

Lal Gupta, somebody else may be put. These amendments are before the House. I now put amendments of Mr. Abdul Ghani Dar to the vote of the House.

श्री अब्दु गनी डार (गुडगांव) : मैं अपने अमंडमेंट वापस लेता हूँ। मंत्री महोदय को स्त्री जाति से कोई मोहब्बत नहीं है। स्त्री जाति सब से पहले है, लेकिन यह नहीं माने। विनाशकाले विपरित बुद्धिः।

: [श्री عبدالغنی ڈار (گڈگاؤں) :

میں اپنی املذمہت واپس لیتا ہوں۔  
ملذمہت مہودے کو استری جاتی سے  
کوئی محبت نہیں ہے۔ استری  
جاتی سے پہلے ہے۔ لیکن یہ  
نہیں مانے۔ زناہ کالے وجہیت  
بدھو۔ !

*Amendments Nos. 1 to 4 were, by leave, withdrawn*

MR. SPEAKER: Now, I put the motion to the vote of the House. The question is:

(i) That in the motion for concurrence in the recommendation of Rajya Sabha for reference of the Foreign Marriage Bill, 1963 to a Joint Committee moved in Lok Sabha on the 13th August, 1968, the following amendments be made:—

(a) for 'Shri C. M. Krishna' substitute 'Shri S. M. Krishna'.

(b) for 'Shri Lakhani Lal Kapoor' substitute 'Shri Lakhani Lal Gupta'; and

(ii) that the said motion for concurrence in the recommendation of Rajya Sabha for reference of the Foreign Marriage Bill, 1963 to a Joint Committee, as amended be adopted."

*The motion was adopted.*

12-39 HRS.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION  
RE. PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO PUNJAB; AND

21-7LSD/68

PUNJAB STATE LEGISLATURE  
(DELEGATION OF POWERS)  
BILL

MR. SPEAKER: Now, we take up Punjab. This is a very important thing that is coming up before the House. Now, in order that you may have some extra time, I am putting both the things together, the Statutory Resolution and the Punjab State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill. The voting will have to be done separately. But you can discuss them together so that you get a little more time instead of 2 or 3 minutes for each thing separately.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): What is the total time allotted?

MR. SPEAKER: 3 hours. I don't mind; it is an important thing.

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOEL (Chandigarh): I want to make a submission. You have decided to take items 17 and 18 together. My submission in this behalf is that they are two separate items and in the case of the other States, we had dealt with them separately. Because they had been appearing separately and on different dates, what the Parties have done is that they have allotted different members—one would speak on Proclamation and the other would speak on Delegation of Powers Bill.....

MR. SPEAKER: I agree. That is why, I suggested this. Whatever time is allotted to a party, they can have two members. I have no objection. Within the time allotted, they can have two members—one may speak for 10 minutes and other 8 minutes or something like that.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE (Kolaba): I am rising on a point of procedure. If these two items are taken together, that would mean that there would be two motions before the House—one will be the Statutory Resolution, namely, item 17, and the other, the motion regarding Delegation of Powers, i.e., item 18. The Rules of Procedure do not allow two motions to be discussed at one and the same time.

[Mr. Speaker.]

MR. SPEAKER: We can have general discussion. There is nothing wrong. We have discussed like this so many times.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: If we have done in the past, that was against the Rules of Procedure. Then, we should correct the Rules of Procedure. I am raising a technical point. Here in this House we are supposed to be guided by rules and to follow our rules strictly.

MR. SPEAKER: Under which rule?

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: There cannot be two motions before the House. The other day you accepted my statement when the motion moved by Shri Vajpayee had to be disposed of before we could take up the second motion. The rules are very clear that there cannot be two motions at one and the same time before the House. I am very clear on this. If you rule it that way, then it will lead to complications. Of course, you are trying to do it to save the time of the House. I am seeking your ruling on this point.....

MR. SPEAKER: I have given my ruling. I am very clear on this. Will you please sit down. I have given my ruling. Do not question that.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: Can there be two motions before the House at one and the same time?

MR. SPEAKER: This is general discussion. The voting on them will be separate.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: I want to know your ruling on this, whether two motions can be discussed at one and the same time.

MR. SPEAKER: Will you please resume your seat? I have given my ruling.

The Hon. Minister.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN  
THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN

SHUKLA): On behalf of Shri Y. B. Chavan, I beg to move:

“That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 23rd August, 1968, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab.”

May I also move the Bill?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: On behalf of Shri Y. B. Chavan, I beg to move:

“That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Punjab to make laws, be taken into consideration.”

In his report dated the 21st August, the Governor of Punjab submitted to the President that it was no longer possible to carry on a Constitutional Government in Punjab. While doing so, he has traced the history as to what happened in Punjab since the last General Elections. Since the letter of Governor of Punjab has been laid on the Table of the House, I do not think that it is necessary to repeat what he has already said in his letter. But there are certain factors which go to show that the political instability in the State of Punjab was set right in the beginning.

A United Front Government was formed in Punjab on 8th March, 1967; it consisted of eight parties. After it functioned for some time, in April or May, there were six defections from the Congress Party and all the six MLAs who defected from Congress were made members of the Council of Ministers by the United Front Government. Next month, however, there were two defections from the United Front. Then again, in November, there was a big defection from the United Front Party and 17 MLAs, after leaving the ruling party, formed a new party and with the support of the Congress Party in the Legislature.

they formed a Government which was popularly known as the minority government; it was also known as Janata Party Government.

What happened after that is well known.

12-45 HRS.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We have not hidden our disappointment at the functioning of these kinds of minority governments. I must say that the minority governments which were formed in West Bengal and in Punjab did not or could not function well. It looks as if this experiment of minority governments in our country has not succeeded although in other democracies of the world this kind of experiment has been made and in good many cases it has worked successfully. In any case in the circumstances obtaining in our country and the political climate as it obtains here, it does not seem that experiments of this kind would succeed even in the future.

When there were doubts about the stability of this Government, it really affected the administration in the State of Punjab in a very serious manner, and because of these doubts and because of this continuing circumstance of uncertainty it was decided by the major party that was supporting it to withdraw its support, and as soon as the support was withdrawn, the Governor followed the constitutional procedure that was open to him. He asked the outgoing Chief Minister if he was in a position to form an alternative Government and a stable Government. He did not agree to do so. After that, the Governor asked the Leader of the Congress Party in the legislature whether he could form a government and he also declined. After that, the Governor consulted the former Chief Minister of the UP Government whether he would be in a position to form a government and he also declined. The only way that was open to the Governor was to recommend

the dissolution of the legislature and the imposition of President's rule.

Since this has widely been welcomed by all political parties, I do not think that there is very much more for me to say in justification of the imposition of President's rule in Punjab.

The last thing that I would submit in my preliminary remarks is about elections. It would be our endeavour to hold the elections after the Election Commission can make arrangements, and if after consultation with the major political parties, they feel that a date could be fixed, we would very much like the elections to be held within the initial period of these six months. I do not know whether this would be possible or whether there would be consensus among the political parties in regard to the holding of elections within these six months, but we have already taken steps to request the Election Commission to fix up a date for mid-term elections in Punjab as soon as feasible. I am sure that in pursuance of our request, the Central Election Commissioner will take steps to determine or ascertain the opinion of the major political parties and also see whether the administrative arrangements required for holding elections could be made within these six months. We would not like, unless it is absolutely necessary, to come before the House again and ask for the extension of President's rule for another six months.

With these words, I would commend the resolution to the acceptance of the House.

I have also to say a few words on the Bill, motion for consideration of which I have moved. This Bill seeks to confer legislative power on the President of the Union in respect of the Punjab State. I think this is the fifth such Bill we have had to move in this House, and every time it has been moved, I have stated here the main features of the Bill why it has been brought forward and what the functions of the Consultative Com-

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla.]

mittee which will be formed in accordance of the provisions of the Bill will be. I do not think I need repeat them in detail. I will only mention the main features.

The main object of the Bill is to confer legislative power on the President to enact laws for the Punjab. In order that the President may exercise his power in a proper way, in a way which will take into account the views of the elected representatives of this House and of the other House, we intend to form a Consultative Committee which will be composed of of Hon. Members from the Punjab and from other States of the Union which will give advice to the President regarding the legislative measures. Of late, we have already devised a convention that apart from this purpose for which the Committee is formed, we allow many other subjects of public and topical interest to be discussed there so that MPs have a chance of agitating these matters before a forum where officers and Ministers are present, so that we have some way of knowing popular opinions as they exist so that these also may be taken into account while President's rule is continued in the State.

These Committees have so far been functioning very well. Their powers and duties have been well defined and Hon. Members have had experience of these Committees. Therefore, I do not think there would be any opposition to this routine move that we have been taking after States are taken under President's rule.

Hence, I would also commend this Bill to the acceptance of the House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Resolution moved:

'This this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 23rd August 1968, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab'.

Motion moved:

"That the Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Punjab to make laws, be taken into consideration".

श्री यज्ञ दत्त शर्मा (अमृतसर) :  
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। जैसा कि पंजाब के राज्यपाल के प्रतिवेदन में कहा गया है, वहाँ पर प्रारम्भ में ही इस प्रकार की अनिश्चित राजनैतिक स्थिति पैदा हो चुकी थी, जिस के कारण आगे चल कर इस परिस्थिति का निर्माण हुआ। राज्यपाल ने अपने पत्र में यह भी ठीक ही कहा है कि गिल मिनिस्ट्री एक अल्पसंख्यक मिनिस्ट्री थी, उस के पीछे केवल 17 सदस्य थे; इस लिए उस का टिका रहना बड़ा कठिन था। लेकिन मुझे इस बात का आश्चर्य और खेद है कि जब राज्यपाल उस समय ही यह महसूस करते थे कि गिल मिनिस्ट्री इतनी कमजोर है और पंजाब की राजनीतिक स्थिति इतनी अस्थिर है, तो उसी समय राष्ट्रपति शासन क्यों नहीं लागू किया गया। जो प्रस्ताव आज सदन के सामने आया है, उस को आज से नौ महीने पहले आना चाहिए था।

जहाँ तक राज्यपाल का सम्बन्ध है, संविधान के अनुच्छेद 164 के अनुसार कोई भी मुख्य मंत्री या मंत्री उन के "प्लेजर" से ही बना रह सकता है। पंजाब के राज्यपाल ने लिखा है कि वह प्रारम्भ में ही यह अनुभव करते थे कि उस समय की राजनैतिक स्थिति में किसी स्थायी सरकार का बनना सम्भव नहीं है। इस स्थिति में वह अपने विवेक से काम ले कर राष्ट्रपति को उचित परामर्श दे सकते थे। लेकिन चौथे आम चुनाव के बाद पांच छः राज्यों में जो राजनैतिक परिवर्तन हुए

और उस के पश्चात् उन राज्यों में एक के बाद एक गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारों के टूटने का क्रम चला, उस दौरान में केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जिस प्रकार राज्यपाल के पद का दुरुपयोग किया, उस से यह बात स्पष्ट हो गई है कि हमारे देश के लोक-तंत्रीय ढांचे में राज्यपाल एक स्वतंत्र संवैधानिक पद नहीं है, जो स्वतंत्र रूप से काम कर सके, बल्कि वह एक राजनैतिक पद बना दिया गया है, वह केन्द्र के हाथों में एक सियासी कठपुतली बना दिया गया है, जो संवैधानिक परम्पराओं का परिपालन नहीं करता है, बल्कि एक दल के हितों की चौकीदारी करता है। यह एक खेद का विषय है।

मंत्री महोदय ने अभी सलाहकार समिति बनाने की कुछ नई परम्परा का वर्णन किया है। उसी भावना को दृष्टि में रखते हुए मैं उन से कहना चाहूंगा कि वह भविष्य में इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि राजनीति में गवर्नर के पद का इस प्रकार से दुरुपयोग न किया जाये।

मैं समझता हूँ कि देश भर की सभी गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारों में श्री गुरुनाम सिंह की मिनिस्ट्री एक आदर्श गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार थी। (व्यवधान) उस को पंजाब की जनता का समर्थन प्राप्त था और स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री महोदय तथा गृह मंत्री ने भी उस की सराहना की है। उस व्यक्ति ने जब यह देखा कि विधान सभा में उस की मेजरिटी नहीं रही है, तो हालांकि वह दल बदल कर कुर्सी पर बना रह सकता था, लेकिन उस ने तत्काल त्यागपत्र दे दिया। श्री गुरुनाम सिंह ने एक ऊँचे दर्जे की राज-नैतिक मर्यादा और नैतिकता को कायम रखा और सरकार को छोड़ दिया। उस समय कांग्रेस को अपनी प्रामाणिकता और ऊँचे दर्जे की सूझ-बूझ का परिचय दे कर वह दिखाना चाहिए था कि वह

देश में आदर्शवादी राजनैतिक परम्पराओं को कायम करना चाहती है। लेकिन कांग्रेस के लोग तो सत्ता के दीवाने हो चुके थे। उन्होंने कुछ कुर्सी के परवानों को पकड़ा और सत्ता की भूख को शान्त करने के लिए पंजाब को भाड़ में झोंक दिया। पंजाब कांग्रेस के लोगों के कहने पर केन्द्र में बैठे कांग्रेस के शिव ने लछमनसिंह गिल रूपी भस्मासुर को वरदान दे दिया, लेकिन बाद में वह भस्मासुर कांग्रेस के सिर पर ही हाथ रखने लगा। अपनी मौत से बचने के लिए ही—जनता के हित में नहीं—आज राष्ट्रपति का शासन लाया जा रहा है।

कांग्रेस को जो काम उस समय करना चाहिए, वह आज कर रही है। लेकिन इस अवधि में कांग्रेस ने पंजाब को जला दिया, सारे प्रशासनिक ढांचे को अस्त-व्यस्त कर दिया, सब राजनैतिक मर्यादाओं को तोड़ कर एक भद्दे प्रकार की राजनैतिक अनैतिकता पैदा कर दी, एक श्रेष्ठ शासन को समाप्त कर के एक गुंडा और डाकू राज पंजाब में कायम कर दिया। (व्यवधान) इस के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को लज्जित होना चाहिए। मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस स्थिति के लिए सरदार स्वर्णसिंह सब से ज्यादा जिम्मेदार हैं, जो पंजाब में केन्द्र के प्रतिनिधि हैं और पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में केन्द्र को जानकारी देने वाले हैं। इस के लिए पंजाब की जनता सरदार स्वर्णसिंह को कभी भी क्षमा नहीं करेगी। क्या सरदार स्वर्णसिंह यह नहीं जानते थे कि गिल किस प्रकार का व्यक्ति है, वह पंजाब का क्या हाल बना देगा, वह प्रशासनिक ढांचे में किस प्रकार की स्थिति ला देगा? (व्यवधान) मेरी इनफ़र्मेशन यह है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को सरकारी कर्मचारियों और अन्य

[श्री यज्ञदत्त शर्मा]

सूत्रों से भिन्न प्रकार की रिपोर्ट मिलने के बावजूद सरकार स्वर्णसिंह ने पंजाब में अपनी राजनीति को कायम रखने के लिए केन्द्र को मिसगाइड किया और पंजाब के एक अच्छे शासन को समाप्त करवा दिया, जो बीस वर्षों के बाद पंजाब की जनता को राहत दे रहा था, जिस ने किसान को राहत दी, सरकारी कर्मचारियों को राहत दी। हां, उस ने कुछ चमचों को ज़रूर ठोकर मारी, जो आज चिल्ला रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि श्री गुरुनाम सिंह ने पंजाब को एक अच्छी सरकार दी और उस राज्य में एक अच्छी स्थिति पैदा की। उस सरकार को हटाने के लिए पंजाब की जनता सरदार स्वर्णसिंह को कभी क्षमा नहीं करेगी।

हाल ही में पंजाब में कैसी स्थिति पैदा कर दी गई है, उस की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

मेरा निवेदन यह है..... (व्यवधान)  
..... मैं आप को कुछ घटनाएँ बताता हूँ पंजाब की। वहाँ पर जनरल मोहन सिंह एक कांग्रेस के व्यक्ति हैं। सरदार ज्ञान सिंह राड़ेवाला से हट कर गिल की सपोर्ट करने के लिए, केवल इतनी बात के लिए उन का 1000 क्विंटल गेहूँ पी० वी०-18 था, जिस का भाव पंजाब के अन्दर 76 रुपये क्विंटल है। 175 रुपये क्विंटल के भाव उस को खरीदा गया। दुनिया आश्चर्य करेगी, लगभग 75 हजार रुपये की कमाई उन को इस बात के लिए करवाई गई कि वह कांग्रेस के दल के अन्दर तोड़ फोड़ करें। इसी तर्क से दूसरी बात बताता हूँ जो अत्यन्त ही दुःखभरी है। 35 हजार रुपये तकावी लोन के जनरल मोहन सिंह से डबू थे। उस की रिकवरी के लिए वहाँ पर जाते हैं। एक लेडी मैजिस्ट्रेट

स्ट्रेट लुधियाने से गई। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप के माध्यम से मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि वह इस पर ध्यान दें, बड़े ही खेद की बात है, एक गोरखा कर्मचारी उस लेडी मैजिस्ट्रेट के सामने निर्वास्त्र हो कर, बिलकुल पशु बन कर खड़ा हो गया और कहा कि जो कुछ कर सकते हो करो। उस मैजिस्ट्रेट की रिपोर्ट श्री पुलिस ने दर्ज नहीं की। मैजिस्ट्रेट ने प्रोटेस्ट किया.....

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH:** Gen. Mohan Singh is a patriot of national fame. His integrity is above board. (*Interruptions*).

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER:** He may resume his speech after lunch. The House now stands adjourned till 2 o'clock.

13 HRS.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock*

[*MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair*]

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE-PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO PUNJAB, AND PUNJAB STATE LEGISLATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL—*Contd.*

श्री यज्ञदत्त शर्मा: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के विरोधी दलों ने काफी पहले इसी गिल की कुछ बेकायदगियों के सम्बन्ध में एक स्मरण-पत्रक राष्ट्रपति महोदय को दिया था। आज आवश्यकता इस चीज की है कि माननीय गृह मंत्री महोदय उस स्मरण पत्र के अन्दर, जहाँ खास तौर से उन्होंने फाइलों के नाम दिये हैं तथा उन बेकायदगियों की तरफ ध्यान खींचा है, या तो उन के सम्बन्ध में कोई जुडीशियल एन्क्वायरी करायें, कोई कमीशन मुकारर करें, जिसके सामने उन सारी चीजों

की एकवायरी हो ग्रथवा अपने सेन्ट्रल इन्स्टीजन्स के द्वारा सी० वी० आई० के द्वारा इस सारी चीज की जांच करवा कर, जो लोग दोषी पाये जाय, उन को दण्ड दिया जाय ।

पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन जैसी उच्च संस्था में, जिनमें ऊंचे दर्जे की नौकरियों में भरती करने की व्यवस्था होनी है, एक षटिया दर्जे के जूनियर डी० सी० को 2750 रु० के वेतन पर वहां ले जाया गया । इस प्रकार की जो स्थायी व्यवस्थायें हैं, उन के अन्दर जो बेकायद-गियां हुई हैं, वे अगर उसी तरह से चलेंगी तो प्रदेश के लिये हानियां पैदा करेंगी । इस लिये मैं मांग करता हूं कि इन बेकायदगियों को शीघ्र सुधारा जाय तथा जो गलत आदमी डाले गये हैं, केवल अपने स्वार्थ के लिये, उन को वहां से फौरन हटाया जाय । पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन को तोड़ा जाय और उस की जगह नये कमीशन का गठन हो । इसी सिलसिले में जो गलत प्रकार के झूठे मुकदमें बनाये गये हैं उन को देखा जाय, तथा उन में से जो झूठे मुकदमे हैं उन को वापस लिया जाय ताकि उस प्रदेश के राजनीतिक जीवन में जो कटुता आई है—केवल विरोधी दलों पर नहीं, कांग्रेसवालों पर भी इस प्रकार के मुकदमें बनाये गये हैं—क्योंकि वह तो व्यक्ति के नाते अपनी सरकार को बनाकर चल रहा था—वे मुकदमे वापस लिये जाने चाहियें । जो गलत आर्डर वहां पर दिये गये हैं—सर्विसिज के बारे में या दूसरी बातों के बारे में—उन को अन-डू किया जाना चाहिये । वैसे गवर्नर साहब ने एक सेल वहां पर कायम किया है—फिर भी इस मामले में शीघ्र कार्यवाही होनी चाहिये ।

जहां तक मध्यावधि चुनाव का सम्बन्ध है, माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने कुछ बातें

बताई हैं । कुछ कठिनाइयां हो सकती हैं, लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि 6 महीने के अन्दर हर स्थिति में चुनाव वहां पर हो सकते हैं और वह स्थिति आनी ही चाहिये कि वहां पर 6 महीने के अन्दर निश्चित रूप से चुनाव हों—मैं यह मांग करता हूं ।

**SHRI DEVINDER SINGH (Ludhiana):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to support the motion and I rise with an overpowering feeling of relief, relief because our unfortunate experiment with the minority government in Punjab has come to an end. I am sure, positively sure, that the people of Punjab are united in their happiness over their belated good riddance from Gill and company. But I am not quite as positively sure that with the departure of the minority government, the woes of Punjab come to an end. I am not sure that all is well in Punjab after this. It is my fear that for a long time to come we shall have to wrestle with the after-effects of the misrule of the Janata Party government for nine months. Again, it is my fear that the political upheaval which came to Punjab in the wake of the Janata Party would be difficult to get rid of, and this fear is going to be Punjab's agony.

During the Janata Party rule new traditions have been created. Virtually a new code of conduct for public behaviour has been created. There is a new code of conduct for corruption also. Well, we have learnt to put up with a good bit of dishonesty in public life here and there, as a matter of course, but if we are to use this word 'corruption' in the context of Mr. Gill and company, then it is not in the hackneyed sense; he has invested this word with a new proportion, with a new dimension. There is no parallel to modern history to what Punjab has suffered during the last nine months.

We shall have to go back to the mediaeval ages.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Why did you support it? What is this Gill and company?

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peer-made): 'Company' means Congress.

SHRI DEVINDER SINGH: No, it does not mean that. We were never in company with Mr. Gill. We supported Gill and company for a while. We shall come to that later. We made an experiment, as I said, to begin with. We made an experiment, and we made an unfortunate experiment at that. He invested this word with a new meaning. There is nothing in current history to equal it. We shall have to go back to some mediaeval time and look for a Baron with his army of extortionists to equal what we have suffered lately.

Speaking in a metaphor, I may say that Punjab today administratively and politically is a Kovnanagar which has to be reconstructed from its ruins, and it is going to be a much more difficult job than the reconstruction of Koynanagar because here the reconstruction is not merely in brick and mortar but it is reconstruction of the morale of the people. We have to re-establish the faith of the people of Punjab in the democratic values of life. Normally, the Janta party is going to be perfectly irrelevant to the growth of democracy in this country but for the fact that they practised corruption as virtually the declared policy of the State. Unhesitatingly, without any shame-facedness nepotism and corruption were indulged in. I am not going to give a list of Mr. Gill and company's sins. I would make it clear that I am not condoning their sins. I would only submit, as has been said by Shri Yajna Datt Sharma before me that the memorandum submitted by the United Front parties to the President should not be put in cold storage, because if we do that it would amount to a virtual abatement of office-holders everywhere in this country to make hay, as they say, while the sun shines, and then retire into prosperous com-

fort after the hay is made. Mere removal or resignation or dismissal by itself is no punishment for public misdemeanour or public breach of faith. More drastic measures are required to curb this tendency from spreading into other States or being adopted by people who subsequently come to power after mid-term election.

The sensible thing, way back in 1967, when the people failed to give us a very clear verdict should have been to go back to the people for a revised verdict. After elections we found that although the Congress Party came out as the single largest party, yet it did not have an absolute majority. We were short of absolute majority by about four votes. Then, guided or rather misguided by a virulent anti-Congress sentiment, a hotch-potch of parties formed themselves into a United Front—they called it People's United Front, and later on, of course, the people came to call it not the People's United Front but the anti-people United Front—and they formed the Government. Our country has been called a classic example of unity in diversity. Reversing this phrase, this United Front Government could really be called an example of diversity in unity. Due to their basic inherent ideological contradictions with each other, they pulled in different directions, Communists, Jan Sangh and Akali and God knows who else; everybody was pulling in a different direction, and the natural consequence was that the administrative business of the State came to a standstill. Industry also suffered. Whatever little or meagre industry we have in Punjab suffered badly and there was complete economic and administrative chaos. But they were united in one thing. Disunited in every other thing, they were united in one thing and that was in causing defections from the Congress to the so-called United Front. In this matter, they were all wholeheartedly united. They wooed Congressmen for defections and they used the gov-

ernmental machinery for causing defections and they succeeded. Six of our Members went over to the United Front, either the Akalis or the Jan Sangh party or whatever other parties there were. Under such circumstances, when there was complete economic stagnation and there was complete administrative chaos and when an unscrupulous attempt was being made by the United Front to woo away members of the Congress Party, the Congress accepted Mr. Gill's offer to form a Ministry and give it its support. It was an experiment, as I had said earlier, and the experiment, as we know now, has failed and failed miserably. We can say with confidence that minority governments in a democratic set-up are immoral. But we can with equal certainty also say that so are governments born of a marriage of convenience between parties which have nothing in common ideologically. We have to consider and consider seriously as to the kind of restraints that we would like to impose not merely upon individual members defecting from one party to another but upon parties which have nothing in common and which try to come together in unprincipled pursuit of power.

If our experience with Mr. Gill's minority government was bitter, I would like the Members of the Opposition to remember that our experience with the United Front Government was equally bitter. I definitely would not say that it was worse than this but in any case it was equally bitter. At any rate, we can with confidence pick up our lessons, all of us, not merely the Congress people but also the United Front people, howsoever disintegrated they may be; we can all take a lesson from experience. The first lesson would be that public life in Punjab—I believe it is the same elsewhere—is ridden with people who can very conveniently or safely be called men of straw. It is unfortunate. But it happens to be true. We Punjabis have proved ourselves to be a brave people. The tales of

the civilians going out and fighting the Pakistanis when the hostilities broke out in 1965 are almost state to this House now and it is no use recounting them. Our brave people throwing up a political cadre to the Assembly of the moral fibre which eventually they exhibited does not stand up to sense. The men who cowed and bowed before Mr. Gill's evil wind definitely could not be their representatives of the brave, hardy Punjabis who stood up to the Pakistanis determinedly and selflessly and patriotically. All of us in the Congress as well as the Opposition Parties collectively share a responsibility, the responsibility of bringing what I would call political hygiene to public life. We have to get together and think unitedly.

Of course, as has already been said minority governments are not to be tinkered with. Thirdly, no coalition governments should be formed until and unless the parties going into that reach an understanding before the elections on ideological grounds on a minimum political programme to contest the elections, and after the elections if they form a coalition there can be no objection to that. But a hotch-potch of parties which exist in various States forming a united front and forming a government has been an experience which has proved to be unfortunate. My hon. friends on the other side should be quite ready to learn their lessons from this experience.

Finally, since it has been assured that elections in Punjab would be held soon, I like all democratic people, reposing my fullest possible confidence in the judgment of the people, would dwell upon the decision that the people of Punjab would eventually give through a verdict which, of course, comes through elections. Whichever party comes into absolute majority—I have, of course, my own personal confidence that we are fairly placed for reaching that majority—should form its government. It is because of my absolute confidence in the judgment of the people that I support the present Re-

[Shri Devinder Singh]

solution because eventually it leads us all to the judgment of the people.

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM (Chitradurga): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, Punjab has fallen. It has fallen from the altar of democracy; the local Legislature has been dissolved; the people are without their representatives and President's rule has been introduced. This is the fifth State where the President's rule has been imposed and the entire northern zone from Punjab to West Bengal is now under President's rule. President's rule means virtually Congress rule through the President.

We can divide India into three zones or under three different kinds of administrations. The northern zone is the President's zone; the western zone is where Congress administration is being carried on and the south-eastern zone comprising of Orissa, Madras, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh, is under non-Congress rule. I thought, there would be a healthy rivalry between these three types of administration as to who will excel in providing more and more and increased happiness to the people; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that we have been cutting each other's throats and in our own intense and selfish desire and in our aspiration to get more and more power, we have been trying to scuttle each other's administration.

I must congratulate the Congress Party on the success of their strategy and manoeuvres for toppling down a series of non-Congress governments.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal): What a shame!

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: I give them due credit for their strategy and the manoeuvre which they have successfully adopted. It is true that when the Home Minister puts before this House the proposition that the imposition of President's rule should be approved, he is all sympathy; he is very sympathetic. He says, he is helpless.

14-24 HRS.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARE *in the chair.*]

In fact, he even sheds tears, but those tears are tears of joy. I may state that having succeeded in imposing indirectly Congress rule in the northern zone, perhaps their attention will be turned with redoubled vigour towards the other non-Congress States to topple them down, but I am sure that they will not succeed because the people in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Madras are brave and they know their duties very well.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR: Why should you omit Kerala, as if they are not brave enough to fight the Congress?

SHRI J. MOHAMED IMAM: All right, I include them—it will not be a difficult matter.

What is needed now is this. The Congress being disillusioned that they thought that their rule in the country would be perpetual and being satisfied by previous election successes and now being dissatisfied and having lost their hold in 9 provinces, it is but natural that they should try their best to retain their rule and to retain their influence. It is this spirit that has created instability in the country.

It is the voice of the people that should prevail. There are parties, no doubt, but the country's interest must be paramount. It must be placed above the party interest. It is not a group of people or Government or Parliament that rules the country but it is the will of the people that rules the country. Whoever forms the Government must see that the will of the people is carried out and he acts accordingly.

In this case, it was the will of the people of the 9 States that non-Congress Governments should come in. It was their desire that the mis-rule or the bad rule or the experimental rule, as was said by my hon. friend, should come to an end and that a chance be given to the non-Congress Governments to serve the

people. But this will of the people was sabotaged. In fact, personalities came in; partisanship came in. There have been persistent attempts to sabotage all those non-Congress Governments. It was the moral duty of the ruling party to offer all co-operation, all help, all indulgence, towards these Governments. On the other hand, they took the position to see that these non-Congress Governments do not function and they were put in a very awkward position.

The main reason for the toppling of these Governments, as was pointed out, is defection—defection of most of the Congress Members who joined other parties and misled them. This defection was due not on any ground of principle or ideology but it was due to their affection for power, prestige and all those things. That is exactly what has happened here. We must admit that defection is bad. It tells on our morale; it tells on our character. It shows that our nation is not yet disciplined. It points out that our national character has to be built up and that we must be guided more by ideologies. Our paramount purpose should be to serve the country and not to serve ourselves. But this defection, engineered by some parties, was the main cause of the toppling of these non-Congress Governments.

Now, take the case of Punjab. My hon. friend who spoke before me said that the Congress Party supported the Gill Ministry as a measure of experiment, as we are carrying on experiments on human lives. What has happened there? In the beginning, a United Front Government was formed composed of various non-Congress parties. They began their work in the right earnest but many impediments and obstacles came in their way. When it was thought that this Government would continue its work, I think, suddenly, 7 persons defected from the Congress Party—I do not know whether they defected of their own accord or whether they were made to defect to join the United Front Ministry. Since then,

the position became weak and, after sometime, these defectors themselves wanted to form a Government of their own, a minority Government. They went back to their old colleagues and asked them to extend their help, and the Gill Ministry was formed. Of course, many of our friends have said that there was misrule, many irregularities were committed and many acts of corruption were committed. They may be true, but the thing is this that it was the defection of the Congress people to the ruling party of United Front that has been responsible for the sad state of affairs. This cannot be denied. The same thing happened in other States also. Congress, though apparently it says that it has nothing to do with this, are really not sincere and are very adamant to win back their power, and that is why, there is no stability in any Government; people are quite unhappy, and we are in the present political crisis. We do commit mistakes, but we must draw wisdom from the past, we must draw lessons from the past, and we must be wise in future. Our aim should be how to work democracy successfully, how to make it a success, how to see that democracy is really useful to the people or whether it requires any new orientation. For democracy, the foundation, the bedrock, is a strong disciplined nation and a sound national character. Without this, there is no way for democracy to be successful.

Another thing is that, in all such matters, when the interest of the State is concerned, when the well-being of the people is concerned, it is necessary that we place, to whichever party we may belong, the interest of the State above the party, but the Congress does not do that; on the other hand, they are more guided by partisan spirit, they are more guided by this that they should perpetuate their rule. In fact, in a democracy, one party or the other will come to power and the others have to extend their co-operation, but here it is not like this. I would

[Shri J. Mohammed Imam:]

just like to quote one instance. What happened in England during the previous elections? The Labour Party won and formed the Government only with a majority of three members; but the Conservative Party, in the initial stages, wanted to give them all facilities and all opportunities to serve the country, because they knew that any attempt on their part to scuttle that government, to unseat that government would react on the people and would plunge the country into insecurity. For two years they gave all the facilities to the Labour Party, and only when the time for the next Elections was approaching, they wanted them to quit and wanted fresh elections to be held. The Labour Party was carrying on all these years with a majority of three because there was discipline there, they have got love for their country, they place the country above the party, but, here, on the other hand, party interests and party factions are paramount; they take the first place and in order to improve the prestige of the party or in order to improve the strength of the party, they do not hesitate to compromise the interest of the State.

Another thing that I want to say is this. It is our misfortune, it is the country's misfortune—and I am sure it will be of a short duration—that we have a number of parties in the country—parties not built on ideologies but on personalities. Parties should be built on ideologies with certain differences, but here we have a number of parties and sometimes they form strange bed-mates. Perhaps a time will come when the representatives of the people will realise this that in a democracy, in a Parliamentary democracy of this type, there is no scope for multi-farious parties. I think, two well-known parties based on ideologies, not on personalities, must be formed. It is only then that democracy will be successfully worked.

On the other hand, if the same state of things continue, because it

is bound to happen that in some States there will be Congress rule, in some there will be non-Congress rule and in some there may be communist rule, and in the Centre the position may be fluid and uncertain, there may be a conflict of interests. In such a situation, we have to consider whether it is not worthwhile to introduce the Presidential type of democracy.

With these few words, I have no option but to support the introduction of President's Rule. We believe there have been many irregularities and many acts of omission and commission. But anyhow, I do not want the people's rights and privileges to be taken away. I hope very soon they will have a mid-term election in which the fight will be on the basis of ideology and instead of there being 25 parties and so on, there will emerge two parties so that one may be the ruling party and the other the opposition party.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Roh-tak): Today I am reminded of a great personality which was a unifying factor for Haryana and Punjab, namely, Pratap Singh Kairon. I personally miss him very much and so do many of my hon. friends. He was a man, of whom not only we small people but even the greatest leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, would say that people of such stature are produced once in a thousand years. He said about Pratap Singh Kairon that he was a unique personality so far as patriotism, political acumen and administrative ability were concerned. He was a man who at the top of his voice had proclaimed that he would be the last man for the bisection or vivisection of Punjab. Not only that. He said at the top of his voice that if such a day ever came, it would be a day which would be sadder for the people who resided in Punjab.

That is what I am saying today. He was not an astrologer. But he was a patriot every inch, to the very core of his being. We have so many pigmies, so many dwarfish

personalities and even if a million of them were put together, we would not be able to produce one Pratap Singh Kairon.

**SHRI SHRI CHAND GOEL:** Has he forgotten the Das Commission Report?

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH:** I say politically, economically or industrially, Punjab is if not number one, the number two State in the country, next only to Maharashtra. Punjabi soldiers and Punjabi farmers are the very best in the land.

**SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur):** Punjabi politicians.

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH:** When we were faced with aggression by China, Pratap Singh Kairon was the beloved of the whole nation and no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: 'I am proud of this man. I was at one time thinking of having him as Defence Minister of the country'.

It is most unfortunate that such a personality met with a very sad end. That void is particularly felt at such times in Punjab. Punjab is much poorer now for it. We had to pass through turmoil and tribulation a few months back. Haryana had the proud privilege to be under his regime. We can say he was a man amongst millions.

Why do I say all this? It is because by his presence he infused political stability in Punjab. But what is there after him? He had cornered Master Tara Singh. He had put Fateh Singh Jotedar in cold storage. He had put near about 80,000 people who were exploiters of political parties in their proper concentration camps.....(*Interruptions*).

**श्री रवि राय (पूरी):** क्या कंसिंट्रेशन कैम्पस का मतलब समझते हैं. . .

**SHRI NATH PAI:** Randhir Singhji, you are a patriot. If you allow this impression to go around,

if you say that there are concentration camps in India, there cannot be a more slanderous attack on this country, even though you may not mean it.....(*Interruptions*).

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH:** I do not want to learn from you.....(*Interruptions*).

**SHRI NATH PAI:** There are no concentration camps in India. We cannot allow this to go on. What is your ruling, Sir?.....(*Interruptions*).

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** All of you please resume your seats. He will explain what he meant. Otherwise, the impression will continue that there are concentration camps in India.

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH:** No, Sir, allow me to explain. There were certain undesirable elements. He cut them to size. He was a big man and a great patriot. Certain elements who were working against the country's interests were put in their proper place and he cut them to size.

**श्री एस०एम० जोशी (Poona):** मेरे भाई रणधीर सिंह जी ने कंसिंट्रेशन कैम्पस शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूँ कि वह तो सरदार प्रताप सिंह कैरों की प्रशंसा कर रहे थे और अगर सरदार कैरों ने इन कैम्पस को खोल रखा था और सदस्य महोदय उसका जिक्र कर रहे हैं तो इससे तो सरदार कैरों की बदनामी हो जाएगा। कंसिंट्रेशन कैम्पस का मतलब दुनिया किसी दूसरे अर्थ में लेते हैं। इसलिए उनको इस शब्द का इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिए था।

**SHRI RANDHIR SINGH:** I have been keeping silent and very calm. ....(*Interruptions*).

**श्री रवि राय :** इतिहास पढ़ लो।

**SHRI NATH PAI:** There are no concentration camps in India. He cannot put his own meaning into the words.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Randhir Singh, your time is up.....(Interruptions).

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: I will not allow them to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do not take notice of these remarks.

श्री रणधीर सिंह: कंसिट्रेशन कैम्पस से मेरा मतलब जर्मनी वगैरह के जेल खानों से नहीं था। मेरा कहने का मतलब यह था कि जो लोग देश के खिलाफ काम करते थे, जो आदमी अफरा तफरी पैदा करते थे, उनको पकड़ कर उसने जेल में डाल दिया था और उनको सीधा कर दिया था।

I can understand their agony. These people were against Pratap Singh Kairon. But I admire him. He is a red rag to these people. For whatever happened in Punjab in the last six months, we have to hang down our head in shame.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is up. You should conclude within one minute. (Interruptions).

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर (सहरसा): मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि कंसिट्रेशन कैम्पस का इन्होंने किस प्रसंग में प्रयोग किया है, या तो इसे वह एक्सप्लेन करें या फिर इस शब्द को वापिस लें। माननीय सदस्य हिन्दी में बोल सकते हैं, क्यों वह अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं?

श्री कामेश्वर सिंह (खगरिय) : इस शब्द को इन्हें वापिस लेना चाहिये।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you resume your seat? Otherwise, I will be compelled to name you. Please take your seat.

Mr. Randhir Singh, conclude within a minute.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: No, Sir; I require 5 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You shall have to conclude. Mr. Kandappan.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): Sir, it is un undeniable fact.....

श्री रणधीर सिंह : मैं इनको नहीं बोलने दूंगा। नहीं बोलने देता हूँ इनको। इनको मैं नहीं बोलने दूंगा।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Take your seat.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: I will not. Why have you called him to speak? I will not allow him to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall have to name you.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: This is too much. I will not allow him to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I told you to conclude your speech within a minute.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPA-YEE (Balrampur): Sir, I am sorry to say that this is not fair. How can any Hon. Member finish his speech within a minute?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has already taken 15 minutes.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPA-YEE: But at least two or three minutes should be given so that he may be able to collect his thoughts and express them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I told him to complete his speech in a minute. He was not prepared to complete his speech and he resumed his seat.

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : माननीय सदस्य का जो टाइम वेस्ट किया गया है, वह तो उन्हें दिया जाना चाहिए।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I told him to complete his speech in a minute. Instead of completing his speech he resumed his seat. Naturally I had to call another Hon. Member.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: How can you say that within a minute I should complete my speech when I was not allowed to speak at all?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot quarrel with the Chair.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: The Chair must give justice.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Do you want to complete your speech?

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: Of course, but I will take five minutes. I have spoken nothing. They disturbed me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Complete within time.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: I have been very calm and sober these days.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड़): सभापति महोदय, मैं आप के द्वारा चौधरी साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने जो कुछ कहना है, वह उसे शान्ति और धैर्य से कह दें।

श्री रणधीर सिंह: ये लोग तो मुझे बोलने ही नहीं देते हैं। मैं क्या करूँ?

चेयरमैन साहब, मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि पंजाब की बदकिस्मती है कि वहाँ राष्ट्रपति-राज को ठूसा गया है। एक वक्त था, जब पंजाब में इतने बड़े बड़े आदमी थे। बड़े आदमी को बड़ा मानना ही पड़ेगा, चाहे वह किसी भी पार्टी का हो। प्रतापसिंह कैरों के मुकाबले में हिन्दुस्तान में कोई चीफ़ मिनिस्टर नहीं हुआ। किसान, और देहात का हमदर्द उससे ज्यादा कोई नहीं हुआ। किसान, हरिजन और बैकवर्ड लोगों को उस से ज्यादा कोई नहीं समझता था। मैं समझता हूँ कि ट्रेजरी बैचिज के भी बहुत कम लोग उस से ज्यादा समझते हैं। (ब्यवधान) वह इन लोगों को पकड़ कर जेल में डालता था। इसी लिए इन को दर्द हो रहा है। जब तक प्रतापसिंह कैरों पंजाब का चीफ़ मिनिस्टर रहा, वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए एक मिसाल था। (ब्यवधान) उस ने इन को भी पकड़ कर जेल में डाला था।

श्री किकर सिंह (भटिंडा): उन्होंने निहत्थे कैदियों पर गोली चला कर और बच्चों को शहीद कर के भी एक मिसाल कायम की थी, जो कि इस मुल्क या दुनिया भर में नहीं मिलती है।

श्री रणधीर सिंह: जब प्रतापसिंह कैरों जिन्दा थे, तो वह श्री किकर सिंह जैसे आदमियों को जेल में भेजते थे। उन्होंने इन के लीडर को भी जेल में भेज दिया था।

मेरा अपना खयाल है— यह जरूरी नहीं है कि दूसरे भी उस से मुक्तिफ्रिक हों—कि पिछले कुछ महीनों में पंजाब में जो सरकार थी, वह भी किसान की सरकार थी। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से उस के पीछे बहुत कम मेम्बरान थे। उस से पहले जो सरकार थी, उस के कुछ लोग किसान के हमदर्द नहीं थे, वे किसान के खिलाफ़ थे। एक आदमी उस सरकार को छोड़ कर दूसरी तरफ़ आ गया, यह कोई अच्छा काम नहीं था, लेकिन इन छः सात महीनों में उस ने जो काम किया, मैं उस की तारीफ़ करता हूँ। उस ने किसान के हक़ में काम किया। (ब्यवधान)

एक माननीय सवस्य: किस ने?

श्री रणधीर सिंह: गिल ने। उस की पालिसी किसान के हित में थी। लेकिन बाद में वह कुछ सरमायादारों और फ्रिकीपरस्त लोगों के हाथ में खेलने लगा, जो कि दरपदा उस से बात करते थे। कांग्रेस के लिए यह बड़ी मजहकाखेज पोत्रीशन हो गई। उस के सामने यह सवाल पैदा हुआ कि ऐसे आदमी को कैसे सपोर्ट किया जाये। उस को कांग्रेस में आने के लिए कहा गया, लेकिन वह नहीं माना और दूसरे आदमियों को अपनी पार्टी में लेने की बात करता रहा। (ब्यवधान) जिस डिफ़ेक्शन ने हरियाणा,

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

यू. पी. और बिहार का सत्यानाश किया, उस को गिल ने परवान चढ़ाना शुरू किया। कांग्रेस उसूलों पर चलने वाली पार्टी है। इन हालात में उस ने अपने आप को गिल गवर्नमेंट से दूर कर लिया। इस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति-राज कायम करने के सिवाये और कोई रास्ता नहीं रहा।

कांग्रेस ने ठीक किया और कांग्रेस प्रैजिडेंट की तरफ से जो स्टेटमेंट दिया गया, वह भी ठीक था। श्री गुरुनाम सिंह ने कह दिया कि वह सरकार नहीं बना सकते हैं। जनसंघ की तरफ से भी यही कहा गया कि वह हुकूमत नहीं बना सकता है और न उस को बनाना है। इस लिए जनसंघ, कम्युनिस्ट, कांग्रेस, सोशलिस्ट बगैरह सब पार्टियों की मुक्तिफ्रिका राय से पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति राज कायम किया गया।

पंजाब एक शानदार स्टेट है। वह आमदनी, खेती और इंडस्ट्री के उत्पादन के हिसाब से हिन्दुस्तान की नम्बर एक और सब से मजबूत स्टेट समझी जाती है। इस लिए इस बात की जरूरत है कि वहां पर एक मजबूत और शानदार शासन आये। वहां पर चाहे किसी पार्टी की सरकार बने, लेकिन सिर्फ एक ही पार्टी की सरकार बननी चाहिए। खिचड़ी सरकार का तजुर्बा हम सारे देश में कर चुके हैं और वह फ़ैल हो गया है।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि चूंकि अब पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति-राज कायम हो गया है और वह एक कनसल्टेटिव कमेटी बनाने जा रहे हैं, इस लिए मैं चाहूंगा कि उस कमेटी को वाकई कुछ अख्यारत दिये जायें। यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि दो तीन महीने में एक मीटिंग हो जाये, जिस में सब

अपनी अपनी बात कह दें। जिस तरह से बंगाल और यू. पी. के लिए कमेटीज बनाई गई हैं, उसी तरह से पंजाब के लिए भी कमेटी बनाई जानी चाहिए, जिस में पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर अपने अपने इलाकों के प्राबलम्ब, लोगों की तकलीफों और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के मामलों को ला सकें। वह कमेटी एक मिनिस्टर पार्लियामेंट की तरह फंक्शन करे और एसेम्बली की जगह ले ले।

आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इलैक्शन के लिए फ़रवरी बैस्ट मौका है। चूंकि हरियाणा में इलैक्शन फ़सल काटने के वक्त कराये गये, इसलिए किसान वोट नहीं डाल सके और पचास परसेंट वोट नहीं डाले जा सके। इलैक्शन को फ़रवरी से आगे नहीं टालना चाहिए, नहीं तो लोग अपने राइट फ़्राफ़ वोट का फ़ायदा नहीं उठा सकेंगे। हर हालत में फ़रवरी में इलैक्शन कराये जाने चाहिए।

मुझे उम्मीद है कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब इन बातों पर ग़ौर करेंगे। मैं उन के मोशन का पुरजोर समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं आप का बड़ा मशहूर हूँ कि आप ने मुझे मौका दिया।

15 HRS.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Met-  
tur): Mr. Chairman, it is an indisputable fact that the people who are guiding the destinies of the greatest democracy in the world are actually presiding over the liquidation of the very same democracy. Just now we had an example of the Congress mind, the manifestation of how the spirit of democracy has completely evaporated from their minds. One who is imbued with the spirit of democracy could never reconcile to a position where one can see concentration camps in one's country. I would rather cease to be a citizen of this country than see my country hav-

ing concentration camps. It is very unfortunate that Shri Randhir Singh should have thought it fit to use that word.

AN HON. MEMBER: He did not mean it.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: It is all the more unfortunate that he did not think it proper to withdraw that word.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: Jail for exploiters.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Jail is different from a concentration camp. The lawyer should know that. Concentration camp has its own connotation.

A Member from the Congress side just a while ago was telling us that in supporting the puppet Gill Ministry in Punjab they were just having an experiment. I am tempted to ask what that experiment was, for after 1967 it is clear to everybody that throughout the country the Congress has lost the confidence of the people. It may be right or wrong in the Congress mind, but the crux of the matter is that the Congress did lose its support of the public. What is the duty of a party that has got its branches throughout the country and that has got a very grave responsibility of upholding democracy in this country, after ruling this country for 20 long years without any challenge except in Kerala and Orissa for some time? They know fully well that they have lost the confidence of the people. For the next elections there is a period of five years. Is it not proper for them to remain in the Opposition and, by their performance, actions and constructive opposition, to prove to the public that they deserve better treatment from the public than the Opposition parties? Did they do it? Why do they not do it? Is it not the craze for power that manifested in the form of putting up puppet ministries, puppet regimes, not only in Punjab but in Bihar also?

The Congress is never tired of deriding, belittling, fooling, criticizing

and making fun of the united front governments. Much has been said about it. But, I say, is it a sin for parties to unite and form a government? I should rather give much credit to the united front governments; for example, in Kerala. Though so much appears in the papers and much has been played up, still we find that in the past two years they have been able to carry on the administration. It is a credit to the united front government. After all, the Opposition parties joined together and did succeed. They are going on successfully in Kerala. In Bengal, UP, Bihar, Punjab and other places you did allow them. Your subversive tactics succeeded there; your manoeuvres succeeded there. But is it the argument of the Congressmen who is really interested in democracy that their puppet regimes are better than the united front governments? Can anybody imagine that? Is there an iota of democracy in puppet regimes? How could you reconcile yourself to a small group which has no ideology whatsoever, who have defected from somewhere else and who just come there and you put them up, you say, as an experiment? What sort of an experiment is it? Is it an experiment in democracy? Certainly not. It is definitely a manifestation of the craze for power that is in the Congress mind in the States. This is very unfortunate. I squarely blame this Government for not caring for the survival of democracy in this country. It does not matter which party rules which State for some time but what matters after the 1967 elections is that we should see by our efforts that democracy survives in this country.

Take, for example, the case of my State. Just by way of an example I am giving it. The Congress, which had a crushing defeat in 1967, after that for quite a few months had been very silent. They did not recover from the shock, but suddenly on the 1st August the Youth Congress there simply decided to take out a procession. What was the aim of the procession? It was to see that the DMK

[Shri S. Kandappan]

Government is ousted before the end of the month of August. What for? Nobody knows; they themselves do not know. Their frustration and their craving for power is the only cause for the provocation. For that, they took out a procession. Unfortunately, there were some lathi-charges and some incidents took place. Then, after 3 days, they took out a funeral procession a mourning procession. It is very strange. I have never heard of such things in the history of democracy anywhere in the world.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Speak on Punjab, and not on Madras.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: What is Punjab? The fate of democracy is the same everywhere. It is their craze for power. I am giving a concrete example. If the Government has got any argument to counter it, let them do so.

In 1965, during the Hindi agitation, a lot of people died. We did not even take out a mourning procession for that. But in this case—fortunately, nobody died—they took out a mourning procession even when nobody had died. This procession should have been taken in February, 1967. This was a belated one. If that is the case in a State where an Opposition Party is enjoying a clear majority, if that is the position of the Congressmen, if that is the working of the Congress mind, of the top leaders at the State level, where they cannot by any stretch of imagination oust that Government within the reasonable time, I could very well appreciate and imagine why these United Front Government have been toppled in all these States. I can appreciate better than anybody else because, I find, the Congressmen in northern parts of the country are not very much different from the Congressmen in my part of the country. When they see there is some room for manoeuvrability, they leave no stone unturned for just coming to capture or at least to put a puppet show and then, by clandestine ways, get into power again. This

is the unfortunate situation in which we are placed.

I would appeal to the Congress Party to see that this kind of mentality is arrested and checked at the earliest possible time to save democracy in this country. The responsibility lies with them. They may turn to our side and say, "You are also equally responsible." But I would tell them, "You are our elder brother. You have been pleading for the cause of democracy for so many years and you give a lead in this." I may put it that way.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukottai): Elder brother has become senile.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Now, in another neighbouring State, that is, Pondicherry—a few days back I gave notice of a Call Attention but that was rejected—the position is very curious there. This is an Assembly of 30 Members. The Speaker, as soon as he became the Speaker, resigned from the Congress Party to observe a non-partisan attitude.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Again, you are speaking on Pondicherry and other States.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: The fate of democracy is the same everywhere. What we are discussing now is the fate of democracy. Only a few days back, some Members from the Congress defected to the Opposition side. Now, the position is that no measure of the Congress, no measure of the Government could be legislated there. But still the Central Government has not taken any action. I am particularly drawing the attention of the House to this. Why this time-lag? When they know surely that they cannot have their own Government, why not they immediately announce the President's rule there and come with a statement to Parliament? For the last 4 or 5 days I have been waiting for the Home Minister to come with a statement to Parliament. The Home Minister has not come forward with that statement. I know they

have been trying to manipulate things there. They are trying to win over and purchase some people there. This kind of political game goes on for 10 to 15 days. After that, they try on a puppet regime and then—after that also there is a time-lag—only then they come forward with this kind of proclamation.

Curiously, the Congressmen are claiming that because of the President's rule, the people are very much relieved. I wonder what has happened to democracy in this country. Yesterday and the day before while speaking on UP and Bihar and West Bengal and today while speaking on Punjab, I have found Congressmen telling us that the people feel very relieved. I wonder what has happened. Does it mean that the people do not believe in democracy in this country?

**SHRI UMANATH:** The people are robbed of their purse?

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** Why should we not dissolve the whole thing and resort to something else? This is a very strange logic which I am hearing from the Congressmen. That is why I feel very much concerned for democracy in this country.

Once again I would appeal to my hon. friends that this is the basic issue involved. It is not a question of elections or any particular party coming to power. The responsibility now is that of the Government and I hope that things will improve at least from now onwards.

**SHRI G. S. DHILLON** (Taran Taran): It is very unfortunate that during my public life I have to speak on President's rule for the third time, twice in Punjab Legislature and now in the Lok Sabha. When we talk about the affairs of Punjab, I think the situation in that unfortunate State should not be compared with that in other States where President's rule has been proclaimed. Punjab was divided and further subdivided first on religious and communal grounds, and again for a second

time on linguistic grounds or regional bias and so many other things.

Now, when we talk of politics in Punjab we are very sadly mistaken that perhaps the politics might take a shape purely on economic or social lines; and that is the reason why my hon. friends of the Swatantra or other parties were harping on those ideas instead of grasping the true situation.

A lot has been said about Sardar Partap Singh during my thirty years of public life, I spent about 22 years or so with Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, about 18 years as friend and three years as opponent. My hon. friend Shri Randhir Singh spoke of concentration and detention camps. I can safely say that he had not seen all the phases of his public life but he had only seen one. There were no concentration camps or detention camps. During the communal troubles he sent about 28,000 people to jail for breach of peace etc. But in most of the cases he would see that the spirit of the concentration or detention was dreaded by the person only in the ordinary course of life and not as in concentration or detention camps. He was a very stern ruler, and he had qualities and he had his merits and demerits also. But, after him, the situation has so much changed in that State that he could not have controlled, perhaps, even if he had been alive. Haryana has gone a way from that State. The other day, Dr. Parmar had come here with his demand for Statehood. He had called us and he was pressing his claim for Simla and other things. I said that I did not support that claim because there was a validity about the present position, but I now have to support it because that is the result of our stupidities, that is, the Punjabi people's stupidities. Those people who think that the politics in Punjab is very plain and simple are very sadly mistaken.

It started with a communal spirit, under the cover of a linguistic controversy but actually it is not only linguistic but something else also. A

[Shri G. S. Dhillon]

party which is bound to come in a majority in my opinion in future will be neither the Swatantra Party nor the SSP nor the PSP. They will be Akalis who will come with more communal slogans. We welcome any party based on a social and economic programme; I do not think that we Congressmen have the monopoly; we have the monopoly in that area for some years; but I would welcome any party if they could replace us, and assure us that they would be able to oust the communal elements and establish a purely advanced socialist state based on economic policies. But, unfortunately the picture does not appear to be so.

After the reorganisation of Punjab we saw what the party position was. Then the major parties were equally balanced. The Congress had 48 and whereas only 53 were required for majority and we were short by five votes only. The Opposition took advantage of our lapses and then some defectors joined the Opposition and formed the United Front. During the time they were there, it was a pity that no party agreed on a common programme; each wanted the pursuit of its individual policies. The Communist Party wanted certain labour reforms, but that was opposed by the Jan Sangh. The Jan Sangh wanted certain reforms but that was opposed by the others. And poor Gurnam Singh was neither this nor that way; you must have seen what an amount of controversy was going on in the press in those days when suddenly certain members along with the members of certain of political parties defected; they declared suddenly that they wanted to form a Janata Party. Unfortunately, the word 'Janata' has been exploited queerly enough—those who were not allowed by the Janata to go over from one party to the other came to be known as the Janata Party. They declared that in future they would be guided by Gandhian principles and follow the Congress programme. This extended some temptations to the

Congress and the Congress said 'Let us give a trial to Gill who was given a trial by the Socialist Party and then by the Akalis; and we also felt tempted to give a third trial to him.'

During the period for which he was in power he started very well. It was also a new thing for the Congress Party to support a minority group or a minority government. To call it a minority group is a misnomer; in fact, it should be called as the defectors' group. We thought that we should give them a trial if they were going to follow the Congress policies. But they could never agree on agrarian reforms. The Congress had fixed a ceiling of 30 acres in Punjab. Some of the Ministers made public speeches that they were going to change that policy and they were going to revert back to the old pre-reform period by fixing it at 40 or 50 acres. Then, the Congress was committed to nationalisation of transport and there was a definite agreement between the transporters and the Congress Government; a major part had been nationalised and only two areas were left for its completion when suddenly a retrogressive step was taken; and the process of denationalisation started and that exasperated the supporters of that minority government so much. Then, there was the question of prohibition policy which was so badly flouted. When some Congressmen had to meet most of their members in very intoxicated conditions they began to wonder 'What is this going on.' Besides, a lot of loud talk went on all the time that they were not taking the Congressmen as their masters but they had their own policies. In view of this, I contradict very much that most of the members of the Congress Party were won over. There are black sheep every where and we too, in our party, had them.

The Congress Party as a whole failed to support because we were always conscious how far the public interest was being advanced by the Gill Ministry, we were always conscious that, by and by, the Congress

Party which started on the promises of certain policies was losing its prospects on their non-fulfilment. It is very good; it was quite in time that they withdrew their support. Whether they made a blunder or made an experiment, I confess that it was a very unfortunate period in the history of that State.

I welcome the President's rule. It has come for the third time. I think that considering how the services were demoralised and how the process of administration was flouted, enough time should be given to the President's rule to tone up the administration and create a feeling and a sense of confidence and security amongst the people in the working of Government. I would welcome what my hon. friend belonging to the Swatantra Party said: if we fail this time also, we have no other alternative but to go over to the Presidential system of Government.

With these words I support the Proclamation and I wish that, with the support of this House, without any ill-feeling towards each other, we in Punjab may go forward forgetting our bitterness in the past and see a bright and prosperous future.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): I do not find anybody who is publicly willing to shed his tears for the departure of Mr. Lachman Singh Gill. The Minister of State, when he was making his introductory remarks, tried to make a great virtue out of a necessity; he tried to convince us that this unholy alliance, which was made for a few months between the Congress party and the minority group, both in West Bengal and in Punjab, was, according to him, just an innocent political experiment. He said: 'There is nothing wrong; this was a political experiment which we were trying and when we found that it did not work, then we withdrew our support' as if it was just as innocent as that.

Everybody knows that, for all these months, these minority governments were kept in power, given power

without responsibility; the Congress Party was responsible for that because the minority groups could not last for a single day without the support of the Congress. The whole idea was this. Many of my friends—may be, they are wiser after the event—are shedding tears about defections and all that. I am wholeheartedly against defections from any side, from any party. I hope, the young friend of mine over there who has got quite literary flair for metaphors. (*Interruption*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Mr. Devinder Singh.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: You do not welcome it?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I welcome it. I hope, he realises that, after all, defections from any party vary inversely, in an inverse ratio, to the degree of ideological looseness of that particular party. A party which is more firmly knit ideologically always has much fewer defections. (*Interruption*) It is quite obvious. I do not want to name the party; you know it for yourself. Which party can say that they do not have any defections or hardly any defections? And which is the party which has set up a record in defections in India? That is quite clear.

Therefore, when we shed tears and say that there should be some sort of ban on parties with different ideologies coming together into what he called a hotch-potch without any minimum agreed programme. I agree with him, and assure him that in future United Fronts will come, will contest elections and in many cases I am sure will win also, but they will be based on a common programme and not the way some United Fronts under compulsion of events had to come to power on this particular occasion.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: We welcome that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: In the aftermath of the last elections

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

when everyday in many States people suddenly found themselves liberated after 20 years of Congress rule, people's sentiment also at that time was such that they wanted everybody to get together and command a non-Congress majority. They wanted them to come and take up the reins of power. People were not in a mood to think about common programmes and ideologies and that kind of thing.

It is good to learn through experience. In future also that will happen. But I am asking why should people tolerate a single party within whose ranks there are so many conflicting ideologies that they openly fight and abuse one another everyday? How is that better than a united front of different parties?

So let us try to discuss these matters. It is no use laying down principles in the abstract like that. But for the Minister to come and make a virtue of a necessity is really rather disappointing. He should admit the fact that so long as the Congress in the Punjab thought that by backing Mr. Gill and supporting his Ministry, they could also gradually come back to full power and could utilise it, they did it. It was only when they realised at long last that Mr. Gill was more of a mouthful than they could chew and digest that they decided to vomit him and throw him out. I am glad that it has been frankly admitted from the other side that Mr. Gill has set new standards in this country in corruption, nepotism—a new dimension, as my hon. friend over there said, in corrupting the administration and the services, in buying people. This process has gone to such a stage that the Congress saw that if they did not jettison Mr. Gill at this stage, there would be nothing left of the Congress in Punjab and it would be swallowed up by Mr. Gill. It was then that they decided to withdraw support from him, not before. It is no use now being virtuous and pretending that they were only indulg-

ing in some innocent political experiment.

Since I have very limited time, I want only to draw attention to one aspect of the developments which has not been mentioned. The administration of any State does not depend only on Ministers or the highly paid officials; it depends equally on the vast mass of government employees, the NGOs and clerks who man the government offices, the employees who run the public utility undertakings managed by the State and so on. What has the Gill Ministry done to them? Somebody should have raised it here. Who is going to hear the cry of these people? Just because they had demanded that a certain agreement which was made in January 1967, a bonus agreement between the Government and the Punjab Roadways workers should be implemented and because it was not implemented by Government and was violated, the employees had to go on strike, what has been the result? Savage victimisation and repression was unleashed by Mr. Gill against them. 150 people were dismissed simply for the crime of participating in that strike. I do not know since when strikes have become a crime. The Joint Secretary of the Federation of Punjab Government Employees—Punjab Subordinate Services Federation, it is called—Shri Randhir Dhillon, has been dismissed without even a charge-sheet being framed against him and without even giving him an opportunity of an explanation to answer the charges. 200 employees were suspended and are still under suspension. Police cases are going on against 98 of them. Formerly, there were 900 such employees being prosecuted by the police. The General Secretary of the Union of the Roadways workers, Shri Jaswant Singh Samra, was jailed, and after being put in jail, charged under sec. 120 with conspiracy to overthrow the legal government of Mr. Gill. 2000 employees, particularly in Ferozpur, Ludhiana and Amritsar have been transferred arbitrarily just as a measure of victimisation. I would

remind the Minister that as recently as the 20th of this month, a deputation on behalf of the All India State Government employees had come here on deputation to our Parliament to meet the hon. Minister, Shri Chavan. He assured them that in the case of the states which were under presidential rule, he would intervene and see that justice was done to the employees. Now that it is the Centre's direct responsibility, all these cases of suspension, illegal termination of service or dismissals should be considered with a view to do justice to the persons concerned and a new spirit should be brought into play so that the morale of the low paid employees could be restored and they could contribute to proper administration.

I have no time to go into the allegations which had been listed in the memorandum which was submitted to the Rashtrapathi on behalf of the united Front Parties. If after the dismissal of the Gill Ministry a comprehensive enquiry is not ordered either under the Constitution or the Commission of Enquiry Act to look into those very serious charges, the country will conclude that they might have withdrawn their support from his Ministry but they have not withdrawn their support to the corruption and nepotism and the venal practices indulged in by him. That enquiry has to be made and then it will be found how serious the allegations are. They show that a large number of Congress MLAs—I have their names here—connected with transport and other business were bought over by Mr. Gill who gave them special facilities, permits and licences and allowed them to make large amounts of money through black market prices. These cases have all to be gone into.

There is another case. Mr. Bhagwan Singh Danewalia was the junior most DIG in Punjab and he was appointed by Mr. Gill as DIG, CID. Generally this post goes to the senior-most DIG. The seniormost DIG at that time, Mr. A. S. Miridha, was transferred and the juniormost man

was brought in. After that the entire CID apparatus was used for one purpose only that was to carry out victimisation and repression and intimidation against the political opponents of Mr. Gill. Hundreds of fabricated cases were brought against the prominent leaders of all the parties—Jan Sang, SSP, Republican Party, Communist Party and independent leaders—at the instance of this gentleman. He was the leader of that famous operation of which my hon. friend Mr. Dhillon was an eye witness; the notorious scene took place in the Punjab Assembly. I do not know why nobody referred to it. That also has created a new dimension. You may do constitutional or unconstitutional things. But only Mr. Gill has earned this unique distinction or honour of allowing this man to pass orders to bring in plain clothesman of the police force and goondans into the chamber of the assembly and use them to carry out physical assaults on the elected legislators and beat them inside the assembly premises. Was it a simple virtuous political experiment which the Congress was carrying on, even after those incidents hanging on to the coat tails of Mr. Gill. The police raj was prevailing, the rotten and corrupt anti-people administration was there. It was almost coming to the point of swallowing up the unity of the Congress Party. Till then they embraced his ministry very fondly. Only to save their own skin, to keep them out of the clutches of Mr. Gill, they have now come out. The elections should be held as early as possible. In the meantime, the commission of enquiry must be set up to go into these charges and the government servants who had been victimised should be restored their rights.

श्री साधुराम (फिल्लौर) : सभापति महोदय, आज सदन में पंजाब राज्य के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होने के बारे में चर्चा चल रही है और मैं पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन का आज के

[श्री साधूराम]

हालत में समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

बात दरअसल यह है कि जिस वक्त पंजाब में आम चुनाव हुए थे तो उस में कांग्रेस ने 48 सीटें जीती थी और उस के मुकाबले कुछ मुखालिफ़ पार्टियों ने, 6-7 पार्टियों ने इकट्ठे होकर, किसी ने 6, किसी ने 7, किसी ने 8 और किसी ने 9 सीटें जीती थी। आज जबकि हालात से मजबूर होकर वहाँ पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पड़ा है तो हमारे उधर के वह माननीय सदस्य डेमोक्रेसी की दुहाई दे रहे हैं और उस का दावा कर रहे हैं। वह यह भी दावा कर रहे हैं कि लोग उन के साथ हैं लेकिन यह तो एलैक्शन ने साबित कर दिया था कि जनता किस के साथ है। कांग्रेस पार्टी ने पंजाब में जितनी सीटें जीती थी किसी एक पार्टी में उतनी सीटें जीतने की ताकत नहीं थी और न ही वह जीत सकीं। उन को युनाइटेड फ्रंट बनाने के लिए 6-7 पार्टियों का संगठन करना पड़ा। उस में कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी थे, कुछ दूसरे लोग थे और यह जनसंघी भाई भी थे। यह लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल जिसकी विपक्षी दल वाले आज यहाँ इतनी मुखालफत कर रहे हैं वह गुरुनाम सिंह मिनिस्टरों में एक बड़ा एफैक्टिव मिनिस्टर था, उस में वह एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर होते थे। दरअसल गुरुनाम सिंह को चलाने वाले यह अकेले सरदार लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल ही थे। उस वक्त तो जनसंघी भाइयों को और कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों को यह लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल बहुत अच्छे आदमी लगते थे। जिस वक्त कांग्रेस के कुछ आदमी हमारे में से डिफैक्ट हो करके उधर चले गये उस वक्त उन्हें यह डिफैक्शन वृ नहीं लगा और उन के दिल में यह खयाल नहीं

आया कि वह इन कांग्रेस से डिफैक्ट करने वालों को अपने यहाँ क्यों सम्हाल रहे हैं और विरोधी दल के भाइयों ने अपने यहाँ इन को मिनिस्टर बना दिया। उस वक्त जनसंघ और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के भाइयों ने यह नहीं सोचा कि यह डिफैक्शन अच्छी चीज़ नहीं है उस वक्त तो लालच देकर उन को अपने में मिला लिया लेकिन अब उन को यह अकल आई कि डिफैक्शन का यह तरीका अच्छा नहीं है। डिफैक्शन का यह तरीका अच्छा नहीं है यह चीज़ उन्हें तब याद आई जिस वक्त कि खुद उन में से डिफैक्शन होने लगे। कुछ देर के बाद अर्थात् 9 महीने के बाद वह सारे के सारे आपस में बिगड़े क्योंकि आखिर वह था तो भानुमति का कुनवा ही और उन की आपस में आइडियोलोजी और सिद्धान्त एक दूसरे से मिलते नहीं थे। हालत यह थी कि कम्युनिस्टों का मिनिस्टर वहाँ अपनी रट चलाता था, जनसंघी भाइयों के मिनिस्टर अपना अलग काम करते थे, गुरुनाम सिंह अलग फिरते थे, लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल अलग फिरते थे, उस समय उन में से 16-17 आदमी और लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल जोकि गुरुनाम सिंह की मिनिस्टरों में बहुत ईमानदार आदमी थे, बहुत अच्छे आदमी थे, संत फतेह सिंह का हाथ उन के सिर पर था और संत फतेह सिंह की अकाली पार्टी के वह जनरल सेक्रेटरी भी थे, उस वक्त तक तो वह लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल बहुत अच्छे आदमी थे लेकिन जिस वक्त कुछ उन से बिगड़ कर इधर कांग्रेस की शरण में आ गये तब से वह खराब हो गये। उस ने कहा कि मैं पंजाब में अपने तजुबों के आधार पर काम करना चाहता हूँ और मुझे मौका दिया जाय तब कांग्रेसी भाइयों ने जिनमें 43 एम० एल० एज० थे उन्होंने फैमला किया कि इन को भी हम एक्सपैरीमेंट करके देखेंगे और

परिणामस्वरूप उन को सपोट करना शुरू कर दिया। लेकिन किसी कांग्रेसी ने गिल वजारत में मिनिस्टरी नहीं ली। उस वक्त मेरे इन भाइयों को तकलीफ हुई कि वह गिल उन के पास से क्यों चला गया और कांग्रेस के साथ जाते ही वह बेईमान हो गया या उस ने बहुत बुरा काम किया। उस ने सिक्खों के यह किया और जनसंघियों को यह कर दिया। गरब यह कि अपोजीशन के लोग उस के खिलाफ शोर मचाने लगे।

आज जो वह हमारे जनसंघी भाई बोले हैं, पंडित यज्ञदत्त शर्मा, जोकि पंजाब जनसंघ के लीडर हैं, अपने भाषण के दौरान वह बहुत रोना रोये हैं कि यह हो गया और वह हो गया लेकिन मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल के बारे में यह सब बातें उस वक्त उन को याद नहीं थीं जिस वक्त कि वह उन की मिनिस्टरी में काम करते थे? उस वक्त तो वह बहुत नेक थे लेकिन जिस वक्त वह लक्ष्मण सिंह गिल कांग्रेस की तरफ आ गये तो वह बेईमान हो गये और भ्रष्ट हो गये। यह एक अजीब तमाशा इन अपोजीशन वालों ने बना रक्खा है कि कांग्रेस से जो व्यक्ति डिफैक्ट कर के उन की तरफ जाता है उस वक्त तो वह डिफैक्टर कांग्रेसी बहुत अच्छा लगता है लेकिन जिस वक्त वह उधर से निकल कर हमारी तरफ आ जाता है तो वह बहुत बुरा आदमी बन जाता है और बेईमान आदमी बन जाता है। एक अजीब तमाशा इन लोगों ने बना रक्खा है।

अभी हाल में पंजाब में सीए स्थिति पैदा हो गयी थी कि वहाँ पंजाब में 43 कांग्रेसियों के साथ और 11 एम० एल० एज० आने के लिए तैयार थे। उन्होंने लिख कर भी दे दिया था। इस के अलावा गिल मिनिस्टरी के रैबैन्स्यु मिनिस्टर ने

लिख कर रिजाइन कर दिया था और कहा कि वह कांग्रेस को जुबाइन करने वाले हैं। वह भी कांग्रेस में आने वाले थे। जाहिर है कि जनता पार्टी के यह 11 एम० एल० एज० के आने के बाद कांग्रेस की मेजारिटी वहाँ पर बन जाती थी और वहाँ पर कांग्रेस मिनिस्टरी कायम कर सकती थी लेकिन यहाँ कांग्रेस हाई कमान्ड ने और कुछ यहाँ के एम० पीज० लोगों ने और कुछ कांग्रेस के एम० एल० एज० आदि लोगों ने सोचा कि यह तमाशा खत्म ही कर देना चाहिए। सभी लोग जनता के आगे जावें और वहाँ जाकर वोट मांगें। जनता जिन के हक में अपना फैसला दे वह दुबारा अपनी स्टेबुल गवर्नमेंट पंजाब में बनायें। इस में बेहतर मेरी समझ में और कोई दूसरा फैसला नहीं हो सकता था। मेरा खयाल है कि अपोजीशन वालों को होम मिनिस्टर और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को इस बात पर बधाई देनी चाहिए कि उन्होंने बहुत अच्छा कदम उठाया है। जिस राज्य में भी स्टेबुल गवर्नमेंट नहीं बनती है उस सूबे के लोगों का कोई भला नहीं हो सकता है।

एक हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई ने कहा है कि आगे के लिए जो युनाइटेड फ्रंट बनेंगे वह सोच समझ कर बनेंगे। हम उन की इस बात का स्वागत करते हैं और आगे एलैक्शन आने वाला है वह सोच समझ कर अपने फ्रंट बनाये। अगर पहले उन्होंने कुछ अकल की बात नहीं की है तो अब अवश्य कर लें और उस आधार पर अगर वह युनाइटेड फ्रंट बनाते हैं तो मैं उन को बधाई दूंगा।

लेकिन युनाइटेड फ्रंट के उसूल, उन की आईडियोलोजी, सब को इकट्ठा कर के बनें तो मैं उस को वेलकम करूंगा। आज उन के नजरिये अलग-अलग हैं, उन की आइडियोलोजी अलग-अलग

[श्री साधूराम]

होती हैं, वह लोगों का क्या भला कर सकते हैं। देश इन सब बातों से वाकिफ है। वोटर लोग यह जान चुके हैं कि यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की जो गवर्नमेंटें बनी हैं वह अलग-अलग अपनी-अपनी डपली बजाया करती थीं। लोग उन्हें अब समझ गये हैं। हरियाण को इस का तजुर्वा हो चुका था, इस लिये उस ने दुबारा यूनाइटेड फ्रंट के हक में वोट नहीं दिया, उन्होंने कांग्रेस के हक में वोट दिया है।

मैं अकाली दल और जनसंघ के भाइयों को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ। वह कभी-कभी कहते हैं कि उन को कांग्रेस लड़ाती है क्योंकि वह पहले नाबालिग थे, बच्चे थे। चूँकि सन्त फतेह सिंह और मास्टर तारा-सिंह और जन संघ वाले नाबालिग थे इस लिये कांग्रेस उन को लड़ाती थी। अब वह बालिग हो गये हैं, उन में काफी समझ आ गई है। मैं उन को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि उन में अक्ल आ गई है। वह अब अपनी नाबालिगी की बात छोड़े और डट कर जन संघ और अकाली दल एक साथ चलें। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आगे भी वह ठीक से चल नहीं पायेंगे। वह भानुमती का पिटारा न पहले चल सकता था और न आगे चल पायेगा। कहीं की ईट, कहीं का रोड़ा, भानुमती ने कुनबा जोड़ा, जब यह हाल है तो वह लोगों के लिये कैसे अच्छी गवर्नमेंट सिद्ध हो सकती है।

मैं इस सरकार को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि उस ने पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर दिया, क्योंकि इस के अलावा और कोई तरकीब नहीं थी। अब मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से लोगों की तकलीफों को रफा करवाने की कोशिश करें।

15-42 hrs.

### RE-INCIDENT IN THE PUBLIC GALLERY

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri S. M. Joshi.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : Sir, before you proceed, I want to ask of you to guide us in this matter. Under Rule 387A it is said:

“An officer of the Secretariat authorised in this behalf by the Speaker shall remove from the precincts of the House or take into custody, any stranger whom he may see, or who may be reported to him to be in any portion of the precincts of the House which is reserved for the exclusive use of members, and also any stranger who, having been admitted into any portion of the precincts of the House, misconducts himself or wilfully infringes the regulations made by the Speaker under rule 386 or does not withdraw when the strangers are directed to withdraw under Rule 387 while the House is sitting.”

Mr. Chairman, you are aware of the very sad and disturbing incident that took place.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): Sir, how does it arise now?

SHRI NATH PAI: I have quoted the rules. I would like the hon. Minister to read the rules.

Sir, this incident took place this morning. We have been thinking that the House will be informed about it. Of course, we appreciate the difficulties of the Security Guard in seeing that nobody disturbs. On the other hand I must be failing in my duty if I do not say that none of us was happy to see that young lady being manhandled by the Security staff. The Security Guards must have more lady members. I do not think you were happy to see the way