

15.17 hrs.

GUJARAT BUDGET, 1974-75—GEN-  
RAL DISCUSSION

AND

GUJARAT STATE LEGISLATURE (DE-  
LEGATION OF POWERS) BILL

MR CHAIRMAN We take item Nos  
25 and 26 together

THE DEPUTY-MINISTER IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI  
J. H. MOHSIN) Sir I beg to move<sup>a</sup>.

That the Bill to confer on the Pres-  
ident the power of the Legislature of the  
State of Gujarat to make laws as passed  
by Rajya Sabha, be taken into considera-  
tion

The House is aware that in the procla-  
mation dated 9th February 1974 in re-  
lation to the State of Gujarat, the Pres-  
ident has declared that the power of the  
State legislature shall be exercised by or  
under the authority of Parliament. How-  
ever in view of the otherwise busy sche-  
dule of the two Houses it would be diffi-  
cult for Parliament to deal with the various  
legislative measures that may be necessary  
in respect of the State and it would be  
even more difficult in situations requiring  
emergent laws and the Bill, therefore,  
seeks to confer on the President the power  
of the State legislature to make laws in re-  
spect of the State

It has been the normal practice to under-  
take such legislation in relation to the  
States under the President's rule and the  
present Bill is on the same lines. Provision  
has been made for the constitution of a  
Consultative Committee consisting of the  
Members of Parliament in this regard.  
Provision has also been made to empower  
the Parliament to direct modifications  
in the laws made by the President if con-  
sidered necessary

I request the hon. Members to accept the  
legislative proposals before the House  
passes the Bill

MR CHAIRMAN We are discussing  
items 25 and 26 together Motion moved

That the Bill to confer on the Pre-  
sident the power of the Legislature of  
the State of Gujarat to make laws, as  
passed by Rajya Sabha be taken into  
consideration

SHRI S. P. BHATTACHARYYA (Ulu-  
betta) Mr Chairman Sir we are oppos-  
ing the Gujarat State Legislature (Delega-  
tion of Powers) Bill and the Gujarat  
budget. We oppose them on the ground  
that the problems of Gujarat are not of  
Gujarat alone. The situation created there  
has got a chain reaction. Though the Gov-  
ernment says and though the Prime Minis-  
ter says that some anti-social elements are  
creating these problems, that some affluent  
sections are creating these disturbances and  
some right reaction are creating those dis-  
turbances, the real problem is that the  
prices are rising, the prices are going be-  
yond the paying capacity of the poor peo-  
ple and discontent is rising. That  
is the basic factor on which the  
Bihar problem has developed and Govern-  
ment tried to stop it by force of repression,  
police C.R.P. bullets and arrests. But  
they could not stop it and things are deve-  
loping in chain reaction. Government must  
go deep into the problem of food security  
and the inability of our common people to  
buy the essentials at high prices. It is due  
to Government's failure to supply food  
products and essential commodities at a  
proper price through the ration shops.

When the new crop was ripening our  
Prime Minister sent a questionnaire to the  
Opposition Party leaders to suggest how  
the problems of procurement and also the  
food problem could be solved. We gave  
concrete suggestions. We have pointed out

<sup>a</sup>Moved with the recommendation of the President

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that this year our country is going to produce about 11.5 crore tonnes of foodgrains and big owners who are not themselves cultivators control nearly forty per cent of cultivable land; they control nearly five crores tonnes of foodgrains. We gave our calculations on the cost of production plus 2.5 per cent profit and that came to Rs. 80 per quintal. These foodgrains can be sold in the ration shops at one rupee a kg., wheat or rice. The quantity was sufficient and the price was reasonable. But Government turned a deaf ear to this and Government did not procure from the big owners. Procurement failed. They had been allowed to earn maximum profits and because of failure on the procurement front they could not supply food through the ration shops. Black-marketeters and profiteers took the maximum advantage to raise prices and discontent spread. To add fuel to the fire, it is said that during the elections the groundnut dealers gave Rs. 50 lakhs to the election fund and they got an unwritten licence to hoard groundnuts as much as possible. Similarly the sugar barons had a licence. The Chief Minister of Gujarat had to keep mum when the people's discontent was rising. The Central Government wanted to do only one thing, namely, sending the military and the CRP to put down disturbances by arresting or shooting people. The discontent of the people could not be removed this way. The Government had to surrender at last. I have here some articles written in the *Times of India* newspaper. The youngmen who are leading the Nava Nirman Samiti to reform—Gujarat are not professional politicians. They are young men with a deep feeling for the people, but, they have no definite idea of what to do. But, they are sincere. Yesterday, the *Times Weekly* published an article on Gujarat. In that, there is one quotation of Jawaharlal Nehru, given by one of the students. He is quoted as having said 'When conditions become intolerable, it is not only our right, but, it is our duty to revolt.' This is the spirit which has imbued the students. After that, Government had to dissolve the Assembly

and promulgate President's Rule. But, is that the only solution?

If you do not change your policy, throughout India, of satisfying the boarders and killing discontented people, things will not improve. Problems are bound to arise. So, if you are really serious to save democracy and the people, there is only one way. You should punish hoarders and profiteers and help the people de-hoard, wherever there are profiteers, and make available foodgrains to the people at reasonable prices. Then and then alone, the problems can be solved. This is what the young men are doing. They want that foodgrain prices should be brought down and free and fair elections must be held there.

This is their demand; this is a very simple demand and a honest demand. But, if Government does not change their pro-hoarders, pro-profiteers and anti-people policy, the problems cannot be solved. Therefore, while participating in this discussion, I would request the Government to re-consider their stand and try to find out a real solution for these problems. They should check hoarding and profiteering. These people have sufficient stock with them. The Government knows about it. They can compel them to sell their surplus at a reasonable price. Then, people will be able to get foodgrains at reasonable prices. Then only, the discontentment of the people can be removed. Otherwise there is no alternative. The Government should try to face the situation in the country, with the cooperation of the people. They should take the cooperation of the people and the young men, who are leading the struggle there, in solving these problems. Then, this approach can be adopted throughout India. The problems can be solved and we can go ahead. Otherwise, the situation will become more dangerous. If the hoarders are allowed to do whatever they like, and if the Police and the Administration are there only to help the hoarders, then, you cannot remove the discontentment of the people. The will

[Shri S. P. Bhattacharyya]

of the people, is more powerful than other external forces.

With these words, I oppose the Gujarat Budget and I would request the Government to take it seriously, and find out a real solution for the problems of the people, with the cooperation of the starving and fighting people.

SHRI D. D. DESAI (Kara) . Sir, while supporting the Budget, I would like to make a few comments. The resources have been raised to some extent. But, the capital expenditure this year, i.e 1974-75, would be less than that of 1972-73. In other words, developmental activities would not be the same as they were about a couple of years back. The revenue has been increased by the State Government by as much as Rs 7 crores on sales tax, Rs. 2.85 crores on operation of fair price shops etc. But the expenditure had gone up on account of the drought to the extent of Rs 9 crores. For the drought, the Central aid was not to the expectation of the State Government. The State had suffered on account of drought last year and floods this year. On both the occasions, the State found itself relatively neglected and therefore, the activities were not to the fullest satisfaction of the people.

On the developmental side, we find that funds are raised but they are not applied for that purpose for reasons of non-clearance of projects. Though the Planning Commission had approved certain projects in the past, somewhere they are stuck up and they have not been able to come through.

On the foodgrain side, we have found that the State had reduced crops during the last two years and supplies from outside sources were limited on account of zonal restrictions plus reduced allocations from the Centre. If the Narmada project had been completed, this one project alone could have meant a thousand crores of rupees worth agricultural products including foodgrains annually and at least 2 million tonnes of crude oil equivalent of

energy, which is equivalent in terms of foreign exchange to over Rs. 150 crores. I do not know why the Centre is hesitating to approve a project which has not only a national impact but which is definitely a gain for the State as well as for the Centre.

Coming to fertilisers, Gujarat has been requesting for fertiliser projects for a long time. Mithapur project was requested for 10 years back but it was rejected and it went through several modifications. Gujarat Fertiliser Corporation has a people's investment but we find that the State people are asked to divert this fertiliser outside the State. Fertiliser projects are granted on a regional basis, maintaining certain balances. Therefore, no State should have over-capacity in fertilisers. That is how Mithapur was rejected at some point. If that is so, what logic is there in asking Gujarat Fertiliser Corporation to provide fertiliser to other States which have the projects but not the mind to produce. For instance, the Petroleum Minister said the other day that Durgapur had not produced an ounce of urea. This is quite unusual. When the other States clamour for projects and do not run them, the politicians of those States must be told that if they are interested in projects, they must underwrite the working of those projects. If they are not doing so, under no circumstances should the taxpayers' money be diverted to such wasteful operations. In fertilisers, we have suffered very badly.

Hardly 150 KM of Western Railway line in Maharashtra. Most of it is in Gujarat. So, the headquarters of this railway should have been in Gujarat. Even from the point of view of efficiency, this should have been done. But for reasons best known to them, the Central Government are not conceding this demand. The State was neglected and there have been certain complaints that the people are rising in agitation. We must recognise that the people in Gujarat are not the same as in some other under-developed States. They have political consciousness and they

{Shri D. D. Desai}

know which part of the bread is buttered. So, Government must transfer the headquarters of the Western Railway to Gujarat.

We have got natural gas and oil in plenty in Gujarat. But what is the benefit which Gujarat is getting out of it. There are hardly 200 persons belonging to Gujarat employed by this industry. From the Chairman down to the messenger, all the employees are from States other than Gujarat. Take even the latest Indian Petro-chemical complex. There is not a single Gujarati Director there. On the other hand, take any project in South India. You will find that from the Chairman to the lowest employee everyone is from South India. If this is the way in which the employment policy is handled by the Centre, I am afraid Gujarat State would be legitimate in asking for greater authority in the management of these industries by greater decentralisation of power. If the present trend continues, Gujarat would be within its rights in demanding nothing less than full authority to run this business, to run its own household.

Here I would like to refer to one more point. If you take any oil-producing country, the difference between the cost of production and the sale price is retained by it. Everybody who reads newspapers knows this. We also know how much of benefit has accrued to the Centre out of the production of oil and gas in Gujarat. Why could they not share it with the State of Gujarat? This is one of the basic problems and naturally the people of Gujarat are inclined to ask this question.

Then, the headquarters of the Oil & Natural Gas Commission should be located either in Gujarat or in Assam, because they are the two States which produce oil. But today it is located in Dehra Dun for reasons best known only to the Government. This is creating unnecessary problems for the management as well as people in the field. Because of this there is lack of coordination between the headquarters and the field and so delay in the

exploration and development of oil resources to such an extent that we are unable to meet our present national emergency on account of shortage of oil with consequent heavy drain on our foreign exchange resources for import of oil.

Then, I come to salt. Nearly 60 to 70 per cent of India's salt is produced in Gujarat. Though the salt cess is collected by the Centre, it is not utilized for the improvement in the production techniques and there is no headquarters with laboratory for salt development in the State. The money collected from salt cess should be utilized for the development of salt works which are now in a miserable condition.

Then, production from salt-based chemicals is a great opportunity in a country where riots are taking place for want of goods as well as employment. The chemicals from salt have a great future in our country. Yet, nothing is being done in this direction and the salt cess amount is lying unutilized with the Centre.

Coming to job-oriented education, we saw during the recent riots the young boys being engaged in the destruction of furniture and other things in schools and colleges. It is not a sensible thing but it is done because of the frustration. Why is it so? If we go to the bottom of the problem we find that there are problems which we have to resolve. One is unemployment. Now that possibilities exist for developing education on different lines, they should immediately consider adopting job-oriented education. Now we are wasting a large sum of money on education and the result is that we have got a very large number of educated unemployed. Then we provide schemes for utilising the people who are already educated in certain fields so sciences which do not bring any result. In other words, if a village boy goes to the college, he becomes unfit for farm work. He can do only white-collared work which is mostly non-productive. We should discourage students from taking to this type of education and thereby we can reduce this wasteful expenditure.

[Shri D. D Desai]

In the recent agitation we have found that a large number of boys, about 100, were killed and about 400 boys were injured. They have been asking for compensation. The Government of India is requested to look into this matter and give compensation within the means and the norms. I feel that there is a case for compensation so far as these boys are concerned; some of them belong to middle class and also poor class; they have been hurt, they have broken their limbs. We cannot say that they had not been violent. But all the same we must accept that damage has taken place and the Government of India is requested to give them compensation.

Then I come to the gas and power issues. Large quantities of gas are burnt away; this has been going on for the last more than ten years. It is time that we made full use of the gas. Burning away such a costly natural resource is a national crime. Therefore, I feel that no gas should be allowed to be burnt.

Several power projects have been pending with the Central Government, including the atomic power project. Gujarat has a very strong case for atomic power project. The Gujarat State Government have already submitted power schemes to the Central Government and it is waiting for the approval of these schemes. We have the regional power grid. But the link lines are pending; for example, Baroda-Barwaha line is pending. Fortunately, Udaipur—Sabarmati link, I am told, has been approved. There are other links which have to be completed. Then that would complete the Western national grid. This is one of the areas in which we have to provide facilities to Gujarat State which is the western-most part of India. It must be recognised that the western-most State of India is Gujarat and not Rajasthan. Gujarat is closer to Iran and Middle-East than to Assam. Therefore, Gujarat has a long haulage so far as coal is concerned. Since there is no coal in the whole of western

India, there is a very strong case for atomic power station and also for hydro-electric projects—the necessary potential for hydro-electric power is available in Gujarat.

There was the report of the Khosla Commission. That report was made some ten years ago. At that time the circumstances were different. Oil was being sold at much lower prices. That was why nobody bothered about conservation of energy. Today energy has become an international problem, a world problem. Therefore, any energy that can be harnessed for development has to be looked into immediately. If the Khosla Commission has provided for 500 to 530 ft. dam height and if the site can take 550 to 600 ft. height, then why should we not go in for it? On the one hand we talk about national integration and on the other hand we talk just the reverse of it. When we form a part of the nation, when we are accepting the integrity and sovereignty of India, the consideration should be purely merit and not anything else. And on merit rating I find that Dam height would anywhere be between 550 and 660 ft. and at that height it would provide 1.5 million kw power generating capacity.

Then there is the question about agriculture. One-third of India's cotton production is in Gujarat; 22 to 25 lakh bales of cotton are produced in Gujarat out of about 60 lakh bales produced all over the country. In other words, one of the finest cotton producing areas has not got Central Headquarters or Cotton Board or any research institute which can help to improve production or the quality of cotton. Now this is what is called neglect. Then, nearly 30 per cent of India's oil seeds are produced in Gujarat, but there are no headquarters or Board or research stations, not even a full-fledged university of the type of Punjab or Pantnagar University. These sorts of disadvantages are causing in the State a certain and definite amount of a feeling that Gujarat is the most neglected State in the whole of India. In fact,

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unfortunately, we have earned a reputation that Gujarat, left to itself, could solve its own problems. Yes, it can solve its problems, provided Gujarat people ultimately have a certain amount of no-restriction situation.

Under the Constitution, industries fall in the State's sector. Now, through some device or through various methods, the Central Government reserves to itself that authority. Now, industries with an investment upto Rs. 25 lakhs are in the hands of the State. But, by and large, the rest are taken over by the Central Government. Now, this is what we consider as playing with the Constitution or not giving the fullest play to the Constitution.

Apart from cotton and groundnuts, one-third of the country's tobacco is grown in Gujarat. Like that there are other cash crops also. Most of the cash crops do grow in Gujarat and they earn an enormous amount of foreign exchange as also help in import substitution, bothways. For doing this and also for further growth, irrigation, fertilisers and other inputs are required like technological inputs and also educational back-up is required. But what are the facilities available in my State? You can just make an investigation. This Government can make an investigation and you will find that nothing is provided by the Centre during the last 20 years. This is where our biggest grouse lies and I must bring to the attention of the Central Government that these things must be resolved at the earliest.

We have a large number of historic minor ports and nearly 1600 km, that is, one-third of India's coast-line in Gujarat. We are talking about development of ports and the development of the maritime trade. Fishing and many other things are also involved. Now, what have we done? With regard to the question of docks and dry docks and ship-building yards, we have proposed a ship-building yard in Gujarat. In Gujarat ship-building has been a traditional industry. You look up 5000 years

of Gujarat's history. They have dug up relics of Shipyards of 400 odd feet ships constructed 500 years ago at Lothal. That is a pre-historic ship-yard. But, in spite of all this traditional skill and expertise, there is no ship-building yard located or ear-marked for Gujarat and we are trying to create an infrastructure at a place where it will take an indefinite time to develop. It is all right to put seeds in a barren place but it is futile to do so. You have to put them where the seeds will bloom.

What I am trying to say is that with such a long coastline of nearly 1600 km, the State has got so many ports possibilities besides for trading and fishing; for ship-building for the country; today the country is importing a large number of vessels.

Again I am telling you: look at the industries field. No where in India, the Government which has invested a large amount in the public sector units, is earning as much return as it is getting in Gujarat. I challenge you that there is no industry in the whole of India where an equal investment is earning as much profits and return as it is earning in Gujarat. But we want to get bankrupt and invest at places where certainly losses will be the result. This is something which no sensible person will do.

We have today two public sector projects. What are they? One is the oil refinery. You know its history. Centre wanted to lay a pipeline, to start with, upto Bombay Refineries. It was only the opposition of the local people who stood with pick axes on the road side and threatened that, 'We would break the pipeline if the pipeline was installed', that made the Government of India yield a refinery to Gujarat. Then IPCL is still to come. But I am informed that the local Petro-Chemical Chief has retired and the new outsider has been brought in as if Gujarat lacks commercial or industrial or technical acumen. ICPL downstream clearances are unit pending. The people are getting desperate. The

general feeling is that many of the things would be more or less forgotten or watered down. There are large number of minerals like bauxite, fluorspar, limestone, salts, and so on. Large number of units could come up in Gujarat in public sector or in the private sector or in the joint sector. The opportunities are there and the Government should expedite the developmental activities.

With these words I support the Bill.

श्री मोक्षेन्द्र झा (जयनगर) : सभापति जी गुजरात का बजट हमारे सामने है और यह इस पृष्ठ-भूमि में हुआ जब सदन में और बाहर भी गुजरात के जनगण ने मांग की थी कि वहाँ कि विधान सभा भंग की जाय, मंत्रि मंडल भंग किया जाय और उसके बाद राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू हुआ है। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस बात की धोर नीचना चाहूँगा कि जहाँ तक विभिन्न मामलों में उनका पिछड़ापन है और उनकी प्रगति की सहायता है उन जाने में मुझ से पूर्व बचना न बहुत सी बातें बतायीं, मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ, लेकिन यह कुछ अनोखी बात जरूर है कि जहाँ तेल काफी है और अधिक तेल की खोज भी चल रहा है उनका केन्द्रीय कार्यालय गुजरात में न होकर देहरादून में है। शायद गुजरात में देहरादून की तरह ठंडे पहाड़ नहीं है।

हाल में गुजरात में वहाँ के बड़े भू-स्वामियां नें कायम के विभाजन के बाद जिन तरह नई वामेस पर विधान सभा पर कब्जा कर लिया और जिन तरह से वहाँ के खेतिहर मजदूरों और गरीब किसानों को दबाया गया, कुछ जगह एक तरफ़ा उन पर हमले हुए, कुछ लोग मारे गये और उस के बाद शहणों के मुनाफाखोरो ने इन लोगों से मिल कर जो महवी पैदा की जिन के खिलाफ़ विद्यार्थियों ने मज-निर्माण समिति के द्वारा और सरकारी कर्मचारियों की 14 जुलाई की उक्ति से आन्दोलन का सूत्रपात किया जिन ने अपनी विद्यार्थि हानि की और सरकार को अपदम्य होना पड़ा और विधान सभा को बंद किया गया।

घाय वहाँ राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू है तो क्या सरकार उस कोड़ का इलाज करने के लिये तैयार है कि नहीं।

गुजरात में जो खेत मजदूर गरीब किसान हैं जिन को सरकार अपनी भाषा में स्थान और माजिनय फार्मस कहुती है, उन तक के लिये उन की जात की सुरक्षा के लिये भूमि सुधार कानून है लेकिन उन के होने हुए भी बड़े भू-स्वामियों ने उस कानून की अवहेलना कर के अपनी जमीन को हबबन्दी से बाहर रखा हुआ है, तो अब जा थोड़ी देर के लिये राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ तो क्या हम समय में उन भूमि सुधार कानून का लागू किया जाने वाला है कि नहीं जिन की चर्चा सरकार ने 1971 और 1972 के चुनाव में की थी ? बड़े भू-स्वामियों ने प्राउन्ड नट का स्टाक अपने पाम रखा और अच्छी पैदावार के बाद भी वह महंगे भाव पर बिकी, तो जो वेहातो में खोर बाजारियों का गठ पैदा हा गया है जो मूदखोरी भी कर रहे हैं, फ़ाजिल पैदावार को स्टाक भी करते है और दूसरी तरफ़ जो भमली मेहनत करने वाले है उन को कुचल कर उन पर मामाजिक और धार्मिक अत्याचार करने है जिन ने पिछले 7, 8 महीनों में काफी उग्र रूप धारण किया, ऐसे मूदखोरो और मुनाफाखोरो के विरुद्ध राष्ट्रपति शासन काल में कुछ कदम उठायेगी या नहीं, यह मैं सरकार में जानना चाहता हूँ। गाव के गरीब किसानों न समझा कि नई कायम हमारे लिये कुछ फ़ायदे लेकर आयी है और इसीलिये उन्होंने 1971, 1972 के चुनावों में नई कायम का साथ भी दिया, और जब वह कुछ मांग करने लगे तो उन्हें कुचला गया और उन्ही के द्वारा कुचला गया जिन का उन्होंने मत दिया था। इस तरह में उन के साथ विश्वासघात हुआ। तो अब राष्ट्रपति शासन काल में उन बायदों की पूर्ति होने जा रही है कि नहीं ?

इसी तरह में भूमि सुधार प्रावश्यक है जो मामाजिक और धार्मिक अत्याचार का हटाता है। वही परिवार जो मुनाफाखोरी करता है, गल्ला

[श्री भोगेन्द्र झा]

तिलहन बाजार में नहीं आने देना, वही परिवार जो मूदखोरी कर के गरीब लोगों को बांधकर रखता है, वही परिवार जो तथाकथित उच्च जाति का है और गरीबों, हरिजनों पर सामाजिक प्रत्याचार करता है, और वही परिवार जो निचले तबके को मत देने के लिये बूथ पर नहीं जाने देना, ऐसा जो यह ममानता और धार्मिक विकास के खिलाफ बना हुआ है उस को तोड़ने का इरादा भारत सरकार राष्ट्रपति शासन काल में रखती है या नहीं और अगर नहीं तो बिस्मो का दूध की रखवाली देकर जिस प्रकार दूध की रक्षा नहीं की जा सकती है उसी प्रकार सामान्य, गरीब जनता के हितों की रक्षा यह सरकार नहीं कर पायेगी। अगर इनका उपद्रव होने पर भी अगर यह चाहते हो कि बड़े भू-स्वामियों का खुद रखा जाय तो पील मोदी साहब देख चके क्या परिणाम गुजरात में हुआ, और उसी रास्ते पर नई कांग्रेस विमन भार्डी की सरकार गयी उस का क्या हाल हुआ यह हम सब ने देखा।

अन मेरी भाग है कि गुजरात में चुनाव होने के पहले सरकार बहा के गाबा की ध्येन्या से परिवर्तन लाये। जा खेता में जानना है वह निर्बाध रूप में बूथ पर जा सके इस का समुचित प्रबन्ध हो। और वह तभी हो सकेगा जो मूदखोरी करते हैं उन का डा दिया जाय और जा खेती खुद करना है गरीब वही खेत का मालिक बने। इस नियम का गुजरात में लागू करना पड़ेगा।

इसी तरह से प्रहमदाबाद, मूरत, भडोच में जिस तरह में लोगों का असंतोष बढ़ा सामानों की चोर बाजारों के बारे में, सभी अखबार में निकला है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन के बाद चार हजार जगहों पर छापे मारे गये हैं, उस का खीरा हम जानना चाहेंगे कि यह छापे धोक व्यापारियों पर मारे गये या खुदरा व्यापारियों पर? क्या कि अनुभव यही बताता है कि जब सरकार गैलान करती है तो बड़े-बड़े व्यापारियों का बचा कर खुदरा वालों पर घोट करती है। इसलिये चार हजार जो छापे मारे गये वे कितने के खिलाफ मारे गये, इस की सूचना नहीं हो सकेगी तो है।

कपड़े के उत्पादन में गुजरात सब में आगे है, लेकिन मायब ही कोई मिल मालिक होगा, भले ही तस्वीर वह गांधी जी की रखता हो जो पीटे कपड़े के उत्पादन की तरफ ध्यान देता हो। सरकार ने यह कानून बना रखा है कि भिन्न जो कपड़ा तैयार करती हैं उनका एक हिस्सा पीटे कपड़े के रूप में उनको तैयार करना होगा ताकि जन गण को फायदा हो, उसके इन्तेजान में जो कपड़ा आता है वह उसको मन्ने दामों पर मिल सके। मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रहमदाबाद में मिल मालिक इस मामले में खुलेआम चींगी कर रहे हैं पूरा 420 का धंधा कर रहे हैं। जितना वे कपड़ा पैदा करते हैं उसका बहुत थोड़ा हिस्सा दिखाते हैं कि उन्होंने तैयार किया है और उसका भी बहुत थोड़ा हिस्सा पीटे कपड़े के रूप में तैयार करते हैं। देख के अन्य हिस्सा में भी बड़े-बड़े कपड़ा मिल मालिक यही करते हैं। लेकिन प्रहमदाबाद उसका केन्द्र है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के शासन-काल में भारत सरकार मजदूरों और ग्राम लोगों के सहयोग से, जन सहयोग में जा इन आन्दोलन में सामने आया है, मिल मालिकों के साथ कूटार्थ में पैस आग और देखें कि ग्राम लोगों के इन्तेजान का जो कपड़ा है वह जिस अनुपात में तैयार होना चाहिये हो रहा है। उस अनुपात का इरादा भी जा सकता है। लेकिन जा अनुपात निर्धारित है उसको तो कूटार्थ से लागू किया जाए और जो लोग उसकी अवहेलना करे उनको जेल में भेजा जाए।

16, hrs.

नीजवानों ने बहा आन्दोलन किया के जेल गए। लेकिन जो चोर बाजारी करने वाले हैं, जो बड़े-बड़े गल्ला चोर हैं या कपड़े के कानून को तोड़ने वाले हैं या जमीन की चोरी करने वाले हैं क्या उनकी जगह जेल में नहीं हो सकती है? अगर आप ने ऐसा किया तो गुजरात के लोगों को यह विश्वास हो जाएगा कि सरकार देर से ही नहीं सभलने के रास्ते पर जा रही है।

बेकारी का मसाल भी है जो भयकर रूप में हमारे सामने विद्यमान है। यह हजारों का लाखों का मसाल नहीं है करोड़ों का मसाल है।



इसकी किरानामिरी में हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। इस विचारण समस्या को हल करने के लिए यह सन्भव नहीं है कि किसी मंत्री, या अफसर के सहारे बैठकर इसका इलाज खोजने की काजिब की जाय। इसके लिए सामाजिक परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है। भारत जैसे देश में और उस में भी गुजरात जैसे प्रान्त में यह आवश्यक है कि लूट जोन के जो खंड हैं वहां पर खेती के लिए प्राप सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध करे, खाद बीज आदि का प्रबन्ध करे, बींको से कजों को उनके लिए मर-भिकने उपलब्ध करे। खेती जिनका मध्य घघा और माधन है उनके पास मन्ना ही मिलन हो, काफी मात्रा में वह पैदा ही ताकी उनकी जब में पैसा प्राप और वे शहर में पैसा मामान खरीद सकें। शहरों का मामान खरीदने के लिए जब उनके पास माधन होवे और वे खरीदने का व्यापार बड़ेगा और व्यापार ज्यादा बड़ेगा तो ज्यादा माल बिकेगा और ज्यादा माल बिकेगा तो नग-नग कारखाने खुलेंगे देश में उद्योग बड़ेगे और लोगों का काम मिलेगा। देश में जो व्यक्ति-गन पूंजीवाद के मर्मरक हैं वे भी शहर आने हैं कि वे कुछ दिन तक जिन्दा रह ना उनके लिए यह जरूरी है कि बड़े पैमाने पर भूमि मुजार हा। देश भूखा, नया और कगाम रहेगा अहमदा-बाद के इर्द गिर्द शहर लाखों लोग भूख में मरेगे और नये रहेंगे तो कल कारखाने नहीं बड़ेगे, उद्योग नहीं खड़ेगे और कल कारखाने और उद्योग नहीं बड़ेगे तो हमारे जो इंजीनियर है आधरनियर है, इंजुण्ट हैं, उनकी नौकरिया नहीं मिलेगी। यह मात्रा धारतान नहीं है। बेकारी का मवाल हल ही इसके लिए जरूरी है कि सामाजिक परिवर्तन ही, भूमि मुजार ही ताकि लोगों के पास पैसा प्राप, उनकी क्य अकिन बड़े, देश की पूंजी बड़े। देश के करोड़पति या पूंजीपति शहर यह समझते हैं कि जिन तरह वे बिलम्ब के, यूरोप के पूंजीपतियों ने दुनिया को लूट कर अपनी पूंजी बढ़ाई हम भी अपने यहां के लोगों को कुचन कर, पचा कर, भूखा रख कर, शहर के मुनाफा लूट कर अपनी पूंजी बढ़ा सकते हैं तो यह धारतान काम नहीं है। वे शहर समझते हैं कि जिन तरह

वे कोलम्बस को भेज कर नए अमरीका का पना लगा गया था या बालकोटेगामा ने भारत का पना लगा लिया था और ईसा कुछ बं भी प्राप की दुनिया में कर सकते हैं तो यह उनकी भूल है। दुनिया के कौने-कौने का पना लग गया है। बिदेसी बाजार का भी पना लग गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि भारत के अन्दरनी बाजार की खज की जाए, अन्दरनी बाजार का बढ़ाया जाए और हीर ही मोगा की क्य अकिन को बढ़ाया जाय और शहर हम काम का करना है तो हमका मतलब यह है कि हम का दखना हागा कि देश की जो तीन चौथाई आबादी है, खेती पर जिन्दा रहने वाली जा आबादी है उनके पास पैसा कैसे आ सकता है, उनके घर में मन्ना कैसे आ सकता है उनके बान्ने जमीन से अश्रिब पैदा करने के लिए जिन माधन की आवश्यकता है उन माधन को कैसे उपलब्ध किया जा सकता है। मैं समझना ह कि यह सब नहीं हा मकेगा उब जा कज़न जमीन पडी हुई है उस जमीन का नेकर वे जा जानने बाने है उन्हें द दिया जाय। जा बटाईदार है और उस मप में बवैर कोई कानूनी हक प्राप्त किए हुए जमीन जान रहे है उनका जमीन ने मालकाना हक प्राप जाय ताकि उनका उत्पाद बड़े और वे ज्यादा पैदा कर सकें।

गजरात में तल उद्योग का बढ़ाना, काम की पैदावार बढ़ाना या उनसे सम्बन्धित उद्योग का बढ़ाना आदि की जो मागे है ये बहुत ही जायज मागे हैं। लेकिन यह मन्बे दाग का मामला है। राष्ट्रपति शासनकाल में कुछ ऐसे कदम उठाने की जरूरत है जिन की माग मदन में भी की गई है और गुजरात के जनगण में भी की है और दर में ही नहीं सुबुद्धि प्रापका आई है और उसका प्रापने कबुन किया है, ताकि लाग यह ममसे कि राष्ट्रपति का शासन होने पर पार्लिमेट का शासन होने पर गुजरात में कुछ प्रगति हुई है कुछ नरकनी हुई है। हमने गुजरात के जनगण में कुछ मनाग हाया। अरतों की प्राग जा अन्वय भी किलान

[ श्री भोगेन्द्र ज्ञा ]

की कोशिशें की जा रही हैं ऐसा करके उस पर भी रोक लगेगी। प्रसंतोष को फैलाने की प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें जो कोशिश कर रही हैं जिन में बिदेसियों का भी हाथ है और बह पटना के मामले में जाहिर हो गया है उनके प्रयासों पर भी इस तरह से लथाम धाप लगा सकेंगे। हिमा के जर्मि प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें जो अपनी शक्ति को बढ़ाने की कोशिश कर रही हैं उस में कुछ धोले धाले लोग भी फम जाते हैं और गलत अनुमानों के आधार पर गुमराह हो जाते हैं। इस मामले में प्रसंतोष जो है उसका इलाज करने की आवश्यकता है। गुजरात हमारे मामले एक मिमाल के रूप में प्रकट है। अब उसका सुधार करके हम की विधाना होगा और एक मिमाल के रूप में हम को उसे दूसरों के सामने पेश करना होगा। राष्ट्रपति शासन के दौरान लोगों के प्रसंतोष को दूर करने का इलाज हम करना शुरू करें ताकि बाकी जगहों के लोग भी समझे कि हमें प्रसंतोष होने की जरूरत नहीं, निराश होने की जरूरत नहीं और कहीं न कहीं आशा की किरण बाकी है। लोगों का यह भरोसा दिलाया जाना चाहिये और उनको विश्वास दिलाया जाना चाहिये काम करके पार्लियामेंट के भीतर मदद के भीतर और बाहर पूरी शक्ति लगा कर कि देश की गाड़ी आगे बढ़ सकती है और इस मामले में गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति के शासनकाल में यह आवश्यक है कि उनका विकास किया जाए, ताकि देश के लोग भी आश्चर्य हो और उनको सन्तोष हो कि उनका लिए भी कुछ ठोस कार्य किया जायेगा।

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) :** I think who must realise why it has been necessary for Government to come forward with this budget. The fact of the matter is that after the 1972 elections, the Congress won what to them was a spectacular victory; and we started having a Government in Gujarat which was more concerned with party matters than with government. I think this is at the base of the evil that has overtaken our country all over. We have today even at the Centre a Govern-

ment which is more interested in party matters than it is in Government, and as long as this mentality continues both at the Centre and in the States, all the anxieties which my hon. friend Shri Bhogendra Jha has just placed before you will come to nought. We shall have to create governments in this country which are interested in governing, which are interested in producing goods, which are interested in delivering to the people a fair share of the spoils of this country.

It was really fascinating to hear my hon. friend Shri Bhogendra Jha charge and call everybody a chor; a peasant who cultivates is a land chor; a trader who supplies and trades is a hoarder and a chor; one who is producing or an industrialist is an industrial chor. If everybody in this country is a chor, the people who govern are also chors, because the popular slogan in Gujarat is 'Chlmanchor', 'Sarkar chor'. Was it his contention that only those who supported his party were not chors?

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA :** Those who are toiling in the factories.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** The proposition was made that to the followers of his party, therefore, all land must be given, all houses must be given and everything must be given, having taken it away from the rest of the people. I am afraid I cannot subscribe to an ideology like that; I cannot subscribe to an idea like that, where one thinks that the Government which is now in the hands of the Centre must deliver all the goods to all the people and not allow people to participate in the governance of this country.

Contrary to what the belief of a vast majority of the members of this House may be. I still think that democracy is the best system in the world, and I would like to preserve it in this country.

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA :** Are you serious about it?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** And what to my friend, Shri Bhogendra Jha is fascism in India is really democracy and what is fascism in the country of his mentors he calls democracy. I do not want to enter into this battle of semantics with him.

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA:** We have here capitalist democracy and there socialist democracy.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I am afraid I cannot accept the proposition that you have democracy in those countries or that you will uphold democracy in this country. I think enough is known even about the Bihar riots for you to maintain silence.

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA:** I wish a long silence for you to see that.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE** (Rajapur): There is opposition in those countries, but that is behind the bars

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** The voice of dissent is also there, but it is heard only in the toilets.

So we have a situation where the people are demanding certain legitimate rights on the one hand, and on the other, the Government which is totally unconcerned with governing, totally unconcerned with anything except preserving itself in power. I would like you to think of this country. We have 20 lakh bureaucrats on the one hand, we have 20 lakh politicians on the other and we have 20 lakh businessmen between the two, all in collusion with each other, all wanting to suck this country dry because from morning till night they have only one thought in their mind: how to make more money and plunder this country. It is a collusion of these 20 lakhs, 20 lakhs and 20 lakhs—the figures are not important; may be it is 15, 15, 15 or 25, 25, 25. It is in this vicious circle we find ourselves. I call this a conspiracy of plunder. My friend, Shri Bhogendra Jha, is also involved in because he supports those very people whom he publicly abuses. Therefore, I find that we have 50 lakh people in this country belonging to these

three categories plundering this country from morning till night and they have all the power. What is going to be left over for the common man? What you find today—rising prices, unemployment, corruption, shortages, every type of injustice total lack of government, lack of good government, lack of the good intention to govern is the result of all these things. Although each one of these people may individually feel something in their hearts, their collective behaviour is such that this party can no longer provide government.

140 seats out of 167—and you cannot govern! Why? Because somebody at the centre does not like somebody in the State and somebody at the State does not like somebody at the centre. Is this a valid consideration between governments? Yet this was the reason. I have good reason to believe that all the trouble that took place with the Government there was initially instigated by the Government over here.

The result is that the people finally had to take the matter in their own hands. The people's rousing anger normally has a safety-valve in a democracy, and that is the ballot box. But the ballot box has been so insulated from the rest of life in this country because of gerrymandering of constituencies; like vultures they sat over their constituencies throwing out areas that they do not like and keeping areas that they do like, followed by the communal equation and trying to incite communal passions, religious hostilities with massive doses of money over which this Government has a monopoly. When the laws of India say very clearly that companies may not donate to political parties, where does this money come from?

I found out yesterday the final figures of what the Congress spent in the UP and Orissa elections—Rs. 60 crores in Uttar Pradesh, Rs. 8 crores in Orissa, of which Rs. 6 crores came from the Soviet Union. These are the figures.

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA :** And the rest from where ?

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** I found out what was the expenditure this party has incurred —

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH) :** The hon. Member has a right, of course, to have his own views. He is a very volatile Member, ...

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Don't tempt me. I do not want to say these things here.

**SHRI K. R. GANESH :** I am only pointing out that though he has every reason to criticise the parties, he mentioned a foreign country and he also mentioned Rs. 6 crores in relation to it. Even in his make-up you know his make-up—I think that in all seriousness, he should not say this. That is my point.

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA :** Why should you worry ?

**SHRI K. R. GANESH :** My difficulty is that you are joking with him.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Nobody can match this. But even with this money, I know with what difficulty they have won this untenable majority in both Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. After having done this, when everything fails, when even the propaganda fails, in spite of the fact that they have all the media concentrated in their hands, finally, you are left with the technical profession of stuffing ballot boxes. With all this, they have shown that they can get a bare majority, but can you govern ? If you know how to govern, your bare majority is more than enough, but if you cannot govern, your massive mandate is useless. This is the crux of the problem.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** The hon. Member's time is up.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Bells only for me ?

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Three minutes.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** There were massive floods last year in Gujarat. All manner of rehabilitation was promised. No rehabilitation has reached the people; only little dribblets. In one village, you will be ashamed to know, some people were given relief by being given a cheque for Rs. 11 as in the case of a man who lost his house; and the Government provided some cement sheets. The cement sheets were so fresh out of the factory that they had not even time to solidify and many of them broke in transport. A few weeks later, the Government came back and again said that they had made a mistake and therefore this cheque, the money, plus the cement sheets must be returned to the *talati* !

There are areas where dams were built to a height of say 251 feet, and they found that villages which were at a height of 248 or 249 feet have not been rehabilitated for seven to eight years. These villages have been left there. I would, therefore, say that the Government is directly responsible for the floods that caused so much misery to those people living in the villages below the level of the dams that the government had built. This happened in my constituency, in the Panchmahals. No measure of relief has been provided. When this revolution took place in Gujarat, was it a bloody revolution, such as my friend would like to call it ? It was a very peaceful revolution; it was a revolution in ideas, a revolution of will that we will have a good government

Therefore, even if you can manipulate the elections, you cannot manipulate the Government. They took resignations from each and everyone, severally and collectively from those who had been elected under these false pretensions. This question of dissolution is really amazing. I would like to ask the Minister: What did you dissolve on the 14th ? The people had already dissolved the Assembly. More than one hundred resignations had been collected by them. So, this is only a Presidential Proclamation, a sort of order in the air. This

is also issued by the Government. The hon. Minister Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit said that the Governor had done the right thing. I would like to remind Mr. Dikshit that we have seen too many of these antics. We know who decides these things. There is no point in saying that the Governor had done the right thing. The poor Governor had no say in the matter at all, and the Governors of Provinces have now become merely chaperons of the Home Ministry and the Home Ministry itself a clerical department of the Prime Minister's secretariat. What is the point in cheating the people and saying that the Governor had dissolved the Assembly?

The only violence that took place in Gujarat during the revolution was also created by the Home Ministry, under instructions from the Home Ministry. It was created by telling the police, the CRP, the SRP and the PAC to misbehave. I have seen it with my own eyes. I have gone from house to house. I really went to nurse my constituency and I ended up by paying a series of condolence calls. At 11 O'clock the police arrived in a town called Dohad, and without any provocation there was no procession; there was no slogan; shouting, no people were assembled and there was no curfew. At 11 O'clock they came with a prepared list of people whom they were going to teach a lesson. They went from house to house, indiscriminately smashing everything that was breakable; and they took a particular fancy for wall clocks. With the butts of their rifles they broke down the front doors and ventilators, anything that could be broken and smashed everything including every wall clock. The wall clocks stand there today in eloquent testimony showing at what time the police came and rampaged that house. If they found women they went in and abused the reputations of these women. For no provocation at all. I can understand if there was a morcha and some firing took place. There was

absolutely no provocation. In Halor, two girls were standing on the second or third floor of a building and were looking at the commotion. One of them was shot dead. One little boy, a Harijan boy of ten had gone to fetch a little milk so that they might have tea and he was shot dead. It was meaningless shooting. No teargas shells had been exploded and no warning was issued and no lathi-charge took place—Only trigger-happy policemen were on the rampage. I do not believe that the police behaved like that. The police are our friends; the police are there to protect us; they do not behave like that unless they have been forced or ordered to do so. After all what does the police consist of? The police force is made up of our brothers, uncles, fathers and children; they do not do things like that... (Interruptions) This is the sort of carnage that the police went on. If there were less than 100 deaths it is greater glory to the people of Gujarat that they brought down a Government, the resignation of a Ministry and dissolution of a House. They will continue to struggle to bring down the prices and get rid of corruption. What is corruption, if not black money?

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA:** Black marketing and hoarding?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** That is corruption. Only when you and the Minister take money, there is corruption? No. All black money is corruption. Therefore, Sir, while bringing down corruption, they will have to bring down the corrupt Government that is ruling the country. Without corruption, this Government cannot rule. To get 60 crores of rupees for UP, they will have, with their own eyes open and under their very nose, to permit corruption to the extent of Rs. 200 crores, so that Rs. 60 crores could be collected by the Congress. There is no other way by which they could get that money.

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT):** This

[Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit]

is false. I will challenge him to show some trace of evidence or reasonable cause for suspicion, while making such a totally false and fantastic allegation.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** The Home Minister has just maintained that he fought the election .....

**SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT:** I am contradicting this. A joker's part suits him better than making this kind of serious allegations. *(Interruptions)*

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Piloo Mody, please conclude.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Sir, I do not know why the hon. Minister is making this hot-tempered denial. By this, is he implying that he fought the election without any money? Is it that which you are implying? If you are not implying that, I want to know from where you get the money.

**SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT:** It is none of your business. Let all parties give their accounts. I will be the first to do it.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Now, it becomes 'none of your business'! What is the point in denying this? What is the point in defending a situation like this. Whether it is Rs. 60 crores, or Rs. 6 crores, it is immaterial. The fact of the matter is that, money is collected through corruption. It is against this corruption that these boys are fighting. Therefore, let us not be angels when we are not. It is this corrupt money that has made the elections corrupt. Unless you have free and fair elections in this country, nothing is going to survive.

*(Interruptions)*

I will give the whole list. Do you think that these things will remain secret? I will give chapter by verse. Not only that, I will give the names of those who collected it. I will also give the list of couriers

who took it over there. Do not unnecessarily tempt me. I am trying to improve the country. It is not a duel between you and me. It may be a duel between Mr. Bhogendra Jha and me, but it is not a duel between you and me.

16.27 hrs.

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Therefore, Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Central Administration which has taken over in Gujarat, I think, will be a little wiser than the State Government was. My friend, Mr. D. D. Desai, has given a whole list of things that you can do. He is a very scholarly and studious fellow. He has given you a whole list of thing that you can do. Kindly do that. I wish you were more agitated about the allegations made by my friend, Mr. D. D. Desai, who is a member of your own party, than the allegations made by me, which have only to do with party matters. Therefore, my first charge stands vindicated that people in Government are more concerned with party matters than they are with governing this country.

**SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI** (Calcutta-South) : Sir, I support the Gujarat Budget and the Gujarat State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill. While doing so, I would also like to explain the views of myself as well as my party and the Government which is responsible for the nation's progress.

Sir, I am really surprised to hear the comments from the Opposition, specially, from the Swatantra Party and its leader. The allegations and remarks are made in such a way that this shows the way in which they behave and put forth their views before the people. I appreciate one's wisdom, when that arises out of the sentiments of the people or out of the natural course of action of the people. But, I cannot appreciate those who really express their anger and agony, against the Government and the Administration, due to their own frustration either within their party or out-

side. Before the Gujarat Assembly was dissolved, Shri Morarji Desai was fasting and the opposition parties, specially the Swatantra Party, supported that fasting against violence, arson and looting and demanding peace. Peace cannot be a permanent concept without solving the problem behind peace. We have been seeing for the last few years that there are a few political parties who only rise on occasions when people are distressed to exploit the anger of the people, but when Government comes forward with legislation to implement the things for the people, they not only oppose it but consistently try to sabotage the whole programme all over the country. I do believe in our country there are things which can be considered corrupt but I do not subscribe to the views of Mr. Mody who has just said that our Government is only based on the money of big business people or landlords and not on the people who really support and stand by us. I submit that since the very beginning, even before the freedom movement until today, the main root of our party is not within Parliament or Assemblies, not even within the criticism of other political parties, but it is in the hearts of the millions of the people of our country and I do believe it will continue to do so. I also believe that our party and Government has a role to play among the people which they are trying to play.

Coming to the Gujarat incidents, I have seen yesterday some comment in leading newspapers that the students there demand a classless society. Some of them believe that peace cannot be the guarantee to the achievement of the objectives we want. I frankly submit that whether it is Gujarat Bihar or West Bengal or any State, the people in general and youth in particular cannot get a classless society without having a clear, political and ideological concept of Government or a clear ideological confrontation with the forces which are opposed to a classless society. That is our party's pledge also. I do believe it is only, possible to achieve it by political parties through political arrangements and

democratic institutions and I do consider the Parliament and Assemblies as the biggest forum for that performance. It is a fact that the Government must be much more responsible to the desires of the people. I do feel that in the last few years, in spite of many problems like drought, flood, etc., and even some international problems, our Government has tried to implement the things in the right time. But there was no cooperation from the opposition political parties and the deep-rooted vested interests, the mill-owners and landlords, did not permit the creation of an atmosphere in which the people could feel a greater involvement in the things the Government was trying to do. That is the only mistake we have committed.

In Gujarat, if you want to meet the challenge, it can only be met by fulfilling the pledges of the Congress Party and the Government. The lesson of Gujarat is, you should not be angry with the people of Gujarat who are really angry for the last few days, you should not be angry with the students and youth who took up arms against corruption, but you should be very strict with the mill-owners of Gujarat, the big business houses of Gujarat, the capitalists of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and ensure that they do not get any further scope for expanding their business, that they do not get any further licences and that they are not able to conceal or hide their property and act in a way which ultimately create tremendous frustration among the people in general.

If we look at the Gujarat incidents, even though the students and youth took up the cause in the beginning, for the last 15 days I have been hearing in Parliament that the leaders of the opposition were partners in this revolution. I do feel that the time has come when truth must be told. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa said, "If money is lost, nothing is lost, if health is lost, something is lost; but if character is lost, everything is lost". I apprehend we are

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munshi]

losing our national character for lack of courage and truthfulness.

I would like to say that the students and youth in the beginning had courage enough to take up the fight against corruption, to take up their genuine grievances but, in the later part of the movement, the entire movement took a different direction and it was systematically organised by the fascist method by those who opposed our bank nationalisation, the take over of the wheat trade and all our progressive legislation for the last three years. I have seen a pamphlet issued by Shri R Amin, who was the President of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In that pamphlet, which was printed in millions, it was mentioned that the anger of the people was because of the anti-people policy of the Government, those policies were due to leftist pressure and, therefore, the movement should continue. These are clear indications as to what the big business houses want to do.

The students and youth first came forward because of the scarcity of food and the price rice in hostels. But when the students revolted they were not against democracy, the Constitution or Indian integrity. But in the last few days of the movement you must have seen the writings in the walls of Ahmedabad. They were talking of Swatantra Gujarat. In the walls of Baroda it was mentioned that raw materials and things should not go out of Gujarat. The hon. Member Shri Desai, when he spoke earlier, was pleading that in some of the installations in Gujarat the employees should be only from Gujarat.

Well, this cannot be the slogan of a party which stands for national integration, which stands for nationalism. In the last stages of the movement in Gujarat it was controlled by those forces which were opposed to democracy and which wanted to bring in fascism in this country, forces which pose a serious challenge to the Government. It is not enough to arrest

the hoarders and profiteers. They should be paraded through the streets of Ahmedabad to expose them, to show to which party those people belong.

When Shri Morarji Desai was on fast, who are the people who come to give telegrams? The students and youth are not the criminals. They took the right stand and deliberate attempts were made by them to expose corruption. But very soon the movement passed into the hands of undesirable people.

When Shri Piloo Mody spoke in Parliament, when the representative of Congress (O) spoke in Parliament, they spoke as if their sympathies are with the people. I laughed when I heard their speeches. They are not for the people and nor are they sympathetic to the people. They are the people or forces which deliberately created an atmosphere in our country which led to this tremendous frustration in the student community (Interruptions). It is my proud privilege that I joined this party when Shri Morarji Desai was not in the party. It is my privilege that the students and youth joined this party when Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Patil were not in the party.

Shri Piloo Mody made the fantastic allegation that we got money from the Soviet Union. I do not express any anger to him. Sometimes I consider him to be an innocent child outside the House, and inside the House I sometimes feel that he completely requires a psychiatric treatment. (Interruptions). He is angry because we have signed with the Soviet Union the Treaty of peace, Friendship and Cooperation. I know, this is his anger, and to show his anger he takes all the chances and all the occasions and he tries to put our party in a manner as if we are taking money from foreign country. I know how his party runs. Is it not a fact that Lala Charat Ram of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry was the Treasurer of his party, was the fund-collector of his



party? Is not a fact that there were mandatory circulars to the employees of the factories to read the *Swatantra* magazine? (Interruptions) If you believe that, by this way, you will take the flavour of revolution, you are a fool, you are living in the dark old days, and the days are not far off when the students and youth will not only change the administration but also those parties which are anti-people in the country. In U.P. and Orissa, in whatever elections they have fought, I know how they fought. Do you want to know how we got money? We got money from the party people. (Interruptions).

I submit that, for good industrial relations, this is the opportune moment for Government to bring such ordinances and take such action to implement those things which can reveal the truth what Congress stands for. In one stroke the whole Gujarat can be changed. Let this government implement firmly the urban property ceiling in the President's Rule. Let this Government take over the public oil management of the entire Gujarat. Let this Government send representatives of working class to the textile board. Then the entire politics of Gujarat will be changed in the right direction for which the students fought, for which the youth sacrificed their lives and blood. To divert the attention of the people, they are trying to issue leaflets, 'Gujarat people not for the Government, not for Congress; this is an anti-Congress wave'. If against Congress some progressive party stands and works for the people then that may come. But if Mr. Piloo Mody and the Cong(O) feel that, with the dissolution of the Assembly, the people of Gujarat are going to bring landlords and big business magnates, they are fools. The trend does not indicate that.

I would like to submit two other important points about Gujarat. The conditions of cotton weavers and the employees working in textile factories in Gujarat are very poor. In this movement, much has been said in the press, the working class and the

peasants did not participate. The working class and the peasantry had their support against corruption; their anger was genuine against price-rise. My appeal to Mr. Piloo Mody and all other political parties on the Opposition is this. Let them accuse the Government, let them accuse Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government, but let them meet the millowners and ask them what profit they have earned during the last two years in the textile industry and what proportion they gave as an interim relief or bonus to the working class due to price rise (Interruptions) Government is not an abstract thing—(Interruptions). Let them behave like a dynamic revolutionary. Then those people will be exposed.

Universities and colleges are open in Gujarat My appeal to the government under the President's Rule is this. Let them form a sort of students' Consultative Committee with the Government so that the students and youth leaders feel some involvement, so that they feel that during the time of President's rule, they are also partners in the making of new Gujarat, in implementing those things for which the Congress party stands. If you can do that, then I do believe that the Gujarat people, the Gujarat youth and students may, for the time being, go against the Congress party, but they cannot go against democracy and, they should not go against democracy. If you cannot do it, then I do strongly feel that the game which has been played by the fascist forces, which are also partners with the imperialist agents of this country, in Gujarat will continue in other places also.

With these words, I would like to conclude my speech and I do feel that the realities of Gujarat should be well sponsored and responded to by our Government during the President's Rule.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I do not know what was spoken by other Members before I came. If what Mr. Das Munshi said was in refutation and in retaliation of

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

what was said before, it is perfectly in order.

But I would like to put the discussion in its proper perspective, because I think that we are going off the rails completely..

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Why not you also speak?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Some day I will, in the very near future.

We had a full-scale debate on the Gujarat situation just a few days ago. What happened there, whether what was done there was correct or not, who was to blame or who was not to blame—on all that, we had a full-scale discussion. We need not go into it now and we need not repeat it here. Now, we are discussing the Budget of Gujarat and, linked with it, we are also discussing a certain legislative proposal to confer on the President the powers of this Parliament to make laws in respect of Gujarat. Now you might say whether the Budget proposals are correct, or are adequate or are not adequate or what more has to be done...

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Who has seen them?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** It has been presented to the House. Have you not seen it so far?

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Where was the time to read them?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** This is no excuse.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** When you make a suggestion, it should be a practical one.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** I am making a practical suggestion and that is that you keep quite for a minute.

Now, the Minister of Finance has already presented it. The Members could have

got hold of it. It only shows that Mr. Mody has not seen it and has not read it. I would request members to please confine their remarks to these things and to the Budget proposals.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Has the Minister read it? Have you read it?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** So, let us discuss these two issues in that perspective.

Shri Jagannathrao Joshi.

**SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur) :**

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Have you read it? Otherwise, please sit down.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (शाजापुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महाशय, गुजरात के बजट पर बहुत चालू है। इसमें एक बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई, जिसके समय जब वहां पर चर्चा चली थी उस समय मैंने मांग की थी लॉग यदि वहां के अष्टाचारी शासन को समाप्त करने पर तुले हुए थे और अष्टाचारी शासक के रूप में बिमनभाई पटेल को आपने निकाल दिया और राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां लागू किया तो विधान सभा भय क्यों नहीं की? उस समय कहा गया था कि हम इनके सामने झुकेंगे नहीं, गुंडागर्दी के सामने झुकेंगे नहीं। वास्तव में लोकतन्त्र में शक्तिपूर्ण इस से जब मांग उठी है तो हम उसका अक्षर करने नहीं इसलिए जनता को सही रास्ता अपनाने के बजाये गलत रास्ता अपनाने के लिए हम ही खुद उत्साहित करते हैं। जो काम उसी समय करना था वह किंचा नहीं और जो किया वह कानून कितना सही है इसमें मुझे आश्चर्य है क्योंकि जो नवराष्ट्र पर रखा गया है इसमें हम बात को स्वीकार किया है कि 9 फरवरी, 1974 को संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अन्तर्गत घोषणा जारी कर नवराष्ट्र राज्य का प्रशासन अपने हाथ में लिया गया। इस घोषणा के अनुसार, राज्य विधान सभा की शक्तियों का प्रयोग संसद् द्वारा प्रथम उसके प्राधिकार के अधीन किया जावेगा। दो साक्षर

स्थिति जब रहती है तब राज्यपाल को ऐसा अधिकार रहता है कि वह प्रयोग करे, बिजात्म करे किन्तु जब हम धारा 356 के अन्तर्गत राष्ट्रपति शासन वहाँ लागू करते हैं तो वहाँ की विधान सभा भले सस्पेंडेड एग्जिमेन या मूछिन हो फिर भी वह राष्ट्रपति शासन के अन्तर्गत होती है इसलिए उसको भंग करने का काम राज्यपाल को कैसे दिया गया यह बात विस्तृत मसझ में नहीं आती। राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होकर विधान सभा को मूछित रखने के बाद वास्तव में एक प्रैस कानफेंस में राज्यपाल महोदय घोषणा करते हैं कि विधान सभा को मैंने भंग कर दिया है। यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती क्योंकि निम्नलिखित भी है, एस्पेण्डेड एग्जिमेन भी है

It is under Art 356 which empowers the President to act

या तो यह सीधे-सीधे राष्ट्रपति महादय के आदेशानुसार धारा 356 के अन्तर्गत ही होती तो ज्यादा ठीक होता। लेकिन सरकार ने क्या किया मरी मसझ में तो नहीं आता। एक ता जनता की जा माग थी उसकी उपेक्षा की गई काफी दिन, और यह बात भी कही गई थी कि विधान सभा भंग होने के बाद बहा मान्नि होगी इसकी क्या गारण्टी है ? किन्तु विधान सभा भंग होने के बाद जा शानि बहा पर आई उससे पता चलना है कि जनता ने जा भाग की थी उसके पूरा होने क बाद जनता धब जात है। किन्तु इसके लिये यह भी समझना होगा कि जनता में असन्तोष क्यों पैदा हुआ ? यह केवल राजनीतिक बहुमत का मवाल नहीं है। राजनीतिक बहुमत प्राप्त करने के बाद भी हम प्रसामम ठीक डग से नहीं चला सकते इसका उदाहरण हमको गुजरात में मिला। मैंने उसी समय कहा कि जैसे एक रोग हाता है एक अणु शुरू हो जाए तो शरीर में दूसरी अणु फैलता है, वही घाब हो रहा है। घब मसझ प्रदेस में शुरू हो गया है यह रोग मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि प्रसामम ठीग डग से चलाने के बजाय व्यक्तियों को बदलने की

कोशिस हम क्यों करते हैं ? प्रजातन्त्र के अन्तर्गत नीतियों का महत्व होता है, व्यक्तियों का नहीं। व्यक्ति केवल नीतियों का कार्यान्वयन करने के लिये होता है। किन्तु यहा लगता है कि सारा मैन्युलेसन चलता है, और परसनल इन्वेसन से चलता है।

इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है चिमन, भाई पटेल की सरकार के खिलाफ जो अष्टाचार के आरोप लगाये गये हैं, जिन आरोपों को गिलाया गया था "जनमता" अखबार में उनकी जाब की जाये और अष्टाचार के खिलाफ मकत कदम उठाये जायें इसका विषयाम जनता में पैदा करना चाहिये। अष्टाचार किसी दल या व्यक्ति का नहीं जाता, बल्कि यह एक बीमारी है और उस को ता समाप्त करना ही चाहिये। मुझे तो यही लगता है कि 'अष्टाचार चालू रहे इसका कोई समर्थक हम देश के अन्दर पैदा होगा। चाहे काना घन हो चाहे अष्टाचार हो इसको जब तक समाप्त नहीं करनेसे तब तक प्रजातन्त्र ठीक डग में यहा नहीं चलेगा। इसलिये मैं मान करता हूँ कि अष्टाचार के जितने आरोप लगाये गये उनकी पूरी जाब की जाये और जो दोषी पाये जायें उन आरोपों के अन्तर्गत उनको सब्त सजा देने का काम सरकार को करना चाहिये।

जनता अष्टाचारो से पीछिन है। कई लडके मारे गये है, कई परिवार उजड गये है, आखिर उनको राहत पहुचान का काम भी केन्द्रीय शासन को करना चाहिये। जैसा माननीय पीछू भोदी ने कहा कि किसी को 11 रु० का किसी को 20 रु० का चैक दे दिया, इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। जा परिवार उजड गये है, घर का काम करन वाला मर गया है या पुलिस की गोली से मरा है, उन परिवारों का पूरी राहत दान का दूसरा काम सरकार का है।

तीसरे यह कि जिननी जल्दी हो सके उतनी जल्दी फिर से लोकप्रिय और स्थिर सरकार की दृष्टि से गुजरात में चुनाव कराये जायें। गुजरात के उदाहरण से एक बात ता हमें मसझ लेनी

[ श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी ]

होगी कि चुनाव भी प्रजातन्त्री तरीके से होने चाहिये। आजकल चुनाव में वैसे का बोलबाला है। आप ने उपाध्यक्ष जी अभी बताया, और मैं भी सुन रहा हूँ 1967 से कि विदेशों से पैसा आना है किसी को यहाँ से आना है तो किसी को वहाँ से आता है। हमने मांग की थी जाच समिति बैठाने के लिये। जाच समिति बैठ गई उनकी रिपोर्ट भी आ गई किन्तु आज तक हमें पता नहीं कि जाच में रोशनी किस पर डाली गई है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी की भावना समझ सकता हूँ, किन्तु उनको ऐसा लगना है कि उन का अपमान हो रहा है यदि कोई यह कहे कि उन की पार्टी पैसा लेती है या वह पैसा लेने है। तो जब हमारा नाम लेकर कहा जाता है कि जनसभ को बाहर से पैसा मिलना है, तो क्या हमका नहीं अपमानित जाना पड़ता। क्या हमका क्रोध नहीं आता ? क्या हम यह मांग नहीं कर सकते कि यह बात मिट्टी कीजिये कि कौन मा दल है, किस को कहा से मिलता है। कोई भी दल हो मुझे यह अच्छा नहीं लगता कि यह कहा जाये कि यहाँ से मिलना है या वहाँ से मिलना है। आखिर ऐसे प्रजातन्त्र ठीक नहीं चलेगा। चुनाव हम हार जायें इसका मवाल नहीं है, बर्दिया मर गई इसका मवाल नहीं है, अफसाम हम बान का है कि मृत्यु ने दरवाजा देख लिया। एक बार पता चलता है कि दल ने पैसा इकट्ठा किया तो दल को हटा कर कुछ के लिये आ ही जाता है और इस तरह से अष्टाचार प्रारम्भ हो जाता है। दने वाले भारत में बहुत है, दानी बहुत है, कर्ष रहे हैं, भामागाह रहे है, कई रूप में हम मदद कर सकते है, सहयोग भी दे सकते है। किन्तु जहाँ तक लोकतन्त्र का मवाल आना है तो लोकतन्त्र को बिगाड़ने की दृष्टि से कोई खराबी पैदा हो और दूसरे के बलबूने पर हम चुनाव लड़ कर लोकतन्त्र को समाप्त करे यह अच्छा नहीं है। जब हम लोगों ने कम्पनीज पर रोक लगायी थी तो उद्वेग्य यही था कि बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपति लोकतन्त्र पर हावी हो कर अपना उल्लू सीधा न करें। एक सामान्य आदमी भी

अपनी विचारधारा को प्रकट करके जनता का समर्थन प्राप्त करके प्रशासन चला सके, इतना खुले रूप से देश में वातावरण पैदा हो, यह महत्व की बात है।

भारत के अन्दर प्रजातन्त्र की बहुत पुरानी नींव है : इसलिये हमें शर्म आनी चाहिये कि प्रजातन्त्र को इस ढंग से यदि हम बिगाड़ दे तो हमारे आने वाली पीढ़ी हमको कोसिगी। इसलिये 168 में से 140 विधान सभा के सदस्य होने के बाद यदि ठीक ढंग से शुद्ध चारित्र्य सम्पन्न प्रशासन नहीं दे सके तो किसी पर लाठर लगाने की बात नहीं है। हम खुद अपना मह आड़ने से देखें और अपने को ठीक करें।

श्री वृज्जल के अन्दर जो कुछ हुआ, हमारे नये-नये मित्र बनाने है कि हम कास्टलैम, क्लाम-सेट मोसाइटी हैं

"Ultimately, the classless society will come to useless society. God alone knows."

आखिर हम समझते क्या नहीं हैं।

We have to remove the sting of the class and of the caste.

बाकी कुछ है ही नहीं।

आखिर पर जा कर किसी नकिसी का पहचानने के लिये तो मारी बीजा की जरूरत हाती है। हम न किससे निकाल दिया राजपथ किया, श्रम राजा है ही नहीं तो जनपथ किया। श्रम राजपथ पर राजा क लोग चले और जनपथ पर जनता के लोग चले ऐसा था ही है। किसी न किसी का पहचानने के लिये तो कोई जाति हो, क्लाम हो, पथ हो, यह तो दरेगा ही। किन्तु वह ब्यक्ति के पूर्ण विकास में किसी रूप में बाधक नहीं बनना चाहिये। ब्यक्ति के सम्पूर्ण विकास में न जाति, न पथ, न नाम, न बर्ग बाधक बने, इस का हमें देखना होगा। करना एक निकाल डालने उम के बदले दूसरा रखने यह केवल मानसिक विकृति जो है इस को निकालना बहुत आवश्यक होता है। जैसे आज भी नवनिर्माण समिति के रूप में तरुण

बन सामने था रहा है उसका स्वागत हुये करना चाहिये। राजनीति में वह विलम्बस्वी के रहा है। किन्तु जिस ढंग से राजनीति इस देश में चालू है उस से वह सतप्त है, परेशान है। वह अपना आक्रोश प्रकट करना है।

जिम इन से शिक्षा चालू है वह भी दाधी है। आप ने देखा गुजरात में बमबी कक्षा तक बिना परीक्षा के सब को पास किया जायेगा। कुछ लोग कहते हैं डिप्टी के बजाय हमे नौकरी दीजिये। इसलिये हम को शिक्षा में भी आमूल परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। एक, दो दिन में परीक्षा ले कर अगले विद्यार्थी का पास या फेल किया जायेगा ता आगे चल कर विद्यार्थी उस को पसन्द नहीं करेगा। गुरु के ले कर आखिर तक उस का निरीक्षण, परीक्षण बिया जाना चाहिये। सेमिस्टर मिस्टम का तीन महीने का, 15 दिन का या एक महीने का कीजिये किन्तु एक ही माल की तीन दिन में परीक्षा ले कर पास फेल करे, यह नहीं चलेगा। शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के बाद समाज को जिम्मेदारी देने की स्थिति में वह धाया या नहीं, यह हमें देखना होगा। इन दोनों का जाह है। शिक्षा का मतलब है कि व्यक्ति सुसम्भन, सुविज्ञ और मजाम बन। इसलिये गुजरात न जो रास्ता दिखाया उस में हम सब्ब सीख ले, और किसी पर लाठन लगाय यह अच्छा नहीं लगना।

माननीय गृह मंत्री ने बत दिया कि गुजरात में और बिहार में जा हुआ उस के पीछे प्रार० एम० एम० का, जनसभ का हाथ है। केवल यह कहन में काम नहीं चलता। जनसभ हा या प्रार० एम० एम० हा खुले रूप में काम करने है, बाई छोरी छिपे नहीं करते। प्रार० एम० एम० व बागे में मरी समझ में नहीं आता कि जा मरथा 1925 से देश में काम कर रही है क्या उस के बारे में हमारे पास कुछ रेकार्ड है ही नहीं समझ में नहीं आता है कि कैसे बिना सोचे समझे आरोप लगा दिया जाता है। बिना किसी आधार के प्रार० एम० एम० को जिम्मेदार ठहरा दिया गया है। 48 साल से वह काम कर रहा है। इस तरह से उसका नाम लेने का क्या मतलब था ?

17 hrs.

Are we a mature democracy or not?  
Whether the people have a right to organise themselves peacefully

इसका मतलब क्या है? हमारे बीच से मतभेद जरूर हो सकते हैं। लोकतंत्र का आधार भी यही है। अनापसनाप किसी पर आरोप लगाने की काशिश की जाए ता मानसिक सम्बुलन बढ बिगड़ जायगा पता नहीं। एक बार्निंग है जिम पर हमें ध्यान देना होगा। क्या जनता का विश्वास लोक मया तथा विधान मयाभा में हट कर चुनौती के तरीका से हट कर इस बात पर नहीं हो जायेगा कि इस सवाल को सडका पर हल किया जाए? क्या इस तरह के अनापसनाप आरोप सुन कर इस बात का बढावा किसी का मिल गया—क्या उचिन होगा? सवाल सडका पर हल हो क्या यह आवश्यक है? फिर हम यहा किम लिए है। हमन देश में जनतंत्र की नींव डाली है। हमका चाहिये कि मतभेदा की पूर्ण रूप में यहा छुट हा। अन्ततांगत्वा जनहित, देश हित समाज हित इनका हम आखा से मोखन नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि जो अपरादाग हैं उनको सब स्वीकार करे। जनसभ और प्रार० एम० एम० इस मामले में पीछे नहीं है वे प्रमगामी है। हम निर्दोष है, आममान से उतर हैं, यह हम नहीं कहन हैं। हमें भी पना चलना चाहिये कि हमारा दोष कहां है? नाम ले कर हमें बनाए ना हम उनका खुद देखने और दूर करेंगे। स्वयं गृह मंत्री न हमारा ता बार-बार नाम लिया लेकिन जो अख-बारों में धाया सब का मालम है सी० पी० धार्ड० का नाम तक नहीं लिया। यह जो राजनीति वह चला रहे है यह ठीक नहीं है। इस अक्रमले की राजनीति को चलाने की वह काशिश करेगे ता जनतंत्र देश में पनपेगा नहीं। विशुद्ध वातावरण में खुले रूप में जनता की राय देश में प्रकट हो ऐसे बैलट बॉक्स के जरिये जहा पर जिन का बहूम प्राप्त हो और वे आमन में आगे और जनता की मार्ग पूरी करने की कोशिश करे ता कल्याण हा। मकना है।

\*SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN (Salem) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, I rise to say a few words on the General Discussion on the Budget for the State of Gujarat for the year 1974-75 and on the Gujarat State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill.

The Gujarat State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill confers on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Gujarat to make laws. Here, I would like to point out that the dissolution of the State Assembly was announced by the State Governor. It was reported in the Press that the President was not even consulted in this matter. Now this Bill seeks to confer him the powers of the State Legislature. Sir, the events of Gujarat are a warning to democracy in our country and also to the Central Government. It is unprecedented in the constitutional history of any country in the world that the Assembly having a majority party was dissolved by the same majority party at the Centre. It is similarly unprecedented that the Chief Minister of the ruling majority party of the State was made to resign by the same ruling majority party at the Centre.

I am sure that no political party in the country will dispute the need for protecting democracy in the country. But, in Gujarat the democracy has not been protected in the manner it should have been done. Hundreds of young men were victims of police firing. Thousands of people were injured in lathi-charge and in tear-gas bursting. After 30 to 35 days of ordeal and after thousands of people underwent untold miseries, the State Ministry was dismissed and the Assembly dissolved. We have been seeing the mutual mud-slinging among the political parties—the ruling party blaming the Opposition parties for having instigated the student community and for fanning the flames of violence and the

Opposing parties accusing the ruling party of mismanagement and corrupt administration. But the real reason behind this mass uprising is the gnawing hunger of the people, worsening unemployment situation, scarcity of essential commodities coupled with price spiralling. I happened to be in Ahmedabad during one of these days and I found that one kilo of rice was being sold at Rs. 8.50 in the black market. I charge the Central Government and the ruling party for being in complicity with the hoarders, black-marketeers, profiteers in the State who were primarily responsible for this kind of unfortunate situation in the State. If the Government at the Centre and at the State had taken prompt steps to solve the problems of the people, such a situation could have been definitely averted. It is heart-rending that the people of the State, which gave the concept of Truth and Non-violence propounded by Mahatma Gandhi, the valiant son of Gujarat, to the entire world, should have died and wounded in hundreds and thousands like crows and sparrows in police firing and shooting. Is this the way to foster democracy in the country? This is the result of saying one thing and doing another thing by the ruling party. The ruling party professes socialism but gives succour to capitalism. How do you expect the people, the common people of the country, to show endless patience? Sir, in the Supplementary Demand No. 34, the provision for community development is Rs. 1000; under Demand No. 57, the provision for agriculture is Rs. 1000.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : What Supplementary Demands?

SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN: Gujarat State Supplementary Demands.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Gujarat Budget is under discussion.

SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN ; I am referring to the Supplementary Demands relating

\*The original speech was delivered in Tamil

to this year when the disturbances have taken place. I want to make a point that the Centre perhaps want to establish a Police Raj in Gujarat by asking for Rs. 2.12 Crores in the Supplementary Demand for Police. The people of the State would have lived in amity and peace if the Government had formulated and implemented schemes which would enable the people to get their minimum needs at reasonable prices. It is reported in the Press that the Centre rushed 15000 tonnes of foodgrains to Gujarat after the fall of Chimanbhai Patel Ministry, though the demand was made by Shri Chimanbhai Patel when he was the Chief Minister. If the foodgrains had been sent to the State at the proper time, would the situation have worsened? The ruling party may find some satisfaction by blaming the Opposition Parties for this state of affairs. But I would say that the ruling party by this has shown only an escapist mentality. Now this situation has spread to Bihar and Orissa and it might spread to other States. I would appeal to the Central Government that adequate Steps must be taken to redress the genuine grievances of the people of the country before the entire country is enveloped in chaos and conflict.

My party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, has immense faith in the forms of democracy and in the elected Government. The D.M.K. is committed unequivocally to foster democracy for posterity in our country. The D.M.K. is equally committed to the removal of genuine grievances of the people. In Gujarat, the people were infuriated because even in a year with bumper crop of groundnuts the price of groundnut oil did not come down; in fact the price was soaring. This was because of the mismanagement of the ruling Congress Party there. It does not behave of the ruling Congress Party to blame the Opposition Parties, though the blame squarely rests on the shoulders of the ruling party for all the mismanagement.

In the end, I would say that unless the ruling party formulates constructives and

meaningful schemes to redress the genuine grievances of the people, democracy in our country will continue to remain only on quicksand; democracy will not bloom in all its splendours till then.

17.10 hrs.

#### STATEMENT RE PRICE OF NAPHTHA

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** The Minister of State for Petroleum and Chemicals has sent a request for permission to make a statement on government decision with regard to the price of Naphtha. Normally these things are permitted at the end of one item and before taking up another. But he made the submission that the other Minister may have made a statement in the other House. So in order to achieve a certain measure of simultaneity, as a very special case, I shall depart from the procedure and allow him to make the statement before I call upon the next speaker.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI SHAHNAWAZ KHAN)** With effect from 2nd March 1974, the price of Naphtha used for industries other than fertilisers manufacture was raised from Rs 446/- tonnes to Rs 2,320/- tonne. This was necessitated for covering, in part, the burden arising out of the increase in the crude oil prices. In view of the far-reaching and very wide implications of the increase in Naphtha prices to the chemical industry, employment, production and exports, Government have reconsidered the matter very carefully and have decided that the price of Naphtha or use in industries other than fertilisers manufacture may be fixed at Rs. 1000/- tonne with effect from 26th March 1974.

**PROF MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur)** - One clarification

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** No, Clarification means a question. I have already