

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Samar Guha
to move his Resolution.

वर्षा शुरू कर लीजिये। यह चरण
संज्ञक में चला जायेगा।

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur):
Will the Prime Minister please make
some sort of statement about the
railway strike, so that we are able to
act?

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Samar Guha.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: It is a
golden opportunity, Sir, it is the last
day.

MR. SPEAKER: I have no objection,
if the Government want to say some-
thing.

Shri Samar Guha.

12.50 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. FRESH ELECTION TO LOK SABHA

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.): Mr.
Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the
following Resolution:

"In view of the unprecedented
national crisis developing in the
country leading to spontaneous up-
surge of the masses against the
present administrative set-up, this
House urges upon the Government
to advise the President of India to
dissolve the present Lok Sabha and
set up an All Parties' Care-taker
Government to hold fresh elections
for Lok Sabha within two months
of the formation of such Govern-
ment, as a measure for restoration
of patriotic and democratic faith of
the people for building an egalitarian
society in India."

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur):
I am going to submit an amendment

to name the members of the Care-
taker Government.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: There is also
an amendment which I move to my
Resolution. I beg to move:

"That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and the newly elected Lok
Sabha shall function as a Con-
stituent Assembly for the pur-
pose of framing a new Consti-
tution to implement the direc-
tive principles of the present
Constitution and to ensure
socialistic reconstruction of
India on the basic principles of
decentralised democracy."

SHRI R. S. PANDEY (Rajnandgaon).
You have stated last time that Prof.
Guha may be permitted to move the
amendment.

MR. SPEAKER: Instead of giving
him separate time to move the amend-
ment, I have permitted him to move
his amendment along with the main
Resolution.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It gives a
complete picture.

MR. SPEAKER: Instead of going
through the same procedures I have
allowed him this.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE
(Rajapur): Right of reply also you
may combine!

MR. SPEAKER: I am prepared to
do anything you like today!

He has moved both the Resolution
and the amendment. It is all right.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Some baste-
ring remarks have been made before I
started my speech. Even if six months
before, such a resolution was brought
before this House, I would have
myself considered it not only as
unrealistic but even as ridiculous.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola):
Utterly mad...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I would have myself criticised such a resolution as a resolution born out of cynicism, out of a frustrated mind, a resolution, if talking about politically, which is directed to create a condition for denigration of our Parliamentary democracy as also for creating the conditions for the growth of the right reactionary forces in our country. Sir, I have weighed seriously on these issues and I understand some of the reaction of my friends...

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: He is making a most lovely and beautiful speech. We should be given the privilege to listen to it in the next session.

MR. SPEAKER: You are also making a beautiful comment. Mr. Guha, the time fixed was upto 6.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs announced in the House that this would be taken up at 4. He approached me several times and he gave me 45 to 20 minutes for today's introductory speech. If you do not allow me, what can I do? Let me at least have 30 minutes.

I do not know—I may be wrong and I wish I am wrong—what will be the fate of this country a few months after when we see the crisis that is developing in this country and the unpredictable situation which we face now and which is becoming serious and serious day by day?

The situation to-day, it appears to me, was like the one which we witnessed in the year 1942 prior to our Independence. There was a metamorphic change in the attitude of the people and the mood of the people. And suddenly, after five years or so, the country had lost faith in British Rule and the people were in defiant mood. And to-day, I know that our friends are enjoying power for the

last 26 years and I may tell them that they should not forget the reality of the situation. I do not accuse you but this is a logic that you continue to enjoy power for years and years. They have lost their objectivity in regard to reactions of the events happening currently. The power which you enjoyed for over two decades, as I said earlier, is losing ground. Similar conditions as obtained in 1946 exist to-day in our country and there is a metamorphic change in the atmosphere, in the mood of the people. They are now in the mood of defiance against the authority.

Everywhere there is mass upsurge. People are revolting against the authority. What does this indicate? It indicates that there is a serious crisis—crisis of confidence in the country. The people have lost their faith in the credibility of the Government. Not only that. They have also lost faith in the capacity of the administration and in the integrity as well.

19.00 hrs.

I want to remind you that the situation is so ripe for revolution that if there were leadership organisations in the country there would be a revolution today, but that subjective factor of a revolution is lacking. However, the objective factor of a revolution which Gandhiji brought about under his leadership is not lacking—which have faith in the consciousness of the people, they may soon bring about a rebellion in the country hundred times more powerful and more explosive than the one we witnessed in 1942. I know some of my friends must have read the classic book by Trotsky "Russian Revolution", especially, the Chapter on the 'Art of Resurrection' and the character of the leadership. He said that "7/10th of the success of a leadership depends on its capacity to understand the mood of the people." I am sorry to say that the Administration to-day is living in an ivory tower and they have miser-

[Shri Samar Guaha].

ably failed to understand the mood and temper of the people. They have miserably failed to understand what is happening in the mind of the people. They have miserably failed to understand the explosive situation that is developing in the country. The whole country today is sitting on the top of a volcano. This volcano may erupt any time. I have said the condition is ripe for a revolution but only the subjective condition is lacking. There are certain signs in Gujarat and Bihar and these signs may develop all over the country. As the subjective factor is not there, organised leadership is not there and the organisation is not there for that reason it may lead to chaos and anarchy. Either they lack the understanding or mood of the people or there is some kind of an attitude that they are trying to develop as if they do not understand what happened in Gujarat and what is happening in Bihar and what may happen in other parts. We can guess what are the reasons? Sir, they employed all kinds of coercive forces—they employed police, they employed B.S.F., they employed CRP and even Army—but even then it has not been possible to change the mood of the people. It has not been possible to make them surrender to the behest of the Government. They had to succumb and yield to the mood of that rebellion, the mood of defiance and revolt of the people in Gujarat. What is the national crisis that is developing. This crisis may develop into an unprecedented manner. I will give the reason. Only day before yesterday in reply to my Question the Finance Minister said due to price rise and due to the fall of value of the rupee the percentage of people living below poverty level is 42 per cent. According to National Survey, in the year 1968-69 the number of people living below the poverty level was 250 million or 28.6 per cent of the total population. Now, the latest price rise and the fall of the value of the purchasing power of the rupee—in reply to one of my ques-

tions they had said 30 paise—has gone down so sharp that according to one calculation it is 15 paise; according to another calculation it is 20 paise and yet according to another calculation it is 24 paise. Let me take it as 24 paise. What is the re-calculation? The re-calculation will be about 65 to 69 per cent of the people of our country are living below poverty level. This means that out of 55 crores, 39 crores of the people are living below the poverty level. Can you understand the meaning of it? That is why I used the word 'volcano' and say that the whole country is sitting on the top of a volcano. If this is not a volcano, if this hunger, if this starvation and if 39 crores of people living below the poverty level is not something of an unprecedented situation, I do not know what else could be.

I would say that the present crisis is not due to economic crisis only. Our people have suffered for centuries from poverty. To quote the words of Swami Vivekananda, the Indian people have suffered for years and years, centuries after centuries, from poverty, starvation and hunger, but the Indian people—these are not my words but these are the words of Swamiji—have developed a wonderful capacity of tolerance. The main crisis, though that may be one of the arisen as a result of the economic crisis, though that may be one of the compulsions for it. But the main reason for the national crisis is the moral crisis. Between principle and practice, between socialism and its implementation, between the socialist principle and the socialist way of our living, there is a big hiatus. The people have found us out and as a result today the people have lost faith not only in the ruling party, but they have lost faith in us also in the Opposition parties. Today, the political community of this country is the most hated community with the people. Today the most hated party is the ruling party and as a consequence of that, that hatred has its effect on the Opposition parties also.

By the slogans of leftism, rightism, socialism, democracy and all this hypocrisy and this kind of committing fraud on the people and this big hiatus between principle and practice, a crisis of confidence has been created by them in the Indian people. This is the basic reason for the present national crisis, and this may lead to imponderable and unpredictable crisis after crisis, surges after surges of crisis in the coming months.

I shall resume my speech on the next occasion.

MR. SPEAKER The House now stands adjourned sine die.

19.10 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned sine die.