

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Where is Stephen? This is an infructuous motion. The man is not here. How can you vote his motion?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Order please.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** He can get his motion passed *in absentia*? The whole debate is infructuous.

15.03 hrs.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE:  
 CONTINUANCE OF PROCLAMA-  
 TION ISSUED IN RESPECT OF  
 GUJARAT**

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AF-  
 FAIRS (SHRI K BRAHMANANDA  
 REDDY):** I move the following  
 Resolution:

"That this House approves the con-  
 tinuance in force of the Proclama-  
 tion, dated 9th February 1974, in  
 respect of Gujarat, issued under  
 article 356 of the Constitution by  
 the President, for a further period  
 of six months with effect from 11th  
 March 1975".

This subject came up for considera-  
 tion by this House in September last

**SHRI P G. MAVALANKAR**  
 (Ahmedabad): I want to make a  
 submission on this.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** There  
 cannot be a submission because you  
 can speak on the Resolution. But if  
 you have a point of order, I am pre-  
 pared to listen to you.

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR:** Then  
 I will be on a point of order.

My point of order is this. The  
 Home Minister has just now read out  
 the Resolution that stands in his name  
 asking this House for an extension by  
 a further period of six months of  
 President's rule in Gujarat. He says

he is doing it under article 366. I  
 want to know whether on the basis of  
 that and other articles and also on the  
 basis of well-established conventions  
 of the Constitution, the Home Minis-  
 ter and the Government of India  
 have asked for any special report from  
 the Governor of Gujarat suggesting to  
 the Centre to extend the President's  
 rule. Secondly, I want to know whe-  
 ther the Government of India have  
 been advised by the Election Com-  
 missioner that holding elections in  
 Gujarat at this very time is neither  
 possible nor feasible because consti-  
 tutional requirements cannot be ful-  
 filled. If that is not so, when the  
 State is having normalcy, there is no  
 emergency, there is no constitutional  
 breakdown and the law and order  
 situation is normal, when there is no  
 report from the Governor to the Cen-  
 tral Government is he within his  
 powers to bring forward such a re-  
 solution? That is the point of order.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** These  
 are the two questions.

**SHRI K BRAHMANANDA REDDY:**  
 There is nothing much I should say,  
 particularly on this point. As you  
 are aware, we need not be advised  
 by the State Government. There is  
 no need for us to make any reference  
 to the Election Commission.

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR:** When  
 I mentioned the Constitution, I had  
 also in mind the debates that took  
 place in the Constituent Assembly of  
 India. Only yesterday, in the Central  
 Hall, the Prime Minister told us about  
 the wisdom and generosity and ima-  
 gination of the founding fathers of  
 the Constitution and she repeated it  
 today a little while ago. While talk-  
 ing on this point Dr. Ambedkar said  
 in the Constituent Assembly:

"Now, when once the Constitution  
 makes the provinces sovereign and  
 gives them plenary powers to make  
 any law for peace, order and good  
 government of the province, really  
 speaking, the intervention of the  
 Centre or any other authority must  
 be deemed to be barred, because

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

that would be an invasion of the sovereign authority of the province. That is a fundamental proposition which, I think, we must accept by reason of the fact that we have a federal Constitution. That being so, the Centre is to interfere in the administration of provincial affairs, .....the invasion must not be an invasion which is wanton, arbitrary and unauthorised by law.

Further, Dr. Ambedkar said; while replying to the debate:

"In fact I share the sentiments expressed that all such articles will never be called into operation and that they would remain a dead letter."

Those articles were there for use in times of emergency, for special situations. How are these articles being invoked, when the founding fathers wanted them to be treated as a dead letter?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am concerned with the limited point of order.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): The point raised by hon. Member Shri Mavalankar is extremely important. For the imposition of the President's rule, the essential pre-condition is that there must be a report from the Governor about constitutional breakdown.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: For the imposition.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: For the imposition. What is the contention of the hon. Home Minister? Does he mean to say that for the continuance of the President's rule, no consultation is required so far as the Governor is concerned?

It may well be that a fresh report may not be forthcoming from the Governor, but consultation must take place between the Government of India and the Governor as to whether

the same conditions now exist for the continuance of President's Rule. The hon. Home Minister has said in a very care free manner that there is absolutely no need for any report either from the Governor or from the Election Commission in this regard. That means that it depends entirely on the Government of India whether President's Rule should continue in the State or not, no objective conditions should warrant such a step on the part of the Government of India, it depends entirely on the subjective satisfaction of the Government of India that President's Rule must continue. So this is a point which will have to be dealt with by the House before we proceed with the discussion.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): I think the point made by Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra is very well taken in. The Constitution and the procedures that we have been following so far lay down clearly that the establishment of President's rule in a state is not an action which the Centre can perform without a report coming from the State describing the conditions in the State giving the reasons why such a Presidential take over is necessary and therefore the constitutional limitation that this order will remain in force for six months applies. That condition of six months or upto six months as prescribed in the Report exists. If that has to be extended, it cannot be decided *suo motu* by the Central Government based purely on its own whims and fancies. A fresh report has to indicate that circumstances which would qualify the State for an extension of President's Rule does in fact exist and such a report should come in writing in the form prescribed under the constitutional arrangements in practice. And for the Home Minister to say that it is not necessary, that he does not need to consult anybody, that he can on his own, if he thinks that elections are inconvenient in a State, need not have elections and can extend the order as per his whims and fancies, I think is a blatant admission of the Fascist and dictatorial tendencies which have

overcome the Government. I think today you have been a witness to this sort of thinking which has been going on because, in my opinion, as the Constitution stands as the practice that has been followed so far goes this particular action of the Government violates all norms of democratic practice. It tears the federal Constitution to shreds, reduces the States to the status of municipalities and establishes the hegemony of Delhi on all the States of India.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE** (Burdwan): It is clearly laid down in the Constitution that for the purpose of imposition of President's Rule there must be a Report from the Governor. As a matter of fact, the Centre cannot even initiate under the constitutional set up a move to impose President's Rule, although in practice these reports may be merely procured from the Governors who have become their tools. But in fact under the constitutional set up it must be the Report of the Governor which must initiate the thinking in the Centre whether to impose President's Rule or not. And the Constitution expressly lays down that it must be for six months unless revoked earlier. When under the constitutional set up of this country President's Rule is imposed, the day-to-day administration of the State is left to the Governor and the Governor is the best person in the present set up to decide whether in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution the States Government can be run or cannot be run. Therefore, without that Report it is not possible. That goes against the very basis and concept of the constitutional set up with regard to imposition of President's Rule, that at the instance of the Centre these things cannot be initiated. Although the maximum limit has been put for 3 years and there is a provision for extension, a proper and harmonious reading of the constitutional provisions in article 356 presupposes that if the Central Government wants

to cross the initial deadline of 6 months, similar reports as contemplated in article 356 (1) must be there. Otherwise, the whole set up is being made a mockery of and the Central Government in that sense becomes the complete arbiter of the fate of the State Governments and the applicability of the constitutional provisions in the States. That is not the concept. If the intention was that the Home Ministry was to decide it finally, it was not necessary to get the Governor to make a report at all. That is not the intention. The Constitution must be read in a manner which will maintain the very basis of the intention of the Constitution-makers. As has been pointed out, Dr. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that these are extraordinary powers and should not be taken recourse to in a casual manner; they should not be brought into operation unless an extreme emergency arises and they should remain a dead letter. But it has now become a *modus operandi* for the Central Government to impose their hegemony by means of President's Rule in different States procuring reports from the Governors to suit their political purposes. But here they do not even show that much of ordinary democratic attitude in getting a report from the Governor to support the extension of President's rule. This is against the constitutional provision.

**SHRI K BRAHMANANDA REDDY**  
rose—

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** When a point of order, especially involving constitutional provisions, is raised, I must listen to it fully. If you were in the Chair, perhaps in a ham-handed way you might clear it off the table. But as long as I am in the Chair, I must listen to it fully.

**SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE** (Calcutta-North-East): It does seem strange that whatever the letter of the law might be, certain obvious proprieties

[Shri I. N. Mukerjee]

are disregarded with impunity by Government. I am glad this point has been raised by Mr. Mavalankar because after all, Government must come before Parliament in a manner which is not derogatory to the functioning of parliamentary democracy. Here we have President's Rule. When the President takes over the administration he has an agent ready-made at his own discretion, his own appointee, a person from whom he can get whatever reports he wishes to have. But even so he is supposed to be a dignitary who has a certain responsibility to the people inhabiting the State of which he is the Governor. The Governor of a State is under a bounden obligation to intimate to the President as to what ought to be done and what ought not to be done. We have a parliamentary consultative committee where again we were told more or less informally that Government has the intention of continuing the process of President's Rule, which was objected to very strongly by almost all the parties apart from the ruling party in the consultative committee. I would very much like to know from Government as to what exactly has been the report of the President's own appointee, the Governor of Gujarat in regard to the position which appears in the Government's view to warrant the idea of extension of President's Rule, which means deprivation of the democratic rights of the people for God knows how long. This is a matter where, whatever the rule of the book might purport to say, the proprieties are absolutely categorical and for Government to come before Parliament in this lackadaisical fashion to treat Parliament with indifference and take it for granted is something which should not be tolerated. From that point of view, no harm would be done if the Government manages to secure from the Governor of Gujarat some idea as to what exactly is happening in that State. I have got here *Twelve*

*Months of President's Rule in Gujarat*, which does not suggest for a moment that elections cannot be held in that State. I would very much like to know what material is in the possession of the Government which has made them take this step. It is completely improper, if not out of order.

**SHRI PILOO MODI** I would, therefore like to move that the discussion on this be postponed till such time as the report is presented.

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** He has already spoken. Also, nobody can just get up and move like that.

श्री जनकलाल मिश्र (गुजरातवादी)  
उपाध्यक्ष महादय आज मैं एक माल पत्रले गजराग। मैं जो जानता हूँ कि गुजरात में चलन राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ क्या अगले 6 महीना के लिये जब कि राष्ट्रपति शासन का समय बढ़ाया जा रहा है आज भी वही उम्मीद करके जानता हूँ कि वह उस समय गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट आयी थी और उस के आधार पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया था। लेकिन आज जिस धरमले में गृह मंत्री ने यह दिया कि गवर्नर में अब मलाह करन की बात जरूरत नहीं रह गई है मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या अब गवर्नर में मलाह नहीं करेगे बल्कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के अर्थक्षेत्री बरखा में मलाह करेगे कि अब गुजरात में चुनाव कराया जाय कब मुविधाजनक होगा? यह स्थिति बहुत खतरनाक है। जब तक मत्तारूढ़ दल अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक माहिल तैयार न कर ले तब तक चुनाव बराबर टालने जायें तीन साल तक और हम बूक बन कर देखने रहे, यह उचित नहीं है। गृह मंत्री जी जानते हैं कि वह अपने मतलब के लिये यह कर रहे हैं। हमलिये आप भारत के संविधान और जनतंत्र की हिफाजत करें। मत्तारूढ़ दल अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक माहिल बना कर गुजरात में चुनाव कराना चाहता है, जो कि एक खतरनाक बात है।

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** Hon. Member who have raised this point of order seem to have ignored article 356 itself. It says:

"If the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise, is satisfied,"

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** "otherwise" is "Borooah's report".

**SHRI JANESHWAR MISHRA:** Congress's party's report?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** Please listen. Even article 356(1) does not require a report from the Governor, because it says.

"If the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor... or otherwise"

So, "or otherwise" is there even for the imposition of President's rule.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA.** Can you spell out those conditions which led "otherwise" to operate?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** This is not a debate. Hon. Members have raised points of order and made their submissions. I have to dispose of that point of order. Allow me to listen to the Minister, what he has got to say.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** Secondly, if you kindly see clause (4) of article 356, it says:

"A Proclamation so approved shall, unless revoked, cease to operate on the expiration of a period of six months from the date of the passing of the second of the resolutions approving the Proclamation under clause (3):"

Therefore, my submission is that under article 356, even though generally the President acts on the report

of the Governor, he is competent to act on information otherwise obtained. Secondly, clause (4) of article 356 is clear enough to say that an extension of the proclamation need not be recommended by the State Administration or the State Governor.

Another point has been made as to what Dr Ambedkar had stated during the Constituent Assembly proceedings. Of course, it is a pious intention.

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR:** It was the intention of the founding fathers.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** You must be aware that there was a Congress Government there. As to what led to the imposition of President's rule, the hon. Members themselves are more aware than I am

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Now, the point of order is a very limited question, whether these points raised by the members would stand in the way of this discussion. That is really the point of order.

Now, as far as I see, there are a number of aspects. One is the technicality of the whole thing. Technically, I do not see there is anything to stand in the way. But in this House, we have also evolved certain things, such a thing as propriety. There are certain conventions also which have acquired the force of law. Although the Home Minister is perfectly right that even on a question of imposition of the President's Rule, it is not necessary for the Governor to submit a report, I think, a convention has arisen that it is only on the Governor's report that an action is taken.

I take it that since the Governor is an agent of the President and the President here, in this case, means

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

the Home Minister—that is the constitutional position, they are in constant touch with the Governor. It is not that specifically the Governor may have written or may not have written. I suppose, the Home Minister is in constant touch and he must have been satisfied.

Thirdly, I think, we have evolved another convention and that is the convention of Consultative Committees of the different Ministries. I think, some sort of a thing is there—I am speaking from memory; I do not know—that whenever a Consultative Committee is unanimous on something, then the Government has to act on that. Something of that nature is there. I suppose, this matter might have come up in the meetings of the Consultative Committee. I think, it is not a Consultative Committee which was constituted specially for Gujarat. But, technically speaking, it does not stand in the way. Therefore, there is no point of order.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** No point of order, I am surprised.

**SHRI P. G MAVALANKAR:** Can they go on unconstitutionally? (*Interruptions*). How can they come before the House? On what basis are they coming here? (*Interruptions*)

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** What is all this?

About the reasons, I think, the Home Minister will convey these in his speech. I think so. It is obvious.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Why cannot they confirm your assumption that there has been consultation between the Government of India and the Governor of Gujarat (*Interruptions*).

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** What is all this? I have given my ruling. Why do we unnecessarily waste

human energy? There is shortage of energy everywhere. The only energy we have in this country is human energy and that too we are wasting unnecessarily.

**SHRI H. M. PATEL (Dhandhuka):** On a point of clarification.

You have given your ruling. May I take it that your ruling means that the point of order raised has been ruled out but you are distinctly satisfied from the way this has been done, that an impropriety has been committed?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER.** I am not saying that.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY.** Sir, when this subject came up for consideration in this House early in September last, the spectre of scarcity was already haunting Gujarat. About 95,000 persons were engaged in relief work and about 1,200 villages had been declared as scarcity-affected. Another 1,300 had developed semi-scarcity conditions. Since then, there has been an almost total failure of rains. Some areas of Gujarat have been affected by scarcity for the third year in succession. Sixteen out of nineteen districts of the State are now facing scarcity conditions which are described as the worst in recent memory. Nearly 12,000 villages out of a total of 18,000 are affected by scarcity. The entire State administrative machinery has been geared up to meet the challenge. About six and a half lakh persons are engaged on more than 4,000 scarcity works. Earlier there were certain restrictions in the number of persons in a family to be provided employment in scarcity works. Considering the magnitude of the problem, these restrictions have been removed with effect from 1st February. It has been the effort of the State administration to provide work for every able-bodied adult in

need of employment. Apart from the daily wage of Rs. 3 payable in cash, the State Government is shortly introducing the supply of *Sukhadi* to supplement the diet of workers. Medical relief is being provided and arrangements have been made for drinking water for affected villages and towns and fodder for animals. Cash doles are also being given to the needy and a ration of eight kgs. of foodgrains per month per head is being ensured for those employed on relief works. The State Government has already completed the migration of 20,000 useful cattle from Kutch district to forest areas of south Gujarat where they will remain till the onset of monsoon this year. The subsidy paid to voluntary agencies undertaking cattle relief has also been raised to Re 1 per cattle per day from this month. Voluntary effort in times of difficulty has been one of the admirable features in Gujarat. I would like to pay my tribute to the voluntary agencies for coming forward to carry out relief activities in drought-hit areas of the State.

A sum of Rs. 379 crores has been provided in the State budget this year for scarcity relief and short-term loans of Rs. 10 crores have been given by the Central Ministry of Agriculture for agricultural inputs. The Government of India have also sanctioned an advance Central assistance of Rs. 14.14 crores. Financial constraints will not be allowed to come in the way of tackling this problem effectively.

The State Government has taken a number of steps to augment the supplies of foodgrains through the public distribution system and to hold the price line. As against 51,000 tonnes allotted to the State from the Central pool in July, 1974, 92,000 tonnes have been given each for February and March, 1975. The State Government has, so far, during the last 12 months also purchased one

lakh and fifteen thousand tonnes from other States. With increased availability, the issues through the fair price shops have gone up to 1,01,000 tonnes in January, 1975 from 51,000 tonnes in July last. Wheat is also being given to the non-eligible categories in cities and towns at the rate of 15 kgs. a family.

Simultaneously, anti-hoarding and anti-blackmarketing measures have been intensified. Increased availability, coupled with enforcement measures, have resulted in stable prices and, even a fall in prices, in respect of wheat, bajra and maize as well as in the case of groundnut oil.

I think, I may also mention that, notwithstanding the strain of scarcity, the State has, with the approval of the Planning Commission, prepared a plan of Rs. 172 crores for 1975-76 as compared to a plan of Rs. 143 crores during 1974-75. This plan provides for as much as 74 per cent of the outlay for the core sectors of power, irrigation and agriculture. This outlay will also provide avenues for employment for the scarcity affected areas.

The State Government has taken various steps for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Amongst the measures taken are an increase in the percentage of reservation to government gazetted posts for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): It is not implemented.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: from 5 to 7 per cent and 10 to 14 percent respectively; increase in the period of carrying forward reservations from 2 to 3 years; increase in rates of stipends and scholarships; enhancement of incentive for inter-caste marriages and issue of orders for a special recruitment for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in respect of

[Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy]

Class I and Class II posts where adequate percentage of representation has not been achieved.

A Harijan officer of the Government has been appointed as a member of the Gujarat Public Service Commission. The Government has also decided to debar any person who is found guilty of practising untouchability from appointment as member on any Committee or Board or Panel etc to be appointed by the Government. A Harijan Development Corporation is also being set up.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA**

Is this all required for the continuance of the President's rule?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY** A decision has also been taken that 50 per cent of the power looms to be allotted may be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Having regard to the situation in the State, it has not been possible to hold elections to the Legislative Assembly.

**SHRI PILOO MODY** Why?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY** The Proclamation is due to expire on the 10th March, 1975.

**SHRI PILOO MODY** Now give us the real reasons.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY** Since it will not be possible to restore normal constitutional government by the 11th of March, 1975, a further extension of President's rule is unavoidable. Therefore I commend the Resolution for the acceptance of this House.

**SHRI PILOO MODY** Can't I move that it be postponed now?

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Resolution moved:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation, dated 9th February, 1974, in respect of Gujarat, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from 11th March, 1975."

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI (Surat):** I have never heard a more callous explanation of extending the President's rule for a further term of six months after having it for a year in the State of Gujarat. I do not understand why the Government could not have held the elections in February itself when the delimitation was already over by December, voters' lists had been prepared and the returning officers have been appointed. There is no reason why the situation demanded that the election could not be held. I could not understand it except for one reason. There was a feeling on all sides—almost all sides—that there was going to be a snap poll for the Lok Sabha somewhere in the month of May. And if that was the intention, one could understand the postponement of the Gujarat elections. To me to hold them along with the Lok Sabha elections could have been understandable. I would not have objected to that if they had said that there could not have been a snap poll in February at all, whoever might have talked about it. It was not possible constitutionally or otherwise. But the fact that the Government went on hurrying up the preparation of the voters' lists in a very indecent manner and practically not allowing many voters to come on the lists on account of that hurry also lent colour to this belief by almost all sides. I and several other friends in Gujarat who are public servants have been warning the Government during the last four months that if they do not hold the elections now, before the President's rule is over by the 11th of March



Gujarat will have to agitate for it because it cannot do without representative Government in Gujarat merely because the Government of India does not want it. Thus is what we have been telling them. They did not do anything so far because of this feeling that they might hold them together in the next 2 or 3 months. But now it is very clear that there is going to be no snap poll. That is what the Prime Minister herself has said. She said that she had said that all the while. But it was almost always said as if it had a double meaning,—‘we have not yet decided,’ ‘I cannot say that,—something like that. That was what was said all the while that lent colour to it. But now when they are extending the Proclamation for further six months they don't even say that elections will be held in these six months. I can understand even that because now there is no question of establishing immediately a representative form of Government in Gujarat as elections have not been held. Therefore the President's rule has to be there for further six months. That is how the Government has arranged for it. But if they said that no election will be held before the end of May—they cannot be held after the end of May for, monsoon will be coming,—that means, another six months extension will have to be given and the elections can be held only next year. That will be the position. I don't see why Government has got to do this except for the fact that they are very unhappy about what has happened in Gujarat and they want to punish Gujarat for the revolt that it had made against this mighty Government last year and forced its hands for removing the corrupt Ministry and also to dissolve the Legislative Assembly. That is what they had done and therefore they wanted to teach a lesson to Gujarat. But I hope and trust that Gujarat will not put up with this kind of injustice which is not as per the Constitution, or any sense of justice or propriety. And therefore, there will be an effort put in by the people of Gujarat to see

that Government holds elections before end of May whether they want to do it or they do not want to do it.

So, this is what the people of Gujarat are determined to do, as far as I see it.

Now, the argument that because of drought or famine elections could not be held is simply a dishonest one, if I may say so. There have been famines in the past and elections had been held. There has been severe famine in some districts at a time but not throughout Gujarat as it is happening this time, but there have been, as I said, very severe famine, in several districts and elections have been held. There have been floods. There have been great calamities to be faced by the people which they have bravely undergone. And yet elections have been held. But what have they done when they say that drought does not allow them to hold elections?

There are Corporations which are suspended where there are no elections held. The district panchayats also are under suspension where there are no elections held. How are they prevented from being held I do not understand at all. In cities, there is no drought. Why should the Corporation elections not be held. All this shows that Government wants to teach a lesson to Gujarat. Well, let them try to do so, whether Gujarat learns a lesson or whether the Government learns a lesson has got to be seen. These are matters which can not be left alone like this for the people of Gujarat and there is no doubt about it. I would, therefore, request the Government to consider this and have some prudence in this matter and not go ahead on the path of unconstitutionality which they have chosen to tread. This is why I have risen to make a protest on the extension of the President's Rule to Gujarat. Of course, it will be carried; they will have it; their intention, as it has appeared in the papers already, is not

to hold the elections even now. This is what the paper says. And it is obvious also from the statement which the Home Minister has just now made. It is therefore that I am saying that even if the drought conditions which are there are to be looked after properly—(the Minister says they are looked after properly)—for looking after them properly, the people's Government is required there. Otherwise, that cannot be looked after properly. What is happening now? He has stated that there are 4,000 works but, 9,000 and more villages have already been declared as scarcity affected villages. The Government itself has said that there are 13,000 villages affected by scarcity out of 18,000 villages. And yet, they have not declared the rest of the villages as scarcity affected villages. They themselves have said that more than 20 lakhs of people will have to be provided with work. What has happened in this matter in this very month? There are only 6 lakhs of people who are given work. When we drew the attention of the Government in the last meeting of the Advisory Committee for the scarcity conditions which the Government has appointed in Gujarat (only two meetings had been held so far) we told them that we must have more scarcity works. Then, a few more have been given. But, this will not solve the problem at all. Thousands of cattle have died. The Home Minister says only a few thousand cattle have been shifted to South of Gujarat for maintenance from other parts. There are 87 lakhs cattle in Gujarat. So what is the meaning of telling us that a few thousand of these are being shifted to Surat District and Bulsar District for maintenance during this scarcity period? I cannot understand this; thousands of cattle are dying for want of not only fodder but also for want of water. Water scarcity is very acute in several areas. However capable the administrators may be I have absolutely no quarrel about their capacity—they cannot have the imagination and they cannot have the urge to see the sufferings

of the people and the cattle in the proper perspective as the representatives of the people could see it. Things will become terrible in the coming months, specially, in the months of May and June. People will die like flies. If it comes to that and they say that the President's Rule will continue, then the people of Gujarat cannot bear to see this at all. It is rather better to die heroically in fighting the Government than to die of starvation as a result of this kind of injustice inflicted by Government on the people of Gujarat.

Therefore, I request the Government to be wise enough—there is still time for that—and if they do not want to do so, then let them face the consequences which they will have to face.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA (Kutch). Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, with sincere efforts and with all the attention at my command, I was just listening to the speech of the hon Member, Sri Morarjibhai in this style. If he were in power, would he ever have the elections. The same thing would have happened as he just now said. I cannot understand when he just now said that in the coming months, that is, May and June, the people will be dying and a most severe condition will prevail there. And, at the same time, he also demands elections over there.

Sir, he had come to Kutch, my constituency. But, he has gone to the greenbelt at us. Let me remind him also that drought is never in a stationary condition. It gradually goes on increasing. As stated by Government, in the beginning, there were some villages—a few hundred villages. In Kutch proper they declared 639 villages but gradually as the necessity arose they declared the whole of Kutch as such. The number of villages which are declared is 9,000 and the number is going to be 13,000 out of the total 18,000 villages in Gujarat. I am for the elections. I am not for

the bureaucracy. But let me tell you that the first thing that is required to be done from the humanitarian point of view is protection of the life of the people and the whole attention of the Government should be devoted to fight this drought situation on a war-footing.

Sir, it is not the first year of drought. It is the continuous fourth year in my constituency. Not only that but also it is the seventh in the last eight years. Sir, he is right when he says that the condition of the poor people is very critical and the attention of the Government should be focussed to fight this situation on a war-footing. I know there are constraints of finances, etc. but let me pay my regards to the bureaucracy from Advisors to the Collectors and the Famine Commissioner they are doing their utmost to find within their limitations of what they have been given. I know the limitations are there with them and because of those limitations we are handicapped. I was here and shouted like hell about the condition of my constituency and the Government talked of removing 20,000 cattle from that area as if they have done a huge work. It is nothing. There are one million cattle heads out of which only 20,000 are being removed. We requested that four to five thousand more may be removed as there was no grass but there was no response. I can understand this aspect that Government is not doing what they should do but as far as the elections are concerned and as far as the extension of President's rule is concerned. I would not have done. At least I can boast of my constituency. Sir, we have fought all the elections with hundred per cent result so far. In 1972 C. C. Desai died and inspite of the drought bye-elections were held.

Let me remind you of the corruption which prevailed in the same Congress Ministry. I had charged that Ministry on the floor of the Assembly. In spite of that after 1971 uptill this time whatever drought we have fought, I must say, there is not a single case

of that type. During that period girls were actually supplied to the engineers. An enquiry was held in Banskantha elections. I do not want to go into the details of those dirty things over here and do not want to wash the dirty linen of each other. But one thing is there when people leave their humanitarian point of view and talk of only getting political gains challenges will be there. The challenges will be fought. We have fought the challenges under difficult circumstances. We are not afraid of elections. Inspite of all their efforts Cong. (O), the 'O' has become bigger and Congress has become smaller. It is the frustration that makes them speak. Sir, in Kutch, there is another problem. At present electricity is the most essential thing which is required to save the crops. The Gujarat Administration says that there are no conductors. The Gujarat administration is not being supplied with the conductor. That is a very important problem. Because of the energy crisis, the prices have gone up. Sir, if electricity is not supplied to this area, it will be very difficult to save the crops. The people have been suffering. There is shortage of these conductors. It is the fundamental duty of the Government to see that this is provided. Unfortunately, there is no development equilibrium as far as this region is concerned. Sir, there are districts like my constituency where only 23 per cent of the area has been electrified. I would remind about this to Shri Morarji Desai. Sir, my request to the Government is, provision of electricity should be given priority in this area. Let us reach at least the average. Sir in spite of the drought, in spite of the severe drought, the people are putting in hard labour in Kutch. There is acute shortage of water. In spite of that, it is estimated that 22,000 tonnes of wheat will be produced in this area. Sir, people in this area are living in half-starvation conditions. Eight K. Grams of foodgrains is not sufficient at all. There is no other source. Sir, the relief team which visited this area found that roots are being boiled

[Dr. Mahipatray Mehta]

and being taken by the people. This is because there is no other alternative. Only eight grams is being given. This is not at all sufficient. Therefore, Sir, I would request that this 22 000 tonnes of wheat which is to come should not be allowed to go anywhere.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Government to another thing. Teachers are on agitation. The educated population is on agitation. Sir, the Sen Committee report has already come out.

15.58 hrs.

(SHRI ISHAQUE SAMBHALI in the Chair)

Sir, I would request the Government that they should implement the recommendations of the Sen Committee in toto. This will help in removing the discontent among the educated young people.

Sir, I would also draw the attention of the Government to another problem, namely water. So, we find that in Kandla, so many industries are not coming up. It is not possible to produce soda ash because there is no water. Sir, I was talking to the General Manager of IFFCO. Because of non-availability of water, they are postponing the setting up of the Rs. 60 crore sulphuric acid plant. Therefore, Sir, I would request the Government that they should pay special attention to this. There is the lower Macchu project. Sir, the lower Macchu barrage should be constructed and water should be made available. Sir, some people are protesting against it. After all, Kutch is a part of Gujarat. Therefore, this project should be taken up. The Kandla project which is coming up is also a national project.

Another important thing which I wanted to mention is in regard to cotton. The other day, there was a Calling Attention

in regard to this, Sir, the Government have been giving protection to the textile industry. During the last two years, the textile industry has made record profit. Last year, they have not produced standard cloth. Government succumbed to their threat. In spite of the huge profits made by the textile industry, Government increased the price of standard cloth. The price has gone up instead of coming down. Government says that cotton is being purchased or imported. They say that they want to protect the growers. But, on the contrary, they are helping the mill-owners. Cotton growers are put to trouble. These big business magnates, textile magnates, making their profit are patronised. They are doing this.

16 hrs.

Last but not least, I will come to the condition of health of the people. I address Shri Moraji Desai from here. Will you please come with me? Let us have a tour. I will show what is the percentage of tuberculosis cases due to the last three-four years of famine. I am not talking of night blindness. There are 40,000 people suffering from it; but I am not talking of that now. Please come and see the socio-economic condition of the people as a result of the famine conditions in Kutch. What is the vitality of the people? What is their life expectancy? I am a medical man. I see that out of 10 patients one is a TD patient.

SHRI K S CHAVLA: Is President's rule a remedy?

DR MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: It is never the remedy. I have never said that. But I also say that election now is not the remedy. This is not the time for elections. It is not that we are not prepared for it. We have fought elections and we are ready to do it. After all, it is the first feature of democracy to fight elections.

Let me ask: who has dissolved this democratic setup there, the democracy that was legally constituted. It is those who want to lay claim to democratic rule who have done it, as the Prime Minister rightly said. They talk of a snap poll. They say there will not be election at all, that it will be like Bangladesh and so on.

I would say this. If the Opposition had been able to give an alternative government, many of the drawbacks of the Congress would also have gone. But unfortunately, the Opposition never rose to the occasion. But they are now talking of democracy which they have not accepted. They oppose only for opposition's sake.

Here is a concrete example. The same people who dissolved the democratic government there are trying to do it all over India, trying to create chaos, playing into the hands of fascist and reactionary elements. Where the need of the hour in Gujarat is work on humanitarian grounds, they howl for election. Unfortunately, men like Shri Motarji Desai threaten Government and say they will have to face the consequences. I am a small man. I cannot challenge Shri Motarji Desai. But I make a request to him. Let us see the consequences in my constituency. He can come to Kutch and let him launch the satyagraha there, not anywhere else. I will invite him. Let him start from Kutch and see what happens, what the consequences will be there. Then we shall see about the future. I say that if Government had declared that elections should be held now, I would have opposed it. I belong to the Congress. It is my constituency, my people, my voters who have elected me. On their behalf, I say that what Government have done is the right thing and I support this Resolution which seeks to extend President's rule for six months.

\*SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Ausgram): Sir, I oppose the Resolution which has been introduced by the Home Minister in this House seeking to extend the President's Rule in the State of Gujarat for another six months. I oppose it and oppose it with all the emphasis at my command.

Dr. Mehta and a little while ago and while answering the Debate on the President's Address, the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had started their speeches by an outright condemnation of the Opposition parties. Both of them tried to describe the movements of the people as a menace to Democracy. But I would like to remind them that our Constitution does not have any provision for recall of the elected representatives of the people when they find that the Govt. constituted by such representatives is acting in a corrupt way, against the interests of the people and in an undemocratic way. Because of this lacuna, the people of Gujarat had raised their voice and had launched agitation to oust the corrupt Congress Govt. and to save democracy from their clutches. Such a movement cannot be described as anti-democratic just because it does not suit the Congress Govt. It is equally unfair to spread canards against such peoples' movement or dub them as anti-democratic.

In Sept '74 when the then Home Minister Shri Umi Shankar Dikshit had come before this House seeking a six-month extension of the President's Rule, then I had said on 6-9-74 and I quote "I want to say that there must not be any President's Rule anywhere in our country. Whenever any assembly is dissolved, the care-taker Govt. should be established without the power to pass any important legislation and elections should be held within a month or two. This is a democratic procedure practiced everywhere in the world." Once again we find that the Home Minister

\*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

(Shri Krishna Chandra Halder)

has come before the House not to announce elections in Gujarat but to seek a further extension of the President's rule for another six months. In other words he wants to perpetuate the rule by bureaucracy in Gujarat by another six months.

Sir, before the debate was initiated, my friend Prof. Mavalankar and other hon'ble Members had pointed out that the way the Home Minister had introduced the proposal before the House, it was wholly against the spirit of the Constitution and I fully share their views in the matter. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister are trying to make the opposition parties responsible for all ills in the country and they are trying to suggest that peoples' movements are anti-democratic. I would like to remind this House that in 1959 a Communist Coalition Ministry was in power in Kerala. Then the present Prime Minister was the President of the Congress Party. She had formed a "Bimochan Samity" toppled the coalition government from power through agitation. It is a pity that in 1959 Smt. Indira Gandhi's actions were all democratic and today when the people of Gujarat and Bihar are trying to oust the corrupt Govts. in their respective states, the agitation is being dubbed by the same Prime Minister as anti-democratic. The former Home Minister Shri Dikshit had given a firm assurance to this House in Sept. '74 that elections would be hold soon in Gujarat but by introducing this motion the present Home Minister, has completely gone back on the solemn assurance that was given to this House by the former Home Minister. Both the Home Minister and Dr. Mehta have said that elections cannot be held in Gujarat because of the prevailing famine and drought conditions in the State. I would like to tell them that if they are genuinely interested to serve the people and give them relief from the

famine and drought difficulties then it is imperative that they must first give the people of Gujarat a representative Govt. A Govt. run by Govt. officials can never be a substitute for one where people have their own representatives directing and guiding the administrative machinery of their state and in their own interest. A bureaucratic Government has its inherent weaknesses. Last year, all the states which had representative Govts. secured from the Centre a better share of their demand for foodgrains against those which were under the President's Rule. Last year, M.P. Govt. got 73 per cent of their demand, Bihar 62 per cent, U.P. 68 per cent etc, while Gujarat got only 35 per cent of their demand for foodgrains. I have no doubt that if Gujarat had a representative Govt. instead of being under President's Rule, they too could have secured for themselves a better share of their demand. Not only this, the 6th Finance Commission has recommended that Centre would give assistance to the States for meeting famine and drought conditions. But here too, the Govt. by officials in Gujarat could not obtain adequate funds from the Centre for dealing drought and famine condition in the state. Congress leader Shri Jivraj Mehta, M.P. and Shri Ghanshyam Oza, both former Chief Ministers had joined their voice with the opposition to point out the inadequacy of the relief measures taken by the Centre to deal with the situation in Gujarat. They had even said that due to interference by the Govt. machinery, they were not able to act properly to give relief to the people and at one stage it was reported that they had threatened to bring a resolution with the opposition support to pinpoint the aforesaid defects.

DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA (Amerli): He is wrong and the allegation is entirely unjustified.

DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA: He says he is wrongly quoted.

**SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER:** His views appeared in the *Hindustan Times* dated 17th January, 1975 as under:—

"Congress leaders Dr. Jivraj Mehta and Shri Ghanshyam Lal Oza, both former Chief Ministers, have supported the criticism regarding the failure of the Governor's regime to provide sufficient relief works and the refusal of the Centre to give adequate food and finance to the State."

**DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA:** You are reading from a newspaper.

**SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER:** But why did he not contradict it earlier if it is not correct?

**DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA:** Many things appear in the newspapers.

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad):** They were in the Scarcity Committee of Gujarat, and they have criticised the administration not once but several times.

**DR. MAHIPATRAY MEHTA:** He has denied it.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please don't disturb. Let him continue

\***SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER:** Sir, I was trying to say that Govt. have gone back completely on their words for not holding elections in Gujarat and to my mind the only reason for this action is that the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee is afraid of facing the people. The Congress party in the State has been completely unnerved by the results of the bye-elections that were held in Delhi, Jabalpur, Haryana and elsewhere. People have given their verdict against the Congress misrule. These defeats have given the Congress party a rude shock. They are scared and afraid. They do not want to allow

the people of Gujarat to go to polls. The Congress party has no courage and no guts to face elections in Gujarat. Not only this. The Congress in Gujarat is a house divided against itself. They are 12 to 14 factions which are working in the party and even the efforts of the Congress President, Shri Debkant Barua have failed to bridge differences and end factional fights. Is the opposition party responsible for these factional fights? Will the people of Gujarat be denied their legitimate right of having a democratic Govt. only because the Congress party is not able to settle their mutual differences? What is happening in Bihar. The people are restive. They are frustrated. They are out to oust the corrupt Govt. there. A mighty people's movement and a mammoth agitation is going on there. Very sad and unfortunate things have happened in Bihar. Shri L. N. Mishra was killed. I strongly condemn this killing, but has the Congress party learnt a lesson from these incidents. Have they been able to probe into the people's grievances and provide succor to them? Is it not a fact that Shri Jagannath Mishra, brother of late Shri L. N. Mishra, and others are trying to oust Shri Ghafoor from power? Why should people suffer just because the Congressmen cannot end their factional fights?

Sir, the Prime Minister has ridiculed the Opposition parties and has compared the people's agitation to a person who has the head of the CPI(M), heart of the socialists, the legs of Jana Sangh and so on and so forth. The Congress Govt and particularly the leader of the Congress party cry hoarse about international co-existence between nations and ideologies. But she is too intolerant to apply the same principle to deal with situations at home. When the United Communist party had formed a coalition govt. in Kerala under the leadership of Shri E. M. S. Nambodiripad, Smt. Gandhi could not tolerate the co-existence

\*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Krishna Chandra Halder]

and as I have already said, she conspired and brought about a fall of the Govt. For two terms, United Front Govts. were formed in West Bengal. On both these occasions, the Centre conspired, created obstacles and bro-govts, there. Whenever the Opposition govts, there. Whenever the opposition parties unite to uphold the cause of the people, the Centre ridicules their efforts just because they have no genuine faith nor intention to follow the principles of co-existence which they preach to others. But I must tell Smt. Indira Gandhi that despite all possible atrocities—you know, Sir, during the last few years more than 1,000 CPI(M) workers have been killed in West Bengal—we are successfully continuing our mission to serve the people of the State and I must congratulate the Prime Minister that at least she has cared to describe my party as the brain of the Opposition (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I would complete my speech in a couple of minutes and I don't want to repeat what Shri Morarij Desai has said. I would only reiterate that the people of Gujarat are craving for a representative Govt and, therefore, elections should be held there without any further loss of time. The bureaucracy there is wholly unable to rise to the expectations of the people. Many Central Projects have not been implemented. The people of Gujarat wanted an Atomic Power Station at Tarapur. This has not been given to them. The demand for a medical college at Bhavnagar has not so far been accepted. The Tarapore-Bhavnagar rail link has not been accepted, but despite all these, the Central Govt. are trying to tell the people that a good lot of progress has been effected in Gujarat during the President Rule. But is it not a fact that despite the common knowledge that thousands of mill workers are still without any work, the Govt. have failed to start a third shift in the textile mills. The prices of essential commodities have gone up very high

particularly that of coal, causing immense suffering to the people in general and to the low paid in particular. The education policy is being changed without consulting the educationists, teachers and professors and naturally as a result of this both students and teachers are unhappy about it. They are agitating against this policy. While the whole state is suffering from famine, the Govt. under the plea of mobilising internal resources have increased passenger fare and thereby have imposed a burden of Rs. 11.23 crores on the people. This is unjust and unfair and I protest against it.

In the end I strongly oppose the motion and demand that elections should be held in Gujarat without any further delay. Unless this is done, the people of Gujarat will unite and they will fight for their democratic rights and with the support of all they will finally achieve their objective.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL (Mehsana): Mr. Chairman, here is a resolution moved by the Home Minister for the extension of President's Rule in the State of Gujarat. I am supporting this Resolution rather I am compelled to support this because looking at the present situation prevailing in the State of Gujarat it is a wise decision taken by the Government of India to extend President's Rule in that State.

Some three months back the Government were seriously thinking of holding the elections in the month of March because then the situation was coming back to normal. But at present the situation in Gujarat is not one which is conducive to the holding of elections. A number of villages in Gujarat have been affected by famine and I am sure most of the hon. Members of this House are aware of that situation.

A point of order was raised why the Governor of Gujarat or the State administration is not consulted in the decision. So far as the Governor is concerned, he is always in touch with



the Government of India and the Government of India is always in touch with the Governor and the State administration. So, according to me, there is no necessity to consult the Governor or the State Administration in arriving at this decision.

Some hon. Members of the opposition have alleged that this is a politically motivated decision. It is not at all politically motivated. So far as elections are concerned, we are in a democracy and we are never afraid of the elections. On the contrary, we invite elections in the name of democracy. Those on the other side who are now seeking elections, let them not forget that in the past there was a popular government in Gujarat. Some hon. Members of the Opposition, including some members of the different States, tried to topple that Government, even though it was a popular government. At that time I had told the Opposition members that they are committing a sin on democracy by depriving the people of Gujarat of their popular government. But, at that time, they were not prepared to listen to us and they did what they liked. Ultimately, they are understanding that when there is no popular Government in the State of Gujarat, there will be the President's Rule. There was no other alternative except the President's Rule in the State of Gujarat.

I would like to bring to your notice one thing more. So far as the Opposition leaders are concerned, at the time of toppling the popular Government, they were telling the people of Gujarat, "Topple this popular Government. The popular Government is useless. The Governor's raj will be better for the people of Gujarat as compared to the popular Government." Deliberately, they indulged in that propaganda. Today, they are shedding crocodile tears for a popular Government for the State of Gujarat. (Interruptions)

सभापति महोदय : मैं नहीं समझता कि यह कोई माकूल तरीका है। अभी जब हल्दर साहब चल रहे थे तो एक साहब ने इन्टरप्ट करने की कांशिश की, मैंने उनको रोक दिया।

श्री के० एम० चावड़ा (पाटन) : अगर कोई गलत बात बतपाये तो बोलना चाहिये।

सभापति महोदय आप बाद में क्वेश्चन पूछ सकते हैं, लेकिन इस तरह से इन्टरप्ट नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप इस तरह से उनका जितना टाटम बरबाद करगें, मैं उनको उतना टाटम ज्यादा दूंगा।

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: Whatever I am saying, I am saying as a representative of my constituency, as a representative of the people of Gujarat, as a responsible member of this House. I am not furnishing false statements. I am furnishing truth on the floor of the House. They may or may not like it.

So far as elections in Gujarat are concerned, they are saying that we are not prepared for elections and that is why, deliberately, the Government of India is extending the President's Rule in the State of Gujarat and they are postponing elections. Most humbly I would like to bring to your notice that so far as Gujarat is concerned and Gujarat Congress is concerned, for decades, we have served the people of this country without power. We are not power-oriented people. We can serve the people without power. We may lose or win elections. Election is a game and that is in the hands of people. If we are elected to any position, to the Assembly or to the Parliament in Delhi, we serve the people. So far as power is concerned, that is mere an instrument in the hands of the Congress party to serve the people. If there is no power, even then we serve the people. I would like to assure the hon. Members on that side that we are never afraid of elections. We are not going to run away from elections.

[Shri Natwarlal Patel]

It is not true to say that this decision is politically-motivated and that the decision has been taken in the interest of the Congress party. We are not afraid of elections. If elections are to come tomorrow, let them come today. If the elections are to come today, let them come just now. We are prepared to face the elections. We are never afraid of elections. So far as this decision is concerned, it has been taken in view of the grave drought situation. The drought situation is so grave in the State of Gujarat that there are a number of villages where we have to provide drinking water. After one month, what will happen, I have no words to explain.

So far as the Opposition is concerned, they concentrate only on elections. They talk of elections only. They have no time to talk about the condition of millions of people. They have no time to talk about the famine-affected people, drought-affected people, who require water, who require arrangements to be made for famine relief works, who require fodder for their cattle, etc etc. The Opposition people are only thinking about elections, how to survive for coming months, how to survive in the State of Gujarat.

The people of Gujarat are not bothered about elections. They are bothered about their survival. They are facing many hardships. Those who are aiming at Gandhinagar are only for elections. They should keep the famine conditions of the people of Gujarat in mind. They should not keep elections in mind. If the elections are not coming today, they are bound to come tomorrow. It is a game. We have to face it boldly.

So far as Gujarat is concerned, as I said just now, the famine conditions are very grave. As a matter of fact, 96 per cent portion of Gujarat has been affected by famine. Not only that. There are some villages today where they do not find scarcity of

water. But after one month, in the days of summer, I understand, there will be no water in these villages. So, the present administration of Gujarat will have to provide drinking water for them. My hon. friends here can go to Gujarat and see the situation for themselves; they may visit Kutch and so many other districts which are severely affected and see the position of the people there, how they live. They are crying for their survival. They are not crying for anything else. They want drinking water facilities; they want fodder for their cattle; they want to survive. I understand that this is a peculiar situation in the State of Gujarat which has never been seen by me or by the people of Gujarat before. In that context, I feel that there is nothing wrong in the decision taken by the Government of India to postpone the elections and to extend the President's rule in that State for another six months. You cannot say that it is politically motivated. Nothing is politically motivated. When we do something, you always allege that it is politically motivated. This has become your practice and we have been hearing it for a long time. That is why, we are not astonished.

So far as the professors in Gujarat are concerned, they are struggling for something; they have started some agitation. (Interruptions) I would request the hon. Minister to see that the Government of Gujarat accept the report of the Sen Commission. I understand that, if that is implemented, the problems of the professors—Mr. Mavalankar is not in that profession now; I am talking about the other professors there—will be solved and they will be benefited.

Before I conclude, I would request the hon. members on that side to forget everything so far as Gujarat is concerned. Irrespective of party affiliations, we have to work unitedly to face this challenge of drought. This

is a natural calamity. The Government of India and the Government of Gujarat alone will not be able to solve this problem. It can be solved only unitedly, with the cooperation of all party workers and the millions of the people of Gujarat. By the grace of God, I hope the difficulties will be overcome and everything will be all right.

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, to begin with I would like to condemn this Government for having brought forward this Resolution to extend the President's rule in Gujarat without proper Constitutional procedure. I am stating without hesitation that I am not satisfied with the ruling given by the Chair; I am not satisfied with the arguments advanced by the Home Minister; I am not satisfied, even as far as common sense goes, with the arguments advanced by the Central Government that they can arbitrarily extend the President's rule without having got a proper report from Gujarat explaining the conditions in Gujarat and stating categorically the reasons why it is necessary to extend the President's rule in Gujarat.

I have heard the speech of the Home Minister. I would have welcomed a discussion on the drought situation in Gujarat. It would have been a more honest exercise, because what we have been wanting to discuss for a very long time is the drought situation in Gujarat and we have been denied that opportunity. But the Home Minister comes here and says that drought is the main excuse or the reason for extending the President's rule in Gujarat. There is no connection between the two. Droughts, as has been admitted by the Home Minister himself and as people on this side of the House have also admitted, have been perennial and chronic in Gujarat. Every year some districts or the other of Gujarat are under drought and severe drought. We have had elections in Gujarat when there had been the severest drought in many districts.

Yet, it did not interfere with the elections. What has one got to do with the other? I cannot understand, if there is a drought, people cannot go and exercise their vote? I cannot understand when there is a drought, we cannot go and campaign. On the contrary, people collect at the works and it is easier to go and explain your policies to them. If nothing else, it helps during the course of elections. I am talking about campaigning. So, what is the difficulty in holding the elections in Gujarat when the drought is going on? Are you suggesting that President's rule is better to tackle the drought situation than a popular government? Because, if that is what you are suggesting, then I think you might as well dissolve yourself. We have a serious food situation in the country and I am sure the President's rule will be able to tackle it better than you all people sitting on those Benches. What is the rationale of your argument? Because there is a drought you cannot have elections? Because there is a drought you cannot have a popular government? Is a popular government—my friend, Mr. Huda just now asked—less capable of supplying water to the people of Gujarat than the President's rule or the Home Ministry? Is a popular government less capable of providing more food to the people than the President's rule or the Home Ministry? Can the Home Ministry provide more grass to animals in Gujarat than a popular government over there?

As for wages and works the Home Minister can never miss an opportunity, any little opportunity they may get, for making false propaganda and trying to get a few votes. They will never lose it. They talk very sanctimoniously about the Harijans and Adivasis and how much the Government has done for them. Had you ever been to these areas? Whose notes were you reproducing before the House? Have you seen the conditions of Harijans and Adivasis in the drought affected areas of Gujarat?

[Shri Piloo Mody]

Because if you have not, I invite you. Come with me. I will show you and perhaps that will make the butter melt in your mouth and may be you can taste a little of this suji which you are so generously dishing out to the people of Gujarat. And in order to understand that, without water, you cannot swallow it. And, where is the water? Therefore, to trot out the drought as an excuse for not holding elections is nothing but just a cock and bull—a political cock and bull, a constitutional cock and bull and a parliamentary cock and bull, because the fact of the matter is that if it is to be measured from the point of view of what the President's rule has done for the Harijans and the Adivasis, go and see. The Minister said that this is the severest drought that has ever taken place in Gujarat because it suits his argument for withholding elections. Yet, what has the Central Government done? I would like to point out to you the concern of the Central Government for the severest drought that has hit Gujarat in a century. They have advanced—advanced, mind you—advanced monies that were already allotted to Gujarat, to the tune of Rs 145 crores—Rs. 14.14 crores to be exact. This money, if you had not advanced it, we would have got it next year or the year after. What favour has the Central Government done to the Government and people of Gujarat by advancing this money? Over and above that, nothing. Yet, it suits him to describe it as the severest drought that has taken place. The Gujarat Government is now spending at the rate of Rs. 2 crores a day. They have in all spent Rs. 39 crores on drought relief. How long do you think this money is going to last? Then the Minister says a generous thing, 'Nothing will be stopped for lack of funds.' Mr. Minister, prove that statement. Every single work that I have demanded and which needs to be carried out in Gujarat has been withheld, postponed and denied for lack of funds and yet this sort of pompous statement is made in order to con-

vince everybody and make a propaganda to say, 'We are doing everything we can.' The President's rule, can be understood by anybody who understands democracy, has got its own severe limitations. President's rule cannot frame policies. President's rule cannot alter policy. President's rule cannot take initiative in matters where the popular will of the people and the popular demands of the people demand certain things. These are decisions that can be taken by only popular Ministry. These are decisions which can be taken only by politicians in caucus and it is these decisions that are not being taken which are being postponed month after month, six months after six months, because the Congress party is too feeble to face an election in Gujarat. This is the sum total of the conclusion; they are afraid; they are petrified; they could not form the Committee. Sir, and only recently that committee was finally formed in which everything which ever existed in Gujarat has been joined together and put into that Committee, including Mr. Natwarlal Patel. Where is Mr. Natwarlal Patel—who is the Tribune of the people, who is the servant of the people—who was saying something so strongly about Gujarat only a few minutes ago? He does not even smoke, he cannot, and so he cannot make the excuse that he has to go out for a smoke. I am glad you returned, tribune of the people, servant of the people. Please come and sit down and listen. He was not considered fit to sit on the Executive Committee. This is the position.

Therefore, Sir, these cock and bull stories have been brandied about. That only shows that the Congress as party is weak and feeble to face the people. Let me assure Sir, six months later you will be weaker still. In another six months later the position will be even worse and after a year and a half from now you will not be able to face them at all. And if it is two years from now, you would have evaporated. So, go on postponing it every six months, every

six months thinking that the position will improve.

If drought is what you are really concerned about, may I tell you, this decision of yours is not going to help the drought situation at all? You need popular demands to be fulfilled, demands which are basically of a political character. There is the demand for subsistence and the Home Minister said that a minimum wage of Rs. 3 was given. Kindly send me the names of anybody, the scheme where by you granted Rs. 3 daily wage to anybody in Gujarat. This is not being given to anybody in Gujarat, not even a single person who is on relief work in Gujarat. This is being spoken of only for consumption for the galleries. Send me the name. .

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: I will give you the names.

SHRI PILOO MODY: You will please send me ten names.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: I can send so many names.

SHRI PILOO MODY: All right I shall produce it in Parliament after checking it up You send me one person's name who is getting Rs. 3/- a day.

As far as relief is concerned, he talked about thousands of tonnes of foodgrains that have been going to Gujarat. I do not know what has happened to that *en route*. I know in villages after villages, the maximum of grains that a person gets is five kilogrammes a month But, if one is working in a job site, I think, that may go up to eight kilogrammes a month. That is the maximum gram that a person gets per month per head. As far as sugar is concerned, it may be a kilo per month or it may be only 200 grammes a month per head. So, all these figures have been produced by somebody on a piece of paper and you can read them out to us. But, it has no meaning at all. You want to postpone the election;

you have the power, the majority and the will to do it. Say that honestly that you are not prepared to fight the elections in Gujarat and therefore you would like to extend the period of President's Rule for another six months You want to abuse the Constitution in your favour Then say so. Believe me, it is for the betterment of you But, don't trump out the cock and bull excuse that because there is drought you want to extend it As far as drought is concerned, nothing has been done by the centre for all the drought that is going on.

Finally, Sir, the Home Minister said that and I heard him very very clearly that the Government has arranged for the removal of 20,000 cattle to the southern region of Gujarat. Even the strongest supporter, Dr. Mahipatray Mehta had to ridicule the figure of 20,000, because this twenty thousand is just a drop in the ocean The real fact of the matter is that 90 per cent or more of the cattle that has been moved out has all been done by voluntary agencies. Why was the Government claiming credit for it? It has all been done by the voluntary agencies Why should you claim credit for it? Is it just to get five more votes in Gujarat?

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, let us sincerely hope and let them change this motion as follows:

"We want President's Rule in Gujarat because we are not in a position to face the electorate and that we will extend it further if we find that the position persists like that"

Let them change the basis of the motion and I shall vote for that because, after all, I also have sympathy for you because, I have been for a very long time a Member of the S.P.C.A!

SHRI D. D. DESAI (Kaira): Mr. Chairman, Sir, You have heard a very vigorous speech from one of my colleagues. The difficulties in Gujarat are real; the famine conditions there are so severe. It is true also that

[Shri D. D. Desai]

bureaucracy is trying to do its best. It is also true that the people's representatives could do better. But, there is one difficulty which we should not overlook. That is, whether at this time, should much of our energy be diverted or should be employed on a job? There are hundreds of outstanding issues in Gujarat to-day leave apart the political aspect. We, many of us, seem to worry about it. Looking purely from the angle of humanitarian grounds and from the Gujarat's local requirements, I feel that if the Government decides some date in the coming few months—in any case, they cannot hold the elections before 10th of March—that would be better. One of our earlier speakers has said that Government is getting another six months. Still there is time and elections can still be held. It is possible that in May, the heat would be so severe and that the difficulties for water would be acute. One of the earlier speaker has said about the distress that the people will have also. In the midst of it people may be allowed a choice. If they want to hold an election then they may do so or some sort of opinion may be collected and elections could be planned for May or possibly in April-end. There is another issue, the Government may feel that doing so may divert substantial personnel from relief operations to election supervision. Then with the consent of the Opposition, we can reach an agreed date which could be some time soon after the monsoons. In other words we have two possibilities—one for May and another during November-December. My reason for saying all this is that during monsoons there is transport difficulty and it is very difficult for voters to travel distances. Another aspect is we have a deficit in agriculture production and, water. This year much of our distress comes from difficulty in cotton. Many of the hon. Members are not aware that the acute distress today in Gujarat is on account of accumulation of stocks of cotton which are not being lifted because of credit squeeze and the diff-

culties which the Governmental agencies are having on account of shortage of funds. This problem should be taken care of by the Ministry since the Ministry under-writes the responsibility for the next six months. I would urge upon the Government to take care of this acute distress that our people are facing on account of lack of availability of funds for the next sowing. A mention has also been made about deficiency of water, fodder and other things. Here our biggest requirement is sympathetic and timely approach by the Central Government to see that maximum quantity of fodder and foodgrains are provided to the State. The present amount of quantity which we are receiving has resulted in substantial amount of discontent. A large number of people feel there are no jobs for them as the works which have been taken up are inadequate for want of funds. The Central Government is of the view that adequate funds are provided but those of us who stay in Gujarat are continuously observing that the funds that are allocated are not adequate to meet conditions of such a severe nature. In other words, the State is deficit in regard to funds, and in regard to availability of goods. Even when we have money, there are no goods to be purchased. These are some of the conditions which are common to any famine. These conditions are prevailing. Just now, my friend, Mr. Piloo Mody asked 'where is the water?' It is true. We tried to get as much water as possible. I believe 24 rigs have been put in operation. They are put in different areas. Private agencies have also done it. Work is going on, on all sides.

Now, the question is, whether it is in the interest of either the Government or the Opposition to hold elections now. I would say that it is neither in the interest of the ruling party nor in the interest of the Opposition, because some time is required for both of them to organise themselves fully. It is true that the ruling party lost its position because of some discontent in some urban centres. We must re-

recognise the fact that there was a democratically elected Government. It is true that there were some charges of corruption against that Government. The Ministers in-charge offered themselves for investigation. In spite of that, there was agitation, both by the Opposition and by the people in the urban areas. Now, this has resulted in overthrow of a popularly established Government, a democratically elected Government. That democratically elected Government had about 140 Members in a House of some 168 Members. In other words, it had the fullest backing of the legislature. But, the unfortunate fact was that some of the Members of the Legislature or the Government or the Minister were found, in the eyes of the people, not sufficiently equipped to carry out the tasks and they were not considered to be men of integrity. This could have been remedied either by removing those people or alternatively, even by changing the Ministry. This was a possibility, having made a serious effort to see that the Government is sent out, and having continuously made a demand for President's Rule, once the President's Rule was imposed, there is again a demand that elections should be held. We find it a little difficult to co-relate these two. Why consistency is lacking? It is true that we should initiate the democratic process and we should have democratic institutions. At least in regard to panchayats, which are at the root, which are at the bottom and which are closer to the people, I would urge upon the Government that they should hold elections to panchayats at the earliest date so that the representatives of the people are at proper working levels and they will be able to attend to the problems of the people on the spot. Sir, the question of municipal elections has been talked about. I do not know how much they are really concerned about famine and, to what extent, they will be able to help. But, panchayats are the backbone of our democratic system. The effect of not having the panchayat elections is so widespread; it would upset the position of our party

also. Therefore, in the best interests of the ruling party, it is necessary that panchayat elections are held as early as possible

With these words, I conclude my speech.

17 hrs

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta—North-East). Mr Chairman, I am distressed that the Home Minister, whom I must credit with some understanding and political common sense, has thought fit to commend, as he put it, his Resolution for acceptance by the House. I do not know on what computation we can accept this Resolution. My fear is that ever this Gujarat business Government has been showing its cold feet right from the very beginning. I cannot think any tenable reason why in a traditionally Congress State with a movement embracing a large section of the youth aimed at reconstruction of Gujarat and the elimination of certain elements like a notorious former Chief Minister who was pushed out of the picture, how in that kind of temper in Gujarat Government developed cold feet, and perhaps with a lack of self-assurance and with a sense of guilt about things done, and undone, they found themselves unable to order elections soon after the President had taken over and the old legislature was sent packing. From that period of time, there began a whole sequence of incidents which shows how Government has no imagination how Government is ready and willing to have an authoritarian atmosphere in the country and how in the normal bureaucratic way, they would ask for extension of a bureaucratic administration, because whatever the virtues of presidential rule, it is bureaucratic administration. If President's rule had brought benefit to Gujarat, I hope some marks would have been visible and Government would not have been in the position today to plead the cause

[Shri H. N. Mukherjee]

of drought and scarcity as a reason why elections cannot take place.

I cannot imagine how in the year of grace, 1975, in a country which talks so much about its devotion to democratic processes—and only a couple of hours ago the Prime Minister was in her own way trying to be eloquent about it—I just cannot imagine how you can in 1975 say that because of drought and distress conditions, we cannot have elections. Good government is no substitute for self-government. This is what we were taught when we were young; we learnt it with every aspect of our heart. They have not been able to give good government. And who is going to expect good government from the presidential team or whatever there is which functions in Gujarat? We would rather have bad government from our own peers than good government of bureaucrats of a particular description. In any case, good government is no substitute for self-government, and I do not see how Gujarat can go on being deprived of the very normal right of having as early as possible, when an emergent situation has gone, to have its own elected legislature.

We are told about famine, scarcity and all that. I cannot go into details; I need not. But the simple point is: How is this kind of argument to be extended? You know very well that at least I and my Party do not happen for reasons, which we consider to be of national importance, to have an animus against the ruling party on every occasion. We do not have that animus, but we have to point out where they are going, utterly wrong, and at this rate where they will end up. Today in many parts of the country starvation conditions continue.

In West Bengal, for example, the majority of the districts are starvation districts. If parliament sets its seal on the argument that economic distress which is being tackled is the reason for the postponement of the

election, I wonder what is going to happen? At the present moment perhaps 70 per cent of our people live below the poverty line. Perhaps by the time the budget has done its job, the budget is to be presented tomorrow, 75 per cent of the people would be living below the poverty line. Does that mean to say that this country will not have any elections because 75 per cent of the people live below poverty line and economic conditions are so distressing and dismal that nothing can be done about it, elections are a luxury which we cannot afford? I know that elections sometimes become a luxury which we cannot afford. That is very true. But is that the idea of elections that animates this country that should animate the Congress party, if it is really and truly to be the ruling party in this country and if it is to be worthy of the trust which people have given to that? Are the elections to be only money spinning operation? Is our envisagement of the elections only as something where money is to be spent and people have to be diverted from the constructive process of work? Is it not our experience, on the contrary that when elections are in the offing those who are in the Government go about promising all kinds of benefits to different areas where they are interested for their own return to the legislature? Do we not find that if on the eve of the elections a concerted effort is made for the economic and other development of our country, results are more likely to follow? Do we not intend to use elections as organisational apparatus for mobilising the enthusiasm of our people for rebuilding their life and for rescuing themselves from the misery in which they are living today? Or do we think of elections only in terms of so much money to be collected and spent so that a chain of corruption is created? Surely that is not our envisagement of elections. When we go in for elections we use elections as a mobilising



process for the advantage and strength of our movement. The Communist Party enters the election because it utilises elections to secure the support of the people and to consolidate that support into a sustained and organised shape. If politics has any seriousness I think that elections should have that motivation.

What do we find? So many crores, not too many crores are being given and so many lakhs have been collected by the non official agencies, some relief work is going on, some people have had to change their habitat because they perhaps have gone to work on some relief operations some where a little distant from their place of living. Is that the reason why elections should be postponed? I think on the contrary that elections could and should have been utilised as a method for mobilising the enthusiasm of the people to solve their own problems. You can give a different shape to the elections. If in Gujarat you cannot do so wherelse can you? I do not wish to think of the Government being in such a dire distress that in Gujarat they are afraid of facing the elections. May be there are other calculations. I cannot read the minds of people whose calculations are sometimes a little too subtle; in any case as it appears from the information given, I have got with me this book "12 months of President's rule in Gujarat", and it tries to paint as good a picture as it can, there is no justification whatever for postponement of the elections, especially when his predecessor Mr. Dixit had given an assurance to the House that there would be no unnecessary prolongation of the President's rule there. Therefore on principle I am opposed to the idea of postponement of the elections for such a frivolous reason which the Home Minister has chosen to give.

श्री बरबारा सिंह (होशियारपुर) :  
चेयरमैन साहब, मैं ने अपने कुछ दोस्तों को बहुत गौर से सुना है। उन्होंने एक ही बात कही है कि इलैक्शन के पोस्टपोनमेंट के लिए प्रिजिडेंट्स रूल की एक्सटेंशन की जा रही है। वहां पर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ने जो काम किया है, उस के बारे में किसी ने कोई राय नहीं दी है कि वह काम अच्छा है या बुरा है।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र हाल्बर : मैं ने कहा है।

श्री बरबारा सिंह : घाप ने बंगाल का ज्यादा जिक्र किया है और गुजरात का कम। (बबबान)

इस बारे में कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं कि इलैक्शन होने चाहिए और वक्त पर होने चाहिए। हम ने कभी इस के खिलाफ कोई राय नहीं दी है। सवाल यह है कि आया इस वक्त वहा पर ऐसी मिचुएशन है कि वहां पर अभी इलैक्शन करवाये जायें। जिस सूबे में आज हजारी गावो मे कहत छाया हो, जहां लोग और मवेशी भूखे मर रहे हों, क्या वहां पर सब से पहले रिलीफ का इन्तजाम करना चाहिए, या वहा इलैक्शन कराना चाहिए। श्री पीलू मोदी ने कहा है कि वहां लोग इकट्ठे हुए होंगे, क्योंकि वहा रिलीफ वर्क चल रहे है। सवाल यह है कि क्या बे लोग अपना काम करेंगे, या इन लोगों की बात सुनेगे। उन को खाना और दूसरी जरूरी चीजे चाहिए। इलैक्शन के सिलसिले में इन लोगों की खुराफात सुनने के लिए उन के पास वक्त नहीं होगा।

इसी लिए यह कहा गया है कि पहले वहां नामेल हालात पैदा किये जाये, जिन मे इलैक्शन हो सके। इस वक्त वहा एक लेबरर को तीन रुपये रोज मिलते हैं। यह नाकाफी है। यह एगोरेंस दी गई है कि उन को एक महीने का घाट किलो अनाज दिया जायेगा। उनको मेडिकल फंसिलिटीज वगैरह भी उत्तमी नहीं मिलती हैं, जितनी कि मिलनी

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

चाहिए। उन में इजाफा किया जाना चाहिए? आज हमें सरकार को कहना चाहिए उन लोगों को ज्यादा कैसिलिटीज दी जायें और उनपर ज्यादा कपया खर्च किया जाये। आज सब से पहली जरूरत वहां रिलीफ पहुंचाने, लोगों और मवेशियों के लिए खाने का इन्तजाम करने और दूसरी सहूलियतें मुहैया करने की है। यह तो नहीं होना चाहिए कि भले ही वहां लोग भूखो मरें, रिलीफ का इन्तजाम हो या न हो, हमें इस से क्या, हमें तो इलैक्शन चाहिए। लेकिन हमारे कुछ दोस्त यही बात कह रहे हैं।

अभी हमारे दोस्त, श्री मुकजी, ने कहा कहा कि सरकार के कोल्ड फीट हो गये हैं। सरकार के कोल्ड फीट नहीं हैं। अभी तक हमारे कुछ दोस्त यह कहते रहे हैं कि सरकार मिड-टर्म पोल, या स्नैप पोल, क्यों करवा रही है। इसी लिए प्राइम मिनिस्टर को चार पाच दफा कहना पडा कि स्नैप पोल नहीं हो रहा है, हम वक्त पर इलैक्शन करेंगे। हमारे ये दोस्त एक तरफ तो इलैक्शन से इतना डरते हैं, और दूसरी तरफ गुजरात में फौरी तौर पर इलैक्शन कराने के लिए कहते हैं। मुझे इन दो बातों में मूनाबिकत नजर नहीं आती है, उन में कान्ट्राडिक्शन है।

अगर हालत नार्मल हो जाये, तो वहां जितनी जल्दी इलैक्शन हो सके, वह कराया जाये। कोई नहीं चाहता है कि लोग प्रैजिडेंट्स रूल में व्यूरोक्रेसी के नीचे दबे रहे। हम चाहते हैं कि प्रैजिडेंट्स रूल को जल्दी से जल्दी हटाया जाये। लेकिन इस वक्त वहां हालात नार्मल नहीं हैं। सब से पहले तो वहां लोगों की इकानॉमिक कन्डीशन को इम्प्रूव करना चाहिए और उन्हें रोटी, कपडा, मकान और दूसरी जरूरी चीजें मिलनी चाहिए। अगर यह सब कुछ उन को न मिल पाये, तो क्या वे इलैक्शन को चाटेंगे? इस वक्त वहां जो हालत है, उस में व्यूरोक्रेसी की जगह अगर कोई और चार आठवीं आ जायें, तो वे क्या कर

पावेंगे? हम चाहते हैं कि गुजरात में चुने हुए लोग एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को हाथ में लें। हम अभी चुने हुए लोग हैं। इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि हम ज्यादा इन्तजाम कर सकते हैं, हम लोगों की मुश्किलत और समस्याओं को ज्यादा अच्छी तरह समझ सकते हैं और उन के लिए आवाज उठा सकते हैं। लेकिन सब इन्तजाम करने के लिए, इलैक्शन ठीक तरह से कराने के लिए हालात को नार्मल बनाने की जरूरत है।

प्रैजिडेंट्स रूल की एक्सटेंशन इसी मजबूरी में की गई है। यह बात कठमन नहीं है कि हम ब्वाह-मब्वाह उस को छ महीने के लिए एक्सटेंड कर रहे हैं। हम हमेशा उन की मुखालिफत करते रहे हैं और आज भी हम उस के हक में नहीं हैं। मैं चाहता हू कि सरकार इन छ महीनों में ज्यादा कपया बकफ कर के और रिलीफ के काम को नेच कर के हालात को नार्मल बना दे, ताकि उस के बाद प्रैजिडेंट्स रूल को एक्सटेंड करने की वजह जवाब न रहे।

मैं इस मोशन को सपोर्ट करता हू।

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (शाजपुर) : सभापति महोदय, गुजरात राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि और छ महीने के लिए बढ़ाने का जो प्रस्ताव रखा गया है, मैं उस का विरोध करता हू। ऐसा नहीं है कि यह अवधि बढ़ाने का प्रावधान सविधान में नहीं है। फिन्नु सविधान का अनुच्छेद 356 केवल असाधारण स्थिति में काम लाने की दृष्टि से है। वह एक इमरजेंन्सी प्राविधान है। किसी राज्य में राष्ट्रपति शासन तब लागू किया जाता है, जब वहां सविधान के मूनाबिक काम करना कठिन हो गया हो, या बाहरी आक्रमण के कारण आन्तरिक सुरक्षा को खतरा हो।

फिन्नु गृह मंत्री महोदय ने यह बताने की कोशिश नहीं की है कि गुजरात में कौन सा संवैधानिक संकट या आन्तरिक सुरक्षा

के लिए सफ़ट बड़ा हो गया था, जिस के कारण राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि छः महीने के लिए बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता पड़ी है। उन्होंने सिर्फ़ यह हवाला दिया है कि वहाँ पर अकाल है, बड़ा कठिन अकाल है, व्यापक पैमाने पर है, और कोई हजार गाँवों में है। यह बात बिल्कुल सही है, लेकिन यह अकाल का सपना कहा हुआ है—क्योंकि इस से पहले जो कदम उठाये गये, वे तो चुनाव की दृष्टि से उठाये गये। स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री कालोल में फ़र्टलाइज़र काम्प्लेक्स का शिलान्यास कर के उसे किसानों को दे आई। फिर टैको इकानोमिक सर्वे की रिपोर्ट आई कि नोट छापने के कागज का कारखाना खोलने के लिए बड़ीदा बहुत बढ़िया है।

हम को लगा कि जब यह शिलान्यास का कार्यक्रम शुरू हुआ है, तो फिर चुनाव भी दूर नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश का तौर-तरीका हमारे सामने था। “यत् यत् धूमः, तत्र तत्र वह्निः।” जब शिलान्यास का धूम दिखने लगा, तो चुनाव की वह्न ज़रूर समीप होनी, यह हम ने समझ लिया। मैं जनवरी, फ़रवरी में गुजरात गया। वहाँ की जनता के साथ बात करते हुए यही पना चला कि चुनाव नहीं कराये जायेंगे। लेकिन किसी ने भी—मैं जितने पत्रकारों से मिला, उनमें से एक ने भी यह नहीं कहा कि अकाल की वजह से चुनाव नहीं होंगे। हर पत्रकार की यही राय थी कि सत्ताधारी दल—कांग्रेस—को कोई अच्छा नेता नहीं मिल रहा है, और इस लिए वह श्री मोरारजी देसाई की पार्टी के नेता को तोड़ने की कोशिश में लगा हुआ है। यदि वे लोग उसमें सफल होते, तो शायद चुनाव हो जाते, लेकिन वे सफल नहीं हुए। किसी ने भी यह नहीं कहा कि अकाल की वजह से चुनाव नहीं होंगे। ये चुनाव जनवरी, फ़रवरी में होने चाहिए, या क्यासे जे ज्यादा मार्च के पहले हफ़्ते में होने चाहिए। लेकिन चुनाव नहीं हुए हैं।

इसके लिए अकाल का कारण बताया जा रहा है, लेकिन जैसा कि श्री मुकर्जी ने कहा है, क्या लोकतंत्र में अकाल की वजह से चुनाव टाले जाते हैं? क्या हम समझते हैं कि नौकरशाह अकाल का सामना ज्यादा अच्छे ढंग से करते हैं या वहाँ के चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि? उस क्षेत्र का कोई प्रतिनिधि वहाँ जाये, लोगों की तकलीफ़ को समझें और उसको दूर करने की कोशिश करे, विधान सभा से उसके बारे में आवाज़ उठाये, सरकार का ध्यान उस तरफ़ दिलाये और केन्द्र से अधिक राहत और सहायता की मांग करे। क्या उन लोगों से ज्यादा काम होगा, या सरकारी अधिकारियों से? श्री पीलू मोदी ने अभी पूछा कि आप किसके नोट से पढ़ रहे हैं। ये तो जायेगे नहीं, आप देखेंगे भी नहीं वहाँ से जो नोट आता है। वैसे ही वहाँ पर जो राज्यपाल बैठेगा वह भी ऐसा ही करेगा। किन्तु लोकप्रिय सरकार यदि वहाँ गठित की जाती तो अकाल का सामना अच्छे ढंग से हम करते। इसलिए चुनाव टालने के लिए अकाल का यह जो एक कारण दिया जा रहा है वह तो गले के नीचे उतरने की बात नहीं है। इसमें अच्छा सीधे, ईमानदारी में कहने कि अभी हमारी गोटी बँठी नहीं है, गोटी ठीक बैठने ही हम चुनाव करेंगे। मैं मोरारजी भाई से बिल्कुल महमत हूँ कि 6 महीने आगे बढ़ाया और अकाल जिसमें पानी का दुर्भिक्ष होता है यह बाद में और भी भयानक रूप धारण करेगा तो क्या उस समय चुनाव करेंगे? फिर मानमून आयेगा, उस समय करेंगे? मतलब यह कि यह बारह महीने के लिये गया। यानी आखिर एक दिन में जो प्रदेश का चुनाव होता है वह करके लोकप्रिय सरकार गठित करने की आवश्यकता इसलिए ज्यादा थी कि वह जो सरकार जनता नीचे लाई वह सरकार जनता का विश्वास खो चुकी थी। ऐसा नहीं कि जनता अपनी सरकार नहीं चाहती थी। वह सरकार जनता का विश्वास खो चुकी थी। इसलिए लोकतंत्र का वह तकाजा होता है कि जनता

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

का विश्वास जिस सरकार को हो ऐसी सरकार जितनी जल्दी हो सके गठित करें। इसलिए प्राविधान केवल 6 महीने का है। किन्तु आपकी जो राज्य करने की पद्धति है, दिस्टाइल आफ थोर फंक्शनिंग, वह लोकतांत्रिक ढंग की नहीं है। बिलकुल नहीं है।

श्रव ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी जी यहां आकर बैठे हैं। 1969 में भ्रान्ध के भ्रंदर जो एक बवंडर खड़ा हुआ, बार बार ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी जी को बताया गया कि तुम छोड़ दो, तुम छोड़ दो। क्यों? क्योंकि तुमको हम ऊपर लायेंगे। ऐसा मत समझिए कि छोड़ देने के बाद लायेंगे ही नहीं। किन्तु छोड़ा नहीं उन्होंने। 1972 के बाद फिर यही समस्या खड़ी हो गई। इसलिए नरसिंह राव की खड़ा किया। फिर बवंडर खड़ा हुआ। बवंडर खड़ा होते ही राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर के एनीमेटेड सस्पेंशन किया। चुनाव वगैरह नहीं कराया। फिर जब वेंगल राव की गोटी बैठ गई तब बोले कि राष्ट्रपति जी का शासन हट गया। श्रव सर्वमान्य दृष्टि से मुख्य मंत्री कोई वेंगल राव होता है या पेंगल राव होता है—इसका मतलब ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी जी समझते हैं, इसका कोई सवाल नहीं है। सवाल यह है कि लोकप्रिय सरकार गठित की गई या नहीं। यह आप देखते नहीं हैं। तो स्टाइल बहुत खराब है। यानी जिसे कहते हैं न कि बुढ़िया मर गई इसका अफसोस नहीं है, मृत्यु ने दरवाजा देख लिया है। यानी जो संविधान है, श्रव कल ही हम ने उसका पच्चीसवां वर्ष मनाया। एक को भी शर्म नहीं आई कि संविधान में 1965 ने आगे इस देश के भ्रंदर हिन्दी रखी है। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी बोले, उपराष्ट्रपति जी बोले, प्रधान मंत्री जी बोलीं और हमारे अध्यक्ष महोदय भी बोले। एक तो कम से कम हिन्दी में बोलता। मेरी मातृभाषा भी कन्नड़ है। मैं हिन्दी में बोलता हूँ। एक भी बोलता। यह संविधान का भ्रंदर है कि चारों के चारों ओर में बोले और हम

यहां मांग करते हैं कि यू०एन०प्रो० में हिन्दी हो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हिन्दी हो। यानी हिन्दी बोलने में अपने को शर्म आती है? संविधान का सम्मान उसका भ्रंदर नहीं किया जाता और हम को कहा जाता है कि संविधान का भ्रंदर करो। क्या संविधान का भ्रंदर करें? संविधान शब्दों से नहीं चलता। संविधान उसके पीछे जो भावना होती है उससे चलता है।

मैं यह क्यों बता रहा हूँ? जब आपकी गोटी बैठ जाती है, आप लोक, जनता, संविधान, धारा कुछ नहीं देखते। आपकी गोटी बैठती, बस खत्म। अभी मैं महाराष्ट्र में प्रवास कर रहा था। उस दिन मेरी जो सभा थी मैं ने पूछा कि शाम के वक्त क्यों है, रात को क्यों नहीं? बोले कि रात को यशवंतराव जी चव्हाण का भाषण होने वाला है, इसलिए आप का शाम को और रात को उनका। फिर दोपहर में यह बताया गया कि नहीं नहीं, सब दिल्ली भाग गये, कोई नहीं आयेगा। महाराष्ट्र के मुख्य मंत्री काटन सीड का क्या प्रयोग हुआ, देखने के लिए कोयम्बटूर जा रहे थे। ही वाज्रान दि बे और इधर उनका पत्ता काट दिया। यह कौन सी लोकप्रिय मांग थी? किस ने मांग की थी? किस ने कहा था? यानी एक रेस के बीच में कोई काठी को बदले, थोड़े को बदले क्या इसी तरह ने रेस हुआ करता है? यह चल क्या रहा है? ह्वाट इज दि स्टाइल आफ थोर फंक्शनिंग? क्या आपके ही भावनी हैं, हमारे नहीं हैं? सवाल यह नहीं है कि कौन व्यक्ति बैठता है। आपकी स्टाइल बता रहा हूँ कि आप चुनाव कब कराते हैं या सरकार कब बनाते हैं, कैसे बनाते हैं, यह इसका नमूना है। बिहार में बाहर की जनता मांग कर रही है, आप के लोग मांग कर रहे हैं कि गफूर को हटाओ और यहां तो किसी ने मांग नहीं की और आप ने कहा नहीं, तुम हट जाओ, दूसरा आएगा।

यह हाल काश्मीर में है। मैं उस की राजनीति से नहीं जाता आप की पोलिटिकल स्टाइल में जाता हूँ। किसी व्यक्ति के बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है। मीर कासिम को वहाँ आप की कांग्रेस का बहुमत मिला हुआ था। राज चल रहा था। इतने सालों से चल रहा था। किन्तु 25 सालों के बाद भी आप को विश्वास नहीं कि कोई प्रदेश आप अपने साथ ले जा सकते हैं। यानी आप की कल्पना यह है कि आप जो कुछ करें उस को हम स्वीकार करें। आप ने कहा कि शेख अब्दुल्ला बहुत अच्छा है, देश भक्त है, 1953 में जब यह भ्रामा था उस समय सब लोगों ने ताली बजायी। फिर आप ने कहा कि यह अच्छा नहीं है, इस को जेल में बन्द करते हैं। तब हम ने ताली बजायी। वह दस साल जेल में बन्द रहा, तब हम ने ताली बजायी। अब कम से कम आप यह कहते कि जो बड़ा गंभीर आरोप उस पर आप ने किया था, उस से वह बरी हो गया, उस को आप एग्जोनरेट में मान लेता। आप यह कहते कि हम को इस बात का शक हुआ था किन्तु कोर्ट ने उस को बरी कर दिया, अब उस पर कोई कलंक नहीं है, हमारे मन में जो आई थी भावना वह गलत थी, यह बताते। लेकिन नहीं, सब ऊपर ऊपर चलता है। वह देशभक्त है यह हम नहीं जानते, वह देशद्रोही है यह हम नहीं जानते, यह फिर अच्छा हो गया यह हम नहीं जानते। और मीर कासिम को भी पता नहीं, उस के सिर पर जा कर पटक दिया। वह विधान सभा का सदस्य नहीं, चारों जो मंत्री बने हैं चारों विधान सभा के सदस्य नहीं हैं। जनता को पता नहीं

है। जनता की मांग नहीं है। वहाँ की कांग्रेस पार्टी क्या कहती है यह पता नहीं है। और यह शेख अब्दुल्ला जो हैं यह भी अभी कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य नहीं हैं। उन्होंने अधिकार में आते ही एक कहानी सुनाई—मनि स्पनिंग मशीन 25 पैसे में, यह बम्बई का कोई हाकर आवाज लगा रहा था कि पैसा कमाने का यत्न चाहिए तो यह लो सफ़ेद टोपी—चार आने की। हम से पता चलता है कि शेख अब्दुल्ला अभी 25 वर्ष पीछे ही है। वह चार आने की टोपी 25 साल पहले मिलती थी, आज नहीं मिलती है। आज इतनी सस्ती नहीं है वह। वह चार आने वाली बात तो 25 साल पहले की थी। लेकिन वह अभी वहीं है। तो जो आप का मजाक उड़ाता है जो आप की पार्टी का नहीं है, जनता ने उस को कहा नहीं है, जनता ने उस को चुना नहीं है ऐसे आदमी को घोषणा यह कौन सा लोकतंत्र है? लोकतंत्र की दुहाई आप देते हैं, दुनिया के अन्दर हुआ कहीं यह? कौन से लोकतंत्र में हुआ? वह कांग्रेस में शामिल हो जाय, चुनाव में खड़ा हो जाए, जीत जाय, बहुमत में आए, सरकार बनाए। कोई हमें आपत्ति नहीं है। कौन व्यक्ति आता है कोई यह सवाल है नहीं। किस ढंग से राज चलता है यह महत्व का सवाल है। किन्तु आप का जो सारा व्यवहार है न, वह सारा व्यवहार गोटी बिठाने का व्यवहार है। गुजरात में आप की गोटी बैठी नहीं। स्नैप पोल के बारे में भी प्रधान मंत्री ने बहुत चालाकी से बताने की कोशिश की। किन्तु यह स्नैप पोल, नरौरा कैम्प, शिबिर, गुप्त शिबिर यह सब क्या है? बार बार लोक

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

सभा में श्रीर राज्य सभा में पूछते हैं  
तो क्यों नहीं बताते कि एलेक्संस शैल जी  
हेल्थ ऐज पर मेड्यूल इन 1976। यह  
क्यों नहीं कहा ? ऐसा केटैगोरिकल  
रिप्लाइं आज जैसे दिया, यह क्यों नहीं दिया ?  
क्यों कि चुनाव में हार के बाद हार, हार  
के बाद हार जब होती गई तो डर गए, बोले  
कि चुनाव ही नहीं चाहिए और मुझे श्रीर  
डर होने लगा कि भ्रकाल की वजह से यदि  
हम ने हां कहा, चुनाव नहीं किया तो मेरे  
मिद मुखर्जी ने जैसे कहा कि पहले ही  
पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे लोग 22 करोड़ से  
27 करोड़ हो गए हैं और नये बजट  
से बढ़ कर और आगे आ जाएंगे तो कहेंगे  
कि चुनाव की जरूरत ही नहीं है, चुनाव  
लक्षरी है क्या चुनाव कराना है?  
आखिर आप सब लोगों का तो भरोसा  
एक व्यक्ति के ऊपर है ही, उसी व्यक्ति  
के आधार पर सब चलता है। अब  
वह व्यक्ति क्या करेगा आप लोगों को  
पता नहीं है। आगे थुंड लगाया तो गणपति,  
पीछे दुम लगाई तो मादति। आप को भी  
पता नहीं है कि कौन क्या चीज है। आप  
शपथ लेते हैं और फिर आंख फेर कर देखते  
रहते हैं कि क्या हो रहा है ? तो यह  
कोई लोकतंत्र का तरीका नहीं है। इसलिए  
गुजरात में आप संविधान की धारा का आधार  
से कर यह न करें, वह धारा है, किन्तु  
एमजेंसी प्राविजन है, एमजेंसी प्राविजन का  
यह दुरुपयोग है। राज्यपाल पद का दुरुप-  
योग आप से किया है, संविधान की धारा  
कचदुरुपयोग किया है। शब्द से नहीं भाव से  
लोकतंत्र मजबूत और बलवान होता है।  
आप की इस करनी से लोक तंत्र मजबूत

नहीं होगा। इसलिए यह 6 महीने  
आगे बढ़ाने का जो प्रस्ताव माया है  
इसका मैं विरोध करता हूँ।

डा० कंलास (बम्बई दक्षिण): सभापति  
जी, मैं जब जगन्नाथ राव जोशी जी को  
सुन रहा था तो मुझे ऐसा लगा कि शायद  
चौपाटी पर किसी नेता का भाषण हो रहा  
है न कि लोक सभा में। यह बड़ा दुर्भाग्य  
है। मैं तो जगन्नाथ राव जी के प्रति इतनी  
भक्ति श्रद्धा और सद्भावना रखता था कि  
वह हमेशा ठीक बोलते हैं, लेकिन आज  
शायद वह शेख अब्दुल्ला से इतने नाराज  
हो गए हैं कि उस का बहाना ले कर या  
मोरारजी भाई की खुशामद करने के लिए  
उन्होंने ऐसा वातावरण राजनीति का  
यहां पर बना दिया कि जिसकी मुझे उन से  
ऐसी आशा नहीं थी। मैंने मोरारजी भाई  
की कृपा से राजनीति में थोड़ी बहुत कुछ  
सेवा की है। उन के प्रति मेरी बड़ी श्रद्धा  
और भक्ति भी है और सदा मैं उन की तरफ  
देखा करता हूँ। उन के विचारों पर गौर  
किया करता हूँ। लेकिन आज मुझे कुछ  
ऐसा लगने लगा कि मोरार जी भाई अपने  
उस स्तर से नीचे कैसे जा रहे हैं जिस स्तर पर  
मैंने उन को आंक रखा है मैंने उन को  
बिठा रखा है। मेरे जैसा प्रौढ़ व्यक्ति  
उन के ऐसे विचारों से उन के प्रति श्रद्धा और  
भक्ति कम नहीं करेगा, माननीय सदस्य श्री  
चावड़ा चाहें कम कर दें। यह मैं देख  
सकता हूँ और साफ समझ सकता हूँ, क्यों  
कि उन को सब से ज्यादा चिढ़ लग रही  
है। मोरारजी भाई सुन रहे हैं। वह  
जानते हैं कि कंलास क्या बोल रहा है

किस भावना से बोल रहा है। मोरारजी भाई के दिल और दिमाग में जनता के लिए तड़पन है। मोरारजी भाई ने मैं यह आशा करना था कि वे इस तरह के सत्याग्रह का आवाहन देंगे कि अगर स्केअरमिटी के लिए जो आप ने 76 करोड़ रुपया दिया है वह कम है यह 176 करोड़ रुपया देना होगा नहीं तो मैं सत्याग्रह करूंगा। सरकार ने माढ़े छ लाख आदमियों को काम दिया है यह कम है। 13 लाख आदमियों को काम दिया जाना था सरकार ने 20 हजार जानवरों को ही तथा दक्षिण गुजरात भेजा है जब कि एक लाख जानवरों का भेजना चाहिए, इसलिए मैं सत्याग्रह करूंगा। अधिभारी ठीक काम नहीं कर रहे हैं, यह नाम, वह काम किया जाना चाहिए। नहीं किया गया तो मैं सत्याग्रह करूंगा। आज जब गुजरात में इतनी तड़प है, सारा एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन रिलीफ वर्क में पूरी तरह लगा हुआ है। करोड़ों रुपया रोज खर्च किया जा रहा है। साढ़े छ लाख आदमियों को काम दिया जा रहा है और वह तकलीफें मई और जून में क्या होने जाने वाली हैं कि सारे गुजरात में हाहाकार मचनेवाला है। ऐसे समय में चुनाव न कराने की राजनीति की आखों से देखना या जो भी काग्रेस कहे उस के विरोध में बोलना—यह कहा तक उचित है। खास कर श्री मोरार जी भाई के लिए पीलू मोदी तो इस प्रकार की भावना सदा व्यक्त करते रहते हैं वह मैं समझ सकता हूँ, क्योंकि वे हर प्रश्न को मजाक में लिया करते हैं। कभी भी किसी मौके पर वे जिम्मेदारान्तराती के से नहीं बोलते। लेकिन मोरारजी भाई से मुझे ऐसी आशा नहीं थी। प्रोफेसर मुखर्जी भी खड़े इसलिए हुए कि वे प्रधान मंत्री से नाराज हैं और मजाक उमका करने लगे। आज सुबह जब प्रधान मंत्री जी ने डेमोक्रेटिक इंस्टीट्यूशन और इलेक्शन की बात कही, तो यह बड़ा दुःखी है कि प्रो० हीरेन मुखर्जी जैसे

अनुभवी और पुराने सदस्य ने प्रधान मंत्री के कथन को इस भावना से नहीं सोचा कि वे किस भावना में और किस दृष्टिकोण से उस विषय पर प्रकाश डाल रही थी। उनके शब्दों को ठीक कान्टेक्म में न समझ कर, उसे ताड़-मरोड़ कर प्रो० मुखर्जी प्रधान मंत्री का मजाक बना रहे थे।

आज प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह स्पष्ट रूप से कहा कि डेमोक्रेसी तो हमारे खून में है। हम लोक सभा और विधान सभा को कायम रखना चाहते हैं। आप को याद होगा, महापति जी, जब जिम्मान भाई की मिनिस्ट्री को तोड़ने की मांग आई थी, काग्रेस नेताओं ने उम्मी बकन उम आवाज को गुना। मोरारजी भाई का माग पर ध्यान दिया और मंत्री मण्डल का बरखास्त कर दिया। लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार ने निर्णय यह दिया कि सस्पेंडेड एनीमेशन, लेकिन यहाँ लोक सभा में, चावड़ा साहब जो आज यहाँ बैठे भी हैं, उन्होंने उम का विरोध किया था। उन्होंने कहा था कि प्रेजिडेण्ट रूल चाहिए न कि सस्पेंडेड एसेम्बली। अगर उम बकन प्रधान मंत्री जी की सस्पेंडेड एनीमेशन का निर्णय मोरारजी भाई तथा चावड़ा मान लेते तो आज हमें कहना नहीं पड़ता कि वहाँ कोई पीपुलर मिनिस्ट्री नहीं है। उस समय यहाँ पर चावड़ा साहब ने जो भाषण दिया था, उस में सस्पेंडेड एनीमेशन का विरोध किया था और कहा था कि उस मिनिस्ट्री को बरखास्त करो और प्रेजिडेण्ट रूल लागू करो। इस लिए मेरा प्रार्थना है कि मोरारजी भाई इसे या हर चीज को राजनीति की दृष्टि से न देखें।

मुझे मोरारजी भाई से यह आशा थी और भावसंकर जी से यह आशा करता हूँ कि अगर वह पर स्केअरमिटी की जो स्थिति है और जैसा आप अपनी आँखों से देख रहे हैं तो उन दोनों को तो यह कहना चाहिए कि इलेक्शन अग्रेस-मई में अगर नहीं कर सकते

[डा० कंलास]

तो नवम्बर-दिसम्बर में इलैकशन अवश्य होने चाहिए। जैसा माननीय श्री डी० डी० देसाई साहब ने कहा है—इस समय गुजरात में इस लिए इलैकशन नहीं कर सकेंगे क्योंकि सरकार की सारी मशीनरी रिलीफ वर्क में लगी हुई है—विरोधी पक्ष को तो कहना चाहिए कि जितना रुपया इलैकशन पर खर्च होगा, उम रुपये को लोगों के खाने-पीने, जानवरो के खिलाने-पिलाने पर खर्च करो, जिस से कि इस संकट का सामना किया जा सके न कि इलैकशन पर आज हमारे देसाई साहब ने यह भी कहा है कि पचायतो के इलैकशन किये जाये, अगर जैनरल इलैकशन कराने में अडचन है। मैं यह नहीं मानता क्योंकि नीचे के स्तर पर तमाम लोग काम में लगे हुए हैं उन्हें आज डिस्टर्ब नहीं करना चाहिए। यह पूर्णतया मानवता का प्रश्न है, यह राजनीति का प्रश्न नहीं है—इसलिए विरोधी पक्ष को गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए।

देश में विरोध पक्ष मजबूत बने, हमें रिप्लेस कर सके तो हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं होगा, लेकिन दुख यह है कि वे इस प्रकार के कार्य करते हैं जिस में केवल कांग्रेस का विरोध हो पर जनता के हित में बोलें तथा सोचें, पर जनता को भूल जाते हैं। यही कारण है कि विरोधी पक्ष मजबूत नहीं हो पा रहा है। आज सरकार जो करोड़ों रुपया वहाँ राहत कार्यों के लिए खर्च कर रही है, क्या आप उम को बन्द करवाना चाहते हैं—यह विचारधारा ठीक नहीं है। यह भाग कि चुनाव हो जनता विरोधी मांग है।

सभापति जी, अभी हमारे जगन्नाथ राव जी जोशी ने हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी की चर्चा की। यह ठीक है कि जो हिन्दी में अपने विचार व्यक्त कर सकते हैं उन्हें हिन्दी में बोलना चाहिए, लेकिन सभी लोग वहाँ हिन्दी नहीं समझ सकते थे, इसी लिए

चारों भाषण अंग्रेजी में हुए। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं कि बोलने वाले हिन्दी पसंद नहीं करते।

अन्त में, मुझे यही निवेदन करना है कि हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इस के लिए जो कारण बरलाये हैं, वे हमारी समझ में आते हैं, लेकिन इन कारणों को आप को मिटाना होगा, जनता की समस्याओं को हल करना होगा। वहाँ पर सितम्बर में इलैकशन हो सके तो सितम्बर में, अथवा नवम्बर या दिसम्बर में अवश्य इलैकशन बगने चाहिए, क्योंकि ब्यूरोक्रेसी की परकाय के मुकाबले पापुलर सरकार हमेशा जनता के लिए अच्छी होती है।

इन शब्दों के साथ, सभापति जी, मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया।

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR** (Ahmedabad): I am rising to oppose this totally unjust, improper and unnecessary resolution which the Home Minister has had the temerity to bring before this august and honourable House

The Deputy Speaker has ruled on my point of order, and it is not for me to challenge his observations and I accept the ruling. But I want the House to know what the Deputy-Speaker said while giving his guidance, that although in terms of technicality the Government were very much on the right ground, in terms of constitutional conventions and propriety the Government were behaving in a manner in which they ought not to behave.



Why do I say that this resolution is totally unjust and improper? Because its motivation and foundation bring out the outright dishonesty and the utter political selfishness of this government. The Home Minister is on a very feeble, unsure and awkward ground. Legally he may be right. Indeed, perhaps he is right. Technically he is perhaps right. But democracies do not go by more technicalities and correctness in terms of law on the paper. Indeed, if there is any meaning to democracy, about which incidentally the leaders of our Republic tried to preach us yesterday and some of them even to-day, then those democracies have meanings only if they are followed not only in letter but both in letter as well as in spirit. It is from that larger angle and not from any partisanship that I am describing this resolution as utterly unjust and improper. Therefore, I say that in terms of constitutional propriety and in terms of political morality, the Home Minister and the Government of India are absolutely wrong in coming before this House with a kind of resolution that Shri Brahmananda Reddyji has chosen to come here to-day.

What is the Government's explanation, defence and justification for continuance of the President's rule? Indeed, it was amazing and extraordinary that throughout the entire length and breadth of his otherwise good statement, for it did mention about scarcity, the Home Minister gave no reasons for the continuance of President's rule in Gujarat, and in fact, the statement says very little and practically nothing as to why the President's rule needs to be continued in Gujarat. What are the obstacles? That is why I ask: did the Election Commission say, 'Don't have the elections.'? Did the Gujarat administration say, 'Don't have the elections.'? Did the Governor advise you, 'Don't have the elections.'? Or did the Governor's adviser tell you, 'Don't have the elections.'? Did the Chief

Secretary of the Government of Gujarat and his associates in the Sachivalaya at Gandhinagar advise you? Then, who advised you?....

AN HON. MEMBER: Not necessary.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Therefore, the only people who advised them are themselves and the champions of their own narrow, political, selfish and party interests. It is because they want somehow and anyhow to continue to be in power not only in Gujarat but in all States, if they can help it and in the whole country and for all times, if they can help it. Yet, they want to go on telling us about democracy and giving us lessons on the democratic constitution!

Therefore, I want to say that this resolution is absolutely foundationless and meaningless because it hits at the very basis of the democratic temper and democratic practices which have been so well built into our constitution.

I have already said on September 7 last year when I started my speech in Gujarat, and I wish I could do that to-day also, I wish all of us could speak in our languages or at least in those languages which have been recognised in the Constitution. But, unfortunately, the time is limited and the interpretation facilities are not also available. Therefore, I am constrained to speak in a language which may be understood by most of my esteemed colleagues of this House. I want to tell this and I repeated this last time also, that Gujarat contains people who are Gujarati-speaking Indians. Not Gujarati speaking Gujaratis, but Gujarati speaking Indians! That does not mean, however, that whatever is legitimate and just for solving the problems of Gujarat should necessarily be delayed in terms of various projects in Gujarat. The Centre's attitude towards Gujarat

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

seems to be one of dogged and deliberately casual treatment in the matter.

Shri Morarjibhai, an esteemed honourable Member of this House and one of the leaders of the country, in his opening speech said that the Centre wants to teach a lesson to the people of Gujarat, that they want to punish the people of Gujarat. With all respect to Morarjibhai, and I don't think he meant it that way, let me say straightaway that it is not for them to teach a lesson. Who are they to punish or teach us? It is the people of Gujarat who have taught a lesson in the sense that by their determined attack against the corrupt Government and against the discredited Assembly and Administration they saw to it that the Government was out and the Assembly was dissolved. It was as a result of last year's extraordinary popular upsurge. But these lessons have not gone home with the establishment. But they will repent for it one day. When we said we do not want a corrupt Government, we did not say we wanted President's rule. We wanted a better Government, a less-corrupt Government, and let me tell you this. In any democracy, much more so, in a democratic country like ours, the people have to involve themselves in the parliamentary practice and functioning and the elections do provide an opportunity for them to get educated in democratic functioning and methods. Why don't you do that? Under what pretext can you deny that opportunity to Gujarat? This is the question which I would ask.

I am speaking from my heart which feels in anguish for the people of Gujarat, indeed, for the people of India; I am sure, those who believe in democracy will readily agree with me that this is not the way to function in a democracy. Now the Prime Minister of India Shrimati Indira Gandhi continuously tells us, she has

nothing against the people of Gujarat. And yet in the President's Address there is absolutely no mention about Gujarat. The Prime Minister did not even think it necessary to reply in her speech today to the points some of us made about this exclusion of Gujarat from the President's Address. Is that the Prime Minister's interest in Gujarat? Is that her care for the people of Gujarat?

Gujarat is not coming under President's rule for the first time. I can tell you this that since 1950, since the beginning of our Constitution, we have had 36 cases of President's rule being promulgated in various States of the country. Gujarat has had this share for a second time now. On June 20, 1951, Punjab was brought under President's rule. Since then 36 cases to date are there of President's rule having been clamped down and Governors and Advisers being brought in. I want to ask: Does the Government of India want Gujarat to go the same way as Kerala and Orissa, that is to say, you want to clamp President's rule again and again,—to teach a lesson to the people? Do you want the corrupt government? To-day, the Prime Minister was saying that she was against corruption. The people in Gujarat are against corruption. Then she should have welcomed that. But, then, the Home Minister is also shifting his grounds of 6th February, this very month and he now tells us that the grounds are—scarcity and drought. Earlier he had mentioned law and order. He has not mentioned law and order to-day. Was it difficult or so helpless then? It is indeed not difficult. It is quite normal. Therefore, the whole point is this. The Congress wants to continue enjoying powers. I ask: why? If they want to continue enjoying powers, are they really going to have that? They have got a new ad hoc committee with as many as 68 people. Practically anybody who wants to be included is there. But, I am sorry my hon. friend, Shri Natwarlal Patel who should have been there is not there. I am

sorty for it. He is so energetic and his name should have been there. (*Interruptions*). I wish he were there. You have 68 members in the ad hoc committee. Anyway, my main point and question are: Can free and periodic elections, popular rule, people's rights, constitutional compulsions be made and compelled to pay homage first to Congress Party's convenience and calculations?

It is amazing, therefore, that President's Rule is being continued. It is of course an occasional medicine, but it cannot be a daily bread. And that is why Dr. Ambedkar provided for the President's Rule as a temporary measure. It has to be treated more or less as a "dead-letter."

Officialdom is increasing under the President's Rule. That is our complaint. I have nothing to say against the Governor, his advisers and other senior officials. The entire administration, by and large, have acquitted themselves very well and efficiently. If you want efficiency but not the popular government, then, of course, I have nothing to say. We want efficiency coupled with a popular Government. As Prof. Mukerjee said, good government can never be a substitute for self-government. Officialdom and bureaucracy cannot be allowed to continue for a long time. If scarcity and drought are the reasons, then I ask: why not Government of India give more funds? Why not put off or postpone the recommendations of the Sixth Finance Commission?

I would end with one warning—I am not taking more of the time because you, Mr. Chairman, are getting impatient—when President's Rule is in Gujarat, is it not in Parliament which is a national forum where we can voice our complaints and protests? Surely, the Chair should have been liberal to us, especially, to the Gujarat Members. We are not permitted to raise the issues which bother us. Because you are ringing the bell, I have no time to highlight the difficulties which the people of Gujarat are facing. But if we cannot raise here all

kinds of problems and distresses of labourers, workers—women and children—adivasis, harijans, workers of all kinds, middle class people who are extensively in difficulty in Gujarat, where should they go? Should they go to officials? Will they listen to them? They can only go to the popular Government and M.L.As. But, that is absent. So, they came to us, M.Ps. And, we must voice their problems. This morning I wanted to raise a serious question about the dislocation of the railway movement between Ahmedabad and Bombay, because of a serious damage to one railway bridge but, the Chair told me that I cannot raise this matter here. I cannot raise it in the Committee. Then where else can we raise such matters when people are agitated? (*Interruptions*). Why are you shouting in a foolish way? I am sorry to say so. I am talking very seriously. We will continue to face the problems in Gujarat with anger and feelings. Because the challenge has been thrown to us, I am sure that the people of Gujarat, men and women, young people of Gujarat, who believe in democracy, will accept this challenge and will compel this Government to have free elections as early as possible so that Gujarat will have yet another spell of popular rule. That is the only way to celebrate the silver jubilee of our Constitution, and not just by hollow and hypocritical words from the leaders!

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY): Sir, when I began my introductory remarks in moving this Resolution, some points of order were raised and I have said that under Art. 356, either clause (1) or clause (2), it is not necessary at the time of extension to consult the local administration or the Governor and then bring the Resolution before this House.

Some of my hon. friends opposite must know and our leader, Shri Morarjibhai who has vast experience in the State and elsewhere knows fully well that when a decision has to be taken under Art. 356(1), it is consi-

[Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy] dered by the Cabinet in a serious way and unless they exercise their judgement and come to the conclusion that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, then alone, a Proclamation, if it becomes necessary, is issued and, in the interests of the people of the State to extend the life of the Proclamation by either six months or one year, as the case may be. Certainly, it is not as if a political decision is taken. The matter is considered and it is the Home Ministry that has to advise the President. Naturally, they are in touch with the situation in the State and, therefore, taking an overall view of the matter the Government through the Home Ministry comes before both the Houses of Parliament to pass the Resolution for continuance in force of the Proclamation in respect of Gujarat. If anybody thinks these decisions are taken in a casual manner or in a different manner, it would be very wrong and, I suppose, as I have already said, Shri Morarji who had occasions to take decisions in several States knows fully well the discussion that goes into the matter before a decision is taken. I only wanted to say this because Prof. Mukherjee and some others have also said that decisions are taken as if in a casual manner.

Another thing which is usually said is that the Government is afraid of elections and that we are developing cold feet. These are, in my opinion, very feeble arguments. After all, in a Parliamentary democracy where we are going for elections, bye-elections and general elections and elections of various types it is not as if anybody is afraid of elections, whichever party may wish to have political life in this country. Therefore, I do not want to go into it at length and indulge in the same kind of feeble and cheap arguments that are advanced. After all there were occasions even in Gujarat, as has been pointed out by one of my friends, wherein in certain situa-

tions, when the drought was affecting a particular area even the bye-elections were postponed for a year. So, situations do arise. For instance, when rumours were being published in sections of the Press that there will be a snap poll—Of course, Prime Minister had said today and yesterday also that she never said that there will be a snap poll; and all the same rumours were getting floated everyone of the Opposition parties got perturbed as to why elections now. Therefore, my submission to you is: To say that the Congress is afraid of facing the people, I mean, would be far from truth and would be very wrong. Congress has fought elections umpteen times and is prepared to fight elections in future when the time comes. One thing with which I disagree from Morarji is when he said that this Government wants to punish the people of Gujarat. I take strong exception to that. We have the least idea or the least intention of even offending the people of Gujarat. We want to help them when they are in great distress and when millions of people are suffering. Sir, it is our duty to reach assistance to the people in time and in sufficient measure. Sir, in this country, in a parliamentary democracy, elections do come and go. But the drought which has attacked Gujarat is a very unprecedented one. Even Shri Morarji Desai and others have agreed that this is unprecedented. In some areas there have been successive droughts during the last three years. Therefore, we should not take it as if it is an ordinary case, of drought, where a certain area in a certain district is under drought. It is a question of practically the whole State being under drought. Sixteen out of nineteen districts are under the grip of famine in the State. So, is it not discretionary or wise to...

**SHRI K. S. CHAVDA:** There is no justification for not holding the municipal elections.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** Even in regard to municipal or panchayat elections, it is not a question of selective individuals going to vote. It

is a question of the involvement of the entire people of Gujarat. Leave alone that matter.

My submission is, whether, in the present circumstances when the entire administration is geared up to meet the drought situation, when everybody including leaders of all political parties should be involved in affording relief to the people of Gujarat, to give them assistance, to go to them, reach them, talk to them and then see how the administration is functioning and how it is reacting to the wishes of the people, whether they are meeting the needs of the people sufficiently or not, it is advisable to involve people in elections and in a lot of huffabaloo involved in this affair. After all, elections will certainly come. Certainly people of Gujarat. (Interruptions)

SHRI NOORUL HUDA (Cachar):  
This is a mockery of democracy (Interruptions).

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:  
I am reminded of a story. When wrestlers fight everytime one person is defeated and is brought to the ground, the other will say 'come on'. This kind of story goes on. These small opposition parties go on threatening like that. They try to irritate. We are a fairly mature people. We will not be irritated by these remarks. Sometimes we also enjoy what you say in a funny way.

My submission is, we have to see to the interests of the people of Gujarat at this present juncture. That is the main point. It is not a question of the election fortunes of this party or that party. People will decide in future when the elections come, when they get a chance. The point is, at this point of time what is the decision that Government should take when six and a half lakh people are presently involved and when they are at work at various places. In fact more people

may have to go. Shri Morarji Desai himself has said that by May-June this year, things will get worse; conditions will be more difficult. Even water may not be available. This is the time when not only the entire administration but the leaders of all political parties and people at the district taluk, block and village levels all of them, will have also to involve themselves and work unitedly to relieve the sufferings of the people. Therefore when this is the position, it is natural and it is advisable for us to think that after all elections can be put off for some time. Elections come and go. But, droughts do not come every year. There may be drought in one portion of the State, or in one portion of the country. This is usual for a big country like ours and we have also seen it by experience. But here is a case where practically the whole State is under severe drought conditions and the entire machinery has to be geared to tackle the situation. I need not go into details and waste your time.

18 hrs.

I am not claiming that good government is a substitute for popular government. I am glad that even in the Consultative Committee of MPs for Gujarat hon. members, both of the Opposition and of the Congress had a word of praise for the way the administration had under difficult conditions tried to tackle the situation effectively and efficiently. I am glad that Shri Morarji Desai had not a harsh word to say.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: If I did not say that, it did not mean that I have not. This administration cannot do it

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:  
You only said that the administration, however good it may be will not have the necessary urge....

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: That was what I was saying

[Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy]

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: ...of a popular government. I certainly see that. But to say as Shri Piloo Mody has done that this administration cannot take policy decisions is not correct. He wants to treat it as if it is a caretaker government. It is not so. That administration has taken vital decisions so far as drought and scarcity relief is concerned. I need not go into the details just now. They have taken many policy decisions for reaching help to the needy in the concerned areas either with regard to many schemes or others. I have told you what they did with regard to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: During President's rule the condition has become worse.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Therefore, my submission to the House is that you must look at it from that point of view. Just now is not the time to disturb or dislocate the administration which is doing good work to alleviate the sufferings of the people

A few points have been raised. It is not correct to say, as Shri Piloo Mody did, that Rs. 3 are not given. It has also not been said by any member in the Consultative Committee that Rs. 3 have not been given. But in some places where they do less work probably they will get something less.

I would also submit that some decisions have been taken. I am glad that the Gujarat administration has taken a decision that from March onwards the quantity of 8 kgs. given will be improved to 10 kgs.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Per head per week?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: The 8 kgs. which are being given will be improved to 10 kgs.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: What about others? They are getting less. Those who are labourers are getting 8 kgs., but all others are getting only 2 kgs.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: No. In many places, I think others are also getting more than 4 kgs.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: No, no.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: So far as labourers are concerned, whoever is working, the quantity of 8 kgs. has been improved to 10 kgs. I certainly congratulate the administration and I wish to tell them that these 10 kgs. should reach the labourers.

Dr. Mehta raised the question of acceptance of the Sen Committee recommendations. I wish to submit on this occasion that the Gujarat Government had appointed a committee under the chairmanship of one Shri Desai to look into the pay scales etc. of government servants, but this did not include the teachers. Shri Sen has given his report. It is under study by the Gujarat Government.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: The professors and teachers have given an ultimatum that if nothing happens by 1st March, they will boycott examinations. Only two days are left now.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I wish to submit to the House that the administration in Gujarat, the Governor and his Advisers, have taken a decision to announce the acceptance of the recommendations of the Sen Committee and probably announcement will issue in a day or two. Therefore, I should earnestly request all shades of opinion in this House to view the problem in its proper perspective and not to be merely carried away by political motivations.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

months with effect from 11th March, 1975."

"That this House approves the continuation in force of the Proclamation, dated 9th February, 1974 in respect of Gujarat issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six

The motion was adopted.

18.06 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, February 28, 1975/Phalguna 9, 1896 (Saka).