

[Shri K. C. Pant]

March, 1971, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Mysore."

I beg to move for approval of the Proclamation issued on 27th March, 1971, under Article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Mysore.

Copies of the Governor's report leading to the issue of the Proclamation have been laid on the Table of the House. But I shall briefly mention the circumstances necessitating recourse to the provisions of Article 356. It may be recalled that when in March, 1971, discussions were in progress in the State Legislature on the Budget proposals for 1971-72, Shri Veerendra Patil resigned from the office of Chief Minister. His resignation was accepted; but the Governor requested him to continue in office till alternative arrangements could be made. As a result of this development the Budget for the year 1971-72 could not be passed and the Legislative Assembly was adjourned *sine die*. The Governor held consultations with leaders of opposition parties in an effort to constitute an alternative Government. He, however, came to the conclusion that this was not possible. The business of the Government would have come to a standstill on 1st April, 1971, because the Budget for the financial year 1971-72 had not been passed. The Governor, therefore, recommended that the President might take over the administration of the State under the provisions of Article 356. In accordance with the recommendation, the Presidential Proclamation was issued on 27th March, 1971. Since it was still hoped that the formation of an alternative Ministry in the State would be possible, the Legislative Assembly was not dissolved.

After the issue of the Proclamation, the Governor continued his efforts to form an alternative Government. When he found that this was not possible, he recommended to the President that the Legislative Assembly of the State be dissolved so that fresh elections could be held. On 14th April, 1971, the President dissolved the Assembly by an Order under Article 174(2) (b) of the Constitution.

The Election Commission is undertaking

intensive revision of electoral rolls in a number of States, including Mysore. This revision is expected to be completed in October this year. Steps will then be taken to hold fresh elections to the Legislative Assembly of the State on the basis of the revised rolls.

In accordance with clause 3 of Article 356, the Proclamation issued in relation to the State of Mysore will cease to operate on 27th May, 1971, unless meanwhile, it has been approved by the Parliament. As I have stated, it will be possible to hold fresh elections in Mysore on the basis of the revised electoral rolls after October this year. Therefore, I would request the House to grant its approval of the Proclamation, so that it may continue for a further period of six months.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Resolution moved :

"That this House approves the proclamation issued by the President on the 27th March, 1971, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the state of Mysore."

Now, Shri Bade.

15 hrs.

श्री धार० बी० बडे (खरगोन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय . . .

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : May I interrupt the hon. Member? The Prime Minister is expected to make a statement on Bangla Desh now. The hon. Prime Minister.

15 1 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. SITUATION IN BANGLA DESH

PRADHAN MANTRI, PARMANU URJA MANTRI, GRIH MANTRI TATHA SOOCHANA AUR PRASARAN MANTRI (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the seven weeks since

parliament recessed, the attention of the entire country has been focussed on the continuing tragedy in Bangla Desh. Honourable Members will recall the atmosphere of hope in which we met in March. We all felt that our country was poised for rapid economic advance and a more determined attack on the age-old poverty of our people. Even as we were settling down to these new tasks, we have been engulfed by a new and gigantic problem, not of our making.

On the 15th and 16th May, I visited Assam, Tripura and West Bengal, to share the suffering of the refugees from Bangla Desh, to convey to them the sympathy and support of this House and the people of India and to see for myself the arrangements which are being made for their care. I am sorry it was not possible to visit other camps this time. Every available building, including schools and training institution, has been requisitioned. Thousands of tents have been pitched and temporary shelters are being constructed as quickly as possible in the 335 camps which have been established so far. In spite of our best efforts, we have not been able to provide shelter to all those who have come across, and many are still in the open. The district authorities are under severe strain. Before they can cope with those who are already here, 60,000 more are coming across every day.

So massive a migration, in so short a time, is unprecedented in recorded history. About three and a half million people have come into India from Bangla Desh during the last eight weeks. They belong to every religious persuasion—Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian. They come from every social class and age group. They are not refugees in the sense we have understood this word since Partition. They are victims of war who have sought refuge from the military terror across our frontier.

Many refugees are wounded and need urgent medical attention. I saw some of them in the hospitals I visited in Tripura and West Bengal. Medical facilities in all our border States have been stretched to breaking point. Equipment for 1,100 new hospital beds has been rushed to these States, including a 400 bed mobile hospital, generously donated by

the Government of Rajasthan. Special teams of surgeons, physicians, nurses and public health experts have been deputed to the major camps. Special water supply schemes are being executed on the highest priority, and preventive health measures are being undertaken on a large scale.

In our sensitive border States, which are facing the brunt, the attention of the local administration has been diverted from normal and development work to problems of camp administration, civil supplies and security. But our people have put the hardships of the refugees above their own, and have stood firm against the attempts of Pakistani agent-provocateurs to cause communal strife. I am sure this fine spirit will be maintained.

On present estimates, the cost to the Central Exchequer on relief alone may exceed Rs. 180 crores for a period of six months. All this, as Honourable Members will appreciate, has imposed an unexpected burden on us.

I was heartened by the fortitude with which these people of Bangla Desh have borne tribulation, and by the hope which they have for their future. It is mischievous to suggest that India has had anything to do with what happened in Bangla Desh. This is an insult to the aspirations and spontaneous sacrifices of the people of Bangla Desh, and a calculated attempt by the rulers of Pakistan to make India a scapegoat for their own misdeeds. It is also a crude attempt to deceive the world community. The world press has seen through Pakistan's deception. The majority of these so-called Indian infiltrators are women, children and the aged.

This House has considered many national and international issues of vital importance to our country. But none of them has touched us so deeply as the events in Bangla Desh. When faced with a situation of such gravity, it is specially important to weigh every word in acquainting this House, and our entire people with the issues involved and the responsibilities which now devolve on us all.

These twenty-three years and more, we have never tried to interfere with the internal affairs of Pakistan, even though they have

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

not exercised similar restraint. And even now we do not seek to interfere in any way. But what has actually happened? What was claimed to be an internal problem of Pakistan, has also become an internal problem for India. We are, therefore, entitled to ask Pakistan to desist immediately from all actions which it is taking in the name of domestic jurisdiction, and which vitally affect the peace and well-being of millions of our own citizens. Pakistan cannot be allowed to seek a solution of its political or other problems at the expense of India and on Indian soil.

Has Pakistan the right to compel at bayonet-point not hundreds, not hundreds of thousands, but millions of its citizens to flee their home? For us it is an intolerable situation. The fact that we are compelled to give refuge and succour to these unfortunate millions cannot be used as an excuse to push more and more people across our border.

We are proud of our tradition of tolerance. We have always felt contrite and ashamed of our moments of intolerance. Our nation, our people are dedicated to peace and are not given to talking in terms of war or threat of war. But I should like to caution our people that we may be called upon to bear still heavier burdens.

The problems which confront us are not confined to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and West Bengal. They are national problems. Indeed the basic problem is an international one.

We have sought to awaken the conscience of the world through our representatives abroad and the representatives of foreign Governments in India. We have appealed to the United Nations, and, at long last, the true dimensions of the problem seem to be making themselves felt in some of the sensitive chanceries of the world. However, I must share with the House, our disappointment at the unconscionably long time which the world is taking to react to this stark tragedy.

Not only India but every country has to consider its interests. I think I am expressing the sentiments of this august House and of

our people when I raise my voice against the wanton destruction of peace, good neighbourliness and elementary principles of humanity by the insensate action of the military rulers of Pakistan. They are threatening the peace and stability of the vast segment of humanity represented by India.

We welcome Secretary General, U Thant's, public appeal. We are glad that a number of States have either responded or are in the process of doing so. But time is the essence of the matter. Also the question of giving relief to these millions of people is only part of the problem. Relief cannot be perpetual, or permanent; and we do not wish it to be so. Condition must be created to stop any further influx of refugees and to ensure their early return under credible guarantees for their future safety and well-being. I say with all sense of responsibility that unless this happens, there can be no lasting stability or peace on this sub-continent. We have pleaded with other Powers to recognise this. If the world does not take heed, we shall be constrained to take all measures as may be necessary to ensure our own security and the preservation and development of the structure of our social and economic life.

We are convinced that there can be no military solution to the problem of East Bengal. A political solution must be brought about by those who have the power to do so. World opinion is a great force. It can influence even the most powerful. The Great powers have a special responsibility. If they exercise their power rightly and expeditiously then only we can look forward to durable peace on our sub-continent. But if they fail—and I sincerely hope that they will not—then this suppression of human rights, the uprooting of people, and the continued homelessness of vast numbers of human beings will threaten peace.

This situation cannot be tackled in a partisan spirit or in terms of party politics. The issues involved concern every citizen. I hope that this Parliament, our country and our people will be ready to accept the necessary hardships so that we can discharge our responsibilities to our own people as well

as to the millions, who have fled from a reign of terror to take temporary refuge here.

All this imposes on us heavy obligations and the need for stern national discipline. We shall have to make many sacrifices. Our factories and farms must produce more. Our railways and our entire transport and communication system must work uninterruptedly. This is no time for any interplay of regional or sectional interests. Everything must be subordinated to sustain our economic, social and political fabric and to reinforce national solidarity. I appeal to every citizen, every man, woman and child to be imbued with the spirit of service and sacrifice of which, I know, this nation is capable.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : All the opposition leaders met the Speaker in the morning when we pressed for the admission of our adjournment motion. The Speaker told us that he would allow some discussion on the issue of Bangla Desh. Then we were informed that the Prime Minister would make a statement. I want to know whether there will be a discussion on the basis of the statement.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You know the rules. If you want a discussion, and the Speaker has agreed, you send a notice.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : He said today or tomorrow.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : The statement may be circulated.

15.13 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE. PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF MYSORE—Contd.

श्री धार० बी० बड्डे : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी पंत जी जो रैजोल्यूशन लाए हैं, उसके द्वारा वह जो मैसूर में प्रोमलेशन आफ प्रेसीडेंट्स रूल हुआ है उसका सदन से अप्रूवल

चाहते हैं। मैसूर पहले से एक प्रोग्रेसिव स्टेट थी। जब से यह स्टेट बनी, तभी से यह प्रोग्रेसिव स्टेट रही है। तो ऐसी प्रोग्रेसिव स्टेट में जब वह प्रोमलेशन लाए तो उस का कारण क्या है, यह हमें देखना चाहिए। वहाँ पर यह प्रेसीडेंट्स रूल का प्रोमलेशन डिफेन्स के कारण हुआ। लेकिन मैसूर में यह डिफेन्स क्यों हुए और डिफेन्स को बन्द करने के लिए कोई कानून आना चाहिए या नहीं, यह चीज हमें देखनी है। डिफेन्स जो होते हैं, यह दलदलधनुओं की और आयाराम और गयाराम की जो पद्धति चल रही है उस पद्धति को खत्म नहीं किया गया, इसे बन्द नहीं किया गया तो हर प्रदेश में एक दिन प्रेसीडेंट्स रूल लागू हो जाएगा। मैसूर में हमने देखा कि 18 मार्च को पहले बीरेन्द्र पाटिल साहब ने त्याग-पत्र दिया और इसके बाद 27 मार्च को असेम्बली सेस्पेंड हो गई और प्रेसीडेंट्स रूल लागू हो गया। लेकिन प्रेसीडेंट्स रूल लागू होने के बाद भी यह देखा गया कि मिनिस्ट्री बन सकती है या नहीं। तो बीरेन्द्र पाटिल ने कहा कि मैं इस प्रकार की मिनिस्ट्री फार्म करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ जिसमें कि डिफेन्स हों। जो सदस्य कल तक कांग्रेस (ओ०) में थे, वह मिनिस्ट्री मिले, इसके लिए दल बदलते हैं तो उनको लेकर मिनिस्ट्री बनाना बहुत गलत पद्धति है। लेकिन कांग्रेस का पूरा ढाँचे का ढाँचा जो है राष्ट्रपति चुनाव से लेकर आज तक, वह दल-बदलुओं से भरा हुआ चला आ रहा है। मेरा कहना यह है कि यह प्रथा बन्द होनी चाहिए और इसके लिए कोई कानून बनाना चाहिए। नहीं तो आप देखें इतनी प्रोग्रेसिव स्टेट मैसूर जैसी केवल डिफेन्स की वजह से प्रेसीडेंट्स रूल वहाँ पर लागू हो गया। मैसूर स्टेट में गवर्नर जो हैं वह धर्मवीर जी हैं। गवर्नर्स के बारे में पहले एक प्रथा थी कि पहले यह केवल डेकोरेटिव होते थे। लेकिन 1967 के बाद से इनके ऊपर एक जिम्मेदारी आने लग गई। इनके बारे में एक बिल भी पहले