

want to wait might wait. The then Home Minister gave an assurance in this House and in the other House that he would hold investigations into the licence matter and the results of the investigation would be made known to us. In pursuance of that promise, he is making a statement.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) : Before the House adjourns today, a statement will be made.

#### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176 RE. PRESENT SITUATION IN BIHAR—Contd.

श्री श्याम लाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बिहार में जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है उस सिलसिले में मैं दो-तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि जब वहाँ पर आन्दोलन 9 महीने पहले शुरू हुआ तो छात्रों का आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ। धीरे-धीरे उस आन्दोलन में जयप्रकाश जी ने हिस्सा लिया। छात्रों ने उन्हें बुलाया, उनकी दिलचस्पी हुई। इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं कि आज उत्तर भारत के अधिकांश जिलों में और शिक्षण संस्थाओं में जयप्रकाश जी के प्रति छात्र में बड़ा आकर्षण है। जब तक, जयप्रकाश जी ने उस आन्दोलन में विधान सभा के भंग करने का प्रश्न नहीं उठाया था तब तक राजनीतिक दलों की दिलचस्पी उसमें नहीं के बराबर थी। ज्यों ही विधान सभा भंग करने का प्रश्न उन्होंने उठाया राजनीतिक दलों की दिलचस्पी शुरू हो गई। मैं नम्रता के साथ निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूँ कि इस आन्दोलन ने बिहार की राजनीतिक अस्थिरता में और अस्थिरता उत्पन्न की। विधान सभा के चुने हुए सदस्यों ने किसी भी दल के आदेश को मानने से इन्कार कर दिया। जितने भी दलों ने आदेश दिया उनके अधिकांश सदस्यों ने, विधायकों ने उस आदेश का पालन नहीं किया। एक नतीजा जयप्रकाश जी के आन्दोलन का हुआ कि विधान सभा तो विघटित नहीं हुई, लेकिन विधान सभा में

विरोधी दलों के सदस्यों ने उस दल को विघटित कर दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि वह परम्परा उचित नहीं है।

मान्यवर, हमने जो संविधान स्वीकार किया है और जिसके अन्तर्गत शासन चल रहा है, चुनाव चल रहे हैं उस संविधान की एक परिणति है कि जिसको बहुमत प्राप्त होता है वह निर्वाचित होता है। यह होगा कि जो व्यक्ति चुना जाय किसी क्षेत्र विशेष में उसको 30 प्रतिशत मत मिलें, 25 प्रतिशत मत मिलें और उसके विरुद्ध खड़े हुए 4-5 उम्मीदवारों को ज्यादा मत मिलें। यह होता है और इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था में आगे भी होगा। या तो हम इस संविधान को बदल दें, किसी दूसरी चुनाव प्रणाली को मान लें तब यह स्थिति आ सकती है कि जो भी व्यक्ति चुनाव में जीते वह वही हो जिसे जितने वोट पड़ें उनका बहुमत प्राप्त हो, अन्यथा यह व्यवस्था रहेगी कि अल्पमत का आदमी चुना जायगा और इसी प्रकार से लोग चुन कर सभी विधान सभाओं में और संसद में आ रहे हैं। इसी के साथ यह भी है कि वे तमाम लोग जिन्होंने व्यक्ति विशेष के विरुद्ध मत दिया है—70-75 प्रतिशत ऐसे होंगे जो जीते हुए व्यक्ति के विरुद्ध होंगे—वे चाहेंगे कि वह जल्दी से जल्दी हट जाय, इसमें सब एक राय जाते हैं, लेकिन जब चुनाव होगा सब पार्टियाँ अपनी अपनी जगह आ जायंगी और इसी प्रकार एक व्यक्ति इस दल का या उस दल का चुन कर आ जायगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर हमने यह स्वीकार कर लिया कि बहुमत चुने हुए व्यक्ति के विरुद्ध हो जाय तो उसको वापस बुला लिया जाय तो वह हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान की मंशा के विरुद्ध होगा। हाँ, अगर हमने दूसरा तरीका अपनाया और उसमें सदस्यों को वापस बुलाने की व्यवस्था की तो हो सकता है जैसे स्विट्जरलैंड में है अथवा रूस में है। दुनियाँ के किसी और देश में नहीं हैं। मान्यवर, मैं बड़ी नम्रता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ

कि जयप्रकाश जी ने जिन मुद्दों पर इस आन्दोलन को अपना समर्थन दिया है जैसे भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने के लिए, शिक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन के लिए, मंहगाई मिटाने के लिए, बेकारी हटाने के लिए—उसमें कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। उसमें हर एक दल का सहयोग होना चाहिए और आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि बिहार में कहां भ्रष्टाचार है, इसको स्पष्ट किया जाता। कौन वहां भ्रष्ट है, आखिर भ्रष्टाचार हो रहा है तो वह राज पुष्प कर रहे हैं, राज नेता कर रहे हैं, कर्मचारी कर रहे हैं और जनता जिसके हाथ में कोई व्यवसाय है वह भी भ्रष्ट होंगे, उनके ऊपर कोई उंगली नहीं उठाई जाती। पुलिस जिस तरह से काम करती है, चाहे कोई भ्रष्ट हो लेकिन उसके बिबुध सभी को शिकायत रहती है, शायद ही किसी को पुलिस में विश्वास हो सिवाय मरकार को छोड़कर। उनको पकड़ कर हम बताएं और साबित हो जाए तो उसको नमाप्त किया जा सकता है। मैं समझता हूं कि इस में किसी को नाराजगी नहीं है।

विधान सभा भंग करने की मांग के मैं बिबुध हूं क्योंकि इस प्रकार से विधान सभायें भंग करने की परम्परा चली तो जो पार्टियों का स्टैंड था उसमें परिवर्तन होगा। अभी तक विरोधी दलों का यह स्टैंड रहा है कि विधान सभा भंग होनी चाहिए। यह सही है कि कई विधान सभाओं को आपने लाभ या नुविधा की दृष्टि से भंग कर दिया और इसका अनुचित लाभ उठाया। केरल की विधान-सभा के विघटन का प्रश्न आया। मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से सदन को याद दिलाना चाहूंगा कि नम्बूदरिपाद की सरकार वहां पर बनी तो वह केवल दो मत से बनी। वह सरकार वहां पर चलती रहती, उसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं था, लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने जो तरीका अपनाया उससे वहां पर एक विद्रोह उठ खड़ा हुआ। उन्होंने हर थाने पर 5 सदस्यों की

एक कमेटी बना दी और थानेदार को कहा कि वह जो भी काम करेगा वह उस कमेटी से पूछ कर करेगा। दूसरे विभागों में भी इसी तरह की कमेटीज बना दी गई। सारा केरल प्रदेश दो हिस्सों में बंट गया। एक तरफ कम्युनिस्ट समर्थक लोग थे और दूसरी तरफ उनके विरोधी लोग। मैं समझता हूं कि बिहार में वैसी विद्रोह की स्थिति नहीं है। केरल में जब इस तरह की स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई तो सारे देश में कोई दल यह नहीं कह सकता कि उसने उसका समर्थन नहीं किया। सारे गैर कम्युनिस्ट सदस्यों ने और जनता ने उसका समर्थन किया कि वह विधान सभा विघटित की जाए। इसलिए वह विघटित हुई। अभी गुजरात में विधान सभा को भंग किया गया। नव-निर्माण समिति वहां पर बनी। लेकिन बड़ी नम्रता से मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जिन उद्देश्यों के लिए वह विघटित की गई उसकी पूर्ति नहीं हुई और विधान सभा विघटित इसलिए हो गई कि वहां के कांग्रेस पार्टी के मंत्रियों ने और वहां के मुख्य मंत्री ने भी इस्तीफा दे दिया। अब प्रधान मंत्री मानी कि उनसे गलती हुई और वह एक परम्परा चली। ठीक वही स्थिति बिहार में नहीं है। कांग्रेस पार्टी में मतभेद है। लेकिन सरकार चलती रही है। सदस्यों ने इस्तीफा नहीं दिया। ऐसी स्थिति में कोई औचित्य नहीं है कि बिहार की विधान सभा भंग की जाय। यह सही है कि छात्र चाहते हैं कि विघटन हो। वहां पर छात्रों का प्रभाव है और छात्रों के बल पर कोई वहां उनमें विश्वास पैदा कर सके तो देश के किसी भी हिस्से में वह अशांति पैदा कर सकते हैं और छात्र जन जीवन को भंग कर सकते हैं। हड़ताल होती है तो क्यों होती है। वह नारा देते हैं तो हर व्यापारी उनसे डरता है कि अगर हमने हड़ताल नहीं की तो हमारी दुकान लूट ली जायगी। दिल्ली में नारा दिया गया—जो बन्द सो तुम्हारा, जो खुला सो हमारा। इस नारे की ईजाद यहां पर यूनिवर्सिटी के विद्यार्थी परिषद के अध्यक्ष थे उन्होंने की और कहा कि अगर

सरकार नहीं मानेगी तो छापामार जड़वाई लड़ेंगे। इसका क्या मतलब हुआ ? क्या लोग डर न जाएंगे ? उन गरीब मजदूरों से पूछा जाय, छोटे रोजगार करने वालों से पूछा जाय जब हड़ताल होती है तो कितनी मुश्किल से अपनी जिन्दगी बसर करते हैं। अगर पटना भ्रष्टाचारी है तो जला दिया जाय। जो महल बने हैं वह भ्रष्टाचारी के बने हैं। हमें यह देखना चाहिए कि इन महलों पर कितना रुपया खर्च होता है वह कहां से आता है। बड़े-बड़े लोग अपने बच्चों को पटना में दिल्ली में पढ़ाने के लिए ला रहे हैं। यह स्थिति पैदा हो गई है बिहार में। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि बिहार में किसी भ्रष्टाचारी विशेष के विरुद्ध कोई आवाज नहीं उठा रहा है। किसी भ्रष्टाचारी को अगर पकड़ लिया जाए तो उसकी सफाई के लिए लोग पैरवी करने चले आएंगे। इस समय जितने लोगों के विरुद्ध कमीशन आफ इन्क्वायरी बैठाई गई भूतपूर्व कई मुख्य मंत्रियों के विरुद्ध उसमें कांग्रेस के मुख्यमंत्री भी थे, दूसरी पार्टियों के मुख्यमंत्री भी थे, उप मुख्यमंत्री भी थे लेकिन उनके विरुद्ध फैसला हुआ। कमीशन ने कहा कि इनका आचरण सन्देह से परे नहीं है। कुछ आरोप भी उन्होंने साबित किए और वे ही लोग आज विरोधी दलों में भी उच्च पदों पर आसीन हैं। जो लोग भ्रष्टाचार के विरुद्ध हैं उनको भी हमने देखा है। जो पहले कांग्रेस में थे और बाद में विरोधी दल में बैठ गए उनका भी शासन हमने देखा है। वह कितने भ्रष्ट थे हम सब जानते हैं परन्तु वे आज भ्रष्टाचार को दूर करने की बात कर रहे हैं। मान्यवर, अगर राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से हम देखें तो सारी बातें सही हैं लेकिन बिहार में जैसी स्थिति है उसका हल किसी प्रदेश की विधान सभा को भंग करके नहीं निकाला जा सकता। उसका हल निकालने के लिए सभी दलों को मिल कर काम करना होगा और सरकार को भी जो दोषी है, जो अपराधी है, जो भ्रष्ट है उनके विरुद्ध सख्त कार्रवाई करनी होगी। चाहे राज्य कर्मचारी हो, अफसर हो

या दूसरा कोई हो उनके खिलाफ कार्रवाई होनी चाहिए इसमें किसी को आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : He is tendering his *bona fides* to cross over to your side.

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, आज बिहार के संबंध में श्रीर जयप्रकाश जी के आंदोलन के संबंध में जो भाषण हुए उनसे यह महसूस हुआ कि इस देश में सभी पार्टियों के दिल में एक बड़ी आग है जनतंत्र को बचाने की और यदि कोई एक पार्टी है जो जनतंत्र को नष्ट करना चाहती है तो सिर्फ कांग्रेस है जबकि अपने देश का जो इतिहास है वह इसके विपरीत है। वह कौन नहीं जानता कि जब इस देश के अन्दर गुलामी थी तो इस देश की आजादी के लिए अगर किसी ने संघर्ष किया तो सिर्फ कांग्रेस ने किया। श्रीमन्, आज 25 साल हो गए जनतंत्र को बनते-बनते अब जब उसकी इमारत बनकर तैयार हुई हो सकता है कि उसमें कुछ कमियां हों, खामियां हों, कोई कितना ही बड़ा आर्किटेक्ट क्यों न हो उसकी इमारत में भी कोई न कोई खामी रह ही जाती है, कोई न कोई कमी रह ही जाती है।

श्रीमन्, मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि जयप्रकाश जी जैसे नेता, मैं भी उनमें से एक हूं जिन्होंने कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के अन्दर उनका जय-जयकार किया था जब वे हजारीबाग जेल से भाग कर आए थे, उसको फांद कर आए थे। मैं भी समझता था कि पंडित नेहरू के बाद अगर कोई दूसरा नेता देश को मिला है तो वह यही हैं।

मुझे इस बात की तकलीफ है और मैंने एक बात सीखी है कि कोई भी

[श्री नवल किशोर]

राजनीतिक व्यक्ति यह कहे कि मैंने धन्यास ले लिया राजनीति से तो मान्यवर, राजनीति से कभी कोई सन्यास नहीं लेता। उसके दिल के अन्दर राजनीति की तमन्ना रहती है वह कभी भी अपने आप को प्रकट कर देती है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि जयप्रकाश जी बड़े आदमी हैं मगर जब कभी भी देश के सामने ऐतिहासिक कठिनाइयाँ आई, चाहे वह कश्मीर का प्रश्न था, चाहे वह नागालैंड का प्रश्न था, चाहे वह बंगला देश का प्रश्न था, चाहे वह पाकिस्तान का प्रश्न था और चाहे वह बेसिक डेमोक्रेसी का प्रश्न था जयप्रकाश जी ने सदा उलटी ओपीनियन दी। हो सकता है कि उनकी राय में, जैसाकि बनारसी दास जी ने कहा कि वह सत्य के साधक हैं, उन्होंने सत्य की कल्पना के अनुसार ही बातें कही हों लेकिन उन्होंने हमेशा वही बातें कहीं जिससे देश के लोगों में मिसअंडरस्टैंडिंग पैदा हो और उसमें बनारसी दास जी भी थे।

श्री बनारसी दास : आप मेरा नाम ले रहे हैं मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने कभी भी मिसअंडरस्टैंडिंग नहीं होने दी।

श्री नवल किशोर : कोई बात नहीं है इनको महसूस नहीं हुआ हो बावजूद इसके कि मिसअंडरस्टैंडिंग हो रही है। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर श्री जयप्रकाश जी पोलिटिक्स में हिस्सा लेना चाहते हैं तो वे कंस्ट्रक्टिव तरीके से हिस्सा लें। इसमें किसी को कोई आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि श्री जयप्रकाश जी एक बहुत बड़े नेता हैं। लेकिन आप इस बात का अंदाजा लगाइए, वे कौन से लोग हैं जो इस वक्त उनका साथ दे रहे हैं? यह भानुमती का पिटारा क्या है?

श्री बनारसी दास : आप जानते हैं कि गंगा में बहुत सी नदियाँ मिलती हैं।

श्री नवल किशोर : यह ठीक है कि गंगा में बहुत सी नदियाँ मिलती हैं, लेकिन उनकी गंदगी भी उनमें मिल जाती है और अब तो गंगा के पानी में भी पोल्यूशन को समाप्त करने के लिए एक कमेटी बैठी हुई है। श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस भानुमती के पिटारे में कौन-कौन से लोग हैं। आडवाणी जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं और सी० पी० (एम०) वाले भी बैठे हुए हैं। ये सब लोग डेमोक्रेसी की दुहाई दे रहे हैं। मैं यह साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री आडवाणी जी की पार्टी का डेमोक्रेसी से कोई वास्ता नहीं है। यह तो उनकी एक स्ट्रैटेजी है। इसी प्रकार की स्थिति सी० पी० आई० की भी है। जहां तक सी० पी० एम० का ताल्लुक है, जब जयप्रकाश जी ने सोवियत संघ के कम्युनिज्म को गलत बताया और चीन के कम्युनिज्म को ठीक बताया तो सी० पी० एम० वाले उनका साथ देने लगे।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You do not know A, B, C of things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Please do not disturb him.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : I may not understand; but I do not want to understand anything from you.

दूसरी बात जो कही जाती है वह टोटल रिवोल्यूशन की है। जब श्री जयप्रकाश जी ने चीन के कम्युनिज्म की तारीफ की तब मैं समझता हूँ कि उनके सामने माऊ-त्से-तुंग के कलचरल रिवोल्यूशन की कोई तस्वीर अवश्य रही होगी ऐसी स्थिति में मैं यह स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री जयप्रकाश जी एक बड़े नेता हो सकते हैं और हैं और होंगे भी, लेकिन जो भानुमति का पिटारा इस समय उनका साथ दे रहा है, वह ठीक नहीं है। इन लोगों के अपने स्वार्थ हैं। श्री आडवाणी जी की

पार्टी और अन्य लोग श्री जयप्रकाश जी की आड़ में बिहार में अपनी पार्टी को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं। सी० पी० एम० वालों की भी यही स्थिति है। एन्टी इन्दिरा भावना के सिवाय इनके पास कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है। जयप्रकाश बाबू ने स्वयं कहा है कि जनसंघ एक कंजरवेटिव पार्टी है। जहां तक कांग्रेस (ओ०) का सवाल है, उसके बारे में मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। यह बात भी उनकी तरफ से कही जाती है कि अगर जनसंघ वाले भी इस मूवमेंट में भाग लेंगे तो जनसंघ पार्टी भी रेडिकल हो जाएगी। मैं समझता हूं कि यह एक प्रकार का धोका है। अगर जनसंघ पार्टी भी रेडिकल हो जाए तो गंगा को भी गंगोत्री की तरफ बहना पड़ेगा।

श्रीमन्, यहां कई साथियों ने कहा है कि बुनियादी बातों में कोई मतभेद नहीं है। कौन चाहता है कि इस देश में करप्शन बना रहे? क्या करप्शन का ठेका सिर्फ कांग्रेस पार्टी ने ही ले रखा है? क्या दूसरी पार्टी के लोगों में भ्रष्टाचार नहीं है? ये ऐसे प्रश्न हैं जिन पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करने की जरूरत है। आप लोगों ने यह कह कर कि इस देश में सब तरफ भ्रष्टाचार है, इस देश के अन्दर यह भावना पैदा कर दी है कि हर मिनिस्टर बेईमान है, हर एम० पी० बेईमान है, हर एम० एल० ए० बेईमान है, असेम्बली भ्रष्ट है और यह पार्लियामेंट भी बेईमान है। अगर आप इस प्रकार से जनता के अन्दर जनतंत्र तथा राज नेताओं के प्रति घृणा की भावना पैदा करेंगे तो इससे इस देश में जनतंत्र नहीं, तानाशाही आएगी।

चाहे वह फौजी तानाशाही हो चा। वह फासिस्ट तानाशाही हो। तो मैं आप से यह दरखास्त करना चाहता हूं कि आप करप्शन की बात जो कहते हैं उसको तो

आप भी हटाना चाहते हैं हम भी हटाना चाहते हैं। अपने दामन में आप मुंह को डाल कर देखिए। भ्रष्टाचार हर जगह हो सकता है—कांग्रेस में भी है भ्रष्टाचार, जनसंघ में भी है, और पार्टियों में भी है और मैं तो इस मत का हूं कि वह कहीं भी हो उसको जड़ से उखाड़ कर फेंक दिया जाए। मगर वह बिहार की असेम्बली के डिसाल्यूशन से नहीं होगा। हर पार्टी को इस बारे में सेल्फ इंट्रो-स्पेक्शन करना होगा; हर पार्टी के नेता को तय करना होगा कि हमारे अंदर जो भी तत्व इस तरह के तत्व हों उनको निकाल कर फेंक दें।

किसको इस बात से इंकार है कि जो बढ़ती हुई कीमतें हैं उनको घटना चाहिये। सरकार ने कुछ कदम भी उठाए हैं और कुछ कीमतें घटी भी हैं, ज्यादा चाहे नहीं घटी हों, मगर जो ऊपर चढ़ने का ट्रेन्ड था उसमें रुकावट आई है और जो भी कीमतें घटी हैं यह सही है कि इसके लिए कदम उठाए गए—क्रेडिट स्क्वीज की बात हुई, स्मगलर्स और होर्ड्स के खिलाफ ऐक्शन हुआ।

(Time bell rings)

श्रीमन्, मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं। तो मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि कीमतें कम होंगी उत्पादन के बढ़ने से। मैं इस बात से इतिफाक करता हूं कि इस मामले में विरोधी पक्ष और सत्ता पक्ष को एक साथ बैठ कर कोई न कोई तरीका निकालना चाहिए। मगर असेम्बली को भंग करने से यह बात नहीं होगी।

श्रीमन्, यह भी कहा गया कि चुनाव के अन्दर मुधार किया जाए। सही बात है, चुनाव की प्रणाली कोई आखिरी वर्ड नहीं है हालांकि श्रीमन्, आपको याद होना भी चुनाव प्रणाली के अंतर्गत

[ श्री नवल किशोर ]

1967 में जब कांग्रेस बंटी नहीं थी, तो हिन्दुस्तान की 6 स्टेटों में कांग्रेस पार्टी का बहुमत नहीं था। इसी चुनाव के अंतर्गत कई जगह कांग्रेस हारी है...

श्री बनारसी दास : काउंटिंग सही था।

श्री नवल किशोर : यदि इसके ऊपर ही बात आ जाती है तो चलिए इसको तय किया जाए कि काउंटिंग फिर से वैसी ही कर दी जाए मगर भाई बनारसी दास जी, यह चुनाव की प्रणाली में सुधार बिहार की असेम्बली भंग करने से नहीं होगा। इस के लिए आपको एक साथ बैठना होगा। ला मिनिस्टर ने भी कहा है और प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने भी कहा है।

इसके बाद श्रीमन् मुझे यह कहना है कि जयप्रकाश जी यहां आए थे उनका डाइलाग प्राइम मिनिस्टर से हुआ, 90 मिनट बातचीत हुई ; प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने ही इसमें इनिशियेटिव लिया था लेकिन जयप्रकाश जी की जिद थी कि Nothing short of dissolution of Bihar Assembly (Time bell rings)

श्रीमन्, एक मिनट और। एजुकेशन के अन्दर तबदीली हो, यह सुझाव आया। न जाने कितनी कमेटियां बैठ चुकी हैं—जितनी कमेटियां बैठीं उनसे उतना ही confusion became worst confounded. कोठारी कमेटी बनी, मुदालियर कमेटी बनी, आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव कमेटी बनी, राधाकृष्णन कमेटी बनी, युनिवर्सिटी इन्क्वारी कमेटी बनी—दस-पांच की रिपोर्ट पढ़ने का मुझ को भी इतिफाक हुआ। लेकिन फिर भी अगर उसमें तबदीली करनी है, तब उसमें किसी को आपत्ति नहीं है, एक कमेटी

बन जाए और उन तमाम रिपोर्ट्स में जो अच्छी चीजें हों उनको इकट्ठा कर लिया जाये या फिर जयप्रकाश जी या उनके संग में जो आदमी हैं वे सब मिल कर एक अपनी कमेटी बना दें और उसकी रिपोर्ट भी देख ली जाए। श्रीमन्, एजुकेशन का सुधार स्कूलों का बायकाट करने से, यूनिवर्सिटी का बायकाट करने से, इन्स्टिट्यूट का बायकाट करने से नहीं होने वाला है। इससे Confusion would become worse confounded.

आखरी बात कह कर मैं खत्म करता हूं। बिहार में आज जो आंदोलन हो रहा है उसमें बुनियादी सवाल यह है कि—मैं भी स्टूडेंट रहा पोलिटिक्स का, हमने जो पढ़ा जनतंत्र की बाबत, उसमें यह था कि गवर्नमेंट आफ दी मैजोरिटी, चाहे वह 32 परसेंट से आई हो, चाहे 36 परसेंट से आई हो। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं, आडवाणी जी से कि आपकी पार्टी को कितना परसेंट मिला? तो आप जब चुनाव लड़ते हैं तो एक दूसरे का सिर फोड़ने को तैयार बैठे रहते हैं और चुनाव खत्म होने के बाद सबका टोटल जोड़ लेते हैं। तो श्रीमन्, जो पार्टी मैजोरिटी में आ गई उस पार्टी को वोटों के आधार पर जो उसका नियमित समय है उतने समय तक काम करने का मौका दिया जाएगा या नहीं दिया जाएगा?

आखिर में मैं यह चाहता हूं—आडवाणी साहब ने कहा कि ओपीनियन पोल ले लिया जाए। मैंने अभी अखबारों में पढ़ा, जन संघर्ष समिति ने कहा है कि अगर 36 उप-चुनाव किए गए तो उन सीटों पर जहां इस्तीफे दिए गए हैं हम उन चुनावों का बायकाट करेंगे और

चुनाव में हिस्सा नहीं लेंगे। मैं आडवाणी साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ आप बहुत संजीदा आदमी हैं और आपका तरीका बहुत खूबसूरत और खुशगवार है।

इसलिए मैं आडवाणी जी से बारबार यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उनके पास जो थोड़ा बहुत जनमत है, उसको कंस्ट्रिक्टिव वर्क के लिए इस्तेमाल करें और देश की समस्याओं को पार्टी लाइन से ऊपर उठाएं तथा राष्ट्रीय आधार पर उन्हें सुलझाने की कोशिश करें तो हमारा भी उनको सहयोग मिलेगा।

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is not easy for me to take part in this discussion on Bihar because, as in the case of many other people, I have somewhat conflicting emotions on this issue, emotions involving personalities. I would like to say that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is someone whom I have always held in great respect and I do so now. Besides I know that many close friends of mine whose views I respect are in full sympathy with the movement launched by JP. However, I must express my views and I must be frank. I have thought over this whole question for a considerable time and I have come to the conclusion that, whatever may have been the initial nature of the movement today it has become a large negative force, in the politics of the country and, what is more, it holds tremendous dangers to this country, because I believe it can lead to a situation where the entire democratic system will come to a stop and collapse. This is an extraordinary movement. I have never seen a movement like this before where the ends are so obscure and the means so confused. In the beginning it was said that the movement was aimed against corruption. Perhaps that in itself is an admirable objective. But then who is not against corruption? To say that I am against corruption is only like saying that I am in favour of virtue. The question is, how do we get rid of corruption? Corruption in our society is a very complex matter and its ramifications are wide. It is not just confined to any one party or to the administration. It has become a disease in all parties and at all levels of our society.

There are obviously many reasons for the spread of corruption. The main reason, to my mind, is the scarcity of food and other basic necessities of life for the majority of the people and also the wide disparity between the rich and the poor. Considering how poor the mass of our people are, one should be surprised why we do not have more corruption in this country. I simply cannot understand how corruption could be stopped or lessened by mass demonstrations or by disruption of the day-to-day functioning of life in our cities. Every day of *bundh* only leads to more dislocation, less production and more scarcities and it will be the poor people who suffer from this more than anyone else. Can we afford to lose so many million man-hours every year through demonstrations and things like that? It is claimed by the supporters of JP that the movement is peaceful. It has not been entirely peaceful, as we all know, but even if it were, is not a peaceful disruption of life harmful to our economy? I know that there are many people with high ideals involved in this movement, but there are also many groups who have lately joined the movement whose ideals are not so admirable. The Shiv Sena, the RSS, the Anand Margis, all sorts of people have joined this movement. It is not good enough for JP or his immediate followers to say that we cannot do anything about it. If other people follow him, he ought to do something about it. If he has high ideals about this movement, then he should see that all kinds of people who differ from him radically are not allowed to join the movement. In fact, the whole character of the movement today is such that it would be a good thing to start a save JP campaign and not a save democracy campaign.

Sir, I listened with great respect and attention to Mr. Goray's speech and he was right when he said that there are genuine grievances among the people and this movement has focussed attention to them because people should have some way of expressing their grievances. At the same time, it is extremely important for us to see that these grievances are channelled in the right direction, and not in any manner that can lead to chaos; that can open the door to authoritarian rule. If our students were to find causes to fight for and constructive activities to take up, there are in our society many such things

[ Shri Abu Abraham ]

which they can take up. Only a few days ago, I was reading on the front page of a British newspaper about the activity of a group called 'The friends of the earth', who have discovered twenty thousand acres of unused land in London, and they have taken up the job of cultivating that land saying that they are going to produce two hundred thousand tonnes of potato. And they have got permission from the London County Council for that. This is one example. Throughout the world, many groups of people have found things constructive, things of this nature, to do. And this is what I mean by the importance of channelling the energies and the discontent of our young people into constructive ways. If you were to say that any movement which attracts thousands of people is a democratic movement, then again it is not true. Simply because a large number of people are in a movement, therefore we cannot say that it is a people's movement, that it is a democratic movement. If we were to say so, then we can also say that Bal Yogi, the spiritual wonder, is also a great democratic leader. If any collection of people could make a people's movement, then the Kumbh Mela also can be a people's movement. What is happening in Bihar today seems to be a kind of a political Kumbh Mela.

Comparison has been made by Shri Advani and one or two others with what happened in Kerala in 1957. Now, the difference between Kerala and Bihar is that, whereas Kerala was an isolated incident which was handled in a particular way, in Bihar, this is held out as an example, as a model for the whole nation. And this is the danger. I am not saying that there is no scope in our society for a populist movement or that such a movement has no validity. I am not saying that. For instance, in the case of the Harijans who are oppressed by the Brahmins and by people whom the law cannot easily deal with, it is legitimate for them to start an agitation to redress their grievances; and such an extra-constitutional action would be perfectly valid in a democratic society. In the same manner, if landless labour undertook a specific movement with specific objectives—a movement that is controlled, one that does not become widely political, a kind of an omnibus movement—then it is a perfectly valid

movement; and the sympathy of all of us goes out to that because it will have certain positive results.

Sir, the democratic system, parliamentary system of democracy, has taken many centuries to evolve. Its rules and procedures, its conventions and traditions are the result of this long evolution to which many great minds have contributed. In our own country, although our present political system is only 25 years old, the democratic traditions of our society go back to many centuries. Therefore, it is a serious matter for us to make any change in the system that we have today except with the consent of all the people of the country. It is not a matter that should be taken lightly. If we are thinking seriously of altering our political system, then it is something which should be discussed among the political and social leaders and intellectuals of this country, and then, if we have consensus, we can alter the system. There are, of course, many features in our system which, one could say, are not fitted to our present situation but I have no doubt that there is no alternative to the democratic parliamentary system. Certainly it needs improvement. We can very well do a streamlining of the system, making it work more efficiently, making it more responsive to the basic aspirations of the ordinary people.

There has been some talk about electoral reforms in the last few days. I think it is equally important for us to consider, as soon as we can, what improvements can be made in the procedures of our own legislatures, of our Parliament. May be, it is possible to alter the time consuming methods of discussion and debate so that we can save the time and energy of legislators as well as the administrative staff. But these things we shall be discussing another time. To some extent the JP's movement has brought up some of these issues to the forefront. I believe it has done some good in this respect but what I am most concerned about today is the manner in which the movement has developed, the support it is receiving from extremely reactionary elements in our country.

Sir, I would only take a couple of minutes. I have been reading only recently a detailed account of the way in which the Allende regime was destroyed by the use of American



money on a massive scale. When one sees the way in which national chaos was organised, the comparison to our situation in India seems to me very close. In Santiago and other towns strikes and demonstrations were originally the main tool by which the normal life in Chile was disrupted and chaos brought into its economy. In Santiago, just as in Bombay recently, housewives paraded the streets banging cooking utensils to show that they had no food to eat; that there was food scarcity in the country. This was the famous march of the empty pots where housewives, many of whom were upper class ladies accompanied by their maids, carried empty cooking utensils and banged them all along the streets. Then a major contribution to the destruction of the economy of Chile was a strike by the truck drivers organised by the right wing unions. A number of their leaders were trained in Virginia in an institute financed by the State Department, the I.T.T. and the United Fruit Company, among others. Sir, I do not have evidence to show that the C.I.A. or any other foreign agency is active in Bihar.

SHRI BANARSI DAS : Impliedly you are making insinuation.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM : All that I can say is that I would be very surprised if it is found that they are not busy in Bihar, because, after all, why should they sit on top of the Himalayas and do research on migratory birds when down here in the plains is a situation which is ideal for mischief from outside powers ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Kindly complete.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM : Considering all this, I feel that in the national interest, in the interest of the future of this country, we should take steps to end the present confrontation and to create an atmosphere where all sections of the people can divert their energy and time to the improvement of the condition of our people, to national development and reconstruction. Thank you.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, out of the speeches that I have been hearing this evening the best piece of advice was given

in your speech when you were speaking that we should keep politics and personalities out of politics. I think it was an advice which every one of us should heed and I would try to abide by it. Sir, I want to submit that we are discussing the agitation that is going on in Bihar. Let us examine the beginning of this agitation, how exactly it started.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : The Minister's statement can be made on the 15th.

SHRI BANARSI DAS : Sir, you are extending the sitting. How long should we sit ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : We may have to sit till 8 o'clock.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : You will recall that on the 18th March for the first time this year there was an agitation in Patna which was led by students. It caused vast damages and firing had to be resorted to. This was the beginning of the agitation. I may say that on that day there was no J.P. to give any leadership to these students and no political parties were involved in those things. Now the point is, these students had some very fundamental, basic demands which, if I have understood correctly, were just four or five. One of them was that their mess charges should be subsidised in view of the high price-rise. Secondly, the number of scholarships should be increased, and the amount of the scholarship should also be increased because of the price rise. The third was, in those days, in February and March, colleges and schools in Bihar were closed; they should be reopened. It was affecting their studies and the students wanted to prosecute peacefully their studies. And the examinations should be held so that they could take up some career. Another demand was that there should be fundamental changes in education so that it is more meaningful and more helpful to them in their later lives. If I am not wrong, these were the four basic demands of the students. Now, Sir, at this stage some political parties saw the success or the potentiality of the students agitation. Mean while, you will recall, on the 15th March the Guja assembly was dissolved. Now there was no platform for any publicity. There was no place for any features in the press. They were looking for a nice place where they could fish in trouble waters

[Shrimati Sumitra G. Kulkarni]

The rich, ripe plum of Bihar was there, where the students had started an agitation for reforming education. So they joined it. It is when the political parties joined it that the issues, instead of being simple and straight-forward became complicated and involved, and acquired all kinds of political, overtones. They used these naive students who were very enthusiastic and sincere about their studies, to ask for the dissolution of the Assembly. Now in this process of asking for the dissolution of the Assembly, they have forgotten what were the basic demands of the students. Fortunately these four basic demands have been met by the Bihar Government. I have made enquiries about it. The mess charges have been subsidised and other demands have also been met. But these things have been side-tracked. What has been brought forward is the dissolution of the Assembly. Now, how does a student benefit by the dissolution of the Assembly? Let us examine, they were demanding that the colleges and schools should be reopened. But now the students have been told that they should boycott schools and colleges. Is this going to help a young man in his career? The most precious thing, the most scarce resource in this world is time. The time of a young man's life is being ruined and destroyed. I have visited Bihar. I won't say that I lived there, but I have met a number of Bihar parents in Delhi. I have seen young men loitering here and taking a holiday. They do not know what to do. It is easy to tell them to boycott colleges and schools. But it is very difficult to again put them back in the line and educate them. An idle mind is a devil's workshop. Once misguided it is very difficult to bring them back to some constructive work. That is my grievance. The children of this country have been misguided. *(Interruption)* Now they are going back. But they have lost six to seven months. It is a very serious loss to their career.

On the political side let us examine it. They are not of the age group who can fight elections or stand as candidates in any election. So dissolution of the Assembly is not going to bring them any fruits. They have been misled and so they are carrying on. I do not think the majority of the students of Bihar State are involved in the agitation.

At least this is one feeling that I have about this agitation.

Another important thing is this. Time and again in this House and other House and the papers and public platforms, people compare it with Gujarat agitation. It is true that Gujarat agitation was started by students. In Bihar also students started it. But I brought out the fundamental differences between the students' agitation in Bihar and the one in Gujarat where mostly academic issues were not raised. Corruption was one issue there. We were not demanding opening of colleges and we were not demanding subsidy of scholarship. Now let me explain the fundamental difference between the two.

Gujarat Assembly had 169 Members and out of this 95 members resigned. It means that the Assembly has become defunct. As against that, Bihar has got 319 Members and out of that only 35 have resigned. This does not really make any impact. Again in Gujarat out of 169 Members, Congress Party had 140 Members. In Bihar their strength is 186 which is more than the total strength of Gujarat Assembly. They had a majority...

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA : Majority without morality.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : This is bad. Please sit down.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : Let me tell you one thing. Only one person of the Congress Party has resigned. Shri Mahamaya Babu has resigned. Do you know that Shri Mahamaya Babu has changed 20 parties in the course of 27 years after independence. It is just like changing coat or shirt. Is that any indication of a change of heart or anything like that? That does not really make any difference. I listened with rapt attention to Shri Goray's speech. He is my dear friend. I respect him. I wish I could speak as beautifully as he does. Now the Opposition parties are asking for the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly. But the rank and file of the opposition parties of Bihar Assembly are not able to convince their own people. Their own candidates have not resigned. I would request them to tell us how many of their members have resigned. If they had not resigned and if they are not

able to convince their own followers, how difficult it is for me to be convinced of their case. I say this in all sincerity and with due respect to Shri Goray. This is the fundamental difference. There is nobody who has resigned, except 35 out of 319 members. Therefore, the real essence of the Assembly is very much in existence.

Secondly, in Gujarat there was a popular upsurge against the Chief Minister. Everyone was denouncing him. We travel to Ahmedabad very frequently with other Members. I remember Shri Piloo Mody and other Opposition leaders asking us : What kind of Party and what kind of Government you are having? How do you tolerate such a person as Chief Minister? We did not know whether all the allegations against him were true. But we bowed to the wishes of the people and he was removed from Chief Ministership. We also agreed to that. At that time he was the blackest of the black because he belonged to the ruling party. But when he was removed from Chief Ministership, suddenly Shri Piloo Mody and others are befriending him and making him a hero. How can this be correct? Till yesterday he was black and today he has become a fair angel. Can the public of any country be convinced of this? Now people are saying that Chimanbhai Patel will come back to power. There is no truth in it because people are intelligent and they are able to understand who is who. Even the Congress Party is not able to befooled our people nor the gentlemen of the Opposition Parties can do it. Sir, I would say one thing : The people of Gujarat, if anything, are having second thoughts in their minds about the dissolution of the Assembly there and they are actually repenting it and I will explain to you that. They used to have 169 members. They might be good, bad or indifferent. But they were the representatives of the people and they used to do some small relief work and some day-to-day problems of the people were solved. The President's Rule may be excellent and it may be most efficient and law and order might have been established there. But can you say this now? After all, it consists of one Governor and his two Advisers. Can you say that three persons can be a substitute for a popular government there? Can a man from Kutch or can a man from the Kathiawad coast come to Ahmedabad to meet the Advisers there

and the officials of the Government there to ventilate his grievances? It is most difficult for him to do so. So, it would be very wrong for him to say that the President's Rule is good and that the people of Gujarat are happy with the President's Rule and the dissolution of the Assembly there. In fact, I say, with all the humility and with all the sobriety at my disposal that if the elections were held today or any day, we would win with a thumping majority with a clear mandate from the people and there is no difficulty about it in Gujarat and we will prove it also. I am not in the habit of making any false claims or making any exaggerated claims. But this is what I feel about Gujarat and I want to extend the experience of Gujarat to the situation that is prevailing in Bihar.

Now, Sir, I want to make my other point and I would require five more minutes. I am not a Bihari and I am only a Gujarati and yet I am speaking on this issue. And, Sir, I would like to say one thing about what the people are saying, that is, that the Prime Minister is very rigid on this issue. Now, Sir, this is also a little bit of an exaggeration. We all know her and we all know that she is known for her resilience, for her readiness to understand anything that helps the democratic processes and also which is good to the people of the country. She has a very distinct idea about the people and she has her fingers on the pulse of the people of this country. We may be relevant or may not be relevant on this side. But the people of this country are behind her and she knows her people and the people also know her well and she is ever ready for any kind of thing that will be good to the people. So, to say that she would reject these things or that she is making it a prestige issue would be laying an unfair charge at the doors of the Prime Minister who wants to build up the country. Just now some members were saying that there are vested interests in this thing. Sir, since the coming into existence of Bangladesh, we have to agree that India has emerged as a distinctly powerful nation in the comity of nations and our Prime Minister has been acknowledged as the most popular leader of the largest democracy in the world. But it is not a very happy situation for many powers and in the power politics of the world it is not accepted that a developing nation should suddenly jump up with a population of about 600 millions which would become a

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tremendous power in the whole scheme of things in the world. So, in this game of power politics, this is not liked. Therefore, there will be interests and the aim of some of the Opposition people and the international aim is to ensure that India does not develop as fast as it has been doing so far and their aim is to contain her in her domestic powers. Do we want to become the innocent tools in the hands of these vested interests? Why should we want this? Sir, Mr. Goray was referring to one point. The only one point of disagreement is dissolution. On the question of education, we agree that we should have a fundamental change. On the question of electoral reforms, we also agree that we should have a change although, I say, today's Opposition is elected by this very method. They have also been in power and come to power only through this method and only with these electoral processes. But they want to change it now. But this kind of change may not lead to the eradication of corruption. We all agree that corruption should be cut out from the bottom and the Prime Minister is willing to take steps. But dissolution cannot be agreed to because it would mean defying the democratic tradition and deciding the things in the streets and the day the country decides to settle affairs by squabbles in the streets, we would have destroyed the democratic traditions which we all cherish so much. So, this is the important point which we should remember. And, Sir, this would be my very humble appeal to Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. We all revere him as an honest leader and as the most patriotic leader. Why does he want to stick to the demand for the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly? Can he not give up his stand and open a fresh dialogue with the Prime Minister? The other day, the Prime Minister had talks with him for about 90 minutes and this was the only point on which the Prime Minister did not agree and hence the talks broke down and I am very happy that she made the point very clear that dissolution could not be agreed to. Dissolution cannot be tied to certain conditions. It is going to lead to a vacuum which is what is happening in Bihar now. Please give me half a minute more, Sir.

7 P. M.

Shri Jayaprakash is being surrounded by people of all types. Can I be convinced that Mr. Masani, Mr. Palkhiwala and the

gentlemen of the Jana Sangh party can ever be talking in the same language as Shri Jayaprakash? His thoughts, his emotion and his language are distinctly different from these persons. He does not need the support of these persons. If he gets rid of the excess people who are around him, he will be able to see things as they are and would be able to enter into a wholesome and healthy dialogue with the leaders of the Government. Then, a solution will be found and some peace will be brought to Bihar. Why are all of us getting so agitated and not helping to improve things? Dissolution is not necessary. That is all that I have to submit.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after listening to some speeches, especially that of Nana Sahib Goray, I thought I might not take the time of this august House. I have something to say as an independent Member of this House who has no party affiliations. It is unfortunate that even in the House of Elders, discussions are not lifted above partisan approaches. I thought that it was high time for all of us, especially those belonging to the ruling party, to sit up and think about the big question—what ails Indian democracy? The people of India gave the ruling party a thumping majority not only in the Centre, but in several States also. Then, how is it that it is not able to deliver the goods? It is unfortunate that the cry of right reaction and such other things is raised. People like me would like to know from hon. Mishra Ji or the esteemed Member, Dr. Ahmad, why these things do not happen. Why is it that we, the people of India, are not able to lift ourselves up by the bootstrings so to say from poverty? Why is it that more and more people in our country are getting below the poverty line? The goods don't seem to be delivered. This is the problem, if I may say so. This happens in spite of the ruling party having been given a big majority. Sometimes I feel like writing out a theme which should have the caption "The Illusion of Omnipotence". The leader of the ruling party appears, for all purposes, to be omnipotent. But she is rendered unable to do one good thing.

The granddaughter of the Father of the Nation has spoken something about Gujarat. May I be permitted to add something to it? Gujarat, in good faith, sent 140 Members on behalf of the ruling party to a House of

168 Members. What happened ? The greatest mistake in Gujarat, or in the Indian polity, was not the dissolution of the Gujarat Assembly, but not having dissolved it along with the proclamation of the President's rule. Then, this new idea—that of dissolution would not have been injected into the body politic of India. If the people were not cornered, they would not have asked for more. If there was responsiveness and a touch of accountability on the part of the ruling party, the people of India would have been with them.

But there is an utter lack of responsiveness. Forty-nine lives were lost before the fall of the Ministry in Gujarat. More than 49 people lost their lives after that, unnecessarily. And for what ? To keep the infighting in the ruling party going on. Even now, they are not able to form a viable political organization.

So, this is something about which all of us should sit up and think. Perhaps, the majority blinded the ruling party. Perhaps, the mastery of the technique of winning elections made it still more incapable of being responsive : we can get the votes, we can get a majority, what do we care for the people ? This callousness has been the cause of there being only the form of democracy in the country and the spirit of democracy being continuously destroyed. What is nibbling at the vitals of democracy is this unresponsiveness to popular discontent. JP has arrived too late in the day. He might not have arrived. He did not arrive in Gujarat. Gujarat spontaneously reacted to a situation. The rulers, the sensible persons amongst them, who have been our freedom fighters—some of them are very brave figures—should have taken stock of the things. This is not being done and we are caught up in a sort of power game and politicking and shutting the mouths of Opposition members and all that. This is something more serious than what it seems to be to us.

JP or no JP, popular discontent is bound to erupt. I should say that the people of India, specially the members of the ruling party owe a debt of gratitude to JP for channelling the discontent in a non-violent manner. The way JP is being criticized, his motives and his movement are being criticized, gives a very poor account of ourselves. On the 4th, the Gandhi Maidan was a scene of

action where only the police were active, and many of the volunteers had even tied up their hands behind their backs so that they might not even unwittingly react to such violence. It was a scene for the gods to see. The Father of the Nation said that it was easier to shame the British into good behaviour. He never could have been more true. We just want to keep in power and do not respond to these things. What is sacrosanct about the quinquennial immortality of a legislature ? If the legislature cannot meet for months, if the Government is run by ordinances, if the spirit of democracy is crushed under brute force, what idea of democracy have we got ? Why is there such a pathetic wailing over the quinquennial immortality of a legislature ?

Go for a fresh mandate. What harm ? If you are loved by the people, you will be returned to power. (*Time bell rings*) I will not take long, Sir.

J.P. has tried to inject an element of responsiveness and accountability in the body politic and that is what will save Indian democracy and that is enough of a revolution in these depressive days. We know that the international economic situation is bad enough. Our ills cannot be washed away, but then the people should feel that something is being done.

There was a slogan 'Garibi Hatao' as against another slogan 'Indira Hatao'. This was I think, three years ago. It was 'either'—'or' proposition. Now, India seems have reconciled with having both. So, both will stay.

Why is there a hue and cry about the Congress being ousted or the leader being ousted. In a democracy any party, any ruling party or any leader of a ruling party is there to be replaced by another. That a brave woman's name should be bandied about in such a slogan, a demeaning slogan, is a cry of cowardice. She would not utter such a thing.

(*Time bell rings*).

On the contrary there should be an attempt to do something for the poor. I, personally, as a citizen of this country and as one who has suffered in Gujarat would say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, through you to this august House and to the country, let there be done something for the ame-

[Shri Umashankar Joshi]

literation of the condition of the poor. Do whatever you want to do with the rich. We, all of us, who criticise the Government are not for right reaction, are not for the capitalist or the monopolist system. It is our grudge that the ruling party seems to be a protector of the exploiters and because of the big money that it requires for elections, it seems that it is hand in glove with them because money can come only from those who have money and it is ultimately we who have to pay through our nose.

Something more damaging is being done to the democracy of our country. On the 6th of October a peaceful march was taken out in Delhi. It went to the Prime Minister. It was led by no less a person than Acharya Kripalanjiv who had in a very graceful gesture postponed the rally from the 2nd of October to the 6th. And, what did he get? Not a word from our leader. I am happy to learn from this morning's papers that yesterday the Governor of Bihar tried to assuage the feelings of those who took a memorandum of demands to him. A ruler of the country is for all sections of the society. On October 6th there was no news of the rally on the radio at 1 o'clock. Are we going to listen for what is happening in our country from the Pindi or Peking radio? If there are foreign agents, clamp down on them, destroy them. But, if women take out a procession when there is lack of kerosene do not say that they are out to oust the leader of the ruling party or dethrone the Congress. Let the Government deliver the goods. That is all we want and JP will be rendered useless.

One word more. The first thing that the new President of the Congress Party came out with was a *pratiandolan*. People like me who have been writing plays and things like that were very amused. Well, you have been elected to rule and deliver the goods. Please rule in a manner which will make any *andolan* redundant. Then there will be no need for *pratiandolan*. But is it that you would so rule or non-rule—shall I coin that word?—or misrule that there is an *andolan*, so that you can stage a *pratiandolan*? Why are you playing with the people? Do the right thing by

the people. That is all what is expected. Thank you, Sir.

श्री जगदीश जोशी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, दोपहर से बिहार के प्रश्न पर चर्चा हो रही है। माननीय एन० जी० गोरे ने अपने सार-गर्भित भाषण में एक महात्व पूर्ण बात कही। उन्होंने एक प्रश्न सबके सामने रखा और अपनी सतह से ऊपर उठ कर कहा कि हम लोग कुलघाती महायुद्ध की तरफ जा रहे हैं। उनका संकेत था कि यह जो बिहार का आंदोलन है और बिहार के आंदोलन की जो प्रतिक्रिया देश में हो रही है यह क्या देश के लिए कुलसंघाती नहीं होगी और इसके साथ-साथ उन्होंने कहा कि ईजरायल की पैदावार कितनी बढ़ी और देश की पैदावार कितनी घटी? मुझे इस प्रश्न के सिलसिले में एक बात कहनी है बड़ी महत्वपूर्ण है, वह है कि कुलघाती युद्ध की शुरुआत कहां से हुई, किसने की और किस तरह से कुलघाती युद्ध बंद होगा? आखिर इन प्रश्नों का कोई निदान नाना साहब को देना चाहिए था। कोई नहीं चाहता कि कुलसंघाती युद्ध हो, इस तरफ के और न उस तरफ के। आखिर इसकी जड़ कहां पर है। क्या इसके कारण हैं और क्यों यह बंद नहीं होता? इस प्रश्न का कोई उत्तर किसी भी विपक्ष के सदस्य ने नहीं दिया। एक सुझाव आया आडवाणी जी को कि साहब आपिनियन पोल कर लीजिए, मामला तय हो जाएगा लेकिन 34 उप-चुनावों का मत कारइए। एक मोटा सवाल है। मान लीजिए यह चुनाव हो जाएं और चुनावों में कांग्रेस पराजित होती है तो एक प्रश्न लेकर आया जा सकता था लोकमत के आधार पर कि यहां पर विधान सभा का विघटन किया जाना चाहिए। मेरा कहना है कि आपिनियन पोल का अपना तरीका होता है। अगर केवल इस आंदोलन के मूल में यह है कि

बिहार विधान सभा भंग की जाए यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं आपकी इस बात का समर्थन करता हूँ कि गरीबी हटाने में सरकार असफल रही है लेकिन इसको हटाने का क्या रास्ता है इस पर कोई सीधी बहस होती तो मैं समझ सकता था। शिक्षा की पद्धति में मूलतः क्या-क्या परिवर्तन हों इस पर कोई आंदोलन होता तो बात समझ में आ सकती थी। चुनाव की प्रक्रिया क्या हो ताकि उसमें रुपया ज्यादा खर्च न हो इस पर कोई सकारात्मक सुझाव लेकर आंदोलन होता कुछ बात समझ में आ सकती थी। ये बहुत गम्भीर प्रश्न हैं। ये केवल आज के प्रश्न नहीं हैं ये हिन्दुस्तान में पिछले 27 सालों से चले आ रहे प्रश्न हैं। भ्रष्टाचार का सवाल कोई आज का सवाल नहीं है, इस पर कई बार कमीशन और आयोग बैठ चुके हैं अनेक मुख्य मंत्री हट चुके हैं, अनेक केन्द्र के मंत्री हट चुके हैं, लेकिन आखिर इसको रोकने का माध्यम क्या है, विधि क्या है, रास्ता क्या है इस पर कोई सापेक्ष संकेत नहीं आया है। मैं आज भी आप के माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि बिहार में जो पिछले दिनों से आंदोलन चल रहा है, उसके पीछे कौन लोग हैं? क्या उनकी राजनीति में कोई सापेक्षता है? जिस रास्ते पर वे सोच रहे हैं वह नकारात्मक रास्ता है। मैं बड़ी गम्भीरता के साथ यहां पर हुई सारी तकरीरों को सुन रहा था और मैं यह चाहता था कि जो विद्वान हैं, पत्रकार हैं और राजनीति शस्त्र के प्रचण्ड व्याख्याता हैं, बड़े-बड़े लेखक हैं वे कुछ सापेक्षात्मक सुझाव दें और उनकी दृष्टि नकारात्मक नहीं होनी चाहिए। यह बात भी सत्य है कि नकारात्मक रख अपनाना आसान है, लेकिन सकारात्मक कार्य करना बहुत कठिन बात है। मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि जो सकारात्मक पक्ष है और जो सरकारी पक्ष है उसको

आक्रमण भी सहन करने पड़ेंगे और उसको विनम्र होकर चलना पड़ेगा। हमारे देश की यह मर्यादा रही है कि—निन्दक निहारे राखिये, आंगन कुटी छवाय। यही कारण है कि हम अब तक इस आंदोलन को बर्दास्त करते आ रहे हैं। इस देश के अन्दर प्रजातंत्री और लोकतंत्री परम्परा है। हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि निन्दक निहारे राखिये, आंगन कुटी छवाय। आज श्री जयप्रकाश जी ने बिहार में एक आंदोलन छेड़ रखा है। लोग कहते हैं कि वे इस देश में सबसे बड़े नेता हैं। हो सकता है कि वे सबसे बड़े नेता हों। विचारों में वैषम्य के बावजूद हम लोग उनकी इज्जत करते हैं और यह आशा करते हैं कि वे इस देश को कोई सकारात्मक चीज देंगे। गांधी जी ने कहा कि शासन का विकेन्द्रीकरण होना चाहिए। पिछले दिनों मेरी यूरोप के कई विद्वानों से बातचीत हुई। मैंने उनसे कहा कि आप की यूरोपीय सभ्यता टूट रही है और अगर आप इसको टूटने से नहीं रोकेंगे तो यह सभ्यता टूट जाएगी। मैंने यह भी कहा कि आपने हर्वर्ट मार्क्यूस को नहीं सुना। वह 20 साल तक लिखता रहा। वर्तमान स्थिति को देखते हुए यूरोप को भी विकेन्द्रीकरण पर आना पड़ेगा। आज बिहार में जयप्रकाश जी का आंदोलन चल रहा है। वे कहते हैं कि बिहार विधानसभा भंग होनी चाहिए। इस देश से गरीबी को हटाने के लिए, भ्रष्टाचार को खत्म करने के लिए और शिक्षा प्रणाली में सुधार करने के लिए अगर लोक सभा को भी भंग करने की बात कही जाए तो मुझे उसमें भी कोई एतराज नहीं होगा, लेकिन देश की जनता के सामने कोई सकारात्मक चीज तो हो। अगर सारे आंदोलन का उद्देश्य ध्वंसात्मक हो और वह एक नकारात्मक दृष्टि देश-

[श्री जगदीश जोशी] वासियों के सामने रखें तो उससे देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस आंदोलन के सिलसिले में गांधी जी के स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन का आरंभार्थक किया जाता है। स्वतंत्रता का आंदोलन सकारात्मक आंदोलन था, लेकिन सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि बिहार का आन्दोलन हमें कहां ले जाना चाहता है? उस आन्दोलन से हम कौन सी राह पा रहे हैं। कहा जाता है कि बिहार विधान सभा भंग कर दो और 34 उप चुनाव मत कराओ और ओपीनियन पोल कराओ। मैं समझता हूं कि हम एक अन्तर्द्वन्द्व के शिकार हो गए हैं। इस आन्दोलन में कौन लोग भाग ले रहे हैं? ये आनन्द मार्गी कौन लोग हैं? क्या इस तरह से हम समस्याओं को हल कर सकते हैं? ये कुछ ऐसे प्रश्न हैं, जिन पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। श्री नानासाहब देशमुख कहते हैं कि श्री जयप्रकाश जी आनन्द मार्गियों के पास नहीं गए आनन्द मार्गी उनके पास गए। यह बात असत्य नहीं है। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि आखिर ये लोग कौन हैं और कौन-सी शक्तियां हैं जो उनका साथ दे रहे हैं? सी० पी० एम० (एल०) ने आसनसोल और जलपाईगुडी में क्या नहीं किया है ?

वे तमाम लोग सिमट कर बिहार में आए—आनन्द मार्ग के लोग जिन्होंने हत्याओं के जरिए अपने हाथ को लाल कर रखा है। मैं जनसंघ की बाबत नहीं कहूंगा, सी० पी० एम० की बाबत भी कुछ नहीं कहूंगा जिनका संसद में प्रतिनिधित्व है मैं उनके चरित्र पर लांछन नहीं लगाना चाहता हूं पर उन शक्तियों पर आखिर उनका नियंत्रण है कि नहीं। जिस तरीके से एक विशाल वट वृक्ष की छाया के

नीचे दूसरे पौधे पनप नहीं सकते, व पनपे हैं, उस तरह से उस छाया में आपकी खेती भी नहीं चमक सकेगी और जब वह पेड़ कटेगा तो उसका लाभ वे शक्तियां उठाएंगी जो विनाश की शक्तियां हैं और जिनका प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं है। तो उनको दूर रख कर यकारात्मक कार्यक्रमों को लेकर आए। आप इस पर चर्चा कीजिए, बहस कीजिए और आज अगर देश में कोई आदमी कुर्सी पर बैठ कर सबसे ऊपर हुआ है तो वह इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री हैं, उनके पहले के कोई प्रधान मंत्री जनता के आन्दोलनों के प्रति सजग और सहृदय नहीं रहे हैं और इस बात का निर्णय अभी नहीं तो आज से 50 साल बाद बनने वाला इतिहास करेगा कि ऐसा कौन उदार-वंशी प्रधान मंत्री रहा है इस लोकतंत्रीय परंपरा में। दुर्भाग्य से मनुष्य का दिमाग सह नहीं पाता है कि एक औरत हिन्दुस्तान के 60 करोड़ लोगों के नेतृत्व का संचालन करे, वही पुराना कूप मंडूकी दिमाग है और न कोई बहाने से बढ़ती हुई प्रगति को रोकने की कोशिश की जाती है।

SHRI HIMMAT SINH (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am conscious of the fact that space and time are limitless, but patience has its own perimeter and I do not want to transgress it. Before I come to the subject proper about Bihar and Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, I would like to deal with two or three questions which arose out of the submissions made by my hon. friend, Mr. Advani. Mr. Advani mentioned the incident which has been very widely reported and very widely commented upon. That incident is about Mr. Verghese of the Hindustan Times and his resignation so-called the reasons why that resignation has not been accepted or is not being accepted and who is responsible for it. Why is that question assuming such proportions? I would not have referred to it but for the fact that this particular incident is being commented



upon within the country to tarnish the image of the Prime Minister.....

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** And also outside.

**SHRI HIMMAT SINGH :** Also, it has acquired international overtones. I was reminded of the comment which I read in the "Newsweek" and the "Times". The Newsweek and the Times are concerned about this editor who has resigned, but who has not relinquished his office. This editor says that he has had correspondence with the proprietor of the newspaper, but he is not releasing it for the benefit of the people. Why is he not releasing the correspondence? The proprietor also is interested in giving an impression as if he is doing something in order to please the Prime Minister. Nothing could be further from the truth. And there are affable Minister and bureaucrats who are impressed by the assertions of the proprietor who has not the courage to say so boldly. Therefore, in the interests of the freedom of the press and we as the ruling party and defenders of the freedom of the press would like to state categorically that there is a diabolical game which is being indulged in by the proprietor, by the editor and by the international supporters of such type of proprietors and such type of editors who are interested in maligning the image of the Government and the Prime Minister. Therefore, let it be said categorically that this type of propaganda is not going to help. People are there to see for themselves what freedom the press has in this country and how it is valued so much by the Government and the leader of the Government

The second point to which I may draw the attention of the House—because Shri Advani seemed to make a mountain of it—is the statement that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was injured by a lathi blow. And I interrupted him at that time and said that these were old tactics. When we were students in England during the thirties, we knew how the Nazis in Germany used to beat up their own men and made the the propaganda that those who were against them were resorting to violence. I should not at all be surprised. Because listening to the conversation that must have taken

place—as reported by Shri Advani—between Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and himself this morning on telephone, I felt Shri Jayaprakash Naryan's reply was more political and very equivocal. There was in fact no lathi blow. The Prime Minister herself has stated it; the Home Minister himself has testified to it. And if there was any lathi blow from the police which was responsible for the injury and the damage to his rib, well, witnesses could have come forward, and they could have testified that event. But nothing of the sort has happened. These are tactics which are familiar to those operators who work on behalf of certain agencies, certain vested interests. These methods were tried in Germany and we saw the results in Germany.

There was the third thing also which was mentioned very unfortunately in my opinion. And that was about the High Command of the Congress Party taking the support of the Communist Party of India in order to maintain itself in power. I want to say something very clearly. In this behalf I am reminded of what happened in Europe in the thirties. It was in 1938 that we witnessed the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia. What was happening to Czechoslovakia? There was on the one side the demand for the autonomy of the Sudetenland, and on the other there was Dr. Eduard Benes who was the President of Czechoslovakia. He was offered help by the Soviet Union under a tripartite agreement for the defence of Czechoslovakia when its integrity and independence were threatened. But, according to the known historical role of Social Democrats, Dr. Eduard Benes could not see his way to accept the help of the Soviet Union, instead he was forced to capitulate. And we know what fate overtook Czechoslovakia. I want to warn those who are interested in defending our democratic values and our parliamentary institutions; let us not forget the role of the Social Democrats; let us beware of the results that can flow, and let us draw our own lessons and learn from them.

Now, coming to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, I am very sorry to say that I am no respecter of personalities however high they may be. But, I am certainly

[Shri Himmat Singh]

a respector of values and what they stand for. Sufficient was mentioned about Gujarat both by my friends, Shrimati Sumitra Kulkarni and Umashankar Joshiji. All that I would like to say is that there was a distinct difference between Gujarat and Bihar. In Gujarat for the last 25 years or 30 years there has been a lowering of the standards of public life, lowering of the standards of norms and morality. And therefore, the people there were enraged, genuinely outraged. And I am here reminded of a Sanskrit sloka; seeing my friend Kamlapati, I am inspired to repeat it—

वक्षि कस्य गंतकिम् परकीयाम् चरति  
एसमे द्राक्षाम् ।  
असमन जसमिति मंतवा तथापि परिवृद्धते  
चेतः

There is a *Sanyasi* who is coming from the river and is going to his humble cottage on the way sees the spectacle of a donkey eating grapes. And the *Sanyasi* says to himself "I am only a *Sanyasi*. I have renounced the world. What does it matter if a donkey eats grapes in somebody else's field ?

"Although I try to pacify myself with these words, with these sentiments, I still feel a little pained." In Gujarat this is exactly what happened. There free life freedom of expression in public life was stifled to a great extent because of one man's rule, one man's control, and in 1969 if there was one achievement of the split in the Congress that was the freedom which individuals got to express themselves boldly fearlessly and firmly. Hence what happened in Gujarat was that laws were undermined and when it was realised that people who enjoyed power had nothing in common with the programme of the Congress Party, and that people who had been most abusive of the Prime Minister turned their coats and came to our party were at the helm of affairs. How were they expected to fulfil the Congress programme ? How were they expected to implement the promises which were made to the people and for which the party received a mandate ? Therefore, when there was complete non-performance and misperformance by the Government the people were enraged.

Therefore, the result was that 93 Members, as was mentioned out of an Assembly of 168, did actually resign and that is how Gujarat went the way it did.

Coming to the subject proper very briefly I would say that whatever Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan does there is a method in his madness. Like Nature he does nothing in vain. I have been watching him over the years not so closely as some of my friends who have been his colleagues in one way or the other. Although I have never been even remotely connected with Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan I have been watching him very carefully ever since I came back and started taking interest in the public life of this country. There is one thing which is very consistent about Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and that is his upholding of the interests of the vested interests. I remember, I cannot forget—Why it was not mentioned I do not know—that it was Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan who inaugurated the coming into existence of the Swatantra Party in Bombay when Mr. Rajagopalachari came to perform the ceremony. Let it also not be forgotten that it was Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan who called a world conference to protest against China extending its suzerainty over Tibet. But, as soon as China came to be in the good books of the Americans, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan changed his tune. This is not something which can be ignored. Again, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has not one word to say about the big task force which has recently entered the Indian Ocean soon after Mr. Kissinger's double talk in this country. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has also nothing to say about the veto exercised in the United Nations by England, France and America in favour of South Africa. Jayaprakash Narayan is very consistent in that sense. He was also one who advocated military dictatorship when he saw instability arising out of the election results in 1967. It was Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, as was mentioned, who eulogised Pakistan's guided democracy. It was Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan who said in so many words that "the idea of military dictatorship", I am quoting, "cannot be disregarded because he suggests that in the political instability created by the results of the general elections in February 1967 the nation should.

summon the services of the Army to fill the vacuum and set right the instability”.

Lastly, I would like to mention that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is also very consistent about his anti-Sovietism, his anti-Communism, his anti-Jawaharlal and the last addition he has made is anti-Indiraism. Here is what he says —

‘My differences with Indiraji are more fundamental and serious than were my differences with Jawaharlalji. Differences with Jawaharlalji related to matters concerning the foreign Policy....and not so much to matters concerning the internal policy. But with Indiraji my differences relate also to internal policy.’

Sufficient has been said about the life of Mr. Jayaprakash Naryana. I would only like to sum up in the words of a very intelligent and vigilant correspondent who has written in the *Hindustan Standard*, as follows

“J.P. started as a Marxist. He then became a Gandhite. Then he became a Sarvodayist. Now he is almost a terrorist.”

“He is fond of the Chinese way. He hates Russia but he is not unfavourably disposed to the U.S.A.” That is my red light to the nation. Be careful of this man.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Now, the Home Minister. I would like to observe that those who ardently spoke in the debate and those who initiated the debate are absent when the Home Minister is going to reply.

SHRI RABI RAY : Mr. Advani is there.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, many hon. friends have expressed their respective opinions with regard to the subject-matter under discussion and I am only sorry that because of work in the other House, I could not be present throughout. However, I could gather, from the assistance given by my colleague, the opinions expressed by hon

Members during my absence. Now, Sir I agree with Mr. Advani, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi and some other hon. Members on my side who have said. .

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I did not know that the reply was to begin. I was here throughout and I had, in fact, conveyed to the Minister that I would be here.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I have not misunderstood you. I have just begun.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : My absence was remarked. That is why I had to explain.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Anyway both of them had been absent some time or the other.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : Just for a cup of tea.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Now, Sir, I agree that for consideration of the issues involved, it is not necessary to bring in the personality of Shri Jayaprakash ji. We need not also, except to understand what his present attitude is, except in this limited context, go into the past of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. All of us have respect for his patriotism, for the contribution he made during the freedom struggle But respect to a personality or regard to a personality should not cloud the thinking on the matter.

Now, Sir, as you know, from about the beginning of 1974 the students in Patna and elsewhere were concerned about some of their academic and economic needs. It is natural that the young people, young friends, should voice their grievances. And they related only, as I just now submitted, to the matter which purely concerned them like food in hostels, like less costly textbooks, like grant of more scholarships or increase in the rate of scholarships and the general economic price rise.

Therefore, the students met the Chief Minister and the Chief Minister conceded their demands. That was during the early part of 1974. Unfortunately, —I do not know whether it is instigated because that is what we see all around today—from the

[SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY] 18th to 20th March there were wide disturbances and lot of violence. I also agree that during this time Jayaprakashji was not fully in the picture. If the students were not satisfied or if there were still some grievances left, what was the duty of any elderly gentleman irrespective of whether he belonged to this Party or that Party? If there were some grievances left, it was the duty of the elders to advise them to put them before the Government and say these are the legitimate demands and they should have been agreed to by the Administration. That should have been the patriotic duty of any elderly gentleman who wants to properly guide the new leadership of this country. But unfortunately on account of the disturbances and lot of violence that took place and the number of deaths...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : By the Police . .

SHRI RABI RAY : . . . in Gaya and Patna

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : . . that took place, emotions were naturally roused and students naturally were emotionally strong. It was at this point of time that interested political parties wanted to cash in on this upsurge of emotions at that time. At that time presumably, the leadership of several Parties combined—I do not want to speak disparagingly just now of any Party—and they presumably felt that their leadership may not cut ice with the people and the mere issues relating to the students alone cannot be effectively focussed for a wide agitation. Therefore, Jayaprakashji was approached and in my humble opinion it was a lamentable day when Jayaprakashji yielded to the request of these political parties. We suspect that Jayaprakashji would have been told that as so many Parties are interested and are trying to support, naturally all Opposition members will resign and if they resigned, it will have its impact on the members of the Congress Party also and they would also resign and this would almost create a situation which was created in Gujarat where a majority of members of the legislature resigned. But, unfortunately for them and fortunately for the democratic processes, a great number of members of the main Opposition have not resigned. As I said yesterday in the other House,

out of the 77 members belonging to the Congress (O), BJS, SSP and SP, only 34 have resigned. You know, Sir, that this House, this Assembly in Bihar, is a fairly big one because it is a big State and, including the nominated members, the total number of members of the Assembly is 319—three one nine—and only 34 of them have resigned. And, Sir, I cannot say what sort of a commentary it is on the leadership of the political parties there. Although much pressure was exercised, coercion was used, intimidation was resorted to, abusive language was indulged in, even filthy language was indulged in, somehow, even the members elected on the tickets of the Opposition parties had more respect for democratic processes and, therefore, they did not resign yielding to these pressures and they resisted these pressures. You also know, Sir, that the Jharkhand party, the Hul Jharkhand party members in that State have not resigned and, in fact, one member was mentioning—I do not know whether it is Mr. B. P. Mandal or somebody else....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Perhaps they were told that the Border Security Force and the CRP would crush them.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY . Please wait. If that is so, why should you drive them into their hands? The point is that out of a total number of 319 in the House, only 34 have resigned and I may add in this connection that some Harijan and Adivasi members were forced to send in their resignation letters under wrongful confinement or restraint one, as soon as they got freed from the hold of these restrainers, they said, "We are not resigning. We were forced to do this and we were compelled to do this." Sir, is this a method which would be followed in any decent democracy? Is it a method which can be adopted by any respectable political party? My submission, therefore, is that this kind of an attitude drives us and compels us to go behind these, simple acts or serious acts, whatever you may call them, and go into the motivation of this combination of these political parties under the leadership of Jayaprakashji. Therefore, yesterday I was mentioning in the other House about the declaration made by Jayaprakashji on November 4 at Patna after the *gherao* affairs. He has said, as has been reported by some of my friends, that the issue is not

one concerning Bihar, that the issue is not one against the Ghafoor Ministry, but the issue is one of Shri mati Indira Gandhi. This was clear.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** Are these the exact words? You should quote the exact words and that would be more appropriate.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** I thought I could save some time. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan declared like this. I think this is from "The Hindustan Times."

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** That is all right.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** I think we have seen that. We have seen "The Searchlight" also.. (Interruptions).. Please do not interrupt me. Another matter also I wish to bring to the notice of the House and it is this that on October 30, when Jayaprakashji went to Ludhiana, several leaders of Punjab, the Opposition leaders, the most important among them being Mr. Badal, some other friend from the BJS, Shri Abinashi and some others, who comprised that part of what is called the Punjab People's Front, had serious consultations with Jayaprakashji. At that time, Jayaprakash Ji is reported to have said that they should put up only one candidate on behalf of all the parties against the Congress. What does this mean? What is the politics involved? I was submitting yesterday and as has been said by him, it is not a question merely of Bihar. As you have rightly said, Sir, while you were speaking, it is a question of taking advantage of the discontent that is prevailing to some extent in the country.

**SHRI RABI RAY :** What is wrong in that?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** I am not saying that it is wrong or right. But my experience tells me—I have some experience—that all opportunistic alliances or taking undue advantage of certain situations has not given strength to any opposition political party till now.

**SHRI RABI RAY :** What about Kerala?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. RAJU) :** If he has omitted anything, you can add later on.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** You can add to my advantage. He is disturbing the trend. That is the whole trouble. I have some experience as I have submitted, not on the floor of this House, but elsewhere. I have moved with people more intensely than many others. My experience shows that mere polemics in legislatures would not convince the people. We have to move with our people. We have to understand their difficulties. We have to help them. We have to mix with them. It is only that way that you can build up respectability for any party. Therefore, Sir, I wish to submit that a mere combination or a sudden combination does not help. Even if all of us here, on this side and on that side, suddenly combine to do an illegal act or to do something against one particular individual, it will be a mistake and this is the mistake which you are committing. I wish to tell you as a friend of yours not to commit that mistake.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** Unless he or she represents a total class.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** If you are thinking that a mere combination of some strong people will give strength to any political party, I may tell you..

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, does it have any reference to the factional politics of Andhra? I do not understand it.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** India is one.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** I do not agree with Mr. Advani when he says he does not understand. He is refusing to understand.

Sir, as I have said earlier, if it is not a question of Bihar, then what is the issue except a general reference to corruption, electoral reforms, etc. etc.?

8 P.M.

**SHRI RABI RAY :** It is a big thing.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY:** It is a big thing. I certainly know it. But please see the avowed suggestion for

[SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY]

electoral reforms. Many theories have been put forward. It is not as if they are being put forward for the first time.

They were put forward at the time when the Constitution was framed by much bigger people than you and I like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Govind Ballabh Pant, Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer and many other eminent persons who had not only the legal acumen but great patriotism, great service and better service than the other people about whom you are thinking. They had gone into it in a detailed manner, not in a haphazard way as we discuss in a discussion, and they ruled out several of the theories because they know what our country is, what the size of the country is, what the things are, what the literacy is. And they knew so many other things. Therefore, they decided on a particular pattern. Now, let us go through that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : But, unfortunately, these have become lives issues because the basis of the pattern is undemocratic.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Niren Ghosh, you allow him to say what he wants to say.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, I want to tell you about 1952. I want to submit that in the Andhra area of the erstwhile Madras State, when the elections took place in the year 1952, though the Congress Government was in power, almost 50 per cent of the Congress candidates were defeated and the seats were captured by the Communist Party. Of course, Mr. Niren Ghosh and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta were together then. Now I need not take you into many other elections. Take 1967, as early as 1967. How many opposition political parties have come to power in the States?

You say that the Central Government is under our control. All through, the Central Government is in the hands of the Congress Party. How could these people come into power? And it was pointed out that even in Bihar, in the 1971 elections...

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA : How many opposition governments were toppled...

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :

As Mr. Vice-Chairman said, you are a very good friend. you are a very enthusiastic friend. But please do not interrupt. I give my advice because you are a young friend.

My submission is that even in Bihar, in the 1971 elections to the Parliament, when Mr. Karpuri Thakur was the Chief Minister, people have voted overwhelmingly in favour of the Congress so far as the parliamentary elections were concerned. And you can take the very recent history, Sir. In about 30 bye-elections to Parliament that took place in these two and a half years, only 15 Congress candidates succeeded. The rest had gone to the Opposition, whether it is the Communist Party or the Independents or a combination of one or two parties or whatever that may be. Therefore, it does not lie in the mouth of friend to say that elections in India are not free and fair.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I have given certain instances about certain States.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :

I would also like to submit for your information that however poor this country may be and however illiterate the people of this country may be, they have much shrewder commonsense to select their parties and candidates.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Elections are totally rigged in Kashmir and West Bengal and in many other places.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : He did not say anything about your party.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :

If people think that money can play a decisive role in Congress, they are mistaken. Money may have a legitimate place, say, 5 per cent, 6 per cent or 10 per cent because you will have to move about and explain the things to people. But, I have known and I have heard that in the 1967 elections when in some States some lakhs of rupees were thrown about, they got a severe licking. Therefore, Sir, if all of us feel, as the Prime Minister has also said, we have to curb the use of money power. The power of

money in elections is certainly a matter which can be discussed and a consensus arrived at and a course adopted. But, to go back and say that the recall system is good, I cannot understand. I am glad that Advaniji seems to have gone back on his suggestion of recall.

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI :** In fact it was my amendment and it was supported by Bhupesh Guptaji.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Sir, for your information I may say that there was a Defection Committee appointed in 1968 on the basis of a resolution by the Lok Sabha. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was a member of that Committee. Shri Balraj Madhok represented the Jana Sangh party. I suggested recall provision should be there. Both Jayaprakash Narayan and Balraj Madhok opposed this thing.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** Thank you very much. Therefore, Sir, let us not confuse our people. Let us not put some issues without explaining to them what they mean. Regarding recall, I have been told and I saw somewhere in some press report that the Chairman of the B.L.D. Party, Mr. Charan Singh, has said that recall is unsuited to this country, impracticable.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** He may say that. What does it matter?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** It is your fundamental right to differ from the Chairman of the B.L.D.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** It is a democratic right.

(Interruption)

**श्री रबी राय :** प्वाइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर। ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी ने चरण सिंह के बयान के बारे में जिक्र किया। मैं कहता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस तरह का बयान नहीं दिया है। अगर वे कहते हैं कि दिया है तो उसको प्रोड्यूस करें, उसमें से कोट करें। इस तरह से उनको नहीं कहना चाहिए।

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इतना निवेदन करूंगा कि जहां मंत्री को सूट करता है वहां भूपेश गुप्त का या चरण सिंह के रिपोर्टेड स्टेटमेंट को ले लेते हैं। इस ढंग से आर्गुमेंट नहीं होता। इस समय इण्डिया रिक्वाल का नहीं है, इस समय इण्डिया है कि क्या इलेक्टोरल रिफॉर्मस के प्रति सरकार ईमानदार है। इस बारे में हमारा चार्ज सरकार के बोनोफाईडिज पर है।

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Despite the fact that we are all hungry, including our friends, I want to point out to you that your Prime Minister has said that she is prepared to discuss the question of electoral reforms and we take it that she seriously meant it. Therefore, now do not say so especially being the Home Minister of the country and Home Ministers are at times very difficult propositions, as we know. Do not say that it is unsuited today. Jayaprakash Narayan has said it is unsuited, Balraj Madhok had said that it is unsuited. You need not today any it is unsuited.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** The Prime Minister has already said about proportional representation. He has brushed it aside.

**श्री लाल आडवाणी :** आर्डिनेन्स पास कर दिया, फिर बोनोफाईडिज कहा रहा।

**SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :** A small point of order. In the last session it was said that when the time is extended beyond 8 O'clock, he will give us dinner.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** You have got a holiday!

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** I am not expressing an opinion. I am only saying that several leaders have said like this. However I am bound by what the Prime Minister said. What the Prime Minister said, if I have understood her correctly, is we can think about the curbing of money power in elections; and if there are any other suggestions which are practicable

[SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY]

and which can be suitable to India, they can be considered.

श्री सुब्रमण्यम स्वामी : जॉइंट पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट तो पढ़िए।

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: No, no, I just wanted to take you through. My previous argument has been that it is my personal opinion that so far as the present system is concerned, it has worked well. If there are any evils that might have crept in, certainly they can be cured. I also wanted to read for your information an extract from *India's Routes of Democracy* by Carl C. Taylor, Douglas Ensminger, Helen W. Johnson, Jeen Joyce, but I have no time.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Ford Foundation has not been completely brought out. जॉइंट पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट तो पढ़िए।

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: And, therefore, my submission is, of everything why only electoral reforms? If there are any reforms to be made in education, these could be discussed and those which are good and in the interest of our people can be considered. After all, it is a democracy. Democracy is rule by consent and discussion. Therefore, there is no issue which cannot be discussed at any stage of our public life. After all, the paramount thing is the well-being and the interest of our people at large. Therefore, can you discuss these things in emotion, in a surcharged atmosphere? These are things which, I only appeal to you, can be discussed.

Now, our friend Uma Shanker Joshiji was saying that there are many economic difficulties. You also said it. It is true that there economic difficulties, and the the Prime Minister has said on more occasions than one that it has been partly created due to the global situation, and there are some things which could be remedied by us in the internal economic life of our country; and therefore she has also initiated very strong steps in that

directions. I need not go through the several steps that have been taken in the last four or five months. Even there, if there are good suggestions which can be implemented and which can improve the economic life of this country, which can lessen the hardships of our people, who has prevented any discussion on that matter, any consultation on that matter? In the life of a country which passes through generations and generations and generations' should it not be a regular feature of democratic life? What is most disgusting is that you have brought in a very serious political import into this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU): I have not brought.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Not you, Sir. You are also capable but not now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order. Mr. Brahmananda Reddy is taking advantage of the fact that you are in the Chair because he knows you very well in Andhra and you also know him very well. Will you kindly go there and put somebody else so that you can also enlighten us?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU): I was looking but nobody is there.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Now, therefore, my submission is that all of us will have to look beyond our nose. It may be for a time a party is in power. I have not seen anywhere in the World where one single party is able to rule for hundreds of years. Therefore, it is not a question of looking at it from the narrow, restricted point of view or in some opposition to any particular individual. We have to look at it in a broader perspective. We have to see what is to the benefit of the people what is good to the people.

Sir, can a big country like this, with many difficulties which secured independence just 25-26 years ago come out of it troubles overnight? We have to go through it all. As has been observed, the planned development is a continuous process. It is not as if you can stop it any day. Therefore, it is in this direction that all of us will have to see.



Now, I ask if somebody goes, and if somebody else comes, can you solve this problem overnight? Should you not have to plod through taking the assistance of others? Therefore, for God's sake, I beg of all, please reduce these political overtones unnecessarily imported into this.

Now, Sir, I do not want to offend their feelings. We have seen coalition governments here consisting of several parties. So far as India is concerned, can a combination—and our experiences is clear—of incongruous elements without the basic unity and policy or programme survive? And if such coalition governments have fallen due to their inherent weakness, is it a cause for complaint against Congress? Therefore, Sir, my submission is, I do not want to go into any other question...

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** We want an assurance from you because you have said very many things and you can say also more. We want a clear assurance that the Assembly shall neither be dissolved nor suspended.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** I am coming to that. That is the last portion of my speech.

श्री लाल आडवाणी : उस ज्वाइंट कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पढ़ने वाले थे उसका क्या हुआ ?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** Now I do not think, nor will Mr. Advani say that the demand for the dissolution of a duly constituted Assembly is a proper democratic process unless the conditions prescribed in Article 355 of the Constitution are fulfilled. We have all sworn by the Constitution; we work under the Constitution and we take the oath that we will observe the Constitution and, therefore....

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI :** I put a very specific question. Do you regard Kerala also as a blunder because it has an aologus position ?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** I will come to that.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** Is the rule of minority democratic ?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** Now, therefore, he agrees with this proposition.

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI :** I do not agree with it. I can think of situations where President's rule has to be imposed and article 356 has to be invoked when a situation like Kerala develops as it has developed in Bihar.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** No, no. I think Mr. Vice-Chairman, while he was speaking a Member has already answered that, the question about Kerala and others. I do not know, I forget and excuse me if I am wrong, but the point is, as I have submitted, out of 319, thirty-four alone have resigned. A great majority, practically about 80 per cent or 85 per cent, have not resigned in spite of pressures. I have not the time just now, but I have tried to show that the administration has not failed in Bihar.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** It has collapsed. There is no administration except the police department.

**SHRI LAL K. ADVANI :** Where is the question of any administration there?

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** I do not want to offend them or go into that question, but it is patent ...

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** What about the suspension part of it?

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** It is patent that the administration is going on. I have said that the collections are much better than what they were last year. I have said that Plan development is much better than last year.

**SHRI RABI RAY :** You ask the Members from Bihar.

**SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :** It is because Members from Bihar have told me. It is not as if you alone represent Bihar.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** No administration exists.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Niren Ghosh, how long do you want to sit?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I will complete in ten or fifteen minutes. Therefore, my submission is that the conditions which have got to be fulfilled under the Constitution for the dissolution of the Assembly are not there. The question of the dissolution of the Assembly does not arise. Now, several Members speaking from this side have already told you about Gujarat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no. I want to know one thing. You said in the other House that there is no question of dissolution. Good. But there are some people, including some in your party, who are mooted the idea of either suspension till the next election or suspension for face-saving. Do I have a clear assurance that the Government of India and you will not give any quarter whatsoever to this manoeuvre for suspension?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : Is he a Shylock?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Suspension of the Assembly till the next general election—what does it mean? I have already covered it during my intervention. It is worse than dissolution because the Members will have to be kept alive and Members will have to be paid for no work.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You keep them by giving many posh jobs.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now, I met someone saying if it is not till the next election, let it be suspended for some time. They want some kind of dialogue on that basis in order to recoup their position which has been demoralised.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : You have permitted Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to put questions on that analogy. I should also be allowed to put questions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You have asked for dinner. Please continue.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Now, Sir, I only speak what I have got to say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want a clear assurance from you here that the Government will not entertain any proposal for the suspension of the Assembly, whether till the election or for a shorter time, because this is the thin end of the wedge. In effect, it means a political surrender to the movement led by those people. I want that assurance.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : The Government of India will not come under the pressure of anybody; neither the Government of India...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. Have I been building up any pressure?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : That is what Shri Subramanian Swamy is saying.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : The Government of India are vitally interested in the well-being of the people of Bihar. Therefore...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is the difficulty? When I am asking a political question...

SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR : What are the pressure tactics? You please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : These are the people of Bihar. I am asking something and you are objecting to it... (*Interruptions*) There are people in the Congress Party who are working for a temporary suspension of the Assembly.

SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR : Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want to know...

SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR : Let him finish and then you ask a supplementary. If you can pressurise ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My proposition is very simple. I know some of you ...

SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR : I know you also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Both you and Patnaik go there. That is why I got up. They did not get up. He got up.

SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR : The Home Minister is trying to reply. Put a supplementary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You are going too far. The Minister can answer; you cannot compel him. (*Interruptions*) You have put your question repeatedly. Whatever he could actually answer, he can answer in any manner he likes; you cannot compel him to answer in a particular way.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is this particular way? It is a point of order. I am not asking about his language. There are two propositions. One is the demand for dissolution. He has said, no. Another is, well, if it is not dissolution, let him suspend it. And in that category, there are two opinions. One is, suspend till the elections. He has said, then it amounts to dissolution. All right. There is another opinion which is being mooted in certain quarters. I will not name them. They say, at least the Assembly be suspended for some time when another Government can come and they can start it. This is what I have asked; this is a factual question. Mr. Brahmananda Reddy can just answer in any manner of language. He can answer in that language. I think you will understand by the interruption that has been made, not from the Opposition Benches, because there it is clear that they are determined to have it dissolved. But there are some Trojan Horses in the Congress Party who are supporting Jayaprakash Narayan and are wanting to suspend it ... (*Interruptions*) Yes, yes, I ignore you for the time being. I am asking you, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, you use any language. I have no objection. These are the propositions. About two I have been assured. About the

third one also I would like to be assured. It is a vital question for the people; it is not an Assembly issue. It is a basic question of the defence of the gains of the people and the struggle against the reactionary right wing threat for the subversion of democratic institutions. Hence, I am asking this question of suspension even for a short while.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : ...  
जी, हमारा ए. ही प्रश्न है और हम थोड़े में ही कह देना चाहते हैं अगर आप हमें मौन दें। मैं इस चीज को अवस्था का पक्ष उठाकर कहना चाहता हूँ और मैं एक सेकेंड में इसको कह देना चाहता हूँ। विरोधी दल के लोग एक के बाद एक बोले, लेकिन कांग्रेस की ओर से किसी ने भी उन को डिस्टर्ब नहीं किया और किसी ने भी कुछ नहीं कहा। हमारी ओर से और नरसार की ओर से जब यह मंत्री जी उत्तर दे रहे हैं तो उन्होंने यह कहा कि जन हित और बिहार के हित में जो भी उचित होगा उसको हम स्वीकार करेंगे और हमारी नेता प्रधान मंत्री भी स्वीकार करेंगी। इस बात पर बार-बार टोका टाकी की जाती है तो इसका मतलब क्या है? क्या इस तरह इन्टरप्ट करने की उनकी ही मोनोपली है और दूसरे लोगों का कोई अधिकार नहीं है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The Minister is capable of looking after himself.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why is he lecturing? I have asked a question because he has not given the answer...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You have been categorically clear. Let the Minister speak.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI : In poetry there are seven types of ambiguities. In politics there are seventy. A politician like our esteemed, elderly friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, can draw his conclusion from

[SHRI UMA SHANKER JOSHI]

Minister to sign o dotted ines ...

(Interruption by Shri Gunanand Thakur)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You cannot discuss across the table. This is not a good thing. You are a disciplined Member. You cannot cross the Benches. I have given you opportunity.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : You should not get angry. I am bound by your ruling which you have just now given. That is why I want to say these demands of dissolutions or of dismissals of Ministry cannot be decided by a public meeting or an agitation. We have seen such demands arising out of emotion. And if you just wait for that emotion to cool down they will think rightly and act rightly. We have seen umpteen instances like that in the country. Therefore, I can only tell you that the Government of India are vitally interested in the well-being of not only Bihar but of other areas also and they are interested in maintaining the democratic traditions of this country.

A friend raised the question about the Kerala disturbances. I answered it yesterday also in the other House. You might remember that in 1958 or 1959, about fifteen years ago there was a grave disturbance of an order which is inconceivable ...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It was nothing compared to the agitation in Bihar and there was no repression whatsoever. You have mobilised two lakhs in Bihar...

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Mr. Niren Ghosh, you may be knowing more but I can tell you ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is an old thing. Let us better not go into this thing ...

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I do not admit ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You may not agree. Kerala is not a thing under discussion. You are being deliberately diverted.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They are butchers of democracy in India ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You have said these things a hundred times.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I was nearer Kerala than Shri Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : As if by being nearer, he has understood everything!

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : The Kerala Assembly was dissolved: because the Government then refused to take the responsibility to meet the situation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No, this is total distortion of the truth. To put mildly, it is a pack of lies.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : You may say so. You may kindly refer to the speeches made by our hon. leaders, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant in the discussion in Parliament in those days, in 1959. Further, I would say, my friend was doubting whether it was a great disturbance, whether all people were agitated or not. Sir, elections were held after a few months in Kerala. And what was the result?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Hold elections in Bihar now. Let us see what the result is. But I doubt whether there will be free and fair elections.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : When I talk about Kerala, you go to Bihar and when I am on Bihar, you ask me talk about Kerala. Sir, about Gujarat, all of you know that the Chief Minister there resigned and recommended to the President that a proclamation should be made and the Assembly should be dissolved. But the Assembly was not dissolved, though a proclamation was made. It was only on the 15th March, 1974, when 95 members out of a House of 168 had resigned that the Assembly was dissolved. What is the comparison between Gujarat, where 95 out of 168 had resigned, and Bihar where 34 out of 319 have resigned?

श्री लाल अडवाणी : इसे आपने गलत कह दिया।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : In Kerala, nobody resigned. The Government was going.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : This is because...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Because you did not want to tolerate any Communist-led Government. So you murdered democracy. You have rigged elections in Kashmir for 20 years. You have murdered parliamentary democracy in West Bengal in 1972. And you talk of democracy!

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Whatever my argument, you will not be convinced. Therefore, I do not want to spend much time on this.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : Before you close, I would like you to avail of this opportunity to make amends for the physical assault on Jayaprakash Narayan. Yesterday you said in the other House that "if I learn that a physical assault was made on Jayaprakash Narayan, I would be the first person to apologise for it."

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Certainly.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : I have told you my personal conversation with Jayaprakash Narayan this morning in which he confirmed that there was an assault. Of course, people protected him; people protected him from his skull being broken by lathis.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I am not going back on what I said yesterday. I said yesterday that if Jayaprakashji even by accident had received the slightest injury...

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : Not accident, it was deliberate.

SHRI RABI RAY : On a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You allow him to complete his sentence.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : said yesterday—and I stand by it—that

if Jayaprakashji had, even by accident, suffered an injury, I will be the first man to express regret. I stand by it.

श्री रबी राय : पोइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर।  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मेरा पोइन्ट ऑफ आर्डर सुन लीजिए। जिस मेडिकल डाक्टर ने जयप्रकाश जी की परीक्षा की थी उसको बाकायदा रिपोर्ट है कि जयप्रकाश इन्जर्ड हुए हैं और उसको पटना के जिला मजिस्ट्रेट ने फनकर्प किया है। इसलिए मैं ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी से कहता हूँ कि अभी भी माफी माग ले क्योंकि जयप्रकाश की जिस डाक्टर ने परीक्षा की थी उसने बाकायदा कहा है and this has been confirmed by Shri Dubey.

श्री लाल आडवाणी : जयप्रकाश जी के केस में किसी डाक्टर की रिपोर्ट की भी जरूरत नहीं है। जयप्रकाश जी ने स्वयं कहा है कि मेरे ऊपर अमाल्ट हुआ है।

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, I have finished.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Have you any information...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : He has finished. The debate is closed now. Now the Minister will make a statement.

#### STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE C. B. I. CASE RELATING TO ISSUE OF IMPORT LICENCES TO CER- TAIN FIRMS OF YANAM AND MAHE

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY) : Sir, it will be recalled that as a result of verification a case under Sec. 120-B IP 2 r/w 420 (cheating), 467 (forgery), 471 (using as genuine forged document; and 162 (taking gratification to influence public servants) was registered in connection with issue of licenses to some importers of Yanam and Mahe by the CBI (SPE) on 2-9-1974.