहीं माल छिपा हुआ है माल पहुँच नहीं पाता है, कभी कभी यह भी होता है कि माल लदा हुआ है, जहाज पर मान लदा हुआ है—एक आवाहन मजदूरों को दिया गया—अनलोडिंग रुक गई। लोकोमोशन को भी इस में बसीटता हूँ, महाराष्ट्र को अनाज जहाँ रहा था, मुझे तारीख याद है, लोकोमोशन न स्ट्राइक कर दी, नतीजा यह हुआ कि माल लेट पहुँचा। जब इस तरह का वातावरण देश में पैदा हो जाता है तब हमारी गह उच्छा है, हमारे मन की यह भावना है कि हम इस खतरनाक स्थिति को देखते हुए, उन भडकती हुई आग को देखते हुए धक्कती हुई भावनाओं को देखते हुये, यह न समझे कि इस समस्या के समाधान की हमारी जिम्मेदारी नहीं है, हम सामूहिक दायित्व को धुना नहीं सकते। ऐन मौके पर यदि हम जर्मन पर या सी० पी० एम० पर लाठन लगायेंगे तो उन में आप श्री उगदा भड़केगी।

लेकिन विद्यार्थियों के प्रति हम अवसर पर श्री जयप्रकाश बाबू ने जो विचार प्रकट किये, उस का एक दृष्टिकोण यह भी हो सकता था कि मैं ग्रहमदाबाद आया हूँ—जैसे वीराचारी कान्ठ के अवसर पर गाँधी जी ने किया था, उन्होंने आन्दोलन वापस लिया था

[श्री राम सहाय पांडेय]

श्रीर कहा था कि, हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही हुई है। उस समय पुलिस स्टेशन जलाने गये थे, दक्षिण उस समय वे पुलिस स्टेशन अग्नेजो के थे, फिर भी उन्होंने आन्दोलन वापस ले लिया था, उसी तरह य जयप्रकाश नारायण जी भी वह सबने थे—पेने प्याने विद्यार्थियो, हम तुम्हारे साथ है, आत्मा से, कर्म से, विचारों से, भावनाओं, से तुम आन्दोलन बन्द कर दो, हम सरकार पर नैतिक प्रेशर बन्द कर दो, हम सरकार पर नैतिक प्रेशर डालेंगे।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Is there anything of morality left in your Government? Whom are you sermonising?

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय : यह एक दृष्टिकोण हो सकता था। जय प्रकाश नारायण बाबू जब भिण्ड और मुरैना के डाकुओं का हृदय परिवर्तन कर सकते थे तो यहाँ भी उसी दृष्टिकोण का उपयोग कर सकते थे। उस समय भी हम ने उन का समर्थन किया था और आज भी हम उन का समर्थन करते..

श्री सार गुहा : डाकुओं का हो सकता है, लेकिन पोलिटीकल डाकुओं का नहीं हो सकता।

They are for letter than politicians like you.

श्री रामसहाय पांडेय : उस समय हम ने उन का समर्थन किया और उन डाकुओं को एक अच्छा नागरिक बनाने का प्रयास था, जो प्रक्रिया थी उस में हम ने सहयोग दिया।

एक यह भी दृष्टिकोण भी हो सकता था कि वे कहते कि हम यहाँ से नहीं जायेंगे, जब तक तुम अपना आन्दोलन वापस नहीं लो, हम सरकार पर नैतिक प्रेशर डालेंगे कि विधान सभा बंद कर दी जाये।

मोरारजी भाई का भी एक दृष्टिकोण है—लेकिन मोरारजी भाई राजनीति में विनोबा भावे नहीं हैं, जय प्रकाश नारायण नहीं हैं—उन के मंत्रित्व-काल में भी 117 लोग मारे गये थे, लेकिन आज वह अनशन की बात कर रहे थे।

श्री मधु दण्डवते : उस वक्त पंडित जी ने आवाज उठाई थी, उस वक्त भी हम ने आवाज उठाई थी।

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय : लेकिन हम में और आप में फर्क क्या है (अप्यक्ष) . . .

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: There is a great difference. He is in the ruling party; we are in the Opposition. He says: What is the difference between him and Prof. Dandavate?

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय : लेकिन अभी कल तक तो हम और आप साथ-साथ थे। यह सब कांग्रेस की प्रोडक्ट है—मधु दण्डवते जी ने आप को कह रहा हूँ—हम में और आप में कोई फर्क नहीं।

श्री मधु दण्डवते : वह कांग्रेस आजादी के पहले की नीति कांग्रेस थी.. (अप्यक्ष)

श्री सार गुहा : यह नेता जी की कांग्रेस की प्रोडक्ट है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : उन बेचारों को क्यों बीच में लाते हो। उस तरफ कम्युनिस्टों की प्रोडक्ट है और इन तरफ गांधी जी और नेता जी की प्रोडक्ट है।

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय : मैं निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि वे विद्यार्थियों से कहते कि तुम आन्दोलन वापस लो। मैं अहमदाबाद आया हूँ—मैं इस सरकार पर नैतिक प्रेशर डालूंगा। कांग्रेस (श्री) के यहाँ तीन-चार सदस्य हैं, उस के बावजूद भी मोरारजी भाई का व्यक्तित्व आज भी बहुत ऊंचा है,

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डे]¹

हम उन की बहुत इज्जत करत है व कहते है कि मैं इस हिंसात्मक आन्दोलन का विरोध करता हूँ । यह आन्दोलन जिस का श्रीगणेश गुजरात मे हुआ है — गुजरात एक शान्तिस्थली मानी जाती है, आज भी रवि शंकर जी महाराज वहाँ बैठे हुए है, जो भारत शिरोमणि हैं, जिन को देख कर श्रद्धा उमड आती है । गुजरात की कुछ परम्परायें भी है, गुजरात एक शांति प्रिय स्थान है—ऐसे गुजरात मे इस तरह की घटनायें हो, इस से हमारा मिरलज्जा से झुक जाता है और मन को दुख भी होता है । लेकिन यह मन झुलिये—गुजरात मे आरम्भ होने वाला यह आन्दोलन लोकतन्त्र को ले डुबेगा । आज हम ने मुना कि सूत्र मे किसी का मुण्डन १७ के गधे पर बैठाया गया और गधे ने भी ले जाने से “ना” कर दी

SHRI SAMAR GUHA It is much more humane and much more dignified than killing youngmen every day, every morning and every evening.

14 49 hrs

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डे मैं ममझता हूँ कि अगर जनतन्त्र की रक्षा के लिए सामहिक दायित्व पान ममझा और डा. तर्क चलने दिया आप हमे नाछित करे और हम आप को लाच्छित करे — इस से जनकी स्वच्छ परम्परा स्थापित नही होगी । जहा तक भ्रष्टाचार का सम्बन्ध है—हम आप के साथ हैं । अगर आप ने कोई आवाज उठाई है जो एक अच्छी बात है तो शामक दल का कर्नव्य है कि उस को स्वीकार करे , क्योकि जनतन्त्र और लोकतन्त्र मे विरोधी दल का सम्मान-पूर्वक स्थान है—हम इस परम्परा को मानत है । तो फिर आप भी हृदय पर हाथ रख कर देखिये क्या आप ने अपने दायित्व का निर्वाह किया है या कर र है । चलो

हम नही करत हैं, लेकिन आप करते हैं क्या ? भाग लगाना बहुत आसान है , लेकिन ममाधान करना बहुत कठिन है । यह दायित्व उम के ऊपर बहुत ज्यादा है, जिस को जनता ने यह दायित्व दिया है । मैं समझता हूँ अगर आप इस राय से मुत्तफिक है, आप इस को स्वीकार करते है कि गुजरात के सदन को भंग कर देना चाहिये, उस के भंग करने से शान्ति आती है तो एक मिनट मे उसे भंग कर देना चाहिये .

श्री इयाम नन्दन मिश्र हम लोग इस मामले मे बिलकुल एम्मत है ।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डे और एक और अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री को भी चाहिये कि विरोधी दलो के नेताओं को बुला ले उन से परामर्श भी कर ले क्यो कि प्रश्न किसी एग को गधे पर बठाने मे या जबरदस्ती हस्तीफा लेने मे हल नही होना होगा और यह भी भयठीक है कि गोली चलाने से भी नही होगा, फौज बुलाने से भी नही होगा लेकिन यह भी एक मीरन ड्युटि रसब पर लोकतन्त्र को चनाने की यदि यह मछया बिगड गई, चाहे हम भी उम के साथ ही क्यो न हो फिर बन नही सकती यह लोकतन्त्र की प्रतिभा अगर टटी तो मब के लिये टूटेगी हम को खुशी नही होना अगर गोली चलायी जाय जब कि अना जकी कमी हो , भ्रष्टाचार हो, अनाज का बिनरण ठोक ठीक से न हो सके, हमे यह अच्छा नही लगता जब हम एक इस बात को सोचने है । तो अरने मे एक एसा कप्पैस पैदा होना है कि कैसे इस का साधान होगा । और जब मे अनुभव करना हूँ कि हमारे ही क्षेत्र मे लोग कहत है कि हम ने आप को बोट दिया हम अनाज नही मिलता है तो हमे दुख होता है और देखना होता है कि क्या बात है । मैं विरोधी दलो से अपील करता हूँ कि आप एक राउन्ड टेबिल कानफरेंस मे बैठ कर कुछ मौनिक लोगतन्त्र मे सबधित

[श्री राम सह्याय पाण्डे]

बातों का निर्णय करें, बनजाय इसके धारा को और सड़कार्य जितनी आप के पास शक्ति है, हम कहते हैं कि वह शक्ति आप की और बड़े, आप की जितनी शक्ति बढेगी हम उतने ही अलर्ट होंगे और आप की बात मानी जायेगी लेकिन आप ने अगर उस प्रतिज्ञा को छोड़ने की कोशिश की तो हम पर आप के व्यक्तित्व का प्रभाव नहीं पड़ेगा।

एक यह प्रश्न तबनिर्माण समिति के विद्यार्थियों में पूछा जा सकता है कि इस की क्या गारन्टी कि विधान सभा के भंग करने के बाद भी यह हिंसा की शर्यात नहीं चलेगी अगर कुछ लोग, नेता लोग और सब लोग प्रजाजी बैठे है और गुजरात में है सब इस तरह के वातावरण निर्माण में सहयोग दें और आश्वासन दें कि जिम्मा को प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिलेगा तो साम्प्रदायिक समाधान निरस्त सकता है। सर्वोच्च प्रश्न है शानि और उम प्रतिभा की रक्षा करना जो हमारा सर्वोच्च कर्तव्य है कि जिस की रक्षा यानी लोकतन्त्र की रक्षा हम चाहते हैं। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि न तो मोरारजी भाई के अन्तर्धान को आवश्यकता पड़े, न जयप्रकाश नागयण को यह कहने की आवश्यकता पड़े कि कालेज छोड़ दो। बहुत आसान है इस प्रकार की बात कह देना। लेकिन जब कालेज छोड़ देंगे, लड़के, मान लीजिये यह शासक दल कल को उधर बैठे, तो फिर आप भी नहीं ठहर सकते उस प्रवाह में। हमें एक ऐसे स्थायित्व को जन्म देना है सकल्प शक्ति और प्रतिभा जो बनी हुई है उस को बनाये रखना है उस का औचित्य बनाये रखना है ताकि कहीं ऐसा न हो कि वह प्रतिभा टूट जाय, भंग हो जाय और हम अपने दायित्व से विमुख हो जायें।

SHRI J MATHA GOWDER (Nil-girls) Mr. Chairman, on behalf of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, I rise to say a few words on the Statutory Resolution seeking the approval of this House for the issuance of Presidential Proclamation in relation to the State of Gujarat.

Sir here I am reminded of the word nemesis you must be aware of the fact that at the instigation of ruling Congress Party here, Shri Chumanbhai Patel and his friends defected from the Congress Organisation Party and brought down the Hitendra Desai Ministry. Though Shri Chumanbhai Patel might have entertained the hope of succeeding Shri Hitendra Desai as the Chief Minister the Central Government headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi nominated Shri Ghanshyam Oza as the Chief Minister of Gujarat. He was not an elected member of the Gujarat State Assembly but still he was made the Chief Minister of Gujarat. Having gained the experience in toppling Hitendra Desai Ministry, Shri Chumanbhai Patel and his friends could not keep quiet. It is common knowledge that Shri Chumanbhai Patel was instrumental in bringing the fall of Oza Ministry. Shri Chumanbhai Patel did not allow the Oza Ministry to last even for two years. He fulfilled the ambition of becoming the Chief Minister of Gujarat. But nemesis overtook him and he could not rule the State even for six months. Shri Chumanbhai Patel it is pathetic that the ruling party was made to resign by the people of Gujarat. He has also been expelled from the ruling Congress Party. Sir Members here speak of the corrupt practices indulged in by Shri Chumanbhai Patel after he has been expelled from the Congress Party.

Sir, it has been accepted by all, including the ruling party here, that the movement against the Government in Gujarat was spontaneous and was not backed by any political parties. The movement spearheaded by Nava Nirman Samiti was based on the fact that enough foodgrains were not available to the people. The supply being made available to them through fair-price shops was so meagre that it was not enough even for one meal a day. Sir there was bumper harvest of groundnut crop. In spite of that the price of groundnut oil, which is the staple food of the people of Gujarat did not come down. What was the reason? It has been reported in the Press that at the instance of the ruling party here Chimanbhai Patel Ministry allowed the traders to hoard the groundnut and the traders were pleased to donate substantial funds to the election fund of the ruling Congress Party. It has also been reported that the people of Gujarat felt that Shri Chimanbhai Patel also made money. The people of Gujarat, unable to bear the pangs of hunger and not being able to tolerate the widespread corruption, rose as one man demanding the removal of Chimanbhai Patel Ministry. The Central Government might have thought that the people of Gujarat were mere Sabarmathi goats, but they have become Gir Forest lions whom the Central Government have not been able to appease, in spite of using repressive measures with the help of Police and Army. The people who demanded food got bullets. The people who wanted corruption to be rooted out from public life were subjected to police firing. It is said that more than 100 young men have lost their lives and thousands of people have been injured in police firings. The Central Government on the face of determined efforts of the people of Gujarat was compelled to impose the President's rule, after making Chimanbhai Patel resign from chief minister-ship.

Sir, after he was expelled from the Congress, Shri Chimanbhai Patel has

stated that he wanted 15000 tonnes of foodgrains immediately to tide over the situation, but the Central Government did not supply the required quantity of foodgrains. He did not say this when he was in power. The wholesale trade in foodgrains has been taken over by the Central Government and it is the bounden duty of the Central Government to distribute foodgrains properly and adequately to all the deficit areas in the country. Previously it was all right for the Central Government to blame the traders for hoarding foodgrains and for improper distribution of foodgrains. Now the Central Government cannot afford to blame either the private traders nor the Opposition parties for violent agitations against paucity of foodgrains. The blame for food agitation rests squarely on the Central Government. If the Central Government had rushed foodgrains to the people of Gujarat in time such a serious situation would not have arisen.

If the Central Government were not in a position to do this, it could have allowed at least the surplus states in foodgrains to rush foodgrains to the State of Gujarat. For example, my Government in Tamil Nadu have not only made the State self-sufficient in foodgrains but also a surplus State. Even though the Tamil Nadu Government was in a position to rush foodgrains to Gujarat, and such other deficit States, the Central Government intervened and directed that the surplus should first come to the Central pool. A neighbouring surplus State will have to remain a silent spectator of the starvation deaths in the deficit State.

When the people of Gujarat are aggrieved and have risen in revolt, is it not the duty of the Prime Minister of the country to visit the State and try to understand the genuine difficulties of the people? Did she or her Home Minister visit the State of Gujarat when the turbulent situation prevailed there? No. She was busy in visiting Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, and Pondicherry and attending to the elec-

[J. Matha Gowdet]

tions there and lying any number of foundation-stones. These seemed to be more important for her than understanding the problems of the people of Gujarat. The ruling Congress Party, while blaming the Opposition Parties, including Congress Organisation Party for spreading violence in Gujarat, had no compunction in joining hands with the Congress Organisation Party in Pondicherry and Tamil Nadu for fighting the elections. Shrimati Indira Gandhi could not talk to the Opposition Leaders in Gujarat, but the welcomed the alliance with Shri Kanaraj, the leader of Congress Organisation in Tamil Nadu. For political expediency, even the problems of the people are at a premium.

Sir, what do the people of Gujarat want? They want the dissolution of the Assembly. Many members of the Assembly have resigned. Even at this state, the Central Government argue that the Assembly would not be dissolved as that would be submitting to violence. I would like to state that in this violence the people of Gujarat only are losing their lives.

Before I conclude, I would like to know whether the Central Government have supplied at least now enough quantities of foodgrains to Gujarat. If it has not been done, the Central Government should not make it a question of prestige, but ask the surplus States like Tamil Nadu to rush foodgrains to Gujarat. Similarly instead of arguing that dissolution of the Assembly would be a submission to violence, the Central Government should dissolve the State Assembly in appreciation of the legitimate demands of the people of Gujarat.

Sir, in conclusion, I would remind this House of Bharathiar's famous saying that if a single man is denied food he will not hesitate to destroy the whole world. Bearing this in mind, the Central Government should

rush enough foodgrains to the people of Gujarat.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat): I rise to support the Resolution. Before I say anything in support of it, I would like to sympathise with the lives lost in the agitation launched in Gujarat and I convey through you my heartfelt condolences to those bereaved families.

It is agreed on all hands that the short supply of essential commodities and price hike are the reasons for the agitation launched in Gujarat. It is curious that this short supply of essential commodities and price hike could be the reasons for the agitation in Gujarat because Gujarat is supposed to be one of the affluent States in India.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: It is not.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: It may not be that affluent as we understand by that term in reference to western countries, but is definitely a better off State so far as the Indian standard is concerned. Therefore, if price rise could not be a reason for agitation in Orissa or West Bengal.....

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: It is not correct.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE:....if shortage of essential commodities could not be a reason for agitation in Andhra or Tamil Nadu, I fail to understand how these two reasons could be the cause for agitation in Gujarat. The reason lies elsewhere.

Today's newspapers give a very peculiar picture of agitation in Gujarat, am reading from the *Motherland* The headline reads 'MLA PARADED ON DONKEY WITH BLACK INK FACE'. Then it says:

"The infuriated public dragged him"

one of the MLAs who refused to resign in deference to the wish of the agitators—

“out of his friend's house shaved him clean, blackened his face and tried to parade him on the back of a donkey”.

Therefore, the sole question before this Parliament today is: should we surrender to mob rule or go by the established norm in the country? As you know, this is the only country in Asia where democracy could survive. Whichever country got independence in Asia after 1947, all those countries have been overruled by *coups-d'etat*. In no other country of Asia could democracy survive. It is only in India that we have now kept democracy alive. But that democracy has been attacked.

It is a very amusing thing to see how all cross interests have entered into a 'holy' alliance in Gujarat. The Marxists Communists were never there in Gujarat, but the moment the agitation was launched, one of the leaders of the Marxist Communist Party runs away to Gujarat to do whatever he can to fan the agitation. It is very interesting to know that all these cross interests have entered into a 'holy' alliance there.

What is the type of agitation we are seeing in Gujarat? From today's papers we get an account of the national properties that are being destroyed. They attacked government grain godowns, grain shops, oil depots, state transport buses looted grocery shops, fair price shops, remanged public and private property by stone throwing and arson. This is the nature of the agitation we are seeing in Gujarat. Will the members of the Opposition say whether the properties being destroyed are the property of an individual only or of the nation? Do these properties come out of mere wish or one has to work for creating them? If government property is being destroyed, certainly it has to be contained. But

we also expected the Opposition to condemn this destruction of national property. Unfortunately, not a single Member from the Opposition till now has condemned the destruction of national property. They say that the shortage of essential commodities is one of the reasons for this agitation. Do they not know that by this destruction one cannot produce but merely destroy? If we are to remove the reasons for this agitation, we are to produce. But unfortunately not a Member from the Opposition has given a call to the country to produce so that the reason for this agitation can be removed.

As I said, only in our country democracy survives, but the pre-conditions of democracy are being attacked by the Members of the Opposition. If we want democracy to survive, we must have respect for democracy. The people have accepted the democratic norms in the country. They have set up this Parliament; they have set up the Legislative Assemblies in the States. Whatever agitations they have, whatever differences they have, they have a forum to ventilate their grievances. It is at their instance that they have given up this forum and they have jumped to the streets and taken up the methods of the streets to coerce others and scuttle the established norms of the country. But the Opposition must understand that this would not pay.

What was agitating my mind was who is financing this agitation. Only in today's newspapers I read that as many as 1,000 agitators are row in Delhi. Who is paying them the travelling expenses? Who is paying for their stay in Delhi? And they are determined not to go back to Gujarat unless and until the Gujarat Assembly is dissolved. Who are financing them?

AN HON. MEMBER: Your party.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: Is it the students?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: What is your information? Please tell us.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: If you have patience I will tell you. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt.

AN HON. MEMBER: Because he is provoking.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can speak when your turn comes. But please do not interrupt listen patiently.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: You may kindly remind them that whenever they speak we have patience to hear them even if they do not speak sense—I do not say nonsense—we hear them. We have that training and we have that respect for democracy and we know that if we want democracy to survive in India we must have that respect.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: You have shown your respect for democracy in the Gaighat election.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I will come to Gaighat if time permits.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not go astray; stick to Gujarat. Do not get provoked.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: It was published in the newspapers that the army was called out to help the civil administration. There were people to garland the army people. Who are those persons who were garlanding the army?

AN HON. MEMBER: Police constables.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: Who are those people who have taken this extreme step of welcoming the army for this purpose? Is it that simple? From what class do those students who are reported to have garlanded them come? Do they come from the ex-

ploiting class? As you know, these students are supposed to have come from the affluent sections. As I was telling you, Gujarat happens to be a comparatively better-off State. And so, in this agitation, those people from the affluent sections have taken up the leadership.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not get away with the impression that all the students come from the affluent class. That is not correct.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: May be that is your opinion. I hold this opinion that most of the students come from the affluent sections and that those who can afford to maintain their sons and daughters in city or a town do have some means and that they do not belong to the exploited classes. I hold this opinion that the student community, by and large, come from the affluent sections.

I will tell you what is the motive behind it. In Gujarat we have a lawfully constituted Government. Till now we have a lawfully constituted Assembly. Mob pressure is that the Assembly should be dissolved. If you want to hold the elections, you have to incur expenses and the national exchequer has to bear the burden. Therefore, a reasonable time should be given to see if normalcy returns and if that Assembly can serve the purpose for which it was constituted.

The hon. Member from the DMK tells us that since the Presidential election is to be held in August and since the Congress Party is in need of the votes of the Gujarat MLAs, they are not dissolving the Gujarat Assembly. We do have more than the requisite strength to get our candidate elected as President, Gujarat or no Gujarat. (*Interruptions*). That is no reason for not dissolving the Assembly. There should not be any surrender to mob rule. If they believe that they can force the Government to take this decision they are suffering from some mistakes.

Every one will remember that the hon. Member Shri Morarji Desai was elected to this House in 1971. But he refrained from functioning in this House. Only the other day he broke his silence. The country was given to understand that he had given up politics and had taken to astrology and all the time he was prophesying that Shrimati Indira Gandhi would be out of office in 18 months. That period ended with February 1974. That astrological prediction had been repeated by him all the time.

Now, Sir, that did not come true. February has already passed by. It seems that Shrimati Indira Gandhi will continue in office....

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): He might have meant February 1976.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: Therein, perhaps lies the root of all the evils. Sir, in Gujarat, the Syndicate happens to be the Opposition Party. Shri Morarji Desai prophesied that Shrimati Indira Gandhi would go out of office in eighteen months time. He found no symptoms that the Indian people would like the Prime Minister to go out of office. Only the other day, we had elections, in the biggest State of the country, Uttar Pradesh, as well as in Orissa. The people's mandate was with Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: Out of 168 Members, the Congress has 140 Members. Nobody knew that Shri Chimanbhai Patel's Ministry would go out of office within two or three months time. If that can happen, in the same manner....

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can say all this when your turn comes. Why do you want to interrupt? You will get a chance. You can say all this when your turn comes. Let us observe some decorum. It is not within the Rules. Please do not repeat. No running commentary is allowed.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: Whenever I interrupt, you stop me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot interrupt. Please read Rule 349.

SHRI SOMCHAND SOLANKI: It is the right of every Member.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not so.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: Sir, once again, the country reposed faith in Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They could not stand this. Therefore, there was this necessity of just putting a new force into the agitation. Shri Morarji Desai, somehow or other, made that agitation successful. If it is his dream that he can bring about the fall of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, through this agitation in Gujarat, he is merely having a mid-summer night's dream.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Sir, on a point of order. Is he speaking on the President's Rule or Shri Morarji Desai. I fail to understand. Is it allowed under the Rules?

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: I submit that this agitation is hundred per cent politically motivated. The political parties, including the Syndicate, who have been condemned by the people more than once, times without number, are trying to survive politically through this agitation.

When I went to my residence to take my lunch, I found this Appeal. This appeal is full of nonsense and stupid English. I presume this has been sent to every Member of Parliament. This is a printed appeal. I would like to read out the last two paragraphs.

"Our Government gave national awards to films showing BLACK MARKETING, CORRUPTION Etc., e.g. "JAGTE-RAHO" but for giving advice to others and till today they kept themselves in SLEEP as they have licences.

But, today this NAVNIRMAN MOVEMENT is to make everybody

[Shri A. K. M. Ishaque]

JAGTE RAHO. I request and appeal to all to have a **REVOLUTION** with a word a real slogan **"INQLAB ZINDABAD.**

STARY TODAY A FIGHT TO FINISH GAME."

So, the question is wherefrom all this money starts coming from. This is hundred per cent politically-motivated agitation.

Therefore, I support this Resolution and I say that the lawfully constituted Assembly must be given a chance to survive. If there is any chance of this Assembly functioning, it must be given that chance to function. Otherwise, let peace be restored first and then let the House be dissolved.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): Mr. Chairman, this discussion on the Statutory Resolution would have taken place on the floor of this House much earlier but for the fact that several notices from the members of the opposition parties, including that of mine, were not admitted.

MR CHAIRMAN: For want of sufficient strength .

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Sir, you must apply the rule strictly to you also. This remark is against the rules. You should be there to follow and regulate the rules.

I am sorry to say that while Gujarat is burning, the Neros in Delhi are fiddling. At the outset, I deeply mourn the death of those innocent persons who have been killed by police firings and those innocent persons who have become invalid or infirm due to injuries by police firing during the agitation against the price rise, against the non-availability of foodgrains and essential articles of life, against corruption and against non-dissolution of the State Legislature in Gujarat. I express my condolences to the bereaved families and I also express my deep sympathies to

those persons who were injured during the agitation.

I would like to congratulate the people of Gujarat in general, and the students and teachers in the colleges and universities in particular for having initiated, organised and continued the agitation, which has resulted in the resignation of the Chamanbhai Government, the imposition of President's Rule and the removal of ban on inter-State movement of coarse grains.

According to a survey made by one Professor of the Gujarat School of Social Sciences, 53 per cent of the students of Gujarat are missing a meal every day. While this is the position, three more batalions were deployed after 6th March to unleash force on the people of Gujarat with the help of SAP, BSF, CRP and even the army. Yet, it is a matter for rejoicing that these forces have not been able to cow down the spirit of the people of Gujarat or the students and teachers of Gujarat. That is why I take this opportunity to congratulate those brave people and the students of Gujarat.

Today, it has appeared in the press that the Baroda unit of the Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti has made a charge in a statement in Delhi University that the Centre was spending huge amounts of money to purchase the Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti leaders but the tactics of the ruling party have not succeeded in creating a rift amongst the rank and file of the Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti. That is why I once again congratulate the students of the Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti.

There was President's Rule in Gujarat from May, 1971 to March, 1972. While speaking on the Resolution of the President's Rule in Gujarat, I pointed out to the House how the stable and clean Congress (O) Government headed by Shri Hitendra Desai was made to fall by defections based on corruption. In March, 1972,

the Assembly elections were held and the ruling party got 140 seats in a House of 168 seats. At that time, there was the Indira wave due to *Garibi Hatao* slogan. The Prime Minister during her tour of Gujarat promised to the people of Gujarat that if her party was voted to power, the dispute regarding Narmada water would be solved. Neither *Garibi has* been hataoed nor the Prime Minister has given her award on the Narmada water dispute.

The Ghanshyam Oza Government was made to fall by defections from one group, that is, from Mr. Oza group to Mr. Chimanbhai Patel group, again, based on corruption. Mr. Chimanbhai Patel became the Chief Minister of Gujarat State against the will of the Prime Minister. May I tell the honourable House that before the fall of the Hitendra Desai Government, Gujarat was free from corruption. It is the ruling party which is responsible for introducing corruption in the State of Gujarat. The MLAs belonging to the ruling party have been hankering after power and position since they were elected in March, 1972. They have totally neglected the cause and welfare of the people of Gujarat. They have continued to violate all standards of morality of public life. They have failed to provide a clean, stable and good Government in the State of Gujarat. So, the people of Gujarat have lost confidence in the MLAs of the ruling party. They have lost their confidence in their capacity to provide a clean and good Government in the State of Gujarat.

At this juncture, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the forecast made or the warning given by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, on 21st May, 1947, in his prayer speech made at Patna in Bihar. It is in Gujarati but I have translated it into English because if I read it in Gujarati it will serve no purpose. I quote:

“Our power like British power cannot last at the point of a bayonet if the Congressmen cheat the people who have sacrificed their lot and suffered great hardships in getting Swaraj and, again, if the Congressmen become masters instead of servants of the people, then I venture to forecast after my long years of experience, I may or may not be alive, that there will be revolt in the country and the people will beat the persons wearing white cap, and some third power will take advantage of this situation.”

This has exactly happened in the State of Gujarat. The people of Gujarat feel that, unless the Assembly is dissolved and fresh elections are held, there is no remedy; the President's rule is no remedy to root out corruption from Gujarat. The people of Gujarat have therefore, demanded that the suspended Assembly should be dissolved immediately and fresh elections should be held to get the people's verdict. The hon. Minister has said that he would not form a Ministry now; then he says that there would not be biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha from Gujarat. When 77 members have already resigned from a House of 168—and 47 belong to the ruling Congress—it is purely childish obstinacy. I should say, that the Assembly has not yet been dissolved.

AN HON. MEMBER: Foolish.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: You can also say 'foolish'.

श्री भोगेन्द्र ज्ञाने कहां कि इसेष्वर्नी
भंग नहीं की जाती है क्यों कि मोरार जी
भाई के आमरण अनशन की या ऐसी कुछ
बात उन्हें ने बही ।

It is not a fact. If you go through today's paper, you will find that it is reported in the press that is go-

[Shri K. S. Chavda]

ing to start a 'moral action movement' if the Assembly is not dissolved. You, Mr. Chairman, said while speaking that this was a movement of goondas...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I did not say that this was a movement of goondas. What I said was, goondas have infiltrated into it. Please do not misquote me

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: I would like to bring to the notice of the House that a member belonging to the ruling Congress killed three students and threw them into the creek. He is in the police custody. I do not want to say anything more. In the same way, recently, some days back, two students were killed in a meeting held by a Congress (R) member—they were killed by his men. Also in Ahmedabad a Congress (R) corporator opened fire on the students. He is in the police custody.

Mr. Ishaque was referring to violence. Has he condemned it? I do condemn violence resorted to by anybody, whether it is by these people or by anti-social elements, by anybody. The Navnirman Samiti is not composed of politicians. The politicians are exploiting the situation. These students do not belong to any political party. They have initiated this and that is why it is not right to blame the Opposition Party.

Dr. Mahipatray Mehta made a charge against Shri Babubhai Jashbai Patel who was a Minister then and who is the President of our Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee

18 hrs.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Why do they refer to him? Have they got a person of his calibre in their ranks?

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: One may ask a question as to why no inquiry was instituted when they are in power since 1972. That shows that his allegation has no truth at all.

I would like to make the following suggestions for immediate action by the Government.

(1) This has already been made and I am just reiterating. The Legislative Assembly should be dissolved immediately and fresh elections held without any loss of time.

(2) A judicial inquiry should be held into all the incidents of Police atrocities in all parts of Gujarat to cover all incidents of killing, injuries etc.

(3) Adequate compensation should be paid to the family members of the victims and the Government should provide them with continuous livelihood.

(4) A judicial probe should be made into the charges of corruption levelled against the former Ministers in the Oza and Chimanbhai Patel governments.

(5) All the persons arrested under MISA or DIR should be released immediately.

(6) The Government should supply adequate quantity of foodgrains in order to meet the requirements of the people entitled to foodgrains from fair-price shops at a uniform rate of 12 kg per head per month uninterruptedly. I say the 'entitled people' because those who are paying income-tax are not entitled to foodgrains from fair-price shops. Then the dealers who are registered under the Sales Tax Act are not entitled and some farmers who have one-sixth of the ceiling are not entitled.

I hope and trust that the Government would act upon my suggestions.

After solving the problem of Andhra Pradesh, according to the Prime Minister's choice, Shri Sarin, the Adviser....

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:

They must know: they cannot do an Andhra to Gujarat.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: This is Mr. Chavda's six-point formula for Gujarat.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Mr. Sarin, after solving the problem of Andhra Pradesh, according to the Prime Minister's choice, has been awarded Padma Vibhushan, if I mistake not and now it is said that if he solves the problem of Gujarat, according to the Prime Minister's wish, he will be made the Governor of Andhra Pradesh. I do not know whether the title of Padma Vibhushan awarded to him—will be withdrawn if he does not succeed. My advice to Mr. Sarin, the Adviser to the Governor of Gujarat is that he should act in the national interest and advise the Prime Minister to dissolve the suspended Assembly immediately and to give her award on the Narmada river issue.

SHRI D. D. DESAI (Kaira): I have great sympathies for the large number of boys and the people who have lost their lives, limbs and property. Sir, I want to restrict myself to the objectivity and truth and I would like to give an account of what actually happened and what we could do in prudence. The start of all this matter was almost in an insignificant place. It was in Morbi where a small group of boys protested against the increased food bill of mess. The Minister in charge, Mr. Iyasha Begum was a little firm and she insisted that the cost of it should be borne by the parents and not by the State. From that the agitation moved to Ahmedabad Engineering College and now centres, but it was not noticeable. In Bardoli certain raids were being carried out on account of levy and the farmers took to agitation and certain groups coun-

teracted; that agitation came to an end comparatively in a short time but the facts of it did have certain enhancement of student movement and student agitation.

16.08 hrs.

Shri Jagannathrao Joshi in the Chair)

We must accept that it was not solely one group or any individual who has been involved. High prices and shortages were the factors which were at the bottom of the frayed tempers. The high price phenomena has been universal and it has affected everybody in India to a great extent particularly because we in India have living standards which are only marginal and do not have any surplus to pay for the difference. People suffer great hardship and this hardship is more in India comparatively because their income has not correspondingly advanced as it has advanced in certain other countries. The people's mind was so much frustrated that at that point they found that the high expectations which they had were not met. There were low productions, low food availability, inadequate supply of essential commodities. They thought this could be had from neighbouring States and this was one of the effective ways they were thinking how this problem could be solved. Monopoly procurement of foodgrains and inter-State restrictions had adverse effect on a State like Gujarat which is deficit in food but is surplus in agricultural production. It is essentially a cash crop State where items like cotton, groundnut, oilseeds, tobacco, karyana, spices etc. are produced that yielded a better return to investors. They were rather prepared to produce such items as had a higher market value. The movements of the products from Gujarat had not only been free but Central Government and State Government insisted on their remaining free and to that extent Gujarat people felt frustrated that whatever they produce are allowed to be taken out of the State freely.

[Shri D. D. Desai]

Whatever they have to get, there is restriction.

This is one of the things on which the people have been fighting. We must recognise that some solution by this august House will have to be found out.

Regarding the agitation, one was against the Education Minister. Subsequently it was against the Civil Supplies Minister. The agitation was, in fact, to send them out or remove them from their portfolios. First the portfolio of the Civil Supplies Minister was taken out. At that point of time some power hungry people—I must concede that partly the blame of promoting agitation is on our side also—and some of our own party people joined hands with the other people for removing the ministers. By encouraging an agitation to an extent, everybody had thought initially, that it could be controlled. But, slowly, it reached a stage from where it became almost impossible to control it. We have conceded the point of removing the Chief Minister and that President's Rule should be imposed. And therefore, to-day, we have the President's Rule. This is according to the wishes of the people of Gujarat. The main difficulty of the ruling party is that the demands have come in instalments. Up to what point this demand should be considered? Whether the demand of the people, particularly, of students, for dissolution of the Assembly should be accepted? If that is accepted, would it solve the problem? Would it result in holding a fresh election? Here comes the judgment and without hesitation agree to dissolution. In retrospect we cannot say that we have not conceded the demands. We have to concede it upto dissolution point. The last of their demands was for the removal of the Chief Minister himself and we did concede it.

I have some information which might interest this House. Since 1837 the State had no Chief Minister from

the rural area and that too from among the farmers. So far as Gujarat is concerned, its governance was concentrated in the hands of the urban people. To that extent it carried the impression that greater representation was from the non rural non-farmers community.

Regarding coming into power of Shri Chimanbhai, this was controversial. To become Chief Minister, to my knowledge, he did not resort to corruption. The fact is that in the party we had two people who were so abrasive and that gave support to this gentleman. This had also resulted in a certain amount of embarrassment both to the Centre and to the people who were associated with or who would like to support him. There has been complaint that the agitation was directed against corruption. I would say like this. We should find out alternative legal ways for meeting the election expenses. Whether it is this party or any other party, that is immaterial, the money can come from two sources only—one from foreign sources and the other from black market sources. Now, neither of these two sources is acceptable to us and we have to dispense with them at the earliest possible date and resort to a legal method of donations. I remember in the past we used to donate money and get the receipt and the accounts were audited and subsequently passed by General Body.

We are talking about democracy and we do concede that 140 people were elected democratically. We do concede that the method of violence is not the right approach to a problem. Destroying one's own property is not rational. But I would not condemn—because no one would like to beat one's own wife or children or destroy on furniture utensils and so on if alternative ways of expressing frustration were effective.

Now I skip over some of the items and come to the 'solution' of the problem. The solution lies in increasing productivity, removing unemployment and giving a definite amount of im-

petus to our economy. For doing this we have a large number of possibilities and from among them we should consider the farm productivity which is at present dependant on rain gods. We should develop irrigation facilities and electric power. Early building of Naygaon dam on the river Narbada will alone result in a saving of 2 million tonnes of crude oil worth Rs. 100 crores of foreign exchange annually.

Sir, since you are repeatedly ringing the bell and as I am in the habit of sitting down on the very first bell I discontinue my speech here and thank the Chair for giving me the extra time.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful to you for accommodating me for a few minutes. I as an independent unattached Member have many disadvantages but one advantage that I have in a situation like this is that I can be very detached. I do not have any vested interest like any other political party. If I use that advantage I could very rightly tell my ruling party friends that the Government in the case of Gujarat is behaving foolishly, idiotically and criminally. That is making a fetish of the Constitution and constitutional procedures. The fact remains that there has been a mass upsurge. The Government are behaving foolishly when they credit the entire Opposition parties with this mass upsurge. On the one hand, they say that the Opposition has no moorings anywhere, we have a massive mandate; on the other they say that the Opposition parties have been so successful in managing and staging such a big crisis. When they say this, they are paying a compliment to the Opposition parties.

The fact of the situation in Gujarat is that there the political parties particularly have become absolutely irrelevant. Of course, later on the political parties are trying to cash in on the situation. But the fact remains that it was the people in general irrespective of political parties—in fact, they refused to listen to the political

parties—have risen in revolt basically because of shortages and then, of course, the rampant corruption. The talk of corruption has not been from the Opposition alone. Shri Chhnanbhai Patel, who has been thrown out of the Congress, is also talking today of corruption.

The fact remains that the Congress Government has become very insensitive to what people are saying. That is why people are reacting to the situation in the manner they are doing. It will be in the best interests of parliamentary institutions and in the interest of strengthening those institutions if the Government instead of making a fetish of whether the Constitution allows it or not, whether they have a majority or not, realise that there is a situation now delay in solving which can only add disgrace to it. If they act, and act with grace, the only solution left in Gujarat today is to dissolve the Assembly. If the Congress Government thinks that it is the opposition, the goonda elements, it is this political party or that political party which is cashing in on the miseries of the people, that will be known within six months.

Therefore, the best advice which can be given to the Congress Benches is that because the people's demand has become identified with the dissolution of the Assembly, they should not stand on constitutional procedures. There are precedents available. What did they do in Kerala long ago? At that time, they acted on their own. At a certain stage when a certain legislature or a certain system loses the sanction of the people, that is the time when you must act. Even if this Parliament loses the people's sanction, even though the Congress may be in full strength, the Congress will lose the right to rule the country. Such a situation has arisen in Gujarat and demands appropriate action.

Why is it that in Gujarat alone the people are demanding dissolution of the Assembly? There is discontent in other parts of the country also. Obviously, there is much more to be seen than at the face of it. There is

[Shri S. A. Shamim]

deep-rooted resentment, deep-rooted dissatisfaction among the people and unless this demand is conceded, the people will not rest. Therefore, it is in the interest of the Congress and the Government that instead of adding more dead bodies to the already accumulated hundred, they seize this moment and act with grace, the only thing which is left for them to do.

श्री मूल बन्द काया (पाली) : सभापति जी, सारे देश की भांखें गुजरात की घोर खमी हुई हैं और सारी राजनैतिक पार्टियां इस के लिए चिन्तित हैं कि गुजरात में शांति कैसे स्थापित हो। लेकिन एक बात में कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब राजनीति में घाप यह चाहते हैं कि सारी बातें क्रोध से प्रकट की जायें या हिंसा से प्रकट की जायें और उस भाँधार पर लोकतन्त्र को चलाया जा सकता है तो हयें वह रास्ता प्रकृतियार कर लेना चाहिए, इस से लोकतन्त्र को नुस्तान ही होता है। जो लोग बोले हैं, मैं समझ नहीं पाया कि पहले घाप की यह मांग थी कि वहाँ के शासन को भंग किया जाय। भान्दोलन शुरू हुआ और मैंने इस की चर्चा अखबारों में पढ़ी और ब्रिटेन के अखबारों में भी इस की चर्चा प्रायी जो मैं सुनाना चाहता हूँ। एक हूँ ब्रिटेनी सम्वाददाता, श्री वाल्टेयर्स इन्होंने अहमदाबाद की स्थिति का विश्लेषण करते हुए बताया कि गुजरात की स्थिति खराब की कमी को ले कर नहीं है जितनी थी वर्तमान कांग्रेस शासन को अप्रत्यक्ष करने के लिए है :

एक बात तो मानी मैंने जब कांग्रेस सरकार के लिए कहना चाहते थे तो सही बात थी उन्होंने आरोप लक्ष्ये से अष्टाचार के, उन की खास वितरण प्रणाली पर दोष लगाये थे, खास की उपसम्पन्न न होने का दोष लक्ष्ये का। लेकिन उस दोष के बाद जब बात समाप्त हो गई तो जिस रूप से हिंसात्मक तरीके से काम लेना चाहते हैं, वह उचित

नहीं है क्योंकि राजनीति जब हिंसा का बाना पहन लेती है तो उस भीड़ में चिन्तन की शक्ति नहीं रह जाती। अगर सारे निर्णयगलियों में होने लगे तो मैं सम हूँ कि लोकतन्त्र में विश्वास रखने वाली पार्टियां इस प्रकार के भ्रन्दोलन को महत्व नहीं देती। लेकिन जो पार्टियां राजनीतिक लाभ उठाना चाहती हैं स्थिति का या तो उन्हें विधान सभा में भ्रन्दोलन का निर्णय करना चाहिए या संसद् में निर्णय करना चाहिए। लेकिन जो जन-भ्रन्दोलन करके कहते हैं कि जनता का भ्रन्दोलन हो गया और वह हिंसा का रूप धारण कर ले तो वह उचित नहीं है।

भ्रान्ध में क्या हुआ ? जब भ्रान्ध में हिंसात्मक तरीके से प्रदर्शन हुए तो स्थिति बिगाड़ती ही गई बजाय सुधरने के। और जैसे ही वहाँ शांति स्थापित हुई तो वहाँ एक आसन भी हो गया और भ्रान्ध प्रदेश की डिबाइड नहीं हुआ। सब काम ठीक हो गया। गांधी जी कहते थे कि जो बाध्य हो उस के सधन भी पबिल होने चाहियें। जो घाप का उद्देश्य है उस की प्राप्ति के लिए जो सधन अक्षितवार किये हैं वह भी पबिल होने चाहियें। लेकिन हिंसात्मक सधन अक्षितयार कर के हम चाहते हैं कि देश में लोक तन्त्र कायम रहे तो सम्भव नहीं है। सम्भव नहीं है। लूटना, मेम्बरों को गधे पर बैठाना, उन से अबरवस्ती इस्तीफे लेना, इस तरह से देश घाने नहीं बढ़ सकता है। देश घाने बढ़ता है अहिंसात्मक तरीके से। गांधी जी ने जब और चौरी का सत्पात्र शुरू किया था और उन्होंने देखा कि हिंसा बढ़ रही है तो उन्होंने अपना भ्रन्दोलन तुरन्त बन्द कर दिया था। लोकतन्त्र को बलाने वाले लोग जब वहाँ पर इस तरह से व्यवहार करते हैं और कहते हैं कि भ्रन्दोलन है तो उस का निर्णय विधान सभा में करें, न कि सड़कों पर। लोगों को कधे पर चढ़ा कर उनका

मुंह काला करें, यह उचित नहीं है। आज के ही अखबार में था कि मेम्बरों को कहा जाता है कि तुम्हारा मुंह काला कर दिया जायगा, गधे पर बैठाया जायगा। मेम्बर लोकतांत्रिक तरीके से चुन कर आये थे, उन का क्या कसूर था। लोगों ने कहा इन को गधे पर बैठाओ, इन से इस्तीफ़ा ले लो। क्या यह लोकतांत्रिक तरीका है। हमें सोचना होगा। अगर हिंसा का प्रदर्शन करण है, गधों पर बैठा कर इस्तीफ़ा ले लेंगे तो क्या होगा? मान लीजिए विधान सभा भंग की जाती है, चुनाव होगा, फिर उसमें पार्टियां आयेंगी तो पार्टियों का निर्णय विधान सभा में ही क्यों नहीं कराने हैं। क्या उत्तेजित भीड़ चिन्तन कर सकती है? क्रोध में तो सोचने की शक्ति खत्म हो जाती है। सस्ती वाहवाही लूटने के लिए सही बात को छिपा देती है।

हम मानते हैं कि देश में खाद्य संकट है, सारे देश में है। हम मानते हैं कि वितरण प्रणाली में कमियां हैं। लेकिन उस का यह तरीका नहीं है कि उसका राजनीतिक लाभ उठा कर कुछ पार्टियां कहने लगे कि पहले शासन के खिलाफ़ भ्रष्टाचार के चार्जज थे, और अब धमकी दे कर लोगों से इस्तीफ़ा ले लें। क्या इस तरह से लोकतन्त्र चलेगा? धमकी से लोकतन्त्र नहीं चल सकता है। लोकतन्त्र को मजबूतों के साथ उन शक्तियों का मुकाबला करना चाहिए जो उस को झुकाना चाहती है। भ्रष्टाचार का तरीका जांच है। क्रोध और भाग उगलना नहीं है। जो शक्तियां लोकतन्त्र में आस्था और विश्वास रखती हैं उन्हें इस प्रकार के हिंसात्मक कदम, गलत कार्यवाहियों को प्रोत्साहन और क्रोध में भाग उगलने का रास्ता प्रस्तुत नहीं करना चाहिए। सरकार ने कहा कि शान्ति स्थापित करो तब कुछ सोचा जायगा। आन्ध्र के ऐजीटेशन के समय सारी पार्टियां कहती थीं कि उस के टुकड़े कर दो क्योंकि वहां आन्दोलन हो रहा

है। आन्दोलन हुआ लेकिन पहले शान्ति स्थापित हुई और उस का नतीजा हुआ कि आज एक आन्ध्र प्रदेश बना हुआ है और एक शासन भी है। (अबबान) लोकतंत्र के अन्दर हिंसात्मक आन्दोलनों के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं होना चाहिए। हिंसा के सहारे किसी समस्या को हल कराने का कोई स्थान नहीं होना चाहिए। चिन्तन और मनन से काम होना चाहिए। जो भी हम प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं उसको प्राप्त करने के लिये जो साधन हैं वे पवित्र होने चाहिए। अपनी बात कहने की ओर दूसरे की बात मुनने की हमें हिम्मत होनी चाहिए। राजनीतिक पार्टियां इस स्थिति का गैर कानूनी तरीके से, अवांछित ढंग से लाभ उठाने की बात सोच रही हैं और धमकियां दे रही हैं। उनकी इन धमकियों के आगे हमें झुकना नहीं चाहिए। उपयुक्त समय पर जो भी सही कदम हो वही हम को उठाना चाहिए। इस तरह से ही हम सही ढंग से लोकतंत्र को चला सकेंगे।

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY (Kendrapara): My salutations to the valiant youths and the people of Gujarat, the land of Mahatma Gandhi, who have unfurled the banner of revolt against a venal and corrupt regime. The blood of the martyrs never goes in vain. I am sure the blood of the Gujarat martyrs will wipe out the cancerous caucus that has been ruling this country. What is happening in Gujarat notwithstanding the donkey ride it and the shaving of head etc., is a mass upsurge and the sooner the Government realise it the better it would be for the Government and the country. This is being misrepresented as sporadic acts of violence perpetrated by the so-called anti-social elements. Even Gandhiji was, at one time, branded as an anti-social element. You cannot call the youths, the professors, the students and the intelligentsia of Gujarat anti-social elements. The genesis is well-known. It all started as a student protest against

[Shri Surendra Mohanty]

the rising food prices. The immediate cause was the mismanagement of the food economy, of which the soaring mess bills were only a minor consequence. What with unsatisfactory levy system and what with poor Central supplies, the urban ration shops were empty most of the time, while the open market prices were rising dizzily. As regards edible oil subsidised supplies were withdrawn. In this context I wish to quote what the correspondent of the Hindustan Times has to say in its issue of 5th March, 1974.

"In actual fact, it merely enabled the "oil kings" to make a killing in return for a consideration. The size of this consideration and the number of its beneficiaries vary in the estimates one hears in Gujarat. But hardly anyone I met doubted that it was enormous or that the Congress Party's U.P. election funds got a significant share of it. Such lingering doubt as there is, is on whether Mr. Chimanbhai Patel was put up to it by others, with many, particularly his own friends, thinking that he was."

That was the background or slinking corruption against which the mob upsurge has taken place. This cannot be merely dismissed as some act of violence. If it comes to violence, I for one, feel that in history, a time comes when violence becomes a necessity. After all, the Bhagvad Gita, the summum bonum of Hindu philosophy teaches nothing but holy violence. If it becomes necessary, to wipe out this kind of necessity, to wipe out this kind of corrupt practices from public life, I would a hundred times, welcome violence. If elections are rigged, if majority is manipulated through black money, if corruption rages unabated, and as a cumulative consequences of all these, people groan under economic hardship, I ask, in all fairness, what other course is left open but violence? What other course is left open for ending this Parliamentary democracy? Has Parliamentary democracy solved any of these economic problems? Has

Parliamentary democracy solved the economic problems facing the country? Has it solved the problem in Gujarat? If not, democracy cannot be the last word on human intelligence. Certainly, a new political order has to emerge through violence, if necessary. If it is without violence, of course, it is always welcome.

To me, Gujarat, therefore, is the symptom. It is not the disease. This will soon pervade the body-politic and many a head will roll on the guillotine, unless the party in power takes notice of the straw in the wind. Sir, the Centre is exacerbating the situation in Gujarat by not dissolving the Assembly. I wonder what is now left of the Assembly. Out of 168 Members, 74 have already resigned. Does the Government propose to hold 74 by-election to the Assembly?

If we look at the precedents, we find in 1958, when Shrimati Indira Gandhi was the President of the Congress, the Nambudri pad Ministry was dismissed in Kerala and soon after followed the dissolution of the Kerala Assembly. If it is sauce for the gander, why is it not for the goose? The same Indira Gandhi is the Prime Minister of India. What inhibits her from doing the same thing now, in 1974 what she had done in 1958?

If we look at Orissa, the situation is more indefensible. In the wake of the fall of Shrimati Nandini Satpathy's Ministry as a pack of cards, even when the Opposition claimed that it had a strength of 75 and that it would be able to form a Ministry, the Assembly was dissolved in post-haste.

But, today, I ask Mr. Uma Shankar Dikshit, in all fairness, 'Why are you keeping the Gujarat Assembly in suspended animation? Sir, in the case of Gujarat, the Government is pursuing a policy of attrition. As somebody said, Mr. Sarin has been sent to Ahmedabad to pursue the same policy of attrition, and to bring about some kind of normalcy as was done in the

case of Andhra Pradesh. But Sir, the advisers of the Prime Minister are missing one significant fact. In Andhra Pradesh, a couple of disgruntled politicians were utilising the people for serving their own political ends. But here, the people of Gujarat are utilising the politicians for spear-heading the popular upsurge. So, none of these Machivellian tricks will be of any avail in Gujarat.

In conclusion, I would say that what is happening in Gujarat is most sickening. It reminds me of the most barbaric episode that have taken place on the Indian soil—police and army shooting at the least provocation during the British regime. Therefore, I would plead that there should be an end to all this. People's will must be respected. The Gujarat Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections ordered so that Gujarat serves not only as a reminder but also as a pointer for the shape of things to come.

With these words, I oppose this resolution because of its lacuna that it does not recommend the dissolution of the Gujarat Assembly.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, I have to make a submission. In the beginning the Chair was very liberal in the matter of time. Now it seems that you are axing time. May I make a suggestion or appeal that the time for this debate should be extended by at least one hour?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get your time.

SHRI H. M. PATEL (Dhandhuka): Mr. Chairman, I have been listening to the debate with great interest and I was surprised at the fact that no one referred to the constitutional enormity which this Government goes on perpetrating. When a Government which has an enormous majority, a strength of 114 in a House of 168 is unable to continue to manage the affairs of the State, the normal course would be dissolution. The Constitution does not say that President's Rule should be brought in on any

excuse. It should be brought in only when the administration in the States has completely collapsed.

In recommending President's rule did this Chief Minister admit that the administration had collapsed? Nobody had contended that the administration had ceased to exist. Law and order undoubtedly had become difficult but it is not the same thing as to say that there was complete lawlessness or that the Government was unable to maintain law and order. The same objection was raised when President's Rule was imposed in Uttar Pradesh. There also the ruling party had a majority, but, because of certain internal dissensions, because of certain internal problems of the ruling party, it was felt best to give them a little rest to resolve their quarrels and, therefore, President's Rule was imposed till such time as they could once again be brought into power later so that under their auspices elections can be held. The same thing happened in Andhra Pradesh also, where the ruling party had a big majority. Even though law and order was still being maintained, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh was allowed to resign and, on his recommendation, President's Rule was imposed. Is the Chief Minister a person whose advice must necessarily be accepted for the imposition of President's Rule? After all, it is the Governor who has to make that recommendation under the Constitution and in so doing exercise his independent judgment.

It would be interesting to know what arguments were advanced by the Governor of Gujarat to show that President's Rule had become unavoidable, because it was not unavoidable. If the then Chief Minister was not able to run his Government efficiently or run the Government at all, he should have resigned and automatically the dissolution would have followed. Why was this constitutional procedure not followed?

The students and teachers who led the agitation proclaimed that their dissatisfaction was against the Gov-

[Shri H. M. Patel]

ernment and that is why they harass and force the Congress MLAs to submit resignations. While I do not sympathize with this particular method of doing things, it clearly establishes the fact that the people are dissatisfied with that Congress Government. One ringing charge of the people, the students and the teachers was that corruption was rampant. Corruption was there even earlier. Then why did they make such a fetish of corruption? Because, corruption has grown to a volume never before seen in that State. Therefore, they said, this Government must go; the leader of this Government must go. That was accepted. The leader of the Government felt that there must have been something wrong. Otherwise, why should he resign? He still had a full majority of 114. But he resigned. If that resignation was justified on the ground that the people did not want him and his colleagues, the only proper and correct constitutional course was to resign and advise the Governor to hold fresh elections. This was the correct procedure. This has not been done.

Now, the Central Government is faced with a rather difficult decision. I agree it is quite right to take the view that no democracy can survive if we are to submit to mob violence or mob pressure. If force is going to be used to compel a Government to resign, I can understand that that is something which democratic forces must resist. At the same time, let it be realised that for two months now there has been lawlessness in the State for two months now there have been curfews imposed in something like 40 odd cities of Gujarat. Has anybody given any thought to the fact that there are thousands and thousands of daily wage earners in these cities for whom life has become impossible? They cannot work and earn and if they cannot, earn, what savings have they with them with which to buy rations, assuming rations were available? We sympathise undoubtedly with those who may be killed as a result of police firings

or any other reason. But far greater hardships are being suffered by the living and in particularly these poorer sections of the people and the lower-middle class people. Whenever there is such a period of instability and lawlessness in a city, it is the poorer sections of the people who suffer most.

What has to be done in these circumstances? Is there no justification for departing from what you might call a refusal to surrender to force? It is not as if the ruling party has particular respect for constitutional procedures and practices. As I have said at the outset, to them adherence to Constitution, adherence to democratic procedures, is something that has to be governed by convenience, by what they feel is expedient. I say, the same argument and expediency will justify, in the present circumstances, departing from the rule that you should not succumb to pressure because there are very good reasons for doing so. And those reasons are that it has been, found, even after the imposition of the President's Rule and the President's Rule has existed for a month even after accepting the resignation of Mr. Chimanbhai Patel and his Government, even after that, the law and order continues to be disturbed and the police have had to resort to firings almost daily and the people continue to die.

Is that the kind of situation you wish to continue? Is there not sufficient justification to depart from the principle that you must not yield to pressure? Supposing you do not yield to pressure and continue till the last Member of the Assembly is forced to resign, what will you have gained? The dissolution of the Assembly has got to come. There is no doubt about that because of one single fact that the people have established, that this agitation has established, that they do not want not only Mr. Chimanbhai Patel and his Government but also the present legislators. They consider that all these Congress MLAs in the State have acquired in the doings of the Chief Minister and his Government.

If that had not been the case, it was in their power to stop him from doing so. They did not do so. This is how the people view it.

It seems clear and it ought to be recognised that dissolution of the Assembly is unavoidable. Why not announce then that you will dissolve it as soon as normalcy returns? It is obvious that fresh elections be held until normalcy returns. Why do you insist that you will seriously consider whether the Assembly should be dissolved or not, only after normalcy returns? Announce today that the Assembly will be dissolved as soon as normalcy returns. This form of announcement will make an important difference. Simultaneously with it, you can order fresh elections. They will not take place overnight it takes time for fresh elections to be held. There is not the slightest doubt that an announcement of this kind, while retaining the importance to the return of normalcy which the Government wants, gives the definite promise of dissolution, that is to say, dissolution will take effect only when normalcy returns. I suggest that that is the proper course to adopt. That is the only way to bring about an early return to normalcy, so that the hardships through which thousands and thousands of poor people are passing can come to an early end. That is the only way in which the entire student world of Gujarat may be persuaded to go back to their studies; there is not a single university functioning today; there is not a single college which is functioning; most of the schools also in cities are closed. It all shows that this movement is not just a bubble or froth; there is something more solid behind this upsurge. There is no doubt that anti-social elements have taken advantage of disturbed conditions. Whenever such agitations are started, it is almost inevitable that anti-social elements would try to take hold of the situation. But today you are giving these anti-social elements the benefit of the cover of the students and teachers who do believe in non-violence. Of course

even students have had recourse to violence; they have done things which are totally inexcusable. But are we wanting to pursue the course which can only perpetuate this kind of situation or are we going to take a line which gives us a chance of bringing back normally. Even if you think that it will not end this disturbed situation, why not take a chance? Accept this particular demand the demand for dissolution of students and teachers and the people as a whole. Let it be realised that the students and teachers could not have had all this success, the people would not have put up with all the hardships that they are putting up with if in their heart of hearts they did not support the grievances which were being voiced by the students and teachers. This is a people's demand. There is no doubt about this. That being so, it seems to me that, without giving up the democratic principle, the principle without which democratic institutions cannot survive, that is to say, not to succumb to pressures, you may accept the course I have suggested. There are exceptional reasons here for deviating from that rule. I have already indicated those exceptional reasons. I think, an exception in this case should be made, and if it is made in the manner in which I have indicated that the Assembly will be dissolved as soon as normalcy returns I think all purposes would be served.

डा० कौन्सल (बम्बई-दक्षिण): माननीय सभापति जी, गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति जी के शासन लागू करने का जो प्रस्ताव आया है, उस का समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं यह विश्वास करता हूँ और भली प्रकार जानता हूँ कि श्यामनन्दन बाबू जैसे नेता, समर मुखर्जी जैसे सी० पी० आई० एम० के नेता भी मावसकर जी जैसे बुद्धिमान व्यक्ति जरूर इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र को चाहते हैं। श्यामनन्दन बाबू तो सरकार में भी रह चुके हैं, उन्हें तो थोड़ी तटस्थता से, आम्बेडकरजी इस समस्या की और देखना चाहिये। गुजरात

[डा० कैलास]

के विद्यार्थी और शिक्षकों ने तथा गुजरात में रहनेवाली जनता ने मांग की थी कि मंत्री मंडल बर्खास्त किया जाये तो सरकार ने उस को मान लिया और वहाँ के मंत्री मंडल को बरखास्त किया। राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू किया गया। क्योंकि सरकार ने मंत्री मंडल बर्खास्त किया उस से सबके दिल में यह उ सह पैदा हुआ कि अब असम्बन्धी को भंग की मांग पेश की जाये। मांग को जबर-दस्ती मनवाने के लिये जो हिंसा का वातावरण वहाँ पर पैदा किया गया—क्या इस का यह अर्थ नहीं है या क्या वे लोग यह नहीं कहेंगे कि यह सरकार, आन्दोलनों से दब जाती है। यह भी हो सकता है कि जो डरा कर अपनी बात मनवाना चाहते हैं वे कल डा० कैलास के घर पर भी जा कर घेराव करके यह कहेंगे कि तुम पार्लियामेंट से इस्तीफा दे दो। आप मुझे बतलाइये इस प्रकार के वातावरण से क्या नतीजा निकलेगा? उन्होंने मांग की है कि गुजरात की विधान सभा को भंग किया जाय—अभी इस के लिये यह समय है या नहीं है, मैं उस में नहीं जाना चाहता। इस में कोई शक नहीं उन की मांग जायज भी कही जा सकती है, लोगों ने मांग रखी है, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी यह कहा है कि मुझे इसकी कोई मोह नहीं है, मैं झूठी प्रेस्टिज के लिये नहीं लड़ रही हूँ, लेकिन जब तक वहाँ शान्ति स्थापित नहीं हो जाती तब तक कैसे इस प्रश्न का विचार किया जा सकेगा। सभापति जी, मैं ही, नहीं, यहाँ पर सभी सभासदों ने यह कहा है कि सरकार को हिंसा से कभी दबना नहीं चाहिये, गुण्डा-गर्दी के सामने झुकना नहीं चाहिये—तो आज जब कि वहाँ पर इस तरह का हिंसा का वातावरण चल रहा हो, अशान्ति फैली हुई हो—सरकार को क्या बिना सोचे-समझे बब जाना चाहिये? केन्द्रीय सरकार को इस प्रकार का निर्णय एक दम लेना चाहिये या शान्ति स्थापित हो तब लेना चाहिये—केवल

इतना सा प्रश्न है जो हमें सुलझाना है—तो इस के लिये सीधा सा उपाय तो यह ही हो सकता है कि अगर वहाँ पर 48 घंटे या 72 घंटे के लिये शान्ति हो जाती है तो जरूर केन्द्रीय सरकार इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करेगी . . .

श्री इयान्मन्धन भिख : तीन दिन तक शान्ति रही।

डा० कैलास : शान्ति है यह कैसे कहा जा सकता है जबकि वहाँ पर रोज करफ्यू लग रहे हैं, 144 धारा लगी हुई है, आप वहाँ शान्ति है ऐसी बातें करते हैं जबकि वहाँ सिपाहियों के आज भी सिर फोड़े जा रहे हैं। वहाँ कल तक गोली क्यों चलानी पड़; श्री क्या गृह मंत्री जी बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि कितने बैंकों को लूटा गया? खुराक की कितनी दुकानें लूटी गई? कितने सिपाहियों और इंस्पेक्टरों को मारा गया है? गम्भीर हालत में कितनों को अस्पताल में पहुँचाया गया? इस के बारे में थोड़ा विरोधी सदस्यों को सोचना चाहिये। आप एक तरफ भड़काते हैं जिससे वायलेंस हो दूसरी तरफ उस को धिक्कारने का नाटक करते हैं। यह कैसे होगा। आप को दोनों और की हिंसा का धिक्कारना होगा। मैं विधान सभा भंग किये जाने के विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ, लेकिन इस समय राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किये जाने के सम्बन्ध में जो प्रस्ताव आया है, हमें तो सिर्फ उस पर विचार करना है तथा समर्थन करना चाहिये। जहाँ तक विधान सभा के भंग किये जाने की बात प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कई बार अपने भाषण में कहा है, यहाँ पर भी कहा है और बाहर भी कहा है—ज्यों ही गुजरात में शान्ति का वातावरण बनेगा वे इस प्रश्न पर जरूर भली प्रकार विचार कर सकेंगे।

जहाँ तक करप्शन की बात है—इस के लिये कोई दो राग नहीं हैं। यहाँ पर बैठा हुआ कोई भी सदस्य उस का साथ देनेवाला नहीं है जो करप्शन है। नैतिकता से निर

हुआ कोई भी व्यक्ति किसी भी क्षेत्र में माफ नहीं किया जाना चाहिये। और राष्ट्रनीति में तो ऐसे व्यक्तियों को कोई हक नहीं है। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि करप्शन की समस्या कैसे सुलझाई जा सकती है? मान लीजिये मैं करप्ट हूँ और दूसरे से कहना रहूँ कि तुम करप्ट न बनो—तो इस से काम चलनेवाला नहीं है। आज इस के लिये देश के सामने पहले स्वयं का उदाहरण पहले प्रस्थापित करना होगा। इसी दृष्टि को लेकर केन्द्रीय सरकार ने वहाँ के मंत्री मंडल को बर्खास्त किया, अब केवल विधान सभा के भंग करने का प्रश्न है। इस में ज्यादा समय नहीं लगेगा परन्तु सब से पहले यह प्रयत्न होना चाहिये कि वहाँ पर शांति का वातावरण स्थापित हो, उस के बाद ही उस पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया जा सकता है। मुझे दुःख इस बात का है कि अभी तक मेरे विरोध पक्ष के किसी भी सदस्य ने इस बात का आवाहन नहीं किया कि वहाँ पर वायलैस बन्द किया जाय . . .

श्री क० एस० बाबडडा : मैंने कहा है, डाक्टर साहब।

डा० कल्लास : ठीक है आप ने कहा होगा। शायद आप की भाषा वैसी नहीं है जिससे वहाँ शांति स्थापित करने का आम्हान कहा जा सके। आप गुजरात में शांति की बात नहीं करते। मैं भी गुजरात जा सकता हूँ, गया हूँ और गुजरात मेरा देखा हुआ है। लेकिन इस प्रकार अशांति का वातावरण बनाये रखने की सलाह देना शोभा नहीं देता है। आज हम जो आचरण कर रहे हैं, जिस प्रकार का वातावरण पैदा कर रहे हैं उस से गुजरात का भला होनेवाला नहीं है। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वहाँ पर जो शान्ति कायम हो रही है जैसा आप करते हैं तो उस को पूर्ण रूप से स्थापित करने में आप सब साथी सहयोग दीजिये, इस प्रकार की बातें नहीं की जानी चाहिये, जिस से वहाँ का वातावरण और बिगड़े और अशान्ति ज्यादा बढ़के।

17 hrs.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contal): Since the 15th of August, 1947 there have been innumerable mass movements in India. But the mass uprising in Gujarat has assumed a qualitatively different characteristic. I am extremely sorry to say that some members of the ruling party and one member from the opposition described this uprising as mob-rule, hoodliganism and even as Goondagiri. I am sorry to say that they have not only missed the basic characteristic of mass uprising such as in Gujarat but they have missed also something more. I have no hesitation in saying that Gujarat has made a new history for the future of freedom as also for defence of the future of democracy in India. The way Gujarat has shown has importance for Gujarat itself, no doubt but it has still for greater importance for the whole of India today. I wish the way Gujarat has shown will be followed by the whole of India tomorrow if not today. This land of Gandhiji has created another new wave to safeguard the interests of democracy, to safeguard the future of democracy, as I said earlier.

I told this House earlier and I want to repeat it once again and this is about what definition Gandhiji made about the future of freedom of our country. Gandhiji said that the security of freedom of a nation does not lie in the strength of its armed forces, but in the capacity of the people to revolt against the ruling power if the ruling power goes astray. It is the people, particularly the green souls, the student community of Gujarat, who have shown their courage, who have shown how the Gandhian way can be retranslated again in free India. The situation in the country has reached a point of exasperation. People are suffering from soaring prices. Prices are rising day by day. Hunger and anger are felt by people all over the country and when the Government has failed to meet the elementary requirements of the people, what is it that they can

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do? Have they to suffer meekly, without protest, without raising their voice, I want to ask this Government. What could they do? If they launch a movement Government will try to crush it. If they raise their voice, Government will say this is a voice of frustration. What will they do? Is there any scope for referendum or recall in our Constitution, where if there is any Government failure, they can bring in a new mechanism for change of power? There is no such means for having a referendum or recall in our democracy.

Sir, as I have said, Gujarat has shown a new way for safeguarding the future of democracy. Why should I say so? Is there any middle-way between election and revolution? If the mechanics of election fails, if the mechanics of election gets corrupted, if the mechanics of election gets frustrated, if the mechanics of election gets completely dominated by power, if the mechanics of election is completely dominated by money or by the administrative authority, what is the answer of the people? What can they do?

Recently you have seen some of the so-called democratic elections and the way the so-called democratic elections are being held in this country and the way the Government is tackling the problem and the way the whole situation is getting so exasperated. The whole country has become so explosive because of the economic crisis that prevails now. What is the way out? It is the responsibility of the Government to run the whole mechanics of democracy. We find that democracy has become a mockery in our country. What is the way left for the people exception to change the power? If you want to change the Government why should you allow people to wait for five years for the election? You have so created this conditions that the people cannot afford to wait for five years in this exasperated mood. If you corrupt the whole

mechanics of democracy, what is the way out? The only way known to the world is the way of armed insurrection for seizure of power. That is why I say that I have no word enough to congratulate the people of Gujarat or the students of Gujarat they have shown the new way to the whole of India.

What is the reaction of Government? Their reaction is known. This is the logic of political power. Whatever may be the reasons, they follow, whatever may be the pressure on the Government they have their logic. They have vested interests. Their interest is political power. In our country the authority is being challenged by mass action. The Government use only the platitudes that the norms of democracy are violated; law and order are violated. They say that if normalcy is restored then only they will consider this issue of dissolution of Gujarat Assembly.

I was in Jail in 1946 when the revolt of the Indian Naval Rioting occurred and we were the last batch to be released. There was a revolt against the Britishers; there was a street fighting in Bombay and I remember that days, in Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay even the British Indian armed forces were patronising the revolt. I remember in those days the people suffered terrible by the naval rioting. There was disorder and violence. They had the golden opportunity of seizing power in India. The same logic holds good here too when you apply it in Gujarat. The authority of the congress Rule has been challenged. Don't give a justification to the means that are being created. Why is this so? You find hooliganism, goondaism, mob rule, chaos, disorder. They think that they are not only defenders of democracy but also propounders and executors of all norms of democracy. Never have we seen such a serious challenge or mass movement in the last twenty-five years as we see now in Gujarat. This is a kind of challenge which is completely a different type of challenge to the ruling party. That is

why they are afraid. It was not the pressure from here that the Chief Minister resigned. It is not the dictates of Delhi that the President's rule has been promulgated as it happened in the case of Hyderabad. It is the people of Gujarat who forced the Government, the citadel of power in Delhi, to concede to their demand.

They say no democratic government can survive by surrendering to mob rule. The people of Gujarat have won the first and the second rounds and now they are in the third and the final stage of winning their battle. Why is the Government afraid? What is the reason? The basic reason is that if they concede to the democratic demand, the demand having the sanction of the whole people of Gujarat, and dissolve the Assembly in Gujarat, the spirit of the movement will spread in other parts of the country. The situation is ripe for a revolution and a mass-upsurge all over the country. The situation has reached to the flash point. It is more massive and more historic a mass upsurge than even the 1942 revolution in the country. The situation in the country has been brought to the stage of explosion. It has reached to the flash point. If they give sanction in the case of Gujarat tomorrow it will be in Andhra, West Bengal, U.P. and then all over India. The conflagration of mass-upsurge of Gujarat may take the whole of India into a chain reaction of new mass upsurge that will run down the citadel of power in Delhi. That is the fear. That is why they are terribly afraid of accepting the sanction behind the people of Gujarat.

What more. They are trying to get the people and the student community of Gujarat into the trickery of political intrigues that they played with the people of Andhra Pradesh. You remember, Sir, in Andhra almost the same situation developed. Everything collapsed there also. The people remained peaceful. The government resigned. The President's rule was proclaimed. The Governor assured that when the law and order situation

was brought to normalcy then the Government will consider the issues behind the mass movement of Andhra. We know how the people of Andhra had been betrayed. The people of Gujarat know. So, they should not enter into any negotiation with the Government in Delhi. The events in Gujarat have no parallel in the history of any democratic country. During the last two months every day in the morning, noon, evening, and at night there were shooting and killing of our brilliant young souls in a brutal way.

They are condemning this movement as chaos and hoodlomanism. I do not know who is to be accused of more violence the Government or the students I do not know how to describe them. What is the word to describe the way they have dealt with the sons and daughters, the green souls of Gujarat? Brutality? Savagery? Butchery? Barbarism? No, Sir. They have done it in a deliberate way; it is a kind of political cannibalism, to create a sense of terror so that the fire of Gujarat may not spread to other parts of India. It is with that deliberate intention that they have committed that political cannibalism on the green soul of Gujarat. Therefore, there is no question whatsoever that the people of Gujarat should succumb to any pressure or any so-called gesture of goodwill from the Central Government.

The Home Minister has been in the freedom movement. We know that the Gujaratis are the mildest community in India; they are traditionally peace-loving; they are followers of *ahimsa*; they are greatly influenced by the Jain Dharma. Why is it that this mildest community in India have shown a new way of total mass upsurge, of total mass action? What is the provocation, what is the propulsion, what is the main inspiration, what is the elan vital that has made this community into an instrument of mass uprising? I want a

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little bit of heart-searching to be done by the powers that be in Delhi.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: You have not made any suggestion till now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not provoke him. He is almost concluding.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: Suggestions are most welcome.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: My friends from Gujarat have made many demands: Judicial inquiry, compensation, inquiry into charges of corruption relating to foodgrain distribution, release of all those arrested. To me these are all irrelevant because of the qualitative nature of the mass upsurge. They have created history with blood and tears, with the martyrdom of the lives of so many young men. A new history has been created with blood and tears, with the sacred lives of so many martyrs. A judicial inquiry is not necessary. It should not be demanded. I do not want that that demand should be made in Delhi during the negotiation. I say this because I see in the movement, in the struggle of Gujarat a future hope for the future of democracy in India. Let this movement grow in tremendous volume; let it give a new light to India, a new future to India, on the basis of the sanction of the people, on the basis of the sanction of the spontaneous uprising, let the arrogant powers that be in Delhi surrender to them and not that they should surrender to Delhi.

Government have accused the Opposition of inciting the people of Gujarat. They have said that the Opposition is politically motivated. In Gujarat today, politics, politicians and political parties, either of the ruling brand or of the Opposition variety, have become irrelevant. I would urge Morarjibhai not to dabble with the new generation, the new revolution, the new spirit that has grown in

Gujarat, the fresh spirit, the vital spirit that has grown in Gujarat. I would make this request: no politician should dabble with it. This means that the so-called politicians and political parties get burnt and out of the ashes a new leadership will grow. India needs that kind of leadership.

The kind of politics that we are having now has become largely irrelevant in the whole of India today in relation to the credibility of it and the confidence of the people in it. It is high time that we take this historic lesson, the great significance, the importance of the mass uprising in Gujarat and the new type of democratic revolution in Gujarat.

I repeat that not only for the ruling party but even for the Opposition parties, the present pattern of politics, political parties, political norms and political moralities have lost relevance, lost credibility with the people. That is the reason why I am speaking with great emotion and with great faith in the people of Gujarat.

I repeat that Gujarat has created a new history, has shown a new way of democratic revolution for the whole of India to follow. It has shown a new way, a sacred way, for the future, for safeguarding the ideals of freedom, democracy and socialism in India.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Solanki. (Interruptions) Order, please. Shri Solanki.

श्री सोमचंद्र सोलंकी (गांधीनगर) : सभापति महोदय, मेरे पहले तीन चार वक्ताओं ने जो कहा उस के संबंध में मैं कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। मिस्टर डागा ने कहा कि साधन पब्लिश होना चाहिये और डाक्टर कलास ने बताया कि सरकार को दबना नहीं चाहिये। मिस्टर डागा ने जो कहा कि साधन पब्लिश होना चाहिये तो पब्लिशता का

भतलब क्या है यह तो मिस्टर डांगा जानते नहीं हैं। गुजरात में जो हो रहा है जिस में पुलिस वालों ने गोली चलाई, निर्दोष लोगों को रोड पर और घरों में फस्ट फ्लोर और ग्राउन्ड फ्लोर के अंदर जा कर मारा, तो यह साधन क्या पवित्र माना जायेगा ? जो डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट है वह प्रजा की रक्षक होनी चाहिए। प्रजा के चुनाव में अपने प्रतिनिधि भेज कर जो सरकार बनाई वह सरकार जब प्रजा पर गोली चलाती है तब वह पवित्र साधन तो नहीं हुआ। संस्कृत में एक कहावत है कि राजा कालस्थ कारणम्। समय का कारणभूत राजा होता है और जब राजा गलत रास्ते पर चलता है, जो रूँलिंग पार्टी है वह गलत रास्ते को अपनाती है तो वंसी ही प्रजा होती है। यथा राजा तथा प्रजा। लेकिन यह बराबर नहीं होता है। उस का कारण है। मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि जिस आदमी के सिर पर बाल नहीं होता है, जैसे मिस्टर खांडिलकर के सिर पर बाल नहीं है, बहुत लोगों को नहीं होगा, तो वह बाल तो आ मकना है लेकिन जिम आदमी की—कोई कुटेव पड़ जाती है वह जब मरता है तब भी उस से नहीं छूटती। यही हालत हमारी रूँलिंग पार्टी की है। आज तो जो उम की इमारत खड़ी है वह गिरती जा रही है लेकिन उनकी वह आवत नहीं बदल रही है। चुनाव में पैसा देना, करपशन के जरिए वोट लेना, प्रजा को गलत स्लोगन में बहकाना, इन सारी बातों में सारे हिन्दुस्तान की प्रजा तंग आ गई है। जो भी आप कहते हैं उम को वह गलत मानती है, झूठ मानती है। और अब तो आप के झूठ का नतीजा सामने आ गया है।

17.23 hrs

[SHRI VASANT SATHE in the Chair]

गुजरात की प्रजा ऐसी है कि वह शान्ति-प्रिय जरूर है। गुजरात ने महात्मा गांधी को पैदा किया है, यह सब मानते हैं। प्रजा अभी तक सब कुछ मान जाती थी। लेकिन जब लोगों को खाने को मिलता नहीं है, परेशानी इतनी है कि जिस की कोई सीमा

नहीं, ला एंड आउट बराबर है नहीं और जो राज-कारोबार चलाने वाले लोग हैं वह सब करस्ट हैं, लोगों का लहू बूझने वाले हैं तो प्रजा कैसे सहन करेगी ? आप को मालुम होना चाहिये कि ब्रिटिशर्स के टाइम में हम ने क्विट इंडिया का नारा लगाया 1942 में और नान-वायलेंस के तरीके से हम ने लड़ाई की तो ब्रिटिश सन्तवत जैसी हुकमत को यां से भाग जाना पडा। हाउम आफ कामन्स मे उस समय डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट थी। लेकिन हमारे देश का राज गवर्नर जनरल और सेक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट मे चलता था। लेकिन आज तो जो लोग बैठे हैं कुर्सियों में मे तो बडे बडे ठाकुरों और महाराजाओं जैसे बन गए हैं। जैसे नन्द राजा के समय मे लोग विलासी हो गए तो नन्द राजा का सारा राज पायमाल हो गया इसी तरह वे आज इस राज की हालत है। इस गज में तो शिक्षा यह दी जाती है कि करपशन मे पैसा लूटो, कुर्सी को बचाओ और उम छोडो मत। जब प्रजा ने कहा कि आप लोग जब चुनाव में जीत कर आए थे तो हम ने आप के गले में माला पहनाई और अब जब आप गलत रास्ते पर चलते हैं और प्रजा की मुसोबत को ध्यान में नहीं रखते है तो हम आप को गधे पर नहीं बिठाएंगे, तो और क्या करे तो इस में कौन सी बात है ? यह तो तीन मान के बाद गुजरात की प्रजा ने सिर्फ इतना ही कहा है कि जैसे हम ने आप को वोट दिया वह सिर्फ वोट वापस लेने है, हमारा वोट वापस लाओ। आप कामयाब नहीं है, गलत है, चोर है, आप ने जो कुछ प्रायोज किया वह कर नहीं पाए तो हम सिर्फ अपना वोट वापस मांग रहे हैं और जब वह अपना वोट वापस मांग रहे है तो आप लोग वह दबाव क्यों कर रहे हैं और आज यह क्यों कह रहे है कि शान्ति होनी चाहिए? अरे, शान्ति का पाठ तो कौन पढ़ाएक ओ शान्ति चाहता है। आप को तो खून करना, गोली चमकाना बन्द करना है। वह आप बन्द कीजिए। लेकिन आप नहीं करेंगे क्यों कि आप की आशय है और जैसा मैं ने पहले

(श्री लोचनचन्द मोलकी)

बताया कि जिस के सिर पर बाल नहीं है उस के बाल आ सकता है लेकिन श्रावत नहीं बदल सकती है। तीन साल में यह जो श्राप की श्रावत पड़ गई है पावर को पकड़ कर, खींच कर रखने की यह श्रावत बहुत बुरी चीज है। श्राप ने देखा है कि किसमें किसने साम्राज्य चले गए तो श्राप की क्या हस्ती है? श्राप लोग नो ऐसा मानते हैं कि जब तक सूरज और चन्द्रा रहेगा तब तक हम राब करेगे। लेकिन तीन साल में जब कि 168 की अक्षम्बली में 140 की श्राप की मेजारिटी थी, उन में दो दफा अपनी पार्टी से गवर्नमेन्ट खलास हो गई तो श्राप को समझना चाहिए। जो समझदार होता है उस को छोटी सी बात से समझ लेना चाहिए। लेकिन छाप की तो हानत ऐसी है कि जैसे एक शेफर्ड होता है, वह कुण्ड में गिरता है तो उस के पीछे सारी भेड़ कुण्ड से गिर जाती है। किसी के अकल तो होती नहीं है। अकल की जब कमी होती है तो ऐसा ही नतीजा होता है। वे सारे के सारे एक ही दिन डूब जायेंगे और कोई छुट कर जो भाग जायेंगा उस का उद्धार होगी। लेकिन कोई भागेंगे नहीं जब तक वहा आफरेंस है, जब तक वह सोचेंगे कि पावर अभी भी मिलने को है, दूसरे मीन्स से भी हम चुनाव में जीत कर आ सकते हैं तब तक ये छोड़ेंगे नहीं। तो हानत तो इन की यह है और अपनी-अपनी पार्टी को डबेस करते हैं।

शुरू में क्या हुआ? अहमदाबाद में जब पहली मीटिंग हुई तो रुलिग पार्टी के लोगो ने यह मीटिंग की कि मकामोदी है, भाव बढते आ रहे हैं। इस के लिए मीटिंग शुरू हुई राजपुर भोमसीपुर में। उस के बाद स्ट्रुवेन्स उस में शामिल हो गए कि जब रुलिग पार्टी के लोग ऐसा कहते हैं कि कल्याण है और खाने को नहीं मिलता, तो वह भी उसमें शामिल हो गए। अब श्राप बल्लइ कि यह शुरू किस ने किया? मेरी प्रीविलेज साहब को एक सप्ताह है कि धान जल्दी से जल्दी जलेश्वरी की

बिजान्त कीजिए। अगर नहीं किया तो कल श्राप देखिएगा क्या होता है? तीन दिन से क्या माति है। भाव के बचन पर उन्होंने बिश्वास कर लिया। स्ट्रुवेन्स ने और गुजरात की जनता ने मान लिया कि यह माति चाहते हैं और शानि के बाद कुछ करेगे। लेकिन श्राप श्राप भी जवाब में कहेगे कि पहले माति होनी चाहिए। शकति करने वाले को माति की महता का क्या पता है? जब गुजरात से श्रमाति करने के लिए दूसरा लश्कर भी श्राप ने भ्रम दिया तो माति तो श्राप चाहते नहीं है। डिवाइड एंड रूल की तो श्राप की पान्विरी है श्राप चाहते हैं कि दो सामने लड़े और उन्न से श्राप का काम बन जावे। जैसे दो बिल्ली रोटी के लिए लड़ रही थी तो बन्दर उस की सारी रोटी खा गया, इसी तरह से श्राप करने हैं। तो यह भ्रम नहीं चलेगा। गुजरात की प्रजा ने श्रापको उस के बिरोध में उठा री है। श्राप फिर पछताएंगे थोड़े दिन के बाद जब सारे हिन्दुस्तान में वह भाव फैल जायगा। तब श्राप को मालूम हो जायगा कि यह हथ ने चलती की, की श्राप बेरा सेट।

श्री शिवशंकर सिंह (झुमन) सभामति की पिछले कई दिनों में गुजरात का मसला समुचे देश का ध्यान आकर्षित किये हुए है और कुछ इस प्रकार की घटनायें गुजरात में हुई हैं जिन के लिये हम सब को खेद है। सरकार को भी वहाँ यह नाम करना पडा, जो सरकार नहीं करना चाहती थी, लेकिन मजबूरी में करना पडा। बहुत से निर्दोष श्रापी मरे, बहुत से छात्रों की कल्पु हुई—उन सब के लिये हमें सचेदना है, खेद है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं उस मुड्डागर्दी की शर्तना करता हूँ जिस की बजह से ये जाने गई। अगर वहाँ मुड्डागर्दी नहीं होती तो ये जाने न जात। श्रावोलन हथ में भी देखें हैं, श्रावोलन करते का हथार जन्म सिद्ध कश्चिकार है, लेकिन वहाँ गूट-कसेट होती है, मुड्डागर्दी होती है, नव निर्माण समिति के नाम से विनाश-समिति का नाम होता है वह सरकार

को मजबूरन कुछ न कुछ करना पड़ता है, विरोधी पक्ष के सदस्यों ने उन की इन कार्य-वाहियों की दाद दी है। मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि आज विद्यार्थियों के रूप में, अध्यापकों के रूप में जो पवित्र आतनाये उतरी हैं, जो कहते हैं कि हम इस समूचे देश से भ्रष्टाचार को मिटा देंगे, उन के कहे अनुसार यदि विद्यार्थियों के हाथ में, शिक्षकों के हाथ में समूचे देश की राजनीति दे दे, वे किस को रखना चाहते हैं, किस को निकालना चाहते हैं, उन की हिमात्मक वृत्तियों के प्रागे हम विधान सभा को भी भंग कर दें—तो आखिर उस का नतीजा क्या निकलेगा, क्या आप ने कभी इस पर विचार किया है? वे विद्यार्थी और अध्यापक कहेंगे कि हमारी नजर में अमुक आदमी सही है, उस को विधान सभा में भेजा जाये, हम जो कहते हैं वह सही है और जो वोटर है वह बेईमान है, वह वोटर बेईमान को वोट देता है, फिर वोटर के आधार पर नहीं, अपनी मर्जी से जिस को चाहेंगे नोमिनेट करेंगे। आखिर आप इस देश को कहाँ ले जाना चाहते हैं? हमारा देश संविधान के अनुसार चल रहा है, इस की कुछ परम्पराये हैं, अलग अलग राज्यों में विधान सभायें हैं, केन्द्र में लोक सभा बनी हुई है ही सकता है फिर यहां के लोगों से भी उन को नाराजगी हो जाये, इस सब का क्या नतीजा निकलेगा?

इस तरह से शासन नहीं चल सकता है—यह केवल एक राज्य के शासन का प्रश्न नहीं है, सारे देश के शासन का प्रश्न है। हमारी पार्टी से इस सम्बन्ध में एक उदाहरण पेश किया है—ऐसा उदाहरण और कही नहीं मिलेगा। हमारी लीडरशिप ने आदेश दिये कि वहां के मुख्य मंत्री इस्तीफा दें और उन के बाद वहां के मंत्री मंडल ने इस्तीफा दिया। आप कहते हैं कि हम सत्ता से चिपटना चाहते हैं—लेकिन यह उदाहरण है—जब हम ने देखा कि सरकार ठीक से काम नहीं कर रही है तो उस से इस्तीफा दिलवाया। उस के बाद प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि उस प्रान्त में

शांति हो जाये, इस प्रकार की स्थिति पेश हो जाये कि हम सही दिमाग से विषय ले सके तो हम इस पर विचार करेंगे।

आज आप जिद कर रहे हैं कि विद्यार्थियों की मांग है कि विधान सभा भंग कर दी जाये—लेकिन इस तरह से बिना सोचे समझे आप मांगों के प्रागे झुकने जायेंगे तो इस का क्या नतीजा होगा, कल यह छूट की बीमारी आप को भी नहीं छोड़ेगी, आज आप उन की मांग को मानते हैं तो कल वे पार्लियामेंट को भी भी काटेंगे कि इस्तीफा दीजिये, क्योंकि आप के हिसाब में तो केन्द्रीय सरकार भी परी तरह से भ्रष्ट है। आप का कोई ऐसा भाषण नहीं होता, जिन में आप केन्द्रीय सरकार को भ्रष्ट नहीं कहते हो, इन नियो लोक सभा भी भंग हो। इसलिये मैं आप को मलाह देना चाहता हूँ, उन की मांग के प्रागे से पहले कम से कम अपोजीशन को पहले में ही इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिये। फिर हम देखेंगे कि हम इस्तीफा दे या न दें। मेहरबानी कर के इस प्रकार की सस्ती चीजों में न जाइये।

आज एक नई स्थिति हमारे सामने है—चिमन भाई पटल जिन के खिलाफ कल तक आवाज उठाई गई थी कि उन की कॅबिनेट भ्रष्ट है, आज उन की तरफ में मांग आनी है कि विधान सभा को भंग करो। आज वे पवित्र हो गये हैं और विधान सभा के भंग करने की मांग कर रहे हैं इस प्रकार की बात ठीक नहीं है।

मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हम इस स्थिति में पहुँच गये हैं कि आप की बात के आधार पर सोचने को मजबूर हो गये हैं, इस देश में राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ कुछ नहीं कर सकती, चुने हुए आदमी निकम्मे हो गये हैं, विद्यार्थी और अध्यापक सब कुछ कर सकते हैं—आप बोडा बम्बीरता से विचार करो—उन का आन्दोलन क्या है? वहां भ्रष्टाचार का, अनाज की कमी थी

(श्री शिवशाव मिह)

लेकिन इस के साथ ही उन की मांग है कि यूबीएसिटी में हमारी कितने परसेन्ट अटेंडेन्स हो, किस प्रकार का कॅरिकुलम हो, फीस हो, कितने कितने परसट भाक्स फस्ट डिवीजन को मिले—इन सब बातों के लिये भी वे आन्दोलन करना चाहते हैं—ऐसी स्थिति में क्या आप सब कुछ उन के हाथों में सौंपना चाहते हैं ? इण्डोनेशिया में क्या हुआ, वहाँ क्या गति हुई आप सब जानते हैं—क्या वही स्थिति यहाँ भी पैदा करना चाहते हैं । आप उन को जरा आदेश दे कर देखिये कि वे आप की बात मान जायें—मैं जानता हूँ वे आप की बात नहीं मानेंगे, क्योंकि जब तक गुण्डागर्दी में आप उन को सहयोग देंगे, वे आप की बात को मानेंगे, लेकिन मही राम्ना दिखलायेगे तो आप की बात मानने वाले नहीं हैं । मैं आप से यही अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि एक जिम्मेदार सदस्य की हैमिया में, आप राजनीतिक पार्टियों के सदस्य हैं, आप को एक सही दृष्टिकोण उनके सामने रखना चाहिये ।

बहुत से साथियों ने कहा—पुलिस ने गोली चलाई, सी०आर०पी० का उपयोग किया गया, दूसरे काम किये गये—मैं इस सरकार को बधाई देता हूँ, जिस ने ठीक समय पर अपने कर्तव्य का पालन किया, इस सरकार को मजबूर हो कर वे काम करने पड़े । . . . (शिवशाव) . . .

हमारी पुलिस अपनी जनता का खून नहीं बहाना चाहती है—लेकिन एक पार्टी ने उन के ऊपर जिम्मेदारी सौंपी है—देश के अन्दर शान्ति व्यवस्था कायम रहे, किसी के साथ लूट-खसोट न हो, सम्पत्ति की सुरक्षा के लिये, ला एंड आर्डर कायम रखने के लिये, सरकार ने और इस सदन ने उन पर जो विश्वास व्यक्त किया है, उस जिम्मेदारी को पूरा करने के लिये उन को ऐसा काम करना पड़ा, जिसे वे दिल से नहीं करना चाहते थे, लेकिन मजबूर हो कर करना पड़ा । मैं इस सरकार को बधाई देता हूँ—इस ने सब्जी से काम लिया,

गुण्डागर्दी के सामने नहीं झुकी । वहाँ की विधान सभा भंग हो या नहीं हो, उस पर ठीक वातावरण में विचार किया जाय । इस प्रकार की गुण्डागर्दी के सामने झुक गये तो फिर कोई भी सरकार, किसी भी पार्टी की सरकार चलनेवाली नहीं है, इस लिये आप से निवेदन करना है कि उन को सहयोग न दीजिये । केन्द्रीय सरकार से भी निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि जिस प्रकार उम ने आज तक स्थिति को निभाया है, सम्भाला है उसी प्रकार आगे भी सम्भाले, इस से वहाँ जल्दी शांति कायम होगी ।

SHRI BHALJIBHAI PARMAR
(Dohad) Sir, I rise to oppose this Resolution

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA
(Begusarai) Mr Chairman, I shall take one second of the time of the House to bring to your notice the fact that just now we have heard that 150 students had been arrested at the Boat Club for demonstrating their feelings against the callous attitude of the Home Minister if this happens in the city of Delhi, that one cannot peacefully demonstrate, you can imagine what would be happening in Gujarat where the police are resorting to bullets.

SHRI BHALJIBHAI PARMAR I want to ask the Government why there is this imposition of the President's Rule in Gujarat What has led to this state of affairs? Why was there this downfall of the Congress Government even though there was a massive majority for the Ruling Congress? To my mind the reasons are not far to seek Firstly the fault lies with the corrupt Ministry which spoiled the whole atmosphere of Gujarat in its efforts to pull down the legs of their own partymen. Corrupt people want to rise to power and hence spoiled the whole State machinery. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to establish Ramraj while they turned it into a Ravanarajya full of vices They were all power drunk and intoxicated so

much that they had no time to look into the miseries of the masses of people. Instead of 'Garibi hatao' they tried to solve their own 'garibi'; that was their 'garibi hatao'. They adopted corrupt and foul means and it is well known they encouraged hoarding, black marketing and invited miseries on the people. They did not take any precautionary measure to control the situation at the proper time. They sucked the blood of the people by direct and indirect methods, by rising the prices of food commodities and creating shortages of food.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot read you. speech verbatim; you should only refer to your notes.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is referring to his notes.

SHRI BHALJIBHAI PARMAR: They could not solve the problem of providing food to the people. I therefore say that the Assembly should be dissolved immediately. They do not any more enjoy the confidence of the people and it is no use staying in the Assembly because they have no place in the hearts of the people. They should quit immediately; they should not create such incidents like sitting on the donkey or shaving one's head; they should not wait for such unpleasant things to happen.

I am confident that the peace-loving people of Gujarat and specially Gandhiji's Gujarat and Sardar Patel's Gujarat would not have thought of such mal-administration while voting for *Garibi Hatao*. But they now seem to be cheated by them. Hence they must quit without any further delay. It seems that the elements of opportunism, hoarding and black-marketing, have entered the ruling party, namely, the Congress. They have no moral values and character values. When they have lost character, what remains there to be protected? So, I say, they should quit honourably and there should not be any further deterioration in the conditions of Gujarat.

Now, it is with a heavy heart I say that Gujarat has to witness sad

days of atrocities committed on the people at the cruel hands of police. During food riots which took place in the months of January and February, 1974, the people had to face acute shortage of food and, therefore, they had to suffer a lot. Curfew was imposed on the big and small cities and towns as is well known to us from the day to day newspapers. The honourable House will be shocked to learn some of the instances which I would like to narrate.

For instance, the citizens of Dohad town which is my constituency had to undergo tortures from the police. The C.R.P., the S.R.P. and the local police employed in Dohad town committed very grave, unthinkable and unprecedented atrocities on the men, women and children. I have learnt from my personal enquiries that the people there are very much terrified and they want that the C.R.P. and the S.R.P. should be removed immediately.

As I have not much time at my disposal, I would like to conclude with a few suggestions. Firstly, they should dissolve the Gujarat Legislative Assembly immediately without waiting for further deterioration in the situation of Gujarat State. Secondly, they should appoint a High Court Judge or a Supreme Court Judge to make a judicial inquiry into the atrocities committed by the C.R.P., the S.R.P. and the local police on the people of Gujarat in various places in Gujarat. Thirdly, they should pay a reasonable compensation to the families of the deceased people, namely, those who were shot dead by the C.R.P., the S.R.P. and the local people at various places in Gujarat. Fourthly, they should withdraw the C.R.P., and the S.R.P. from Dohad town and elsewhere as they have committed atrocities on innocent people which are quite unprecedented and unthinkable. Lastly, the hon. Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, is requested to visit Gujarat,

[Shri Bhadribhai Parmar]

meet the people and redress their grievances as her party is at fault in mismanaging the affairs of Gujarat. The women of Dohad town are eager to tell the painful atrocities committed on them and want justice from her if she can visit Dohad.

Lastly, I would like to pay my homage to the departed souls of the *Shaheds* who lost their precious lives and express my heartfelt condolences to the families of the bereaved.

MR CHAIRMAN: Shri Mavalankar

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Sir, just now we have been told ...

MR CHAIRMAN: Before you came, that was said by Shri Shyamnandan Mishra.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE. More students have been arrested; about 250 students have been arrested. Some of those boys wanted to meet the press people or meet the Members of Parliament. They were not allowed. All the doors were closed. Now they are being arrested. These are small boys coming from colleges and schools. It is a shame on the Government to arrest these boys. Are they afraid of students so much? We are not afraid to face them. They came to give a representation. Under the nose of the Home Minister, they are being arrested. What face have we to show to them? What justice can they give to the people of Gujarat

MR CHAIRMAN: Are you not making a speech?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I am not making any speech. I want the Home Minister to make a statement. Will he release them?

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MR. CHAIRMAN: You have invited the attention of the Home Minister and the House to the event which has happened. Three or four Members have raised the matter. I think, the Home Minister will reply to this point in his speech.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: They should not be sent to jail. My humble request to the Home Minister through you, Mr Chairman, is that they should be released immediately. (*Interruptions*).

MR CHAIRMAN: Why do you want to interrupt the debate? The Home Minister will meet this point in his reply.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What has been done to the students has been done with the express orders of Mr Dikshit, the Home Minister, sitting here. Now, Sir, we want you to be good enough to direct this gentleman to give us an assurance here and now that the students will be released at once.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot direct the Minister to do 'X'—thing or 'Y'—thing. We do not know all the facts. That is why I have said that the Home Minister will meet this point in his reply. You have brought it to his notice and also to the notice of the House.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We want an assurance here and now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot order the Minister to do that.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Although it is necessary that the students should be released immediately—and that is the demand of the House—, more important than this is the issue of fundamental rights of citizens. For what reasons could the peaceful citizens agitating against the Government in a legitimate and Constitutional manner be arrested? And should that happen in the Capital

City of Delhi? That is the more important issue which we are raising now.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: My submission is this. I am not at all disturbed by the arrests that have been made because it is in the nature of the struggle that they are launching, and I welcome it. They have done the right thing. I welcome the Government's reaction to it. But we have our responsibility to them as members of the House. If the Government does not give any satisfactory explanation according to their norms in this House, then we have only to inform the Government that we will have to react according to our own conscience and according to our own norms in the Opposition from tomorrow or may be even from today.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar): It has come to our notice that the High Command of Navnirman Samiti which has been here for the last more than eight days have written to the Government that, if the Assembly is dissolved, they will call upon the students of Gujarat to go back to their classes and restore peace. In this background, do these arrests not constitute a new provocation for breach of peace? I want the Minister to reply to this point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Bhattacharyya will be the last person on this side to make a submission. Then we proceed with the discussion.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): When the resolution was moved, an appeal was made by the Minister that first normalcy should be restored in Gujarat. All these young boys for the last one week are trying to meet the Central Government leaders including Shri Dikshit, but they were not allowed to meet him. To-day when they assembled in the Boat Club they were arrested. Will the Government this way hope to bring normalcy in Gujarat? Before starting his speech, let the Minister first order the release of those students.

SHRI P. M. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have listened to this entire debate on the Home Minister's Resolution on the state of affairs in my State, with considerable pain, with obvious interest and concern and with an equal degree of astonishment.

The House knows that President's rule has been promulgated in Gujarat on the 11th February onwards and it is exactly a month now that our State is under the rule of the President.

This entire debate has produced much heat, much anger and, I am sorry to say, a lot of mis-information on vital matters.

Sir, I wish many of my esteemed hon. friends belonging to all sections and, particularly, belonging to the ruling Party had gone to my State at least once during the last two months (Interruptions) at least once during the last two months to find out for themselves and to have a first-hand evidence, not a secondhand one, of what has been happening in Gujarat.

The Governor of Gujarat has given a report on February 9 on the basis of which the proclamation of President's rule came. Now, the Home Minister wants us to accept his statutory resolution which he knows jolly-well, is deliberately inadequate and incomplete. I say jolly-well because he knows jolly-well that dissolution is a fait accompli. It has to be done if not to-day, to-morrow; if not to-morrow, am sorry to say with great agony in my heart that with everyday he is delaying the dissolution he is taking the blood of innocent young people in Ahmedabad and Gujarat. Therefore, when the Minister knows—this is my point—when the Home Minister and the entire Government know that dissolution is something which they cannot avoid and indeed it must happen as early as possible and yet, he comes here saying that the House approve the proclamation issued, etc., but does not say that the dissolution also must take

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

place forthwith! So, it is from that angle that I wish to oppose this resolution moved by the hon. Minister's colleague, Shri Mirda.

If you look at the Constitution, the Governor has given a report, as I just now said, and referred to Art 356. The proclamation also refers to Article 356. If you read Article 356 it says:

"If the President on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution "

So, on that basis he gave a report and the President's rule came. I want to ask whether the Governor, after February 9, 1974, has sent further reports to the President of the Union saying with so many details in terms of facts and figures, that the constitutional machinery has been continuously broken day by day, in fact, day and night. Therefore if the Home Minister tells us that the Government has been seized of the continuous flow of facts on the continued deterioration of Constitutional machinery I ask the Home Minister. What prevents him to dissolve the Assembly forthwith, if, for a mere report of the Governor on the advice of the then Chief Minister he want to the extent of keeping the Assembly in a sort of suspended animation with ulterior party motives using the Constitution, a sacred document, for his party's political interests? This does not behove of a Government which talks of democracy. The Prime Minister the other day told us that we must all work for Parliament Democracy. The basic feature of Parliamentary Democracy is the sacredness of the Constitution to which we have all taken our allegiance, our oath. I want to ask the Home Minister: Is he following the letter and the spirit, more than the letter, of the Indian Constitution, which says that once the Constitutional machinery has broken down, let no more further time be wasted in this matter of deciding about

the dissolution of the Assembly? But he is not doing it. I want this to be understood that the whole issue of keeping the Assemblies of States in animated suspension is an extraordinary innovation of the Congress Government! The matter is not provided for in the Constitution. This matter has not been referred to the Supreme Court and therefore there is no way of knowing what the Supreme Court's decision will be on this matter. I wish it is challenged in the Supreme Court but unless that is done we must go not only according to the letter but also by the spirit of the Constitution. So this whole business of keeping Assemblies in animated suspension keeping them in sort of refrigerators and bringing them up again when the opportunity suits them, does not behove well. This is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, I would respectfully like to point out. The Home Minister talks about the happenings in Gujarat. Who else is or should be more informed in this country than the Home Minister with all the intelligence being available to him? I am referring now to the report of the 9th February of the Governor of Gujarat in which the party position has been mentioned. The Home Minister says the whole trouble is due to Jan Sangh. But this is what the Governor's report says about the party position as on that date: Congress 140; Congress party (Organisation) 16; Jan Sangh 3. Communist party 1; Independents 8, total 168 Now, are we to take it that 3 MLAs could do something which 140 MLAs could not prevent them from doing? How absurd this is! And then there is no Communist Marxist in this Assembly. But every now and then the Home Minister says that Marxist Communist Party has been responsible for the events in Gujarat. I am protesting not so much against the Government's opinion. They have every right to have any opinion about our movement, but to call the students and the youth and the citizens as goondas as the hon. Member who spoke before me had said, would be meaningless and it is most un-
To call the students, professors, tea-

chers, artists and the textile workers and the various employees, engineers, doctors, lawyers, farmers, village workers, factory workers etc. of Gujarat is goondas is most unfortunate. You call it big section of Indian community as goondas simply because they came out in revolt. This is amazing and of course it is annoying. 18.00 hrs.

Therefore, I want to suggest that let the Home Minister and his colleague, Shri Mirdha at least give this Hon. House the correct picture, the full picture, of what has happened. The whole difficulty is that the central Government has not sent his report to the Home Minister. May I ask the Home Minister why did he not send the report to the Home Minister? The Centre has been happening in our State for the last two months. The Centre is not very well informed about what is happening in the country at large. I can understand that he was busy with the electioneering in U.P. That is part of the game. The point here is this. He first sent, I understand the Secretary of the Home Minister from here. I would like him to tell us what was the report of the Secretary of the Home Ministry. Has he got his report? What has he said in that report? Will he place that report on the table of the House so that the House may know the position. We are a Parliamentary democracy and we are entitled to give our views. Opinions are bound to be different. That is why I say that facts must be sacred. And unless you make available the facts to this hon. House how can the House come to any conclusion about what is happening in Ahmedabad in Gujarat? The Home Minister sent not only the Home Secretary but he also sent Shri K. C. Pant, the Minister for Irrigation and Power. Then, he sent Shri H. R. Gokhale. To-day I understand that he has sent his Party Secretary Shri Chandrajit Yadav, my hon. friend. Why are you sending different people at different times? Probably, he does not trust his own people. Probably he feels that he is giving information in-

convenient to him. Therefore, he sent someone else. That kind of thing is happening. Therefore, I suggest one thing. Nobody knows really what is happening in Gujarat. Nobody in Delhi cares to know what is happening in my State. If they happen to know, what is worse and what is more tragic in our democracy is this. Nobody in the Central leadership even though to-day they are in a commanding position—has got the guts, courage or conviction to act intelligently and imaginatively on the basis of the factual information and statements that they get from these observers.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, President's Rule has come to our State a month ago, and for the last four weeks or so, the Governor of our State is advised or rather is assisted by his Advisers Shri Sarin and Shri Satara-wala. I am sorry to refer to their names. Normally I would not have referred to the officers who cannot explain or defend themselves in this House. But, on an occasion like this, we must mention them. In Ahmedabad in Gujarat, this Officer, Shri Sarin has had various talks with pressmen and others and he is reported to have said that he wants to deal with this situation—with the help of force, with repression—as he has done apparently in Andhra Pradesh. It is not for me to say what has happened in Gujarat. It is not for me to reflect on what happened in Andhra Pradesh. We are sorry for what happened in Andhra Pradesh where so many people have lost their lives. The comparison is rather odious. But, I want to tell on the floor of the House that Shri Sarin has very sorely and badly and mischievously advised—may be either on his own conscience or on the orders from the higher-up in Delhi—that he can deal with the matter in Gujarat with bullets and bayonets.

Many hon. Members, particularly, the Ruling Party, have said that this was *goondagiri*. Many others said that it was an upsurge, mass movement. The only legitimate description

[Shri P. G. Mevalankar]

that I can give to this is 'revolt' by the youth and the students and by a large number of people of Gujarat. This is going on for two full months. Never in the Independent India has the movement of such a nature gone on for so long and sustained. Many hon. Members from the Congress Party—many of them are my friends, I have no party affiliations and I do not talk from the point of view of this firstly or from that party but I speak from the point of view of the entire nation—have told me that they were surprised that peace-loving Gujarat carried on this kind of agitation for so many weeks. Not only that, in sheer ferocity I say that this is an agitation which is without a parallel. There is a continuous defiance by the people of Ahmedabad and Gujarat of stern police, still more stern SRP and CRP police, BSF and army action and continuous police atrocities. Only the other day—last week—in a locality called Khadia in Ahmedabad—a photograph appeared in the Gujarati paper—it did not appear in national press—where the police commissioner and officers were ready to shoot when the people came out, opened their shirts and said: "All right. You want to shoot us. We are ready. This is the spirit. This is the defiance and this is the atmosphere. Therefore I would suggest if the Home Minister of the Government of India feels that the movement is abating he is sadly mistaken. It will stop only when the legitimate demand of the dissolution of the Assembly is met and met immediately and without further compromise. Please do not have the illusion that the agitation is fizzling out. I came from Ahmedabad this morning and I am told that Central Intelligence Officers had gone to Ahmedabad and have come back with the impression that the people are tired of it. Yes, they are tired. But they are not letting loose this until the dissolution comes. People's anger and people's revolt is against corruption and in competence not only of Chimanbhai's Government—which fortunately

has seen its end—but it is against price rise accentuated by corruption and man made artificial scarcities of various essential commodities of consumption. Therefore, Sir, I want this hon. House to know that when we asked for the dismissal of Chimanbhai's Government we had linked the demand with the entire wing of these corrupt 140 MLAs. Therefore, the demand for dissolution is state-wise and universal in both the rural and urban areas.

My esteemed friend, the Minister of Irrigation and Power; told me in Ahmedabad that Shri Chinmanshai Patel and some other Ministers have wide support in rural areas. But throughout these two months you have seen that curfew orders were imposed in not less than 50 towns and villages from Kutch to South Gujarat not for one day and one week but for weeks together. So, to say that the movement is only limited to urban areas is a travesty of facts. It is a challenge to the system. You have got built in corruption. Nobody can be elected to this House or the Assembly without spending a lot of money. This is a revolt by the students and the youth. We should be grateful to them because they have been hypocrisy hunters. Wherever they see hypocrisy they want to get rid of it. I ask whether these students are not going to be citizens of India tomorrow and going to have administration in their hands? Does it sound nice on our part to describe them as anti-social instead of trying to educate, persuade and argue with them. I would ask whether after one month if Chimanbhai could be ordered out by the Congress Party and expelled for six years, these 140 MLAs could also not be expelled by the public for a couple of months? Each one of the 140 MLAs has a legitimate right to stand for election and face the electorate. So why should they be afraid? They are afraid because today their creditability with the people is not only zero but it is minus. It is right that it is minus, because they have done like that, that they must become minus.

I will not take more time by referring to details to which I have already referred when I spoke earlier in this session in the debate on the President's Address; I will not repeat those points. But I would say this. If the Government say that they will not yield to violence, I ask the Government, the Home Minister, for the last 27 years, how many times have you yielded to non-violence, and how many more times have you yielded to violence, ultimately? Why do you corner people? Why do you make them go to the last, logical point? Why do you drive them to such an extent that they get exasperated and think that all constitutional means are over? Continuously there is Section 144, there are curfew orders—everything that you have done is cornering the people. Then you say, do something, oppose peacefully. In such circumstances, how can the people do anything?

I am not suggesting that there should be resort to violence, not at all. Who says that you must yield to violence? We do not say that you must yield to violence. But we say, we ask Government: yield to the people's wishes expressed so fully, so fervently and so firmly.

Let me tell you as a student of political science that sovereignty ultimately is not coercive authority or brutal force at the disposal of any state machinery. Ultimately sovereignty is based on consent. Specially so in a democratic polity. As T. H. Green has said: "will and not force is the basis of the state." Today that will and consent are completely withdrawn by the people of Gujarat. You may not like it. You may think that the people are totally mistaken or wrong. Let me tell you that in a democracy, people's will and wishes must ultimately prevail.

I come now to the oft-repeated argument against the demand for dissolution; no dissolution until normalcy is restored; normalcy first, dissolution afterwards this is putting the cart before the horse, normalcy

will come soon, sooner than you expect once dissolution is ordered and fresh poll held within a reasonable time. I do not say it must be held immediately, but within a reasonable time. This declaration must be made by Government.

Some friends on the other side have asked where is the guarantee that there will be peace once dissolution is ordered? I ask: where is the guarantee that peace will continue when dissolution is not taking place? And you ask us, individuals for this when you have at your disposal all the state machinery of violence, force, everything, the entire media of publicity, the All India Radio, newspapers, all the Ministers, MLAs, a majority of 140 of them? And yet, if you cannot stop violence, who can?

Of course, we condemn violence. Violence has to be condemned. At the same time, we must go into the genesis of the problem. What is the root cause of this violence? Why is it that we see violence for the last so many years? It is because people feel suppressed, tortured, cornered; there is no way out to express themselves except through violence. In such circumstances, it becomes inevitable. If Government were more responsive, more democratic, more understanding, more sympathetic, more of everything of these in time—not when the moment has gone—it will help restore people's faith in Government and put an end to violence.

What is the way out of the present deadlock? If the present deadlock is to be resolved, I ask the Home Minister one thing. Is Government really interested in resolving this deadlock? If so why don't they act promptly, wisely and magnanimously, unless of course they want to prove Edmund Burke's saying that "small minds and great empires go ill together"?

Therefore, do not make this a prestige issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may conclude with this good quotation.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I will end with a better quotation, a better

[Shri P. G. Mayalankar]
 appeal. In all earnestness, in all sincerity, as an independent person with no interest whatsoever—I am into power or that party coming into power; I am interested in democracy remaining in this country—I say: do not make this a prestige issue.
 Violence, loot, attacks on banks, we certainly condemn because we know that violence is self-defeating, violence is self-destructive. We also know that means must be respected. We cannot be indifferent to means looking only to the ends. We must have good means; otherwise even good ends achieved by bad means will not be durable.

I say that coercion of MLAs is wrong. It must be deprecated. I strongly deprecate it. Nobody in his sense will approve of it. But because there is no provision for recall in the Constitution, this is being done. I want this House to give some thought to this problem and to find a way out in some form or other, in some sensible constitutional manner to bring about the institution of recall particularly when an MLA or MP has lost credibility with his electorate, with the constituents. In such a situation, there should be some constitutional method and not through the street violence. Then a word about the MLAs also. The House must know this. If MLAs have been the cause,—I strongly deprecate this aspect—let us not forget that some of the MLAs in Gujarat have been responsible for killing four or five students in south Gujarat. These students have been killed by shooting and other methods. Fortunately, and happily, we are thankful to God that no MLA has been seriously hurt. But four students have died in that process. Therefore, the attempt at cajoling, fooling and dividing the people must stop. Thank God, the students are united. But they and the people have lost faith in the ruling Congress, in the Central leaders, and if the Prime Minister does not act immediately, they

will also lose faith in the Prime Minister's bona fides about taking a decision quickly.

The Centre has all along neglected Gujarat. Once, Gujarat was gloriously represented here in Delhi, I know from personal observation, and I have seen the people here, when Gujarat was represented gloriously. But I find today that there is no Minister in the Central Cabinet from Gujarat. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Pant, I want somebody from Gujarat in the policy-making position. There is no Minister in the Central Cabinet from Gujarat. No decisions have been taken and the Narmada problem is still lingering on. It has been a long-drawn-out problem. There is a strong and intense feeling that the hon. Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Government at the Centre have a poor opinion about the Gujarat people. This impression must be washed away before it is too late. This attitude of indifference and callousness on the part of the Centre must go. We only regret and resent this Central arrogance and we pity the Central ignorance.

This terrible deception has taken place, and we have had enough of it and we do not want any more of it. In the last few days, I say there has been this deception. My hon. friend on this side—you were good enough to ask them to speak—said that about 200 students were arrested this evening, a little while ago. They were called here by these Governmental leaders. The big leaders called them here to have a dialogue. Instead, they are putting them behind the bars. Is that what you do? Therefore, do not practice this deception any more. You decide it quickly. No favour can work, and discipline should be tolerated. (*Interruptions*).

Now, here is a cutting from the Times of India—

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have given you the maximum time; do not take advantage of this. You must conclude now.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I am concluding. For the last two days, Ahmedabad is seized by 10,000 policemen, drawn from the Border Security Force, Central Reserve Police and so on. Nothing happened. I saw with my own eyes in the last two days on the streets of Ahmedabad not less than 10,000 policemen. Why do they want to provoke the people? Do not provoke the people.

I respect your wishes, and say, act boldly, imaginatively, sensibly and drastically, because time is running out and do not lose any more time. You are losing the grace and do not let the situation slip away from your hands completely, so that you lose the grace as well!

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have listened to the speeches which have been delivered from both sides of the House with the great attention that is due to them. But I have found that so far as the resolution which has been moved and is before the House is concerned, nobody has opposed it. *(Interruption)*

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The hon'ble Member Mr. Mavalankar has opposed it.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: Mr. Mavalankar has said a large number of things which have been self-contradictory. If I can take the time of the House, I will be able to show that wherever he has made a point he has also made counter-point. But apart from all that, the main point that I want to make is this; that in all these speeches not one hon. Member had tried to say or tried to make the point that this proclamation should not be approved so far as the resolution is concerned.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: With the additional clause for the dissolution of the House.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: That is another thing. They want more things to be done. But nobody has said....

SHRI H. M. PATEL: It was pointed out that it was highly unconstitutional repeatedly.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: Have you said it?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Yes; I have said. That was the opposition. What else is it?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: You have said so. But still you have not said that it should be revoked and it should not be approved. I would request Mr. Patel to listen to me patiently, because I believe his speech was the most constructive speech in the House today and I have high respect for the manner in which he has referred to the subject. I have found one significant fact in this debate, namely, there has been one line of action by Members from Gujarat, roughly speaking, and a rather different line of approach by other Members, particularly like my friend Shri Samar Guha and others.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Nobody on this side of the House has differed on the issue of dissolution.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: I am making the point that nobody has made the point that this proclamation should not be approved.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: On a point of order Mr. Chairman. You were in the Chair when I spoke. We said that we opposed suspension of the Assembly. We wanted that the Assembly should be dissolved.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has his own way of putting it. We must listen to him patiently and at the end if you want any clarification you can ask a question. Please do not interrupt him now.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: I have said so deliberately, because Members do want that this proclamation should continue and should be approved, because the revocation or disapproval would create a situation which none of us would like to happen. Suspension or the dissolution of the Assembly is not part of the Resolution....*(Interruptions)*. Instead of going speech by speech, I shall refer to the main points which have been made in the House by hon. Members. There were four or five reasons why an extraordinary situation developed

[Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit] in Gujarat. Several Members said that there were shortages and rising prices with the result that it affected the minds of the people. It was also stated that there were allegations of corruption against the Chief Minister or other Ministers and so people were angered and began to have misgivings or suspicions. One Member said that the formation or coming into existence of the Nav Nirman Samiti is a discovery of a new way of carrying on public life. This manner of dealing with the Members of the Assembly, using force and getting their resignations under duress, to subject them before, after or during the process to insult in public, to put them under severe intimidation—that is the new way which I am told is being discovered and which the whole country should follow. I hope my friend Mr. Samar Guha...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have great respect for you as an elder. But, I am sorry to say that you have not understood even an iota of the qualitative nature of the whole thing. I am sorry. 'Buzurgs' like you should try to understand the qualitative character of the Gujarat movement. I humbly say that the organisers of this movement can claim to be the real followers of Gandhiji.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hereafter, please do not interrupt, unless the Minister or the speaker wants to yield. Let us follow this practice. Please do not interrupt.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: It was saying that this was the background. These were the conditions, which the Members referred to, under which, or in consequence of which, at a later stage, the Proclamation was issued.

Now, so far as Members from Gujarat are concerned, they have suggested that the supply position should be improved, that allegations of corruption should be enquired into and satisfaction afforded in that direction that other difficulties which the students have suffered should be

removed, and more particularly, that the Assembly should be dissolved. In these four categories, roughly speaking, one can divide the various points which have been made by some Members very eloquently.

Now, let us go briefly into the history. I do not want to take more time because I am starting my reply at a very late stage. Let us go into the background—how it happened. The Prime Minister said here, and I think Mr. Mirdha also made a statement to the same effect, saying that there is no question of policy or principle involved and that we do not stand on any false sense of prestige over this issue—over the issue of dissolution of the Assembly. The whole question, therefore, is, we have to understand the issues involved in the present situation.

SHRI S. M BANERJEE: You have not understood as yet?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: I have respect for Shri Banerjee's intelligence. But, I am afraid a very simple point has not gone into his head. What some of us are trying to do—let Mr. Banerjee understand this—is not to be a party to a precedent which for generations to come, will be regretted and in the annals of history, the Opposition and the Treasury Benches both, will not forgive us. Directly as a result of such pressures, intimidations, terrorism and open insults on duly elected Members of the Legislature a Legislature cannot be dissolved. Several Members suggested this in a different language. Do you want this to become the norm for the Indian Democracy? Is there any Parliamentary Democracy in the world, where such a thing would be allowed, and after allowing this, will it be possible to have either multi-party democracy or Parliamentary Democracy?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): For your information, the French Parliament was surrounded by the people and no bullet was fired.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: The British Parliament was dissolved because

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: It was not because of the strike. The Prime Minister of Great Britain thought that this was an appropriate time and he called for the election. It is not because of the strike. There are many reasons. One of them might have been this.

The question before this House is how to preserve the personal liberty which is enshrined in the Constitution, the individual freedom for which we have fought from Mahatma Gandhi downwards for years and years. Democracy to us is a way of life, it is the very breath of our life. We want to protect and preserve it at all costs no matter what may happen, no matter what Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu may say or do. He can say anything because he does not really believe in free democracy and he does not really believe in multi-party democracy or parliamentary way of life, whereas we want to see that our Constitution is preserved, no matter what the political....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You believe in secret murders in West Bengal?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: That is utter falsehood; We did not believe in secret murders. So far as the Congress is concerned, I challenge anybody to prove that any member of the Congress has been associated with any secret or open murder of that kind.

So, I want you all to concentrate your attention on this main point. If one by one members are pressurized out of the Assembly in this way, then what will happen? It is one thing that it is the members that are doing it. Whoever wants protection, we will give all the personal protection that is needed. I think it is an obligation cast upon us by the Constitution.

If we ourselves, of our own free volition take a particular course of action, it is one thing; but if we take

the same course because of some fear, it takes a different colour. Now what is happening is that a group of 150 or 200 men and women, sometimes students and anti-social elements go to the house of the members of the Assembly when the owner of the house is alone or he and his family and children are there. He is surrounded. Or he is visited at night. People surround him and press him at the point of the pistol or at the point of the danda to sign a resignation. Now, is that what you want should take place normally in this country? The Speaker of the Gujarat Assembly said.... (Interruptions). Sir, I am not yielding.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, on a point of order, under rule 378. When it is a Congress Member in the Chair, it is rather difficult for us with our commitments. The hon. Minister, Shri Dikshit, for whose age I have regard but not for his grey matter upstairs, said that they do not believe in violence and they have never taken to violence.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I am coming to that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You must formulate your point of order.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: In West Bengal the polling booths were captured only 15 days ago.... (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, I want to make a submission.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you want any clarification, after the speech of the hon. Minister is over. I will give time to two or three members to ask questions. But please do not disturb the Minister during the course of his speech.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT:
As I was saying, if we voluntarily, of our own free will, took a decision to dissolve the Assembly it would be a different matter. But if we took that decision because of the fear that the Members of the Assembly would otherwise be pressurized and intimidated into giving resignations under duress then, as I said, it will not be possible to safeguard or preserve freedom and democracy in this country.

That is the main point. I am requesting all Members of this House to give their serious thought, without emotions, to this simple and straight question.

When Mr. Samar Guha and Mr. Mavalankar were speaking, they were carried away by their emotions and by the vision that they imagined they have of the future through this kind of pressure tactics by these boys or by other people who accompany the boys to the houses of legislators. He thought that he had discovered a new truth. We know the youth of our country; we know about youth all over the world. They are idealists, they have sentiments, they are persons of vision. They want to act for an idea and for a principle. If you go and tell the students and the youth that in order to achieve the Millennium, in order to bring the heaven on earth, all you have to do is to burn some houses, loot some shops and pressurise some people into giving resignations, that is all you have to do, they will not hesitate to follow the advice. *(Interruptions)* They are good and intelligent students. Because of their idealism, because of their emotions, they have been misled into this kind of activity. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: No political party is misleading them. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT:
Although it is not correct to say that they wanted to see me and I refused to see them, I can still tell you without any fear of contradiction....

AN HON. MEMBER: It is incorrect.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT:
How can you say, it is incorrect? I meet a few hundred people every day. Nobody has written to me or approached me by telephone or otherwise to see me. It is not correct to say that they wanted to see me and I refused to see them. In these matters, I cannot understand how a factual statement like that can be disputed by any hon. Member.

Now, these young men have been influenced, excited and given a vision of the future which really made them to do all these things. Those of them who have come away, many of them—you can take it from me—think differently. Now, they are afraid of going back, because if they go back with some sort of a mild or compromised formula or any reasonable proposal from here, they will be condemned, they do not want to take this kind of a thing from here. Even when they were coming here, there were serious differences in their ranks. Even at the railway station, some of these students would not allow them to come away.... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: To use this language of intrigue and trickery is not proper.... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT:
They should not use such a language. I can also use that language. But I do not want to spoil my tongue and spoil the atmosphere of this House. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: This language of intrigue and trickery is not parliamentary in any way.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: I do not think, he has served the cause which he has at heart. If it is his cause to achieve the dissolution of the Assembly with a view to solving the problem in Gujarat to the satisfaction, as far as possible, of all concerned, then this is not the way provoking the young people outside, to deal with it. He is unnecessarily creating an atmosphere of fight when there is no such fight.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I want that the might of the people should rule over the authoritarian might of the powers that be.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: As I was saying, a few students, 100 or 200 students, go and force even Members of Parliament. A few days ago some boys went to the house of a Member of Parliament at 3 a.m. knocked at his door and wanted to enter his house and put all sorts of pressure. But for the tact with which the lady of the House managed it, the boys would have entered the house and made things very difficult for him. This is the way the movement goes on, and some of our friends think that that is a revolution, a kind of holy revolution, which no one else knew before. Violence, of any kind, is as old as the hills. When the first man was born, he was born with some sense of violence to protect himself. But we are far advanced from that stage today. Some of our friends have named Mahatma Gandhi. I do not think any one who has any respect for the principles for which Mahatma Gandhi stood for the principles for which Mahatma Gandhi gave his life, will ever connect these methods with Gandhism, it is in my opinion an insult to the memory of that great man, to say that this kind of pressurisation is a Gandhian method.

is an anti-Gandhian method. (Interruptions).

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have referred to that quotation. Mahatma Gandhi has said that the strength of the freedom of people lies in launching satyagraha and revolting against authoritarian rule. I can send you, if you want, a copy of the authoritative quotation.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: He may send the quotation, and I shall help him in the right interpretation of the quotation he has mentioned.

This is the central point of the debate before us. I personally believe that in saner moments, in moments of non-excitement, all members of this House, whether on this side or on the other side, will agree with me—this is my belief—that it is not a correct way of life, social life or political life; however good the students may be, however good and well brought-up they may be, it is wrong to allow the society to be held to ransom, to allow the entire system of political democracy in this country to be eroded and to take the country to a path where nothing but dictatorship would really be the result of it. I am not addressing this to those who do not really believe in democracy, but I believe that most parts of the House believe....

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: He must presume that we all accept this. (Interruptions).

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: All of us, including Shri Bhogendra Jha, are interested in giving this matter a very calm consideration because I think that none of us would like to be a party to a precedent which will, for all time to come, particularly in Gujarat and perhaps in other parts of the country also, come in the way of development.

[Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit]

promotion and even survival of the democratic way of life.

Shri H. M. Patel made, in my opinion, a very important statement. Between what he said and what the stand of the Government of India has been, in my opinion, there is very little difference. I will try to find out how far there is any difference, if there is a gap, how it can be bridged and how it can be narrowed. What he said is this that all that he would like the Government of India to do, and, he knows his people—Shri Patel has been a leader of a Party and he knows the mind of Gujarat and when he speaks something, we are bound to give it respect. Now what he says is this that if the Government of India said that as soon as normalcy is restored, the question of dissolution of the Assembly would be considered sympathetically ...

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Granted automatically.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: Granted means what? You cannot fix any date in a matter like this.

What is the criterion for assessing the existence of or bringing about complete normalcy or normalcy in a workable form? You can have a day or two of an incident—free time, but, that is not normalcy. It is not merely lack of violence that is normalcy. We have to have an atmosphere when dialogues can take place, when problems can be discussed not in the present situation when some of our friends talk as if it is a matter of two enemies or two high-contracting nations opposed to each other being involved. That is not the atmosphere in which such a matter can be discussed.

I can understand the feelings because it is true that when situations like this develop and the Police or the Army aid is called, and when

they show their reaction to burning or to arson or looting or such activities, naturally, in some cases incidents occur which cannot be justified. I do not say whether it is so or not but it can be so. I am willing to concede that. There is no difficulty about it. Not only that we are sorry, but I say nobody on this side of the House feels less distressed than anybody else either in this House or outside over what has happened. It is not that it gives us any pleasure. It is not a pleasant job to control such a situation with the help of force. But the Government, the modern government, has to use its force. Otherwise, it should vacate. It has to govern. Otherwise, it is not a government at all.

Now, you place the responsibility for all the consequences upon us. But is it fair, I submit to you? Somebody has talked of the blood of the innocents. The responsibility for the blood of the innocents rests squarely upon those who have excited and incited some of these young men to do these kinds of things.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Who?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: Whoever may be.... (Interruptions). Why do they interrupt me? I am telling you (Interruptions). That means that some of these gentlemen are involved in it. Others do not say that because they are not involved.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has not named anybody. Why do you get up and allow the cap to fit your head?.... (Interruptions).

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: If anybody excited the young men, it is the butchery, it is the savagery of the CRP and those who control this oppressive machinery. They are responsible for all the killings of these youngmen.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That you have already said in your speech. Please do not repeat.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: With all the sincerity at my command I appeal that this is not the way to create the necessary atmosphere. Some of the speeches that have been made in this House, I am afraid, are capable of creating further excitement. My request is that that has to be avoided at all cases... (Interruptions).

Now, Sir, the whole thing, so far as we are concerned, is that we want to take every reasonable measure to bring about normalcy with the least force and at as early a date as possible. As soon as such a condition is available, we shall proceed to consider not only this question of dissolution of the Assembly but also other matters which have been referred to in the Memorandum submitted by the students to the President of India which may contain legitimate demands to which I am afraid possibly adequate attention has not been paid. This is my respectful submission and with these words I request that the Resolution may be approved by the honourable House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will allow only three persons to ask clarifications. Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and Mr. Banerjee.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: You said in your wisdom that you will permit me to ask a clarification. I have restrained myself.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right, as a special case, but Mr. Samar Guha, I will allow one minute only.

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: On a point of order. You told us that you would allow three persons to

speak from their side. They should first of all choose those three.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No point of order.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: The students are here for the past 8 days; they have written to the Government that if the Assembly is dissolved they will call upon the students in the schools and colleges to go back to their classes and restore peace. You have not mentioned about that.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Four persons to ask three questions....

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE: That is possible for this opposition, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Shyamnandan Mishra.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Sir, the Home Minister made an appeal to the House and through the House to the country that we should consider the issues involved carefully and that there should be no place for pressure or violence in things of this sort. May I on behalf of my party make it clear unequivocally that so far as we are concerned there will be no departure from the path of non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi? Our party is dedicated to that path. I ask I ask the hon'ble Home Minister with all the humility at my command. Is he not violating the Constitution, an offence of enormous magnitude? My charge is this that the Constitution is being violated, or at least, it was being perverted by the Government when it had imposed President's rule but at the same time had not dissolved the Assembly.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No speech please. Only clarifications.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The whole movement had been built on this demand, namely dissolution of the Assembly. This dissolution was

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

not granted which should have been done along with the imposition of President's rule. The Government were dishonest in the application of Article 356 of the Constitution..

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the dishonesty? Please sit down.... (Inter-ruption). When I am standing, please be seated. I had asked you to seek clarifications only to the points arising out of the Minister's speech. Please do not make any speech. Ask only clarifications. Please cooperate with me.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: My question is: Why should we buy normalcy by goodwill or by spilling human blood? The wrong committed by the Government is in dissolving the Assembly in the first instance. The hon. Home Minister should make it clear that he has no intention of asking the Assembly to participate in the Presidential election; he should make it clear that they have no intention to instal another ministry; he should also make it clear that they have no intention to hold the biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha there. In other words, they should make it clear that they have absolutely no intention of enabling the truncated Assembly to participate in the election to the office of the President?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have one question to ask. (a) Will the hon. Minister state here and now say that the students who have been arrested here in Delhi to-day will be or will not be released? If so, the reasons therefor. I also want to know:

(b) Whether or not they are going to dissolve the Assembly. Whether he is going to make an announcement to-day here and now about this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chavda, I am not going to allow you because you have already made a full speech for thirty minutes.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Let it go on record. Don't tell a lie. I shall resign if I am wrong.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: The hon. Minister said that if the Government succumbs to pressure either collectively or individually for an elected representative to resign, then it will mean the end of democracy. I wholly agree with the basis of it. But, now, Sir,....

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is your question?

SHRI MOINUL HAQUE CHOU-DHURY (Dhubri): I want to know from Prof. Samar Guha whether he is a Professor of Political Science or not.

19.00 hrs.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: In our democratic system, to express the views of the people about the credibility of an elected representative, the time is five years. Suppose the people lose their faith and credibility in the elected representative after some time, I ask the Government, what are the means for the people to express their views as there is no provision of referendum or recall in our Constitution. The hon. Minister says that they have agreed to make the Chief Minister resign and proclaimed President's rule. This is not a fact. This has been done under compulsion of massive movement. If the Government agreed to act under certain compulsion of a situation what stands in their way of agreeing to the final compulsion and demand of the people for dissolution of the Assembly.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Mr. Chairman, I would request the hon. Minister to kindly let us know after the promulgation of President's rule in Gujarat where more than 100 young boys have got killed whether anybody has been arrested for defying or for black marketing purposes? How many people have been arrested under that?

The hon. Minister has said that he has sympathised with those who have been killed although he has thrown the responsibility on the Opposition but the fact remains that mothers have lost their children, I would like to know from him whether under the President's rule a high-powered Commission or a judicial Commission will be appointed to go into the causes of these incidents.

Thirdly, he has said let normalcy be restored. I would like to know from the hon. Minister since he has approved of what Mr. Patel has said what will be the period of time to establish normalcy and whether he will assure the House that when normalcy is resorted there will be election and the Assembly will be dissolved.

Lastly he said that all Assembly Members have been pressurised to resign. I know of one representative we had in the Gujarat Assembly. He has resigned without any pressure because he thought something wrong is being done.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: So far as the first question is concerned our friend, Shri Mishra, said what has been done is against the Constitution. I would beg to submit for his information that there is nothing in the Constitution which would in any way render the action taken by the Government as breach of the Constitution or in any way remotely against the spirit and letter of the Constitution.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: No, no. You are taking shelter behind a mere legality.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This kind of thing cannot go on indefinitely. Let us put an end to it.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: As for the question about the members of the Assembly being asked to vote in the Presidential election, this is a

matter which has to be decided by the Chief Election Commissioner. Whatever his instruction that will be followed. It is a legal matter. We are not anxious in these matters. It is a question for the Chief Election Commissioner to decide.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: What is the opinion of Government?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: We have not gone into that aspect. This is not the issue before us. I have replied to it already.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu wanted to know about the arrests said to have been made today in Delhi. In the first place, he said this seemed to have been made under my instructions. This is incorrect. I have not the slightest knowledge about it. I did not know. The Union Territory administration carries on the administration in accordance with the law and the procedures laid down for them.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: About their release?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: I have received a slip which I will read out:

"This morning about 200 students tried to get into the Parliament House complex. They were persuaded to go to the Boat Club. However, about half an hour ago, they again entered the area where the prohibitory orders are in force and courted arrest under s. 186 IPC for violation of prohibitory orders under s. 144".

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Are you going to release them?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: That is a separate matter. We will examine it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Release or not?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: We shall consider it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Release or not?

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: He cannot put a question like that. He cannot order me about. Let this be understood. I respect hon. Members and they should reciprocate.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I asked about dissolution of the Assembly.

श्री उमा शंकर दीक्षित हम तो प्रजी बहुत रेस्पेक्ट करत हैं, लेकिन आप भाग जाते हैं। जो सवाल माननीय एम०एम० बनर्जी ने किया है उस के जबाब में सब आ जायगा।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु . हम ने पूछा था कि आप डिजोल्यूशन कर रहे है। कि नही? अगर नही, तो क्यों? इस का खुलासा कर दीजिये।

श्री उमा शंकर दीक्षित . इतनी देर मेरा भाषण हुआ उममें आप ने यह नही समझा कि हम ने क्यों नही किया? अगर नही समझे, तो हम जो कुछ कहेंगे आप कुछ नही समझ सकेंगे।

Shri S. M. Banerjee raised a very relevant point, rather a subtle point, but an important point. He wanted to know what would be regarded as return of normalcy, how many days after that, there will be termination of President's rule and so on. This is a rather arithmetical approach. There are human lives involved in it. There is the whole administration of Gujarat

involved in it. The whole of Gujarat is in difficulty. For me to say any thing at this time, in how many days what will happen, and we should define and spell out what is normalcy—all this is very difficult. It will not be fair and it will not be in the interest of the cause which I am sure Shri Banerjee has at heart. That matter should be left to us. If the House can help, if friends outside can help in creating a situation when this kind of pressurisation, intimidation, burning and looting is stopped, then as soon as possible the question of dissolution will be considered

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: My question has not been answered.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: What about dissolution?

MR. CHAIRMAN: There must be an end to this.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS rose—
(Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 9th February, 1974 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Gujarat"

The motion was adopted.

19.12 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, March 12, 1974/Phalguna 21, 1895 (Saka).