

leather, tanned and untanned but not including snake skins and manufactures of leather, from 10 per cent *ad valorem* to 20 per cent *ad valorem* from the date of the said 1."

n was adopted.

RE. REVOCATION OF PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF GUJARAT

PROCLAMATION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF GUJARAT

श्री प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) : उप-सदन, मैं राष्ट्रपति द्वारा संविधान के अन्तर्गत जो धारा 9 फरवरी थी उस का, प्रतिमंहरण करने की प्रार्थना प्रस्तुत करता हूँ :-

श्री राष्ट्रपति से मित्राणि करती है गुजरात राज्य के संबंध में संविधान के धारा 356 के अधीन 9 फरवरी, 1974 को राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जारी की घोषणा का प्रतिमंहरण किया

महोदय, जिस समय सदन में लगी गयी थी उस समय भी हमने एक आगति उठायी थी की द्वारा के द्वारा दुरुपयोग किया गया है और गयी है वह अधूरी है और उस त की घटनाओं ने सिद्ध कर दिया है अपने दलीय हित की दृष्टि से जो की थी उस से गुजरात की समस्या का आ है और उस के बाद आज जो परिस्थिति जा रही है और आज के अखबार के समाचार हैं कि सरकार उस हुई गलती को सुधारने के लिए है और मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि सदन में त करने समय सरकार उस तरह की लेकिन जब तक वह घोषणा सरकार तक तक यह परिस्थिति जो गुजरात

में पैदा हुई है, बिगड़ती जायगी उस सारी बिगड़ती हुई परिस्थिति का उत्तरदायि व अगर किसी पर है तो वह केन्द्रीय सरकार पर है ।

मैं सब से पहले उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, गुजरात की जनता का और विशेष तौर से वहाँ के विद्यार्थी वर्ग का अभिनन्दन करना चाहता हूँ इस बात के लिए कि उन्होंने देश के सामने एक विशेष परिस्थिति में जनता का मार्गदर्शन किया है । जन निर्वाचित प्रतिनिधि अपने कर्तव्य से च्युत हो जाय जिस उत्तरदायित्व को ले कर वह विधान सभा में और लोक सभा में आते हैं उस को वे पूरा न करें, तो उन के लिए हमारे संविधान में रिकाल की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है और न अपने देश में रेंफ्रेंडम की ही व्यवस्था है ? तो अगर इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति पैदा हो जाय तो क्या किया जाए उस के लिए उन्होंने मार्गदर्शन किया है कि जनता को क्या करना चाहिए । वहाँ जो परिस्थिति थी उस में जनता के साथ अन्याय हो रहा था, अत्याचार हो रहा था और वहाँ जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं का अभाव हो गया था । उन समस्याओं के हल के लिए गुजरात की जनता ने जो देश के सामने एक मार्ग रखा है उसके लिए उन का अभिनन्दन करना सब से पहला काम है ।

वास्तव में अगर इस परिस्थिति को बिगाड़ने के लिए कोई जिम्मेदार हो सकता है या उसके लिए कोई कारण हो सकता है तो वह केन्द्र की सरकार ही हो सकती है । जो वहाँ की आर्थिक परिस्थिति थी उस की जिम्मेवारी अगर हम प्रांतीय सरकार पर डालें तो वह सही नहीं होगा क्योंकि जिस प्रकार की डिफिसिट की स्थिति वहाँ पर थी, जिस प्रकार की अकाल की स्थिति वहाँ पर थी उस के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को जिस प्रकार से वहाँ की मांग की पूर्ति करनी चाहिए थी वह उसने नहीं किया क्यों नहीं किया कि चमन भाई की मिनिस्ट्री वहाँ बनी थी और वह प्रधान मंत्री जी की मर्जी के बिना बनी थी । प्रधान मंत्री जी के प्रतिनिधि ओझा जी थे जिन्होंने यहाँ से त्यागपत्र दिया था उसके बाद वे वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री बनाये गये थे

१ जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

अमन भाई ने अपने प्रयत्नों से वहां की तब को बदला और उस मिनिस्ट्री को पलटा। के कारण ही केन्द्रीय सरकार ने वहां एक परिस्थिति पैदा की या वहां की सरकार ऐसी थी कि वह परिस्थिति का ठीक से जायजा की और वहां की जनता की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति नहीं कर सकी। वहां कही नहीं थी और जहां राशनिंग की व्यवस्था थी वहां उस की उचित व्यवस्था न होने के जरात में जो परिस्थिति पैदा हुई उसे देख रेमा लगता है कि यह जान बूझकर केन्द्रीय ने किया है और वहां पार्टियों का जो गठ- उसने इस परिस्थिति को और ज्यादा

केन्द्रीय सरकार समय पर चेती रहती। वह महोदय सारी परिस्थिति सम्भल जाती, नहीं। उस समय केन्द्रीय सरकार इस जिद रही कि चिमन भाई पटेल ईस्तीफा नहीं देंगे। पर धीरे-धीरे स्थिति बिगड़ती जा रही लगभग लोग मर चुके हैं 60 विधायक चुके हैं। मुझे लगता है वहां एक क्रिकेट ला जा रहा है। जैसे क्रिकेट के अन्दर कोई डी तभी सही माना जाता है जब वह बना लेता है। केन्द्रीय सरकार इस बात ही है कि जब तक मरने वालों की सैनचूरी है, त्याग-पत्र देने वालों की सैनचूरी नहीं तक कोई निर्णय लेने की परिस्थिति में नहीं यह अत्यन्त दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति वहां पर और अब और भी बिगड़ती जा रही है।

गता है केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जिस प्रकार श की विधान सभा निलम्बित कर दी थी, न ने त्याग पत्र दे दिया और राष्ट्रपति गू कर दिया था उसी प्रकार गुजरात में है। जिन परिस्थितियों में आंध्र के गिन साहब को भेजा था और सरीन ने वहां जाकर सारी परिस्थिति पर हर कांग्रेस सरकार बनाने में मदद दी गण से गुजरात के अन्दर भी सब कुछ

करके राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया। आंध्र में राज्यपाल महोदय का सहायक बनाकर जिन सरीन साहब को भेजा था उन्हीं सरीन साहब को गुजरात में भेजा गया। वहां पर जनता में इस प्रकार की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है कि जैसे सरीन साहब ने आंध्र के अन्दर तोड़-फोड़ की कांग्रेस-जनों के अन्दर और कांग्रेस सरकार की स्थापना की, वही परिस्थिति यहां पैदा होने वाली है। इसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि केवल विद्यार्थी वर्ग ही नहीं बल्कि सारे कर्मचारियों ने सचिवालय के बाहर धोषणा की है कि हम सरीन का साथ नहीं देंगे। वहां कोई एक वर्ग ही नहीं, केवल कर्मचारी ही नहीं बल्कि सारी जनता, सारा गुजरात जैसे एक व्यक्ति के रूप में खड़ा हुआ है। केन्द्रीय सरकार की जो एक पंडित्य बनाने की योजना है, वहां पर सरीन साहब के माध्यम से, उस पंडित्य का वहां के लोग जोरदार विरोध कर रहे हैं और सरीन गो बैक आदि के नारे सचिवालय के बाहर लगा रहे हैं। इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति वहां पैदा हो रही है। इस प्रकार परिस्थिति बिगड़ने की जिम्मेदारी अगर किसी पर आती है तो उपाध्यक्ष महोदय केन्द्रीय सरकार पर आती है।

गुजरात का जो वर्तमान आन्दोलन है उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, विद्यार्थी वर्ग के द्वारा हो रहा है यह बात सही है। पर यह आन्दोलन आज से नहीं बल्कि 27 अप्रैल, 73 से हो रहा है। पिछले साल मैंने मंत्री जी को याद दिलाया था इसी आन्दोलन के दौरान कि भारतीय जनसंघ ने, वहां पर एक लिम्बड़ी स्थान है, आन्दोलन प्रारम्भ किया था। बिना किसी कारण से वहां पर सब से पहले फायरिंग हुई और उसमें कई आदमी मारे गए। उसके बाद धीरे-धीरे हरेक स्थान पर गुजरात में बंद और आन्दोलन हुए। 9 मई को वहां पर अहमदाबाद बंद हुआ और उस अहमदाबाद बंद में कोई झगड़ा नहीं, कोई विवाद नहीं था।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे जनसंघ के मंत्री श्री बंसत गजेन्द्रगड़कर मीसा के अन्दर गिरफ्तार किए गए और 27 व्यक्ति और गिरफ्तार किए गए। जब इस सदन में इस बारे में सवाल आया था तो एक सूची मांगी गई थी कि किस-किस प्रांत के कितने-कितने व्यक्ति जनसंघ के मीसा के

गुजरात के अन्दर, ब्लैक मार्केट के
एस्तार किए गए . . .

IATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI

: On a point of order. Is the hon. speaking about Gujarat and its difficulty or is he giving us the his party's activities there?

JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: ying how the situation developed

IATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: oo much. I was thinking that the is very much interested in the difficulties of Gujarat . . .

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is of order. Let him continue.

IATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: be stopped from dealing with rich are not relevant.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. you please continue.

गदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उपसभापति तो जिस प्रकार से प्रारम्भ में गुजरात नेट ने दृष्टिकोण, अपनाया, उस समय प्रति सभल सकती थी, लेकिन परिस्थिति ने बजाए सारे अहमदाबाद में प्रधान मंत्री ट की रिजर्व पुलिस है, सी० आर० पी० है, एस० एफ०, उनको पोस्ट करके वहां पर र से लोगों की पिटाई प्रारम्भ की उसके वहां की परिस्थिति ने बिगड़ाव का म्भ किया। उस समय केन्द्रीय गृह आरोप लगाया था उपसभापति महोदय, त में सारे झगड़े जनसंघ करा रहा है। अब राजकोट का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। राजकोट के अन्दर कही पर अशांति नहीं हैवल राजकोट में उम समय शांति रही। ति पैदा हुई? उसके पीछे एक चिमनभाई टुट था, उन्होंने घोषणा की कि राजकोट ें नहीं दिया। यदि, कांग्रेस के लोग की परिस्थिति वहां पैदा करने की दृष्टि तैयार थे, वह कहते थे राजकोट में कबल झगड़ा क्यों हुआ, राजकोट जला क्यों

नहीं दिया, राजकोट जलाया जा सकता था। इसलिए कहना चाहता हूं क्योंकि केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री ने सारा दोष जनसंघ पर मढ़ा। लेकिन वास्तव में उसके पीछे कौन से तत्व थे? क्योंकि ओझा साहब हटा दिए गए और श्री दारजी और जो दूसरे उम गुट के व्यक्ति थे इस बात पर प्रसन्न थे कि चिमनभाई गए, उन्होंने जानबूझ कर विधान सभा को इसलिए भंग नहीं होने दिया कि उनकी योजना थी, वे चाहते थे कि विधान सभा एक बार भंग हो गई, चिमन भाई गए, तो उसके बाद हम अपनी सरकार बना लेंगे। तो कांग्रेस की परस्पर गुटबंदी ने भी इस मामले को प्रोत्साहन दिया उससे जो हिंसा का पक्ष था वह उममें आना स्वाभाविक था। शांतिपूर्वक और गम्भीरता से वह समस्या का समाधान करना नहीं चाहते थे। जो वहां की आर्थिक कठिनाईयां थी, जो राशन का अभाव था जो अकाल पड़ा था, उसका राजनैतिक लाभ उठाने की दृष्टि से कांग्रेस के अन्दर जो दूसरे गुट थे उन्होंने उस प्रकार कार्य किए जिनसे हिंसा को बढ़ावा मिला।

उपसभापति महोदय, इसके बाद वहां गुजरात के अंदर विद्यार्थियों का जो आंदोलन प्रारम्भ हुआ, उसमें जो वहां पर इन्जीनियरिंग कालेज थे वहां के विद्यार्थियों को जो 25 रु० शुल्क देना पड़ता था जब उस शुल्क को बढ़ा कर 105 रु० किया गया तो उन्होंने आंदोलन किया क्योंकि विद्यार्थी इस बात को असह्य मानते थे कि एकदम से क्यों इस तरह से बढ़ाया गया है। दुनिया भर में जब चीजों की महंगाई बढ़ रही है तो विद्यार्थियों का शुल्क क्यों बढ़ाया जाए, इस बात को लेकर गुजरात में विद्यार्थियों का आंदोलन शुरू हुआ। प्रारम्भ में विद्यार्थियों ने कोई नव-निर्माण समिति नहीं बनाई। विद्यार्थियों को गलत दिशा में नहीं चलने दिया जाए इसलिए स्वयं जयप्रकाश नारायण जी वहां गए। इनका ही नहीं लोक सभा के जो सदस्य हैं, मावलकर साहब, वे भी यह नहीं चाहते थे, वे सलाहकार के रूप में वहां रहे ताकि विद्यार्थी सही ढंग से काम करें। लेकिन वहां पर सारी परिस्थितियों को गलत दिशा देने का अगर

दीश प्रसाद माथुर]

यं किया तो वहां की सरकार ने। स प्रकार के अत्याचार हुए, पुलिस 120पी० के द्वारा वहां पर, जैसा कि आदमी मर गए और जिस प्रकार का विनाश हुआ, उस सम्पत्ति के और मृतकों की संख्या देखें तो...

गैर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : कितने

दीश प्रसाद माथुर : 80 व्यक्ति सरकार सेन्चुरी बनाना चाहती है। महोदय, जितने भी लोग मरे हैं, अगर सी के पैर में गोली नहीं लगी। वहां एड साइट का आर्डर हुआ उसको वहां ने निरस्त कर दिया कि सरकार को आदेश नहीं देना चाहिए। इतना प ने मकानों के अंदर घुस कर लोगों मकानों में जो लूटाहुई उसके अंदर स और वहां के असामाजिक तत्व, कर, जिस बड़ी मात्रा में सम्पत्ति और सम्पत्ति को लूटने में कोई जनता वचार्थी नहीं, कोई राजनैतिक दल ये बल्कि असामाजिक तत्व और वहां देखा कि इससे बढ़कर लूटने का कोई ही मिल सकता है। कर्फ्यू लग रहा यू के दौरान इस प्रकार खुली लूट श की गई। वह सारा पुलिस ने जेक तत्वों ने इस प्रकार का कार्य सी स्थिति पैदा की। तो इसलिए ने इसमें जिम्मेदारी आती है तो केन्द्र आती है। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा हम मले में निर्णय तो ले सकते हैं अगर स्थापना हो जाए, और तब हम न सभा को भंग करने की दृष्टि दम उठा सकते हैं। लेकिन पिछले प्रकार का वातावरण हुआ और नयी परिस्थिति पैदा हुई और नयी प्रकार की पैदा हुई है उपसभापति वहां के विद्यार्थियों ने मांग

रखी है कि विधायक त्याग-पत्र दें। विधायकों ने भी धड़ाधड़ त्यागपत्र देना प्रारम्भ किया और जब विधायक त्याग-पत्र दे रहे थे—मुझे पता नहीं मेरी जानकारी कहां तक सही है या गलत है—लेकिन आज भी वहां के जो स्पीकर महोदय हैं उनके पास और त्याग-पत्र पड़े हैं, स्पीकर महोदय हास्पिटल में पड़े हैं, स्पीकर महोदय ने बताया उनको हार्ट अटैक हो गया, भगवान हमारी मुनें तो उनके स्वास्थ्य में शीघ्र सुधार हो, लेकिन कहा गया है उनसे जानबूझ कर कि तुम हस्पताल चले जाओ और हम बाकी के त्याग-पत्र स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे। 60 के त्याग-पत्र स्वीकार हो गए...

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (Gujarat): How can he make an allegation against the Speaker? Have you got any proof?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उनके स्वास्थ्य में जल्दी सुधार हो जाय ताकि वे विधान सभा के कार्यालय में बैठें और कम से कम जो बचे हुए त्यागपत्र हैं, उन्हें वे स्वीकार कर लें। मैं तो यह कह रहा था और आपके समझने में जरा गलती हुई है।

उप-सभापति जी, वहां पर जो परिस्थिति है और इस प्रकार से जो वहां पर नई परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है, वह चिमनभाई के त्याग-पत्र से हो गई है। चिमनभाई के त्याग पत्र देने के बाद वहां पर एक नई परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है। श्री चिमनभाई दक्षिण गुजरात के हैं। वहां पर खेडूत करके एक पक्ष है। खेडूत जो है, वे गांव के अन्दर एक पक्ष हैं जो खेती करते हैं। इनके वहां पर नौकरी करते हैं वे हलदर कहे जाते हैं और आज इन दोनों के बीच परस्पर झगड़ा हो रहा है, आपस में गोली चल रही है और लाठियां चल रही हैं। आज इस प्रकार से कांग्रेस ने वहां पर परिस्थिति पैदा कर दी है। इस तरह से खेडूत बनाम हलदर के बीच झगड़ा कांग्रेस ने पैदा करवा दिया है।

दूसरी परिस्थिति कांग्रेस ने वहां पर यह पैदा करवा दी है कि सवर्ण हिन्दुओं और गैर सवर्णों के बीच फूट पैदा करवा दी है।

हे हरिजनों की पार्टी कहा जाता है, इसलिए हिन्दुओं बनाम हरिजनों के बीच में झगड़ा न दिया है। तीसरी बात कांग्रेस ने वहां दा करवा दी है कि हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों में झगड़ा हो। चौथी बात कांग्रेस ने वहां पार्थीयों और नान विद्यार्थीयों के बीच में दा करवा दिया है। विद्यार्थी वहां पर से त्यागपत्र की मांग कर रहे थे। वहां विद्यार्थीयों को मारा पीटा गया और पार्थीयों को तो मारकर नहर में डूबोई स्थानों पर विद्यार्थीयों की पिटाई हुई। सरकार की ओर से जनता को किसी न संरक्षण नहीं दिया जा रहा है और वहां पर किसी तरह की शासन व्यवस्था आज वहां पर किसी तरह की शासन दिखलाई नहीं देती है।

प्रधान मंत्री जी कहती हैं कि जब वहां त्त की स्थापना हो जायेगी, तब हम विधान सभा को भंग करने के सम्बन्ध उठावेंगे। लेकिन मैं, यह निवेदन चाहता हूं कि वहां पर इस प्रकार की परि-वर्ण कांग्रेस ने ही पैदा कर रखी है। उस नये झगड़े और नये विवाद खड़े करवा खेड़त बनाम हल्दर, सवर्ण और दूसरी में आपस में मन मिटाव पैदा करवा दिया पार्थीय और नान विद्यार्थीयों के अन्दर बेवाद पैदा करवा दिये है और इस प्रकार शों को पैदा करने की कांग्रेस वहां पर कर रही है। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि स्थिति ठीक होने वाली नहीं है और शा पर शान्ति स्थापित हो सकती है। स्थापित करने का केवल एक ही मार्ग है। बारे में उस समय भी कहा था कि वहां न सभा को तत्काल भंग कर दिया जाय।

र, उप सभापति जी, उस समय, आप दा होगा कि केरल में जब मार्किस्ट की गी, तो उस सरकार के खिलाफ आन्दोलन और उस आन्दोलन का नेतृत्व स्वयं

प्रधान मंत्री जी ने किया था। वहां पर कोई गोली बारी नहीं हुई थी और न ही कोई हिंसा की बात हुई थी। चूंकि प्रधान मंत्री और उनकी पार्टी का केन्द्र में अधिकार था। वहां के विधायकों ने त्यागपत्र नहीं दिया था। लेकिन चूंकि कांग्रेस और स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी ने वहां पर आन्दोलन किया था और वहां की विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया गया था, तो गुजरात के अन्दर क्यों नहीं किया जा सकता है? आखिर गुजरात के अन्दर कौनसी भिन्न परिस्थिति है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप की पार्टी ही वहां पर सब कुछ करवा रही है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : हम कुछ नहीं करवा रहे हैं, वहां पर तो जनता ही सब कुछ कर रही है। एक व्यक्ति नहीं कर रहा है बल्कि सारा गुजरात आज एक व्यक्ति के रूप में खड़ा है। वहां पर अगर कोई इस आन्दोलन से अलग है, तो वह कांग्रेस की पार्टी है और कांग्रेसी गुट बन्दी का जो वहां पर स्वरूप है, वह वहां पर इस आन्दोलन से अलग है। हमने श्री चिमन भाई के खिलाफ कोई खराब शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं किया, लेकिन वहां पर चिमन भाई के स्थान पर चोर भाई कहा जाता था जब कि जनता वहां पर उनका विरोध कर रही थी। लेकिन अभी वही चिमन भाई या चोर भाई, कहते हैं कि मेरे ऊपर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने चार्ज लगाया है और वे मुझ से नाराज हैं। मेरे पास इस प्रकार के टेप्स हैं कि जितना धन गुजरात से इकट्ठा करवाया गया, गुजरात से जितना माल, तेल और दूसरी चीजें यू. पी. भेजी गईं, उनके बारे में सब बातें मालूम हैं। इस तरह से ये सारी चीजें वहां पर कराई गईं यू. पी. के चुनाव के लिए और इस तरह का सारा कार्य वहां पर प्रधान मंत्री और कांग्रेस ने करवाया। मेरे पास टेप्स हैं और मैं उन्हें पेश करूंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने किस प्रकार से सभा का दुरुपयोग किया और किस प्रकार से उन्होंने मेरा दुरुपयोग किया इस तरह की जो सारी परिस्थिति है वह धरे धरे देश के सामने आयेंगी। लेकिन वर्तमान परिस्थिति का क्या निदान है? इसका केवल एक ही निदान

जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

वह यह है कि सरकार ने जो जिद पकड़ उसका वह त्याग कर दे। लेकिन सरकार ने फिर एक दूसरा तरीका अपना लिया है और निर्माण समिति के बीच में फूट पैदा करना है। लेकिन नव निर्माण समिति और यों के बीच फूट पैदा हो जायेगी, ऐसी बात ली नहीं है, क्योंकि आज सारा गुजरात नव के लिए खड़ा हो गया है। विद्यार्थियों को के लिए और उनमें फूट पैदा करने के लिए आदमी भेजे गये। जिस प्रकार से कांग्रेस स्थानों में इस तरह के हथकड़ों का प्रयोग उसी तरह से वह गुजरात में भी चाहती है। श्रमिक और नव निर्माण समिति के बीच में न दी जाय।

की जनता एक रूप में खड़ी है। वहाँ फूट बल कांग्रेस पार्टी में है। याकी किसी में फूट नहीं है। अपने दल को राहत देने और फूट को बचाने के लिए आपके लिए आवश्यक है कि आप इस बात की घोषणा करें ने जो भी राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा उद्घोषणा तममें संशोधन करते हैं और वहाँ की विधान करके 6 महीने के अन्दर अन्दर दुबारा जाएंगे। आप आज यह घोषणा करें और गुजरात में सामान्य परिस्थिति पैदा हो। गुजरात की जनता के दिल में, वहाँ के यों के दिल में केन्द्रीय सरकार की नियत पर और तब तक यह शंका बनी रहेगी जब यह घोषणा नहीं करेंगे। जिस प्रकार उद्घोषणा कराने के लिए जाति जाति के वर्ग-वर्ग के अन्दर योजना बनाई है उसमें र विध्वंस होगा।

ह भी चाहूंगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार जब वहाँ इस प्रकार की जो परिस्थिति है उसकी जवाब, चाहे जूडीशियल जांच करवाई जाहे पार्लियामेन्टरी कमेटी भेजी जाय यह लिए कि जो नई परिस्थिति कांग्रेस ने पैदा र्ग भेद की, संघर्ष की वह कैसे शान्त हो। अन्धाधुन्ध फाईरिंग हुई है और पुलिस का

जस प्रकार लूट में सहयोग रहा है इस बात की जब तक जांच नहीं होगी गुजरात की जनता को शान्ती नहीं होगी। इतना बड़ा आन्दोलन 1942 में भी गुजरात में नहीं हुआ था, महागुजरात के निर्माण के समय भी नहीं हुआ था। यह एक आन्दोलन नहीं है, एक व्यापक रूप से, विराट रूप से वहाँ जनता खड़ी हुई है। आपको जनता की इच्छा के सामने झुकना चाहिए। इसको प्रतिष्ठा का प्रश्न नहीं बनाना चाहिए। इसलिए जो आपकी पुरानी घोषणा है उसको रद्द करके नई घोषणा सदन में कराएंगे यह मेरी सरकार से अपेक्षा है और इसी नाते से मैं अपना संकल्प प्रस्तुत करता हूँ।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 9th February, 1974, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Gujarat."

On the 22nd February, my colleague, Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, has already furnished an account of the details of the agitation and violence that had taken place in Gujarat recently. The loss of lives, the destruction of properties, the arson and loot and the suffering to which the people had been exposed, have caused us deep anguish. The Prime Minister while replying to the debate on President's Address has already referred to the broader aspects of this whole question and it would be wholly unnecessary for me to traverse the same ground again.

The whole country has been passing through a phase of acute shortages of essential commodities, foodgrains and economic hardship on account of rise in prices, and Gujarat has not been an exception. It is common knowledge that some political Parties have been seeking systematically to exploit for their own ends the difficulties experienced by the people. In Gujarat also, these agitations began in December in the form of bandhs, demonstrations, etc. Not all of them were entirely peaceful. Determined efforts were made also by other interested groups to add to

the economic difficulties in Gujarat. Unfortunately, the situation that was developing in Gujarat was further aggravated by the manner in which some of the grievances of students and teachers were handled, creating particularly in the minds of the impressionable young, serious moral misgivings. The involvement of students and teachers added a new dimension to the whole agitation. While anti-social elements and interested political parties were undoubtedly exploiting the agitation for their own partisan ends, the agitation also included some motivated by considerations with which no one could quarrel.

The manner in which the agitation as a whole was handled, the manner in which the deeper causes were being tackled and the grievances were being attended to resulted in a serious dissatisfaction within the Congress Party in Gujarat over the leadership in the party. All this is public knowledge.

Sir, we in the Union Government were faced with a very difficult set of problems. On the one hand, the Union Government had to take note of the difficulties of a lawfully constituted Government enjoying a massive support in the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, the dissatisfaction within the Party as well as amongst the common people was also something which we had to take note of. Sir, we considered it our duty to render all reasonable assistance to the lawfully constituted Government and provided such assistance without any hesitation. But, as the Prime Minister had pointed out, we had to take note, at the Party level, of the increase in the loss of credibility and confidence. Sir, it was under these circumstances and at the Party level that we had to ask the Chief Minister, Shri Chimanbhai Patel, to resign. In doing so, Sir, we were guided, our Party was guided only by the larger interests of the State and not by any narrow political considerations. It was only at that stage that the Union Government as such, in terms of the Constitution, in terms of the democratic ways of life, could step in and when the Chief Minister had submitted his resignation, it was abundantly

clear to the Governor that there was no alternative to fill the constitutional vacuum. The normal constitutional machinery had broken down at the State level and the Governor, therefore, recommended that we advise the President to accept his recommendation that the provisions of article 356 should be invoked in relation to Gujarat.

Sir, there cannot be a clearer case where Proclamation under article 356 is the only answer. It is true that this Proclamation must receive the whole-hearted support of the House. The Prime Minister has also said that there is now no question of dissolution. We have made it clear that there can be no question of forming any government in Gujarat and that dissolution does not at this stage involve any question of policy or principle nor is it a question of prestige for us. The only question it involves at this stage is whether the constitutional decisions are going to be forced, whether the constitutional proprieties are going to be completely abdicated and, in doing so, whether we would be justified in creating a precedent that would be wholly against the spirit and practice of constitutional democracy. When the situation is far from normal, when violence is still pervasive, the first task will obviously have to be to restore peace and restore normalcy. Once normalcy is restored, all other questions will naturally claim our urgent and prompt attention. I have no desire, Sir, to go into the details of the incidents of arson, loot and violence which have continued even after the imposition of the President's Rule in Gujarat. Unfortunately, there have been losses of several innocent lives and extensive damage to properties. Our sympathies are with those who have suffered and our duty is to bring back normalcy so that the more urgent problems facing the State and facing the country could be given our undivided attention. The law and order machinery and the police in the State have been functioning under unprecedented pressure and strain and I would appeal to all sections of the House and through the House to the people of Gujarat to condemn violence and assist in the restoration of an atmosphere of sanity and peace.

[Shri F. H. Mohosin]

Sir, it is very gratifying to note that there are signs of peace in Gujarat and also of normalcy.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI (Nominated): Yesterday, everything was normal.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): That is what I am saying. There are some signs of improvement in the situation. If this continues, I have no doubt that the Government will go into the merits of the other problems which undoubtedly agitate the minds of the people in Gujarat and we can certainly take a decision on what to do in the future. But, at this stage, I appeal to the House to approve the Proclamation that was issued under the circumstances on which there can be no difference of opinion, looking to the circumstances prevailing at that time.

Sir, I commend the Resolution for the acceptance of the House.

The questions were proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, we have all been worried over the developments in the State of Gujarat in the recent weeks. Our anxious thoughts have gone to the suffering and, if I may say so, fighting people of that State.

Sir, initially the movement, as you well know, was started against rising prices, profiteering, hoarding, corruption and nepotism, encouraging and sustaining anti-social practices by the Ministers and others. The movement was generally spearheaded by the students and other sections, organized sections, like the 'Nav-Nirman Samiti', as they call it, and by a number of other trade union organizations. Sir, I have been to Gujarat myself—to Ahmedabad and Bhavnagar—in January, and what I saw there was nothing short of a great, spontaneous popular upsurge of the people. I saw curfew having been imposed there. I saw the police running amuck. I saw threats being issued to the people and even orders to shoot at sight . . .

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: That has been denied. That is not true. No such orders

were issued to 'shoot at sight' during all this period of curfew . . .

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): It was widely reported in the press.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Strictures against these orders were passed and this order was held as illegal. It is no use trying to deny what happened.

Now, Section 144 was imposed in many parts of the State. At one time, nearly 80 towns came under curfew, big and small towns, including such great cities as Ahmedabad, Baroda, Bhavnagar, and so on. These are all facts. In fact, at that time you were ruling by curfew, under a blanket curfew, all over the State, spread over a period of time, in some places curfew prevailed round the clock. That was the situation. Sir, I have seen the so-called hijacking of buses by students. Thirty or forty buses were taken possession of by the students, and they took those buses to the residences and official quarters of Ministers. I saw the great procession of buses; it was absolutely peaceful. There was no sign of violence in it or a violent gesture. Rather, it was 'non-violent' by our West Bengal standards. Why do I say so? The boys were taking bangles in their hands, not very expensive ones, and they wanted these things to be given to the Ministers and MLAs of the Congress Party. Some of them, recognizing me, asked: Will you kindly give these bangles to the Ministers? I told them: You are only adding to the acquisitive instinct of the Ministers because the moment you give these bangles to the Ministers, they will not wear them but they will turn them over to their wives. Therefore, giving ornaments to their wives is no good way of protest. That is what I suggested. They enjoyed it. Now, this is how in good humour they were carrying on their demonstrations and protest actions.

In the evening we saw a curfew descending on the city and the police running about and threatening people. But even when that procession went near the house, well, what happened? The police were hiding somewhere and they ambushed the students, started beating them up, and arrested some of them. Suppose they were allowed to stay

there for some time and demonstrate. The Ministers were either nowhere there or they were safely stationed in Gandhinagar and other places nowhere to be reached. They had absconded from their own people. Therefore, there was no visible danger of being attacked. What would have happened if the students were allowed to demonstrate there? But no, they were mercilessly beaten. That happened when I was there myself in Ahmedabad in the last week of January. These things should be admitted. What is the use of expressing sympathy only? People have been shot. I had mentioned it in the House. I have been to Jamalpur area where a Muslim boy, Rahman, was flying a kite from the roof-top—he was in a by-lane; you have to go there with a lot of difficulty—the police entered that small by-lane, went inside and aimed at him upward—not parallel—and shot him dead. It was a cold-blooded murder. Everybody saw it. Whether they supported the movement or those activities or not, all were agreed that it was an unprovoked, cold-blooded, premeditated murder. I must say to my shame that some of the policemen—I won't say all—vented their communal feeling in the Muslim houses and at least in one case I found they wanted to rape a fourteen year old girl but it was prevented. But such things happened. Admit this thing. I would like to know what steps you have taken now for investigating into such things. In another area one Pankaj Acharya, a young boy, was killed in similar circumstances, and later his parents were approached by the Commissioner of Police with an offer of Rs. 2,000 compensation. Is this the way of the police in Gujarat? You kill the only son of the parents and then go to the father and the mother who are bereaved, still weeping, with tears in their eyes, and offer them Rs. 2,000 which was, of course, disdainfully and contemptuously spurned by them

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: That also not in their house; but by calling them to the Circuit House, There they offered it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I went to their house to pay my homage to the martyr I would call him and expressed my sympathy and condolence on behalf of my-

self and on behalf of my party, to the parents. How am I to forget it? I would ask the Congressmen to ponder over what happened. I need not recite all these incidents. It will take time. There is no end to it. And it is continuing. This is what happened: curfew, shooting, lathi charge, arrest under the MISA, and so on. The arrests include the secretary of the Gujarat unit of our party, the secretary of the Gujarat unit of the AITUC and the leader of the Communist Party Marxist, Dinkar Mehta. They have arrested the only MLA we had who incidentally used to work with the New Age. We sent him over there and there he was arrested and taken into custody for some time. That is how Chimanbhai treated the people. This is one aspect of the story; the story of terror and oppression. It is a story of shame and disgrace for any civilised Government which has been completely isolated from the masses. You will be surprised even the Ministers were at that time quarrelling amongst themselves. They were holding meetings in different houses accusing each other or instigating sections of people against Ministers, one group working against another group or some of them at least looking to the chair which they thought would soon be vacated by Chimanbhai Patel.

They were looking at it and Chimanbhai himself knew it. Others were doing it; everybody knows it. The Ministerial responsibility or the Governmental responsibility had come to an end. It was factional breeding; a greedy set of ministers trying to elbow out each other in order to step into the position of Chief Minister. Those were the Ministers with ambitions to advance in their positions. Some had even the desire to become the Chief Minister. And now the Centre's responsibility comes in. Today you should own it up. You did nothing. Shri Umashankar Dikshit is always absent in the House. Even more so in the case of Gujarat. Till now, he has not gone there. I do not know why he does not go to Gujarat even once. Is Gujarat out of bounds of the Union Home Minister? I should like to know this. Was he declared out of bounds of Gujarat?

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: He may be pouring balm.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS

For your information, Mr. Gupta, I tell you why the Home Minister did not go and instead of him the Minister of State for Power went there. It was just to keep the then Chief Minister in power, which only the Minister for Power crisis.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is a good way of putting the picture. Sir, I am not at the moment on power. So, he did not go. Then, who was sent? Mr. K. C. Pant, the young talisman of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Council of Minister was sent there to make an assessment of the situation when the whole world knew what the situation was like, when the newspapers carried incontrovertible—uncontradicted even by the Government—reports of the happenings of Gujarat, when no one disputed some of the broad facts of the situation. Well, our young K. C. Pant was sent there to make an on the spot study and report to the Prime Minister. And what passed on between them, we do not know. What appeared in public was nothing but an affront to the people of Gujarat. The whole Gujarat was at flames. The Chimanbhai Patel Ministry was letting out horror in abundance which one cannot describe. They did it. Then, the IGs were called, officers were called and Chimanbhai was called for instructions and advice. But the advice that he should resign was missing. That was not done. If it had been given in time and enforced by the Congress leadership—Chimanbhai still belonged to the Congress Party and presumably under the Congress leadership also—then, perhaps, his resignation would have come about and the situation would not have taken a bad turn. But at that time, the Government felt that Chimanbhai might not resign. If Chimanbhai did not oblige by resigning, the Central leadership had in its hand what they have now used, namely, the dismissal of that Ministry or the suspension or all the other procedures that had been adopted now. If Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had privately told Mr. Chimanbhai Patel either directly or through Mr. Dikshit that unless the Gujarat Chief Minister of the time, Mr. Chimanbhai, resigned, the Government would take recourse to the measures laid down in the Constitution, I am sure,

Chimanbhai would have then tendered his resignation or alternatively, he would have done what has come now.

Sir, Chimanbhai had to resign after some time, I believe on the instructions from the Centre. Now, of course, he has been expelled from the Party. We were only demanding his resignation at that time. You refused to budge from the stand you had taken. Not only that. You brought him here. He announced to the Press here and in Gujarat that he had the backing of the Central Government. You did not contradict it. People of Gujarat took it as adding an insult to injury; injury which was manifest in a thousand wounds inflicted on the suffering and starving people of Gujarat. And, naturally the wounds proved the provocation. Are you not ashamed of it? Are you not responsible for all that happened? Why Government should not own up some of the errors, mistakes and blunders that it did? Was not the situation avoidable? But, you did not do anything. Centre's responsibility in these matters is there. In Gujarat, on the one hand, you had a popular mass upsurge against rising prices. On the other hand, you have the politicians of reaction belonging to the Congress Party. I repeat, it is they, the Congress Party wherein Indira Gandhi batches as well as the syndicate Morarji batches join in together along with, may be, some others of rightist parties and create a situation of this kind.

Behind them all was the backing of monopolists, big wholesalers, groundnut oil dealers and groundnut purchasers, and so on.

AN HON. MEMBER: They had the backing of oil kings.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In fact, the Chimanbhai Ministry was the product of political corruption. It is said that lakhs of rupees had to be spent by Chimanbhai Patel and his patrons elsewhere in order to get him installed as the Chief Minister of Gujarat. Now, these oil kings, profiteers and hoarders, some placed in the party of Morarji Desai and others placed in the ruling party, all competed with one another to build up a situation of this kind in order to facilitate the political designs of the rightists.

It has nothing to do with the other aspect of the legitimate, democratic and justified upsurge of the people which should be acclaimed by all people all over the country as indeed we did. On the other hand, there, behind the scenes at the back stage intrigues are going on not only between the rightists and the treasury benches and in the opposition but also the rightists in the treasury benches *inter se* amongst themselves.

Now, it was a strange situation. There is no analysis of this situation. Therefore, Sir, this unsavoury aspect of the Gujarat situation should not be hidden also. This is in the interests of some people at the top to cancel this aspect of the situation. It was in the interests of the upper class, well-placed politicians of reaction engaged in competitive intrigues to take the situation in their hands, fish in the troubled waters according to their own ambitions and conceal the facts.

Of course, there were people resisting fighting, demanding their necessities of life and revolting against corruption of the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry and they became a howling symbol.

This has to be borne in mind. It is no wonder today that even the Swatantra Party in Orissa or, for that matter, Biju Patnaik is talking of enacting another Gujarat. They do not want to enact the Gujarat of the mass upsurge against hoarder and profiteer, speculator and corruptor but perhaps they want to create some violent and other anarchic incidents calling them the second Gujarat, in order to embarrass, in order to wreak vengeance for their defeat in the last election.

Now you see that in many of the reactionary quarters today there is talk about Gujarat being re-enacted. Suddenly they have taken a liking to Gujarat. It is an insult to the glorious and great people of Gujarat. They should not be treated in this manner. And rightists are doing it.

I was a little amused when on the 27th I was told that Mr. Morarji Desai spoke in the Lok Sabha on the 26th of last month. Well, I read his speech carefully—after

all, it is one of the rare speeches of Mr. Morarji Desai in the House; he makes many speeches elsewhere. What did he say? I was shocked to read it and I was surprised at the temerity and impudence of Mr. Morarji Desai's utterances. When some people told him that he also shot people in Maharashtra and Gujarat—in Bombay and Ahmedabad—when he was in the Congress during the Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat movement, Mr. Morarji Desai boasted— you see how brazenly and unashamedly he was speaking; but, remember, he did not express repentance for his mass slaughter which took a toll of 125 lives in those days—that after his shooting, within 2½ days peace returned to Bombay, suggesting thereby, in your case peace is not returning. He even said, to attack the Congress Party perhaps, that people are disappearing, meaning, you are killing people. Firing should be condemned, but when Mr. Morarji Desai, of all people, condemns firing it only shows political double facedness and nothing else—and, perhaps that is the motivation behind his pretended sympathy for the people of Gujarat.

Morarji Desai today wants to appear as the saviour of Gujarat. Well, he is still welcome to his gimmicks, but he should know that peace did not return to Gujarat or Maharashtra when they were in the composite State of Bombay till the demand for linguistic reorganisation—which Mr. Morarji Desai as the then Chief Minister wanted to water down—was conceded. When he is making statements which are false—which are, in point of fact, preposterous in taste—it only exposes the political evil intentions of Mr. Morarji Desai. That is what I would like him to know. They have now become the champions of workers' strikes, peasants' strikes, students' strikes, etc. As you know, we never opposed strikes or bundhs when they are for fighting a just cause. (*Time Bell rings*). But now I find that monopolists and profiteers and hoarders and many politicians of reaction like Hitendra Desai and Morarji Desai and even men like Chimanbhai Patel and others in the Congress Party of right reaction are becoming votaries and champions of bundhs, strikes

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and hartals in Gujarat. Will they be so kind in West Bengal and elsewhere when we fight for the rights of the workers, the demands of the workers for food, and against hoarding and profiteering in demonstrations and bundhs and call upon the people to protest sometimes by strike? No. They denounce such things. Did you ever hear Mr. Morarji Desai supporting or approving any strike or bundh at any time since he became a Chief Minister and thereafter? Never. But he and his ilk have suddenly become the votaries of such militant mass action in Gujarat in order to face the public and push their political image. We have no sympathy whatsoever with such people who attempt to capitalise on a situation which has been created in Gujarat by the failures of the Central Government and the State Government, by the converging conspiracies of reactionaries belonging both to the Congress and to the rightist Opposition, notably the Syndicate Congress.

Sir, that aspect should be brought out and I do hope that our students and others who have bravely fought for the just cause will not allow these designers and machinators of reaction in high quarters to gain ground in Gujarat and take charge of the situation. On the contrary progressive and democratic forces wherever they are, better forces and healthier forces in the political and social life of Gujarat should assert themselves. We want also peace and normalcy to return but then the objective cannot be achieved by the way the Government is behaving. Of course, there are reactionaries, vested interests, which are interested in chaos and anarchy in Gujarat for serving their own political ends. We know it but the Government too has its own share of the responsibility. Why aren't you, for example dissolving the Assembly? Now you know very well that you cannot revive the suspended Assembly and form another Government. It is impossible now despite the fact that you have a majority. The political bankruptcy and degeneration of the Congress Party which took in many Syndicate wallahs and Swatantra men into the party in order to build up and bolster a massive majority has reached such a

state that despite the majority which you still have there technically—140 in a House of 168; of course many are resigning from the Assembly and may be resigning from the Party also but still you have the majority—you cannot form a Government. This is a new thing for us that the ruling party which is in control of the State and which also rules the Centre is not in a position despite its majority to form a Government according to the normal provisions of the Constitution in Gujarat. Therefore I demand the immediate dissolution of the present Gujarat Assembly. This step you must take immediately. The Government is saying that they are not taking this step—although they are not opposed to it—because peace has not returned. Why make it a funny prestige point? You know very well that the more you delay the dissolution the more complicated the situation will become. The rightists will take greater advantage of it for misleading the people and the students in particular and that will not help the cause of peace and normalcy. On the contrary just as the removal of Mr. Chimanbhai Patel removed one obstacle, similarly the dissolution of the Assembly will remove another major obstacle in the way of restoring peace and normalcy. We should all work for it, I entirely agree but not in the way the Government is doing it. Since you have already made it clear that you are not in a position to form the Government—nor do you think that it would be possible for you to form the Government; you have accepted that this Assembly has to go—why are you delaying the dissolution of the Assembly? I cannot understand this. I fully support the demand of the people of Gujarat for the immediate dissolution of the Gujarat Assembly which has no justification any more for its existence.

In this connection I would like only to point out that I know very well that dissolution by itself will not solve the problem; nor do I think that immediate election by itself is going to solve the problem, but all these democratic processes must be there. There is no doubt about it. Some people are making out as if the Assembly is dissolved and an election is held immediately all Gujarat's ills will be removed and all problems will be solved.

No. That was not do. In Gujarat in the political set-up today, in the correlation of political forces in Gujarat, the right wing elements think that elections will give them a chance to return to power or to make headway in their political game. That is what they think. They have not really the interests of Gujarat or the people at heart. Be that as it may. I do not want to go into it. The immediate task, therefore, is for the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. That is No. 1. It should be done. The question of election can be discussed later on as to when and how it should be held. It is a matter which we can discuss later in this House and elsewhere, keeping in view the interests of the people of Gujarat, also being vigilant against the designs of the right reactionary forces in that State. All repressive measures should be revoked, viz., DIR, MISA, army and curfew, all these things should go. You should take initiative and display some courage. Every day we read in newspapers that people are being shot down and killed. One feels extremely bad when every day, under the Governor's rule, somewhere in Gujarat people are being shot dead. Do you like this thing to go on? Nobody likes it in this House, but at least you can make your part of the contribution in bringing about peace and normalcy which, I am afraid, you are not doing today for the most absurd reasons. Absurd ideas for meeting the situation and your approach to the problem, among other things, are there. For example, food and other necessary materials should be supplied to the people of Gujarat and they should be made available to them. The students' legitimate demands should be met. Discussions with them are good, but you must change the policy. You must recast and reformulate your approach to the problems of Gujarat and to the agony of Gujarat. Otherwise, no peace and normalcy will readily come because some people who have tasted power in the past would like to taste power again. They are not interested in obliging you by offering Gujarat as a peaceful State. It should be the theatre of operation from their angle. In fact, they are instigating others elsewhere to follow their path. That is what is happening. Therefore, repressive measures must go. The needs of the people must be met. In

this connection, enquiries should be held. I demand it. Charges of corruption had been made by responsible people in Gujarat not only against Mr. Chimanbhai, but also other Ministers and political leaders belonging both to the Congress party and to the syndicate. A thorough enquiry under the Commission of Inquiry Act should be ordered. At least the process should begin now. They must not go unpunished and undetected. Their crime must not go unpunished. Why are you delaying this? An enquiry should be made into the police firing and police excesses. That is essential. Why are you not holding it? Not one enquiry has been ordered, since the Governor took over, into the earlier crimes against which people rose and which we all condemned not only in Parliament, but also outside. The national press has condemned it. There is no such thing. These steps should be taken. I think the Central Government has a responsibility in this matter because its own hands are tainted. They backed up the reactionary elements. They wanted to build up so-called stability in Gujarat with the help of counter-revolutionaries, reactionaries, birds of passage from all hues, political time-servers, turncoats and ambitious people. Today the whole game has boomeranged on them. I think they should have the decency to own it up. They have done nothing of the kind. Once again, before I sit down, I appeal to the people of Gujarat who have been generally peace-loving and law-abiding, bred and brought up, if I may say so, under the shadow of Gandhiji and his teachings. These are the people who do not take easily to methods of violent activities and so on. And there have been fewer instances; compared to that, the violence on the part of the Government has been of a far greater magnitude. I pay a tribute to them. I sympathise with those who have lost their dear and near ones. I pay my homage to the memory of the martyrs, the students and others, who fell while fighting for the cause which we all share and for which the people all over the country are fighting—the fight against rising prices, hoarding, profiteering and black-marketeering, against the intolerable and impossible conditions created by the Government of the day along with the hoarders, profiteers and

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monopolists. Today, as we express our sympathies for the people of Gujarat, I would naturally expect of them also to be very vigilant while fighting for their just cause against the designers and the machinators of right reaction, people who want to trade with their patriotism, who want to trade with their spirit, suffering and sacrifice, to gain politically. In the political life of Gujarat, people who have been ousted or are being ousted in other States, they want to stage a come-back, by exploiting the situation there, by misdirecting the people's legitimate anger and indignation against the Government. And I am sure the heroic and patriotic people of Gujarat who have a great tradition of fighting, sacrifice and martyrdom will never allow themselves to be taken into the reactionary trap. This is all I have to say.

Once again, I raise my voice in full support of the demand for the dissolution of the Assembly as an immediate step, although I am conscious that that step by itself will not settle the issues and problems of Gujarat. And for the solution of the problem, all honest and right-minded democratic minded people, public spirited men and women of Gujarat, all parties and groups and organisations which stand for the good of the people, must come together and charter the course of action. It is a challenge to the conscience of all of us and I think at this hour we must rally to the support of the people of Gujarat not merely because they are made the targets of repression and attack and insult by some people but also because of the fact that some people, some politicians of reaction are trying to capitalise on their suffering and misery.

Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twentyeight minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock, The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju) in the Chair.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am sorry Mr. Jagdish Prasad Mathur, honourable Member from Jana Sangh, is not present here. I wish he were here for my speech also in the sincerity with which I sat here and heard him.

Sir, it is very sad that while Gujarat is suffering some political parties are trying to exploit the situation by making references to things which are not pertinent to the issues at all. Sir, while the Jana Singh and other parties have suffered defeat in the U.P. elections they have got only one card up their sleeves, and that is Gujarat. It is most unkind to the people of Gujarat that the situation there should be given a political turn and unnecessarily the agony and the suffering of the people should be aggravated. This is time when all the sensible people with their sincere love for the people and with their balanced attitude, irrespective of what caste, what creed or what belief, or what party they may belong to, every one of us should come to understanding and help the people of Gujarat. The people of Gujarat have always shown great sense and understanding and if in this time of their difficulty all the political parties and everybody who is interested in the welfare of this country, instead of understanding the problem, aggravate the situation, I would say that it would be a tragedy and it is not really worthy of any one of us.

It is my very earnest request to the Opposition Members also that instead of making or exploiting our difficulties — I came from Gujarat — they should help us; they should help us instead of taking this thing into an extreme posture. Now, to come back to the problem of Gujarat, we all know there was a shortage of food. It was not only that we suffered from drought. Much more than that is Gujarat is a traditionally deficit State. The soil of Gujarat is more suited for growing cotton and oil with the result that naturally Gujarat farmers have taken to growing oil

and cotton which are cash crops and with the help of the cash crops they have been purchasing their foodgrains. So traditionally this is a State which is short of food. And when the food was not available, it was reasonable that the people of Gujarat felt tremendously agitated. This was the basic reason why this sort of seething anger and wrath was developing in the hearts of Gujarat. This year by the grace of God we have got a reasonably good crop. I won't say that we have got a perfect crop because we had *ativrishi*, too much of rains and flood, that we have not got as big a crop as we would have wished. But even in the face of a good crop there is still continuing scarcity of food, and this started the whole agitation. Afterwards, the students had also their difficulties. They had difficulties in the educational field. They had difficulties about their mess charges. Students are a very sensitive section of the society. They are young people. They are emotionally attached to whatever they believe or they feel. They are the future of this country. They feel strongly because they are young about any issue they are involved in and they put their heart into that issue. When they have found that they were not having that understanding from the elders, they felt agitated. And this has turned into a mass upsurge. This mass upsurge started when students' difficulties were not solved on time, and to that extent I would say that some of us elders in Gujarat have failed in our duty towards our student community, which is a very hard working community, which is also a very seriousminded community. I am raising this history only to show how Gujarat agitation started. Suddenly this agitation has taken a violent turn. Since 6th of January it has been going on and from 10th January it became stronger and stronger and finally there was a breakdown of law and order. There was no such guarantee as freedom of speech. The freedom of the people was disappearing. Nobody was safe on the streets. And under these circumstances President's order had to be imposed and I am very glad and I fully support Government stand on this that they thought fit to impose President's rule there. I am again surprised to see why my friend, Shri Mathur, from the Opposi-

tion wanted to oppose this Resolution. I do not see anything in it to oppose. He said that this Government is not doing what he wanted. When the law and order failed, naturally the Government had to come down with President's rule. I am really not able to understand the logic of his opposing this Resolution. I am sure every person in this House is happy with the imposition of President's rule. I may even say that I wish it had come a little earlier so that we could have spared the people of Gujarat all this suffering and all this deprivation. They have passed through such difficult period. All that they could have been spared if only President's rule had been imposed slightly earlier than it came; it came on 10th February. Since then also violence has not abated. It is a matter for us to consider as to what the reason is. After all people are not agitating merely for nothing. They have got something to say. They want to express certain things. But they do not know how to express those things because they have no means of communicating with the people in power or with their representatives. Therefore, they have taken to this violent form of expressing their feelings. These feelings have to be understood by the Government as well as by the representatives of people. Unless these communication lines are opened up and unless we try to understand what is in the minds of the people of Gujarat, I do not think the problem could be solved. For a long time we have not been able to establish any communication. Unless they are invited to sit across the table and are allowed to have a dialogue with you and unless they are persuaded to say what they want to say and what are irritating them and how they can be assuaged, the problem is not going to be solved. It is, therefore, my earnest request to the Government that they should come closer to the people of Gujarat in order to understand their difficulties. Sir, the people of Gujarat are known for their law-abiding nature. They are very generous and patient people and history proves that they have been in the forefront in the freedom struggle in this country. Gujarat has produced some of the best leaders in this country and the progeny of such leaders will not resort to violence and will not take this extreme

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step unless they have really suffering. It is, therefore, my request to the Government to try to understand the psychology of the people of Gujarat, to understand what they want and to find out how that could be fulfilled. Just as I am appealing to the Government, I am also appealing to the young people of Gujarat that they should tell what are their difficulties. They should calm down and explain what they want. The most intelligent person is one who knows where to put a stop. Anybody can start an agitation. Anybody can pick up any issue and start an agitation. But the cleverest person is one who knows where to put a stop to such an agitation. This is part of the discretion and I know the people of Gujarat are very discrete. They understand where to put a stop. Otherwise they could not have flourished so well, compared to people in other parts of the country. For instance, the industrial progress of Gujarat is very well known. This is because the people there have understanding and they know where to put a stop, and how far they can go. People of Gujarat should, therefore, put a stop to this kind of agitation that is going on. Government should also make every effort to understand their problem. I would also say that the student community in Gujarat should give a chance to the President's rule which has come there. Referring to the President's rule, Shri Mathur said that Shri Sarin has again been imposed on the people of Gujarat. It is rather sad to see this kind of analogy. There are senior officers who have to be employed. It is not as if we have got a number of experienced officers. I do not see any design or mechanism on the part of the Government in sending Shri Sarin to Gujarat. He is an experienced officer. We wish that he succeeds in bringing peace and order to Gujarat.

I have explained how this agitation has come about and how we all felt about it. I would ask: What are the issues that are involved? The basic issue is price rise. We all agree on that, because there was phenomenal price rise. Food was scarce. Essential commodities were not available. This is all very understandable. Anybody who has to prepare a budget with very limited

income knows how difficult it is to meet the expenses on children's education, to provide two meals a day for every member of the family and to maintain a family. I am sure Government have taken suitable steps and I understand that prices are now falling. I would ask the Government that they should persist in their efforts to make essential commodities available and to control their prices.

And, Sir, I would request the Government to supply foodgrains in abundant quantity to this part which has suffered during the last so many months for want of foodgrains. There have been only two kilos per person per month. With a ration of only two kilos no man can survive and particularly, the hard-working labour class just cannot survive with two kilos per person per month. So, it is essential that the Government should provide more foodgrains and, at the same, the Government should try to control the prices.

The second issue that has been there is that the students have got their own difficulties regarding their education and they have got a number of other problems. I do not think that these are insurmountable problems. Their educational problems are not really very complicated and if we can touch the heart of the problems, all these problems can be solved and these problems should be solved across the table and there is no reason whatsoever why their demands cannot be met. They are there for their studies and the Government is there for running the administration and they recognise that the students are the future citizens of the country. Therefore will not the Government solve their problems? I feel that this point should also be taken note of.

Another issue which is there is regarding corruption. All of us admit that corruption has been rampant there and it has been there amongst some people in the Government and some high-ranking officers or high-ranking people have been indulging in some nefarious activities. Sir, I am sure the Government will do something about this, because, here in this House, the Prime Minister has said that if sufficient evidence is brought, an inquiry commission will be appointed. I know that if some more evidence is available, the Government will

consider it fit to set up an inquiry commission on a regular basis to look into these charges. If these charges are proved, the people concerned will be penalised properly and if they are not proved, then they will be settled otherwise. But, I am sure, Sir, that this sort of inquiry will generate a healthy atmosphere all around. Now, when all these three issues, the price rise and the supply of foodgrains, corruption and the students, problems are going to be solved, then I do not see why this kind of an agitation should be continued. It is true that they have won their point and that they have explained what they want. But now the time has come when we should show some sobriety and when we should show some good sense and when we should come to terms with our own selves and we must give an opportunity to the Government, to the President's Rule, to show its results. No work of reconstruction can be started unless there is peace all around. Sir, I would like to inform the House that yesterday there was a peaceful atmosphere in Ahmedabad and in certain other places in Gujarat and slowly normalcy is returning. That shows that the people of Gujarat are keen to bring law and order under control and that they themselves understand where their interests lie. Therefore, Sir it is my request to all the parties that in the interest of the people and in the name of the people, they should help them. I would like to make this request to them: "Please do not do anything whereby the situation is aggravated or do not further fray the tenpers which are already frayed and lost."

Then, Sir, there is the question of the dissolution. Today, Sir, nearly 65 persons have resigned and already the Government has also declared that it is not keen in forming the Government and that almost amounts to dissolution. And, as soon as normalcy is there, there will be dissolution. Normalcy has started coming also. But what I am trying to suggest is that we all, the young people of Gujarat and the younger generation and the young gentlemen from Gujarat and all others, have to rise above this particular level. What do we want in this country? Do we want that we should have this kind of constitutional problems solved in the

streets? Do we want that such issues should be handled by coercion and by violence? This is not worthy of us. Sir, the people of Gujarat are the inheritors of Mahatma Gandhi. I do not want to say that we all become Mahatma Gandhis or sages. But we are proud of the Father of the Nation. Normally, Sir, I do not like to take his name. I feel at least I should not be quoting Mahatma Gandhi or taking his name. But I should still say that every single child or every single student of Gujarat is the grandson or the granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi and it is not worthy of him or her to conduct himself or herself in such a fashion as to allow history to judge them adversely. They have made their points and they have shown how to handle the situation and they have proved their integrity and they have also shown what they expect from their elected representatives. But there is a limit to everything and the constitutional problems cannot be solved in the streets. Therefore, the question is whether we want to support our system or not. Democratic system is what we want. Even the students want democratic system and so also the other parties and all the hon. Members sitting in this House as well as the ruling party. So there is no contradiction, and there is no difference of opinion, as far as democratic processes are concerned. If this is our love, and if this is what we want—that we want to establish democratic processes and create traditions in this country whereby our posterity will be proud of us and say, "Here is a nation of sixty crores of people who experimented on democratic lines and succeeded in establishing it",—then it is as much the duty of the students as well as us in the Government to see that democratic process is preserved. And this can be preserved only when it is taken care of in a calmer atmosphere, in a more peaceful way, and not with emotions and when we are too much excited. No decision that is taken in excitement can ever be healthy, because it might recoil on us somewhere and it is bound to go in a wrong way. . . (Time Bell). This is my suggestion. If we want democratic processes to come in this country, we must become calm first and establish normalcy and help the Government. I am sure that

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the Government does not have any intention of deluding the people of Gujarat. But first it is essential that at least normal civic life should be permitted to grow. This is my request both to the Government as well as to the students.

So I would like to urge, Sir, that this Resolution about the President's rule is a very healthy thing. And further decisions should be taken across the table where the boys should have the courage to come to terms also. After all, they are our own students. They are our own children. Why should they be in difficulty in discussing or in holding parleys with our leaders, our accepted leaders? They are not going to be harsh on them. Everyone has charity and affection for them. Nobody wants to coerce them. . . (Time Bell). Just one minute. They should hold discussions. But all this has to be done with saner, peaceful and a quiet mind rather than giving way to violence.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, Gujarat is a place where so long the caricature of democracy was practised by the ruling party. Now, only the carcass of democracy has been left—the carcass of democracy. It is stinking, corrupting and vitiating the whole atmosphere. . .

(Interruptions)

Sir, I was amused to listen to Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's speech. He has spoken exactly what the Government wanted to be said on the floor of the House,—as the chief adviser to the Government of India and into the chamber of the Prime Minister as well as on the floor of the House. Look here, he says that now there is no alternative before the Government but to dissolve the Assembly. And he echoed this today. Not before. Wonderful. This is how he practises his Marxism and Leninism and fights right reaction. Sir, I need not in his absence go into this any more.

What happened in Gujarat? Is it not a fact that the Chimanlalbhai group of

Ministers handed in their resignations to Mr. Darji, the DPCC President, before the election took place, in order to topple the Chimanbhai Ministry? And Mr. Darji was carrying those resignations in his pocket biding his time so that if Chimanbhai was toppled, he could step into his shoes. Perhaps that was also the wish and desire innermost of the high-ups in Delhi who say they rule India—in fact, they misrule India. With the encouragement of Kantilal Ghia, Darji, Chimanbhai, etc., with encouragement, aid and abetment of these factions, large-scale smuggling took place to Gulf countries in vanaspati, rice and what not, because there is a rupture between the Gulf countries and the USA. They used to get the things from USA. The prices are so high. All those things were smuggled and this rupee part of it has gone to UP and Orissa election fund. And Chimanbhai also contributed to the UP election fund in that way along with Kantilal Ghia, Darji and others. They have done it. And always the sacrificial lambs are the people of India; it is they who have to suffer. Now, I say again there is double standard. I repeat it. In 1959, comrade Bhupesh Gupta talked of Jawaharlal Nehru as if he was above politics. I would like to have a debate on the lessons of Marxism and Leninism on the floor of the House. In 1959, our Prime Minister was then the Congress President and her father was the Prime Minister. Ultimately Feroze Gandhi said democracy is being murdered. And Feroze Gandhi was ignored by Shrimati Gandhi for that purpose and he used to live alone. And ultimately Jawaharlal Nehru succumbed and cooked up an agitation though E.M.S. Ministry had an absolute majority, and on the basis of a cooked up agitation they had not the slightest hesitation to dismiss that Ministry. Here what they conspired was, this, the High Command of the Congress including the Prime Minister, felt Chimanbhai was a usurper; he is not to their liking; everybody knows how he came to occupy the Chief Ministership against the wishes of the High Command. If he is toppled and the Assembly is kept in suspended animation—they have a huge majority—then their pet boy can again become the Chief Minister. So, do not dismiss the

Ministry. On a false pretext in 1959, the Kerala Government was dismissed. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta used to say those things then. Now he forgets them. Now he cleanly forgets them. But here there is no cooked up agitation. There is an entire uprising of the people. And there is bound to be. They say it is violence. Whose violence? It is the violence of the State which is ruling high in Gujarat, not the violence of the people. The people have not used firearms. Whatever reports we have received in the press—as you know, the press is controlled either by the Government stooges or by the monopolists who always toe the line of the Government, mainly their views—they show only “stone-throwing mobs”. That is all we have got. But here what have we got? Even Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was forced to relate one incident and Mr. Mariswamy also related one as to how the army behaved. They forget one thing. You have made a carcass of democracy. You have made the army and the police and the CRP, these engines of repression, behave as they are doing. We are told the army is to be used for the defence of the borders. Now, this army has been used in Gujarat to shoot down people, to shoot down innocent people. You have created in the minds of the people of not only Gujarat, but all the people of India, hatred towards the army and army action.

3 P.M.

You have been bringing the army of India into disrepute. And remember the consequences that may follow. I would also take this opportunity and tell the Jawans of the Army—they come from low families, kisans, and all that—that nobody has a right to shoot down his brothers and sisters. Is the Army made up for that in a democratic country? It is the very opposite that you are doing. And you think thereby they will gain. Let the Army Commanders, Generals, Infantry and the entire CRP corps remember that they cannot carry on in this fashion. When ultimately the day of reckoning comes, this Army will be suppressed and a cleavage will occur in the Army as it has happened in each and every country. Not everybody is the slave of reaction, whether in

the Government servants or in any category of people. The Gujarat soil has been reddened with the blood of Gujarat people from where Mahatma Gandhi came to preach non-violence. And in his name, you have committed the most barbarous and violent act and taken the blood of the Gujarat people. If it is possible, perhaps, in Raj Ghat, Gandhiji would have shivered in his entombed place for what you have done in Gujarat. They say, this is the abnormal situation. I say, this is the most normal situation. If the people surrendered to corruption, surrendered to downright repression, then, I think, the entire India would have become a vast burial ground or burning ghat. That the response of the unarmed people of Gujarat should be spontaneous and massive that it enlivened the entire State only proves that the ancient people of India are still alive. And the coming days will show them in their proper colours again and again. Their day of reckoning may not be far off.

The politics of India are again in the melting pot. Let not the Government forget it. You forget 1971. You have romped home in Uttar Pradesh with what percentage of votes? A majority with 31 to 32 per cent of votes. Is it democracy? One-third of the votes and you say that, “we rule on behalf of the people.” You have done that with what? With the black money from Gujarat, from the jute magnates, from the textile magnates, from the sugar magnates and from what not. And you expect that the people will surrender all along and accept all those things. I say, what the Gujarat people did and are doing are the most normal things. They are alive; otherwise, they would have been dehumanized, and they would not be people. They are people, at least. They have stood up the test of time. And Mr. Borooah is not here now. In my absence, the other day, he gave a lecture on Marxism-Leninism, and Gujarat's working class was not involved in Ahmedabad. Who does not know the working-class, that every worker is not an angel or a God or a revolutionary? I do not blame the Ahmedabad working-class. There are black-sheep. Apart from that, you should remember that the first skirmishes are brought in a

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society by the most sensible section of the society, that is, the students and youth.

When the working class come into the fray, they do the last battle and it becomes a holy battle. That is the lesson of history in each and every country of the world. Mr. Borooah does not have any idea about Marxism and Leninism or he chooses to forget what he knows. That is quite another thing. That is quite a different thing. This is the condition when only the students have reacted. When the peasantry will react, when the working class will enter the fray when the entire people will join, then the final show down will come. Everybody knows that. So, let us not get away from that. The sympathies of the Ahmedabad working class was and is with this movement. The protest of the people of Gujarat is with this movement and not against it. They have never sided with the Government. Now, this is what is being done.

Now, you see legislators are being forced to resign under coercion. Why does not the Constitution give the right of recall? If the legislator who takes the mandate of the people betrays the people of the constituency, that constituency should have the right of recalling that Member. The day proportional representation is granted which will reflect the proper correlation of the forces in India, Congress rule will crumble in the country. They will never get 50 or 55 per cent of the votes all along. They have come to power with less than 50 per cent of the votes claiming to sweep in the name of the whole people. What a truthful people they are? They only believe in truth and *ahimsa*. They claim that they are Gandhiji's disciples.

Now, Sir, if there was a right of recall, they would have been recalled from each and every constituency. Why did they flee their constituencies? Where did they take shelter? They took shelter in Raj Bhavan and in Delhi. What can the people do? They only went on deputation to them. Only a hundred or two hundred students, not more than that. Had they been in their constituencies, thousands and thousands would have surrounded them and demanded their recall. Since there is no

provision for recall, what will the people do. They were totally isolated from the people.

Now, you have fallen in a moss. You cannot escape the dissolution of the Assembly. You were happy with your pet boys Kantilal Ghia and others since you were in the majority. Same was the condition in Andhra. In U. P. Bahuguna was inducted into power two months before in a most arbitrary manner. Free kerosene, ghee and many other things were distributed but still 31 per cent of the votes only. You wanted that to be repeated in Gujarat. Fortunately or unfortunately for you, the tables have now been turned and for this Shri Bhupesh Gupta now blames the reaction. Well, how does it hurt us? If that reaction and this reaction come to mortal blows with each other, it does not harm the democratic forces, it does not harm the left forces. If the reaction is divided even and comes to deadly blows, it benefits the people. The democrats can rally together and the entire people will gradually veer round to them like a magnet. Setting one reactionary force against another should not be the purpose of any democracy. I do not say that every Congress M.P. or every Congress man is a reactionary. We never said that. How can I say that? After all, even if 31 persons of them are voted in U.P., are those 31 persons reactionary? People have got to be won over. There are reactionaries but the people are not reactionaries. It is the people who will make history, not a few leaders. It is the people of India who made India independent, not Gandhi, Jawaharlal or any other leader. History is made by people, not by leaders. Yes, of course, leaders have a certain role to play at some time or other, coming at the top of the event. They can play a leading role in favour of history, they can play a reactionary role and try to turn back the roles of history at a particular moment but ultimately it is the people who make history. So, I say: Where is violence? If there is any violence, carry on with that. I have narrated, everybody has narrated, even Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, the chief adviser of yours, has narrated that it is from the Government side and not from the peoples' side, not from the Gujaratis, the people of

Gujarat. So, what I should say, the entire India should go the Gujarat way. I have told it, again I repeat it because against vast 10 lakh military, against the rising of Budgets from Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 2,000 crores this year, I do not know whom you are going to vote, I am not sure about it. The only excuse that has been given on all these occasions is that it is due to Pakistan. Now that has also gone. Yet, the budgets are going up and up. This army is being built, if I say so, to cow down the people of India in the same way as it is being utilised for Gujarat. Yes, that is the ultimate function of the army in the bourgeois State to act against the people; as it is done in Chili you want the army to act that way.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana):
Against saboteurs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Kindly make your last point.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, my colleague, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, spoke for 50 minutes. I was here. How many minutes have I spoken?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You have taken 17 minutes already.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Seventeen minutes only. He spoke for 45 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Why do you compare yourself with him? Anyhow, please make your points.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I do not lose my balance nor do I make useless language. That is not my way at least. That I never do.

So, I say, in the present context of India each and every State, the entire people of India should face the bullet, standing still, die in thousands, if required, rather than submit to this corruption, to this ruin, to these monopoly bourgeois, landlords. Where is Jan Sangh today? What is the announcement yesterday? Free trade of coarse grains! Oh, I heard all these benches speaking in favour of free trade of grains and higher procurement price in the name of farmer to feed the landlords. They were doing it. The decision of the takeover of wholesale trade did not hurt them and now they stand on

the same platform of Jan Singh. After this announcement. Shri Bhupesh Gupta makes distinction between a reactionary and a reactionary. What is 'reactionary'? All these Birlas, Tatas and the big zamindars, all the landlords, almost 60 to 80 per cent of them are within the Congress. Others may be divided within them. Had the landlords been on their side, they would have ruled in many States but they did not rule because the landlords and *kulaks* are not with them. That is why you take it for granted that you will get all the votes. That is how things are happening in India and now they say reactionary and reactionary. I say both are reactionaries. History can establish the fact that those who want to serve reaction, do not want to distinguish, do not want to dub one reaction as progressive. There are many democrats within the Congress: there are democratic people within the Congress people. But they think of their career. Knowing fully well what is happening, they surrender. That is what is happening. But things are coming to a stage when these democratic people should leave Congress and come out openly and all the left and democratic forces should come together. That is what they should do if they do not want to serve monopolies, if they want to serve India and if they do not want to serve reaction. At present, *kulak* people are made to serve—some of them—reactionary, bourgeois at the Centre and in some of the States. So, Sir, it is perfectly legitimate that people should have gone to the legislators to demand their resignation. It was done in a peaceful way. There was no coercion. All the coercion was on behalf of the Government.

Now I should ask one question. When Rome was burning Nero was fiddling. When Gujarat was burning, why did not the Prime Minister or Mr. Umashankar Dikshit visit the State? Shri Gupta mentioned only Mr. Dikshit as the Home Minister. He just by-passes the name of the Prime Minister. After all, for the Congress, she is still one of the biggest draw. For the ultimate decision, they come to her. Was it not the duty of the Prime Minister? She still commands influence somehow or other; it is unfortunate for us but still she has some influence; I con-

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cede some though it was erosion, heavy erosion; from 53 per cent to 32 per cent— heavy erosion and there may be more and more erosion. Still, as Prime Minister of the country, she and Umashankar Dikshit, both of them should have gone and tried to sort out things. That is why I say while Rome was burning, Nero was fiddling. They were with their stratagems of trying to sort out in a way that Chimanbhai, the rebel, is bundled out and their stooges can be stalled somehow. That is what they thought. Now I should say not only the Assembly should be dissolved, elections must be held immediately. It is another stab in the back of democracy, it is another stab in the back of the Gujarati people if elections are not held immediately. This Assembly should be dissolved and within 3 months, elections should be held. If not, what is the purpose, Sir? The purpose can only be to siphon out money from the Centre, distribute it there among all those people, bribing them, creating divisions and then when they think they can influence the people, then fight elections, so that by dint of black money, they can again come to power. That is a conspiracy to which my colleague, Shri Bhupesh Gupta is a party, it seems from his speech. So I demand...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You have taken half the time of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: ... that elections should be held within 3 months and if not, all the democrats and the entire House should protest against this diabolic and criminal conspiracy if elections are delayed there. I would advise, I would call upon the Gujarati people not to call off their agitation not only till the Assembly is dissolved but also till the date for the election is fixed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Please finish.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: So I would demand an all-party parliamentary probe which should be officially sponsored by the Government to probe into the happenings in Gujarat. Only then will the real truth be revealed and all the things will come out. Perhaps even a Commission

under the Commissions of Inquiry Act may not be able to do justice; only a parliamentary probe will bring out the whole thing. Of course they do not call us reactionaries, they call us left. I say that the truth should be found out. If the Government's hands are not stained with the blood of the Gujarati people as they claim, if their hands are not criminal, they should accede to my demand that there should be a parliamentary probe officially sponsored by the Government of India to get at the root of the whole thing, failing which...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You have made all your points.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: ... the carcass of democracy will start stinking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): I have allowed you all the time you needed. Mr. Malaviya.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: All right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Thank you.

श्री हर्षदेव मानवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, अभी आप ने बड़ा जोरदार एक भाषण सुना ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): He is going away.

श्री हर्षदेव मानवीय : सुन लो । इस भाषण को सुनो । 425 वोटों में से दो वोटों की ताकत है आप में । Empty drums make much noise. तो यह भड़ भड़ कर के भागे । उन में हिम्मत नहीं है सुनने की । सुन कर जाईए । तो इस का क्या मतलब है उसे मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता । उन के सिर पर श्री भूपेश गुप्ता का भूत सवार था । अपने भाषण में 50, 60 बार भूपेश गुप्त का नाम लिया । और, उस बात को छुड़िए ।

मान्यवर, हम सभी को दुख है, देश को दुख है जो बातें गुजरात में हुई उन के लिए । वहाँ अशान्ति रही । अव्यवस्था रही, अभाव रहा, प्रदर्शन हुए, बेगुनाह लोग मारे गये । शान्ति और व्यवस्था को कायम रखने के लिए सरकारी यंत्र

ने काम किया और जो कुछ स्थिति थी वह दुःखमय थी। हम सभी को उस के लिए दुःख है। और हम सब चाहते हैं कि गुजरात की दशा जल्दी से जल्दी ठीक हो। शान्ति वहां आये और वहां का काम, काज ठीक से चले।

गुजरात में जो कुछ हुआ उस की पृष्ठभूमि में हम को जाना चाहिए। हमारे माननीय मंत्री श्री मोहसिन ने अपने भाषण में उस की तरफ हमारा ध्यान दिलाया था। वहां पर जैसी कि सारे देश में एक अभाव की स्थिति चल रही है, वहां भी थी। यह अभाव की स्थिति क्यों है उस की बात भी हम लोग कई बार कर चुके हैं। कुछ उस के पीछे पिछले दो, तीन साल का इतिहास है, सूखा है, तेल का संकट है। कुछ और बातें हैं और उस की वजह से हमारे देश में संकट रहा और गुजरात में भी संकट रहा। मगर गुजरात में कुछ राजनीतिक दलों ने और कुछ अन्य शक्तियों ने मौके का अपनी गलत राजनीति के लिए, अपने गलत उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति के लिए फायदा उठाने का एक षडयंत्र किया।

इस षडयंत्र में उनको जो सफलता मिली, जो विद्यार्थियों में जो असन्तोष था उससे बड़ी सहायता मिली। अब इस विद्यार्थियों के असन्तोष की पृष्ठभूमि में कोई बात है जो मैं मदन के शमने रखना चाहूंगा। विद्यार्थियों में जो असन्तोष था उसको समझने के लिए हम को श्री चिमन भाई पटेल के व्यक्तित्व को जरा आकलन और जांचना पड़ेगा। श्री चिमन भाई पटेल हितेन्द्र देसाई को संगठन कांग्रेस की सरकार में मंत्री थे और वह किसी समय टीचर थे, अध्यापक थे, कहीं पढ़ाते बढ़ाते थे और उसी काल में उन्होंने शिक्षा के माध्यम से अपनी शिक्षा को कार्याश्रित किया, उसको व्यापार बनाया। कालिज खुलवाया, स्कूल खुलवाया। उसके मालिक बनें ट्रस्टी बने, मैनेजर बने और काफी प्रापर्टी जायदाद, माल इकट्ठा किया और उसको अपनी व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति के रूप में इस्तेमाल करने लगे। गन्दगी, करप्शन स्वभावतः फैली। अब

होस्टल खोले। होस्टल में खाना खिलाने के लिये ठेके दिए गए। खाना खराब हुआ। खाने का दाम बढ़ा और खाने के अन्दर कैंचुआ और कंकर आदि निकले जिससे लड़के नाराज हुए। पहला दंगा और पहला विद्रोह विद्यार्थियों का मौरवी में हुआ विद्यार्थियों ने जो दंगा किया वह दिसम्बर, जनवरी की बात है। इस सब के बाद यह गन्दगी, यह झगड़ा, यह असन्तोष अहमदाबाद की तरफ बढ़ा।

इस संकटकाल में केन्द्र ने, जिसको सारे देश की फिक्र करनी होती है, खासतौर से हम हरियाणा सरकार को और पंजाब सरकार को धन्यवाद देंगे कि इन्होंने भरसक प्रयास किया कि गुजरात में गल्ला भेजा जाए। मगर वहां पर कुछ ऐसी शक्तियां लगीं थी जो इन चीजों को सफल नहीं होने देना चाहती थी। और इसके पीछे एक साजिश थी। इस साजिश पर जब हम गौर करेंगे तो फिर हम को चिमन भाई पटेल की तरफ आना पड़ेगा।

श्री चिमन भाई पटेल, जिनका ध्येय केवल मात्र सत्ता प्राप्त करना था, शक्ति प्राप्त करना था, ने अपने पाखण्डी, हाइपोक्रिटिकल नेचर के मुताबिक एक तरफ माना कि सीलिंग लगाना है, केन्द्र सीलिंग लगाएगी यानी एक तरफ तो कानून बनाने लगे भूमि पर सीमा लगाने के लिए और दूसरी तरफ राजकोट जिले में खेडूत समा-यानी बड़े बड़े काश्तकारों के संगठन और खेडूत संगठन के नेता वल्लभभाई से षडयंत्र रखा उनमें प्रदर्शन करवाए और जो वहां के आदिवासी थे—दुबली थे, खलपट्टी लोग थे, जो बहुत ही गरीब लोग हैं,—सेमिसर्फ हालत में हैं, बहुत शोषित लोग हैं,—जब उन्होंने अपने आंदोलन को बढ़ाया और अपने को प्राप्त जमीन को हासिल करने के लिए जब वे आगे बढ़े, तो चिमनभाई पटेल ने खेडूत समाज के लोगों की मदद से और बल्लभभाई पटेल की मदद से उसको पूरे तरीके से कुचला। चिमन भाई पटेल को समर्थन मुख्यतः स्वतंत्र पार्टी के लोगों का प्रा है और हमको मानना पड़ेगा और स्वीकार कर

[श्री हर्षदेव माजवीय]

पड़ेगा कि हमने गलतियाँ की, हमने 1971 की जीत के बाद जो भगोड़े स्वतंत्र पार्टी से और सिडीकेट से भगे हमारी कांग्रेस की तरफ, हमने उनको दाखिल किया और उनको हमने कांग्रेस में टिकट दिया, और उनमें कुछ बहुत ही बदनाम और मशहूर स्वतंत्र पार्टी वाले भी थे सिडीकेट वाले भी थे, जैसे नरेन्द्र सिंह झालन, जो वहाँ के खाद्य मंत्री थे अब तक, जो चिमन भाई पटेल की गंदी हरकतों में उनके सबसे बड़े सहयोगी थे।

इसके साथ मान्यवर, हमको एक बात नहीं भूलनी चाहिए। मिस्टर नीरेन घोष और उनके पहले जनसंघ के जो साहब उधर से बोले, उन्होंने बेशुमार हमारी प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा जी पर चोटें की हैं। जो देश का प्रतिक्रियावाद है उसके बारे में इंदिरा जी ने कई बार कहा—सम्भवतः लोक सभा में भी कहा—कि जो गुजरात में हुआ वह ड्रेस रिहर्सन था, सारे हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर एक बगावत करने का। सारी शक्ति लगी है अहमदाबाद में। जो नव-निर्माण समिति बनी, मान्यवर, इसमें जो जवान तथा लनॅड लड़के हैं, अच्छे हैं उत्साह वाले भी हैं, मैं इससे इनकार नहीं करता, मगर उसमें अहमदाबाद चैम्बर आफ कामर्स के जो नेता हैं, जो बड़े बड़े मिल-मालिक हैं, उनके बेटे हैं, पुत्र हैं, सिडीकेट के लीडरों के बेटे, अहमदाबाद के मिल-मालिकों के बेटे, और एक वहाँ पर बड़े भारी पूजीपति, सरमायादार हैं, बदनाम—जयकृष्ण हरीवल्लभ दास—उनका खास हाथ था, उन्होंने खुल कर दोनों हाथ से पैसे दिए, और उसके खिलाफ इनकम्-टैक्स केस चल रहा है ये तमाम ताकतों ने मिलकर के इस बगावत को, इस विद्रोह को, बढ़ावा दिया। गुजरात के तमाम अखबार उनके हाथ में हैं, शायद ही कोई पत्र वहाँ ऐसा हो जो किसी बड़े आदमी के हाथ में न हो और उन पत्रों के द्वारा एक आगफैलायी गई—और ले-देकर सिर्फ एक नारा—इंदिरा को हटाओ, इन्दिरा को खत्म करो, इंदिरा एक ऐसी आबसटे-कल खड़ी हुई है जो देश के अंदर प्रतिक्रियावाद की हर चाल का नाश करती है—तो इंदिरा को

हटाओ, यह एक पूरा भयंकर षडयंत्र था।

इसके बाद एक और बात भी कहूँगा, मान्यवर। हमने कभी इसी सदन में भाषण में बतलाया था और दुनिया अच्छी तरह से जानती है कि हमारे यहाँ पर कुछ फारेन एजेंट काम कर रहे हैं। इंदिरा जी ने भी कई बार कहा, कई जगहों पर कहा कि कुछ विदेशी शक्तियाँ और कुछ देशी शक्तियाँ इस बात को पसन्द नहीं करती हैं कि हमारा देश तरक्की करे और जिस तरह से देश तरक्की कर रहा है वह उनको पसन्द नहीं है। कुछ विदेशी शक्तियों में से एक आदमी ने यह बात कहने की जुर्रत की कि भारत का जो “हिन्द महासागर” है, उसको मैडागास्कर कहा जाय।

यह जो शक्ति है, वह संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका है और इसी महाशक्ति ने इंडोनेशिया में डा० सुकार्णो का तख्ता उखाड़कर फेंक दिया था। डा० सुकार्णो के तख्ते को उखाड़ फेंकने में जो सब से बड़ी चाल थी वह यह थी कि विश्वविद्यालयों के जरिये विद्यार्थियों के बीच में धंस जाओ, शिक्षा संस्थाओं में धंस जाओ। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जिस बुरी तरह से गुजरात की शिक्षण संस्थाओं में सी० आई० ए० के एजेंट धसे हुए हैं, विदेशी शक्तियाँ धंसी हुई हैं, उतनी शायद हिन्दुस्तान के किसी प्रदेश में धंसी हों। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गुजरात विद्यापीठ के जो वाइस चान्सलर श्री रामलाल पारिख हैं, जो पहिले आल इंडिया यूथ कांग्रेस के दफ्तर में थे, उनके द्वारा वहाँ पर देश के खिलाफ तरह तरह की बातें की जा रहीं हैं। जब न्यू-यार्क टाइम्स ने सारी दुनिया में सी० आई० ए० द्वारा यूथ मूवमेंट्स के किस्से छापे, तो हिन्दुस्तान के तीन यूथ लीडरों की चर्चा छपी थी और उसमें श्री रामलाल पारिख का नाम भी छपा था। दो नाम और छपे थे, लेकिन मैं इस समय उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। रामलाल पारिख का नाम छपा था और वही गुजरात विद्यापीठ के सर्वेम्बर बने हुए हैं, चिमन भाई के परम मित्र हैं और मोरारजी भाई के चेले हैं तथा अमेरिका के एजेंट हैं।

एक बात और नहीं भूलनी चाहिये और वह यह है कि यह जो झगड़ा फसाद शुरू हुआ, उसके पहिले अहमदाबाद चम्बर आफ कामर्स का शैसन हुआ था और बिड़ला जी ने उसकी सदारत की थी। हमें गुजरात के लोगों ने बतलाया कि उसी समय यह षडयंत्र रचा गया कि गुजरात में इस तरह का आन्दोलन चलाया जाय।

अभी हमारे जनसंघ के भाई ने बहुत लम्बी चौड़ी बात कही और सहसा वे चिमनभाई पटेल के परम मित्र हो गये। चिमनभाई पटेल के लिए उन्होंने यह कहा कि चूँकि प्रधान मंत्री जी उनको वहाँ पर मुख्यमंत्री बनाना नहीं चाहती थीं, इसलिए वे उनसे नाराज थी। उन्होंने और भी तरह-तरह की बातें कहीं। यह भी कह दिया और उन्हें यह कहते शर्म नहीं आई कि गुजरात विधान सभा के जो स्पीकर हैं, उन्होंने वीमारी का बहाना कर दिया और इस तरह से वे अस्पताल में बैठे हैं। उनके अस्पताल में बैठने का कारण यह है कि मੈम्बरो के इस्तीफे उनके पास न जायें और इस तरह से इस्तीफे मंजूर करने का सवाल ही खड़ा न हो। यह तो ऐसी बात हुई जैसे उल्टा चोर कोतवाल को डांटे।

कल का किस्सा है। मैं राष्ट्रपति भवन गया था और गुजरात के नव-निर्माण समिति के कुछ लड़के, कुछ लोग, राष्ट्रपति जी से बातचीत करने और समझौते की बातचीत करने आये थे। ताकि गुजरात में शांति व्यवस्था कायम की जा सके। उनके पीछे गुजरात विद्यार्थी परिषद के 500 लड़के उन्हें घेरने के लिए आये थे। यह जो वहाँ पर हिंसा हुई, नव निर्माण समिति ने जो कुछ किया, उसका नेतृत्व अब यह जनसंघी विद्यार्थी परिषद ने अपने हाथों में ले लिया है।

उनका खास उद्देश्य यही है वहाँ शांति न होने पाए। सरीन साहब वहाँ गए, इस पर भी एतराज करते हैं। सरीन साहब ने आन्ध्र में अपने शासन से बड़ी तारीफ पाई। आन्ध्र वाले उनको सरीन गारू कहने लगे—वे “गारू” जी के लिए कहते हैं। हमारी सबकी सद्भावना सरीन साहब के साथ है और हम समझते हैं कि उनको गुजरात में

सरीन भाई कहा जायगा, लेकिन इसको भी वह पसन्द नहीं करेंगे।

मान्यवर, देश में संकट है, देश में दिक्कत है और उसका लाभ उठाने का विरोधी पार्टियां प्रयास करती हैं, परन्तु सबसे बड़ा खतरा यह है कि जो देश का प्रतिक्रियावाद है और जो विदेशी प्रतिक्रियावाद है वह इस स्थिति का लाभ उठा कर सारे देश में तूफान मचाना चाहता है। उनका ध्येय है दिल्ली का नख्त, उनका ध्येय है इंदिरा गांधी को हटाना, कांग्रेस को सत्ता से हटाना। इस असलियत को हमको सामने रखना चाहिए। ऐसी स्थिति में, जब शान्ति और व्यवस्था टूट रही थी, जब चिमन भाई पटेल की मिनिस्ट्री फेल हो रही थी, जब चिमनभाई पटेल अपनी ही गन्दी हरकतों से डूब रहा था उस वक्त कर्तव्य था राष्ट्रपति जी का कि वे गुजरात में जायें, राष्ट्रपति शासन की स्थापना करें।

(Time bell rings).

आन्ध्र में कितनी कठिन स्थिति थी, परन्तु प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व में शांति और धैर्य से हमने उस स्थिति से पार पाया। आज आन्ध्र में शांति है और सब लोग प्रसन्न हैं। हमको विश्वास है कि गुजरात में भी यही होगा। असम्बली तोड़नी है, नहीं तोड़नी है, जो भी फैसला हो, हमारी नेता ने कह दिया है कि हम इस पर ओपिन माइन्ड रखते हैं, पर पहले शांति की स्थापना जरूर होनी चाहिए। शांति स्थापित करनी होगी और इसलिए शासन सत्ता को अपने कर्तव्य को पूरा करना पड़ेगा। मुझे विश्वास है कि हम सफलता प्राप्त करेंगे।

एक आखिरी बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा। यह आवश्यक है कि जनता में यह विश्वास पैदा हो कि जिसने अन्याय किया, जिसने पाप किया, जिसने अत्याचार किया उसको सजा दी जाय। इसके लिये मैं सबसे ज्यादा जरूरी यह समझता हूँ कि चिमन भाई पटेल का पब्लिक ट्रायल होना चाहिए। वे बहुत लम्बी चौड़ी बातें करते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि मैं टैप रखे हुए हूँ, मैंने दीक्षित जी से फलाने वादे किए थे, मैंने फलाना काम किया। यह गीदड़-

(श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय)

भभकी है। इससे हमको डरना नहीं चाहिए। चिमन भाई पटेल का पब्लिक ट्रायल करना चाहिए और जो गन्दे गन्दे मिनिस्टर हैं उनका पब्लिक ट्रायल करिए और उनको सजा दीजिए ताकि गुजरात की जनता में यह विश्वास पैदा हो जाए कि हमारा केन्द्र न्याय चाहता है, इन्साफ चाहता है और जनतंत्र की रक्षा करना चाहता है। उसके बाद जब कुछ दिनों में चीजे ठडी होंगी, चीजें शान्त होंगी तो हमारी जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली अपने ढंग से काम करेगी।

हमारे भाई बहुत चिल्लाते थे कि उत्तर प्रदेश में हम गए, उड़ीसा में गए। उन दोनों जगह हम शक्ति में आए। हमारा विश्वास है कि गुजरात की जनता भी—वह गांधी जी का प्रान्त है, कृष्ण भगवान वहां रहे हैं, वहां के लोग बड़े सज्जन और भले हैं, उनका हार्ट साउन्ड है—कुछ दिनों के बाद शांति के एटमास्फियर में सही निर्णय पर आएंगी और गुजरात फिर प्रगति के मार्ग पर चलेगा। इस वक्त जरूरी यह है, कि वहां के लोग डटकर काम करें और शांति स्थापित करें और “शठे प्रति शाठ्यम समाचरेत्” के अनुसार शठ के साथ उसी तरह का व्यवहार किया जाय। मुझे विश्वास है कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में हमारी पार्टी और सरकार जो उचित होगा वह करेगी और थोड़े दिन के अन्दर वहां की स्थिति सुधर जायेगी। (*Time bell rings*) इसके साथ ही श्री मोहसिन का जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूं।

SHRI S. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Sir, the ship of the State is going to face rough weather and red signals are going up in State after State. I think what has happened in Gujarat is a red signal of which all of us should take proper note.

Very interesting theories were brought out here to explain what has happened in Gujarat. At first, the official interpretation was, as usual, that the opposition was taking advantage of a very difficult situation; and Jan Sangh was singled out as the culprit.

Then we heard a fascinating theory that was given to us by our Petroleum Minis-

ter that, well, what has happened in Gujarat is not a real mass upsurge at all. Drawing on his knowledge of Marxism he said that this was the work of petty bourgeoisie, landlords and the lumpen proletariat and therefore he warned all those who called themselves left not to get mixed up with this sort of thing which was not a mass upsurge at all something that should not be encouraged by anybody.

Today I was a bit happy when I listened to Mrs. Kulkarni who admitted that this was a mass upsurge. People were fed up and there was no food, scarcity everywhere, prices going up, students agitated and therefore there was a mass uprising. And I heaved a sign of relief thinking that after all the Congress is now moving on the right tract. But I found that I was under an illusion when I heard just now the speech of my friend, Shri Malaviya, because again he reverted to the same old thing and as is almost inevitable with him he brought in CIA and foreign agents also. I am really sorry that after this agitation which has continued for nearly a month and half, an agitation in which nearly 70 people have been shot dead, it has still not yet abated. May be that yesterday was a peaceful day. That does not mean anything. You cannot say that peace has got stabilised. In spite of all this there are still people in the ruling party who would like to say that this was a sort of contrived thing, and it was an agitation that was organised by people who really had no roots amongst the masses. I would appeal to the Party in power that at least now when so many things have happened they should have a proper outlook. They should try to understand things and if they try to understand things they will find it is simple. If they want to call spade a spade, you can very well describe this as a real, mass upsurge of the people who were fed up with the administration and the powers that be whom they wanted to give a short shrift. This is a simple thing. There was no CIA, there were no foreign agents, there were no mal-contented people—nothing of the sort. People rose on their own and therefore out of that conviction I described it the other day as mass uprising of the people, by the people and for the people,

There is no single political party at all behind this. There may be a few political persons here and there. But I dare say that in the sense of controlling this movement, in the sense of guiding this movement, Sir, there was no political party at all. The writ of the political parties does not run there. May be in a place like Ahmedabad it is there. So many people are saying that the Jana Sangh has done something. It may be so. But, even the Jana Sangh, with its organising ability and with the voluntary forces that are at its command, I do not think, it has the capacity to organise a sort of Gujarat-wide agitation throughout the State. Therefore, the first thing is to have a correct perspective on what is happening there and what has happened so far not to blame somebody and not to encourage the tendency of finding some scapegoats. The first thing is to understand the thing as it is and accepting the right of the people to rise in revolt against any party, whether it is a party of the Communists in Kerala or whether it is a party in power, the Congress Party, in Gujarat. Sir, beyond a particular limit the people cannot suffer and should not suffer. Therefore, my first reaction is, Sir, that I would like to congratulate the people of Gujarat, not because a particular party was involved and not because a particular party was in power, but because the people have helped us reaffirm our faith in the will of the people and our faith that the people will fight back.

Now, what were they fighting against? This is the second question. Sir, apparently, as everybody has acknowledged now, there are two or three main causes. One was the food scarcity. While speaking about the food situation in Maharashtra, Sir, I had pointed out that Gujarat, Maharashtra and certain other places are the chronically scarcity-hit areas and even in the best of circumstances they are short of foodgrains. But this is an old story. This year particularly, suffering from the effects of what happened last year and the year before last, the people experienced scarcity which was widespread. Only in the year 1973-74 there was some improvement in Gujarat, yes, in the area of cotton and in the area of groundnuts. Now, Sir,

this food shortage was very acute but it was so not only in Gujarat but also in Maharashtra. But Maharashtra has not risen in the way in which Gujarat has risen. But those few who are reading the newspapers will find that the same resentment and the same frustration and the same despair are there and they are there in Bombay, in Poona, in Akola, in Malegaon and in so many other places and it has manifested itself now through gheraos, through bandhs, through morchas and through processions and, on the side of the Government, there has been tear-gas and police firing. This is what is happening not only in Gujarat, but also in Maharashtra, and it is quite likely that it will spread to other places also if you are not in a position to curb the situation or control the situation. So, the first cause is that there was food scarcity. The other was the rise in prices. I am not trying to isolate these two causes because they go together. But, when we are trying to enumerate the causes, I would say that the first was food scarcity and the next was rise in prices. Sir, how much should they rise? Here in this House, Sir, most probably this year also, as usual, when the Finance Minister comes here and speaks on the Budget, he will again say that it is their constant endeavour to watch the prices and to curb them. Sir, this is the fourth year and the prices are not being curbed and the prices are not getting stabilised, and they are galloping ahead and there is no knowing when they will stop. Sir, when the prices rise and rise three times or four times over, what can the poor man do? He gets desperate. And I say, Sir, with all humility that none of us really understands or experiences the pangs of the poor man who really cannot afford to buy anything. Sir, we somehow try to get our two meals, good meals. We somehow try to get butter. We somehow try to get 'ghee', this and that. But even oil is becoming something unattainable, so far as the common man is concerned. Only the day before yesterday, I showed you the rice that is being distributed. And just now, ten minutes before this, the Food Minister, Shri Maurya, came to me and said that he visited *in cognito* some shops in Bombay and found that the shops were giving rice and other things which were

[Shri N. G. Goray]

not fit for human consumption. He said that he found that in some shops it was like this. What do you expect the common man to do? Does he want a Jan Sangh man to incite him? Does he want a CPI man to incite him? Does he want a CPM man to incite him? Or does he want a Socialist man to incite him? He is on fire already. He does not know where to turn. And as the saying is: The worm also turns. If the worm turns, the people will also turn. Now, this is the other thing.

The third thing is—I am very sorry to mention it, but this is an indication—to what depths of corruption your administration has sunk. It is all right for me or Mr. Malaviya to say something very harsh about Chimanbhai Patel. But had that gentleman not resigned and had he continued in your party, I ask you: Would anybody of you have get up and accuse him like that? None. Now that he has severed his connection with the Congress, now that he has threatened to form another party, Mr. Malaviya gets up and waxes eloquent and says that he did this and that and he was in collusion with this person and that person. But, Sir, you must admit, you must tell us frankly, that in spite of the fact that you knew that this was the situation, you allowed him to function as the Chief Minister for quite a few days. And had this agitation not taken place, Chimanbhai Patel would have quietly continued for the rest of the term. What did he do? This was admitted by the Food Minister that this year the groundnut production was nearly twice what was produced last year. And still prices would not come down. Why? This was because Chimanbhai had an interest in it. And he saw to it that oil can go out and groundnut can go out of India. And in spite of a bumper crop of groundnut, the prices of vanaspati and oil would not come down. The same thing is about cotton. When such things are happening, when your Ministry is there, when many of them are involved in these sorts of corrupt practices, what is the use of blaming people. Sir?

What was the reaction of the people? The reaction of the people was not to do away with Chimanbhai

alone. In all seriousness, it is being asked: All right, Chimanbhai has gone, but what about others? Even the gracious lady who spoke first and who has a pretty close knowledge of what is happening in Gujarat, says now: Let there be peace. You cannot order peace like that. You must try to understand, what was the nature of the protest, why is it that so violently the people of Gujarat were dissenting from the Congress? You will have to understand it. You must go deeper into this. The protest was there because they did not want only the removal of Chimanbhai but they wanted the removal of the party. They do not have any hope about the party, because the whole party machine had gone corrupt. There was in-fighting in the party, whether it was Mr. Chimanbhai or Mr. Darji or anybody else. They thought that they were birds of the same feather. So, therefore, they wanted to remove them lock, stock and barrel. That was the whole idea. And unless you understand this, your reaction will be faulty. You would not dissolve the Assembly. You say: Let us keep the Assembly as it is, let us keep it in suspended animation; we can again put our nominee there. If this is your calculation, I tell you, with humility, but very frankly, that this is not what the people want. People have seen that this particular party, so far as Gujarat is concerned and so far as the people are concerned, is out of the picture.

4 P.M.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: When you say that this is our intention, is it on the basis of the facts of the situation?

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Shri Dikshit Ji, with all respect to you, this is what you did in Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. You keep the Assembly suspended, introduce President's rule and wait for your opportunity. What happened in Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh is entirely different from what is happening in Gujarat. It is not this party or that party. It is not Telangana Praja Samiti or Andhra Karyacharna Samiti. It is the people of Gujarat. It is not this Samiti against that Samiti. They have now started Nav Nirman Samiti. Who is their leader? Who is guiding them? Nobody. It is a real mass

uprising. It is they the people who are trying to understand the situation in their own way. So don't blame this party or that party. Don't try to plead excuses. Please try to understand the basic facts which are involved in this. As I said before, I would really like to congratulate the people of Gujarat. At the time of giving the slogan of 'Quit India', Gandhiji said, "There is no leader henceforth. Let the Indian people rise against the British. Everybody is his own leader." That is what he said. That is what has happened in Gujarat. There is no leader. There is no Socialist Party or the Jan Sangh Party or any other party guiding them. Nobody is guiding anybody. Nobody is controlling the movement. Therefore, my humble plea is: Don't try to play with the sentiments of the people of Gujarat. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, as you know, I am a very disciplined Member of this House. As soon as you ring the bell, I take it that this is your warning. Whatever I wanted to say has been said.

Lastly, I would say that please dissolve the Assembly. Don't stand on prestige. The Prime Minister said, "Let there be peace and then we shall think of it." I do not know whether the people of Gujarat will respond. If they respond, well and good. I am not going to tell them to do this or that and they are not in need of my advice. I would call it a peaceful revolt. It is not a violent revolt. Something might have happened here and there. It is they who have lost more. I do not think many police people have been killed. They have lost 70 or 75 people. It is a peaceful revolt. Please try to understand the genesis of the revolt. It is a mass uprising. The people of Gujarat rose in revolt when their patience came to an end, when there was no hope of any good thing from the Government and when they knew that it is not only Chimanbhai Patel but the entire party which should be thrown out.

Lastly, I would say a few words about coercion. So much has been said that people are coercing MLAs. What is this coercion. When the people have given their mandate. Do you mean to say that in whatever manner they may behave, whatever corruption they may indulge in,

they must be allowed to run the Government for five years? Is that the contention? Is that the argument? Or do the people have a right to say that they would not allow any nonsense to go on like this? There may be a constitutional guarantee or a constitutional provision that once elected, you can stay in power for 5 years. But it applies when the situation is normal. When people's patience has run out and when such things are happening, you don't open the book of Constitution and read to the people that they must keep quiet for 5 years because they have given the mandate whether they may be hungry or the Government may be corrupt. This is not going to happen. Such uprisings do not take place according to the copy book maxims. I am glad that the Indian people are finding out some sort of an alternative to a recall. If there is no recall they say all right, we go to him and all the voters go to him and tell him, "You must come out, you should resign as you are unfit to be there." Try to understand this. Don't try to find out scape-goats, don't try to spin out some fanciful theories as to who is a lumpen proletariat and who is a bourgeoisie, this and that. This sort of thing will not help...

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: I do not absolve the Congress Administration of its sins of omission and commission. Please do not misunderstand me

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I am only requesting you to move a step further. The Administration does not work on its own. There are the masters who are guiding the Administration. And if the Administration does not reform itself for years together, if it sinks deeper into corruption, then the suspicion is that the servant is what the masters are. Therefore, along with the servant, the whole thing is thrown out. That is the thing. A Marxist like you should understand the roots of this mass upsurge, and not try to belittle them, do not try to show contempt to them. Try to understand and be thankful that it is a peaceful upsurge and not a violent one.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (Gujarat): Sir, many things have been said regarding this agitation in this House to-

[Shri Yogendra Makwana]

day and some details have been given by the hon. Members. So, I do not want to go into the details of the agitation. Sir, I would like to point out in the first instance that when the agitation was started first, who has started it? It was started by the students. But the first thing which the students did was that they went to a brothel which was in the sophisticated locality of the city of Ahmedabad and they attacked that brothel. That means, when this agitation was started, it was started against all the evils in the society—it may be against the evil in the political field or against corruption or against the Government machinery. The students who were agitating against the social evil were right and just. Mr. Goary has said here that no political party is involved in the current agitation. I have great regard for hon. Goray Saheb. But I will have to give him some examples so that he may be convinced that some political parties did play their role in the current agitation. And that role was not good, I must tell you, Sir. Their role was a negative role. I know Goray Saheb since many years and he knows Mr. Uttambhai Patel, who is a great social worker and who is a great worker in the Adivasi community. He is prominent amongst the Adivasi people since years. And Mr. Uttambhai Patel was attacked by some elements. Who were they? Were they students? I don't think that the students attack a social worker. They were the elements which were supported by some of the political parties and motivated by them. Some people attacked my house. Why? Who were they? I know them. Because I am a Harijan, they attacked me. I know who attacked. They were all Jan Sanghis and R.S.S. people. . . . (Interruptions). Goray Saheb says that no political party is involved in this agitation. I can give hundreds of instances in this House in which the political parties misbehaved or played a dirty role in this agitation. In the beginning, it was a right agitation of the students and university teachers. But the political parties did play their dirty role in this agitation. Nobody can deny it. Who attacked Mr. Narsi Makwana, who is a Harijan? Those evil elements in Jan Sangh

and R.S.S. attacked Mr. Narsi Makwana. Sir, all the local papers and the press have given details about it. Nobody can say that it is not an attack. It was an attack. Narasim Makwana's house was attacked. My house was attacked. Uttambhai's house was attacked. Last night I received a telephone call saying that Uttambhai's father has expired in a hospital and these people were not allowing the dead body to be lifted from the hospital. I had to ring up Mr. Sarin and tell him that the dead body is lying in the hospital for two days and they were not allowing them to lift it. Who were they? Are they students? Who are they? Can you tell me? I do not think that students will do like this. Students will not stoop to this level of not allowing the dead body to be lifted from the hospital. They were definitely from some political party.

Sir, the current agitation in Gujarat has brought many issues to the forefront. It has revealed all parties in their true colours, as I have described just now. These parties always talk very high but act only for the narrow party political considerations. Mr. Mathur blamed Congress for all this. He blamed Congress for all this trouble in Gujarat. But, he does not know who are the people who are playing behind it. I request him and his party for introspection. He claims that his party is democratic. But, Sir, we can judge them only by their actions. On the one hand they claim to be a national party having national policies. But they are exposed like Jekyll and Hyde in Gujarat. In one breath they talk of national solidarity and they are never tired of saying Bharat Mata ki Jai. In the current agitation in Gujarat they are completely exposed, as rebbit regionalist.

Sir, they are trying to exploit the genuine people's grievances for their narrow political ends in the midst of the current agitation in Gujarat or the dissolution of the Gujarat Assembly.

Jan Sangh is making herculean efforts to mix national projects like Narmada with the local issues and is trying to misdirect the whole movement against the Central Government.

In the name of Narmada Jan Sangh is trying to whip up mass frenzy in Gujarat,

while the same party in Madhya Pradesh is agitating against the Narmanda Dam height. Why don't they ask their counterparts in Madhya Pradesh not to agitate against this project—Narmada Project. It is a national project and a request Mr. Mathur to advise his fellow beings in Madhya Pradesh to keep quiet and not to shout about this Narmada Dam. It is a national project. It will help the nation. It will change the face of the nation and there will be green revolution in Rajasthan and Gujarat if this Narmada Dam is there. So, let him advise his counterparts in Madhya Pradesh not to shout against Narmada Project.

Sir, this country has been invaded and subjugated many times in the past on account of lack of political and national unity.

Mrs. Gandhi has provided a great unifying personality in this country and the Jan Sangh leaders are trying to distort her personality for their narrow selfish party motives. Thanks to the students of Gujarat and Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti who declared that they are not at all interested in the negative slogan of Indira Hatao. They have recently declared that. But, who pastes such posters on the walls of the Ahmedabad city? It is Jan Sangh. I ask Goray-sahib who is doing it? Malaviyaji has rightly said that there are some big business guns who are paying them to paste these posters on the walls of Ahmedabad city with the slogans of Indira Hatao. Who gave the advertisement in *Jan Satta*? A full page advertisement which costs some Rs. 6,000. I do not think students can spend Rs. 6,000 on this advertisement. It is you people who have provided money and you have given it in the name of students to blame the student community and to blame the teachers of Gujarat who are not so. I tell you, the students of Gujarat and the teachers of Gujarat were right and their agitation was right. Their agitation was against social evils, against corruption, against the rising prices, but their agitation was not against Indira Gandhi nor against the Congress Party.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:
Not even against Chimanbhai.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: I do not want to say anything about Chimanbhai here.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: He will again become the Chief Minister!

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA: That will also come, Mr. Mathur. (*Time Bell rings*). Hear me patiently and that will also come. Some political parties are indeed interested there—I do not want to go into the details of the agitation and speak more about it. But I would definitely like to attack this Jana Sangh Party which has played havoc in Gujarat and is playing havoc in India. Don't laugh Mr. Mathur—you are playing with the lives of people. Don't laugh. A day will come when you will realise this thing.

Mr. Mathur has said something here about class war and about attack on Harijans and Muslims. I will just describe how these Jana Sanghese attacked Mr. Uttambhai Patel, Mr. Narsi Makwana, me and several others. They did not allow the dead body of Uttambhai's father to be removed from the hospital. So it is very clear, Mr. Mathur, that you people play all these things and not the Congress. You can blame us for the rising prices. We will accept it but you cannot blame us for all these. It is forces of *status quo* like Mr. Mathur's party.

Now I will tell Mr. Mathur because he is much interested in his party's activities. He said that Congress wants to encourage class war. But the happenings in Gujarat have shown that these very forces are interested in attacking Adivasis, Harijans and Muslims and thereby creating conflict between the classes and between the communities. The anti-levy agitation was started by the kulaks in the name of *Khedut Samaj* who were their supporters and who backed them. The reply to this question is obvious: The right reactionaries who do not like the progressive measures supported them.

As Mr. Malaviya has said, I also doubt that there is also the hand of some foreign agencies involved in creating chaotic conditions in this country. These foreign agencies want to break the image of our Prime Minister and hinder our progress. Unfortunately there are some people in

[Shri Yogender Makwana]
this country—may I call them Amin Chands?—who work as their henchmen.

This country was invaded and subjugated many times in the past as there was no national unity—I do not want to quote the chapters from Indian history. This time also our Prime Minister has emerged as a symbol of national unity. Some political parties are trying to break her image to further narrow, selfish motives but I would urge them to learn a lesson from history.

Now, this agitation has started against some social evils and against some rightist measures which had been enacted by the then Government. Sir, I would request the Government to enquire into it, to amend if possible the Gujarat University Statute and to appoint a Commission to enquire into the educational field, how other people have infiltrated into it, how businessmen have entered into this field and spoil the entire educational field. The University teacher agitation was therefore right. I would therefore request the Government to enquire into all these aspects and to satisfy the people of Gujarat, the students of Gujarat and the teachers of Gujarat.

Thank you.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA (Karnataka):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, India is the sacred land, a source of spiritual science and knowledge which made man understand that peace is to be found only in himself in his own mind, in the innermost recesses of his heart. India has given the message of peace to the world since time immemorial. The Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, was born in Gujarat. Man became God and Mahatma Gandhi gave the message of peace again to the world with truth and non-violence. His life was a message; his death was also a message of peace understanding and unity. But what do we see today in India? In the entire country I can say there is political chaos, economic crisis, near ruin, social tensions, crisis of character, agitations, violence and killings. Sir, progress is possible only with peace but today we find that there is everything else other than peace. All around we find anti-social activities, misdeeds, evil doings, fights, infights, anger, hatred, vindictiveness and what not. All these are having their play in the political arena of

this country. Sir, the people of India owe unto themselves in the Constitution the right to live a life of peace with progress and plenty. Everyone should have equal opportunity and live with dignity. Under the Constitution we are having parliamentary democracy. Since 1952, parliamentary democracy has been functioning in this country. There is the Ministry, there is the Legislature and there is Parliament here. Sir, the President's rule can come only to protect democracy, integrity and sovereignty of the country but what we see today in the country is the President's rule is brought in according to the whim or fancy, or determination or decision, of the ruling party in this country. Then the Governor's rule comes in the name of the President. The Governor actually functions as the agent of the Central Government or to be more truthful as an agent of the Prime Minister of this country. Governor's rule means, he has an Adviser who is a bureaucrat. Once again I must say the real advisers are the leaders of the ruling party.

Sir, the stability of Government is the most important thing. For that every one of us has to try and contribute our mite in all truth and sincerity so that there may be Governments with stability.

It is being proved that stability cannot be there with simple or big majorities. It has been proved that a number of Governments have fallen. Here I must say that in 1967 this disease started. The disease of defections, the chronic, cancerous disease was taken advantage of by every party, but the greatest gainer was the ruling Congress and the present-day rulers. Since 1967 inch by inch and stage by stage democracy is being assassinated. There is undermining of democracy in this country. In the 1971 election we saw that a massive mandate was given to the Prime Minister and the ruling Congress, but what is happening even after that? Where is this anti-defection Bill? Where has it gone? Horse trading has started again. The word must be changed. It has gone to the level of donkey trading in this country. Somehow or other form the Government, somehow or other get on, but at whose cost? Somehow or other they want to be in power always. Whether the people want

them to be in power or not, they want to continue in power. I must say it was very painful to me to hear certain excuses which were on the face of it absurd. The Andhra question was there and it was solved but how and when? Now, I am appealing, with all the sincerity I can command, to the Government not to be complacent and not to suffer from complexes, but to look into the question of solving the problem in Gujarat, because of the results of the U.P. elections. Here also it is for you to note whether you have got a real majority. Real majority is not there in the strictest sense of the term. You have got majority only with 33 per cent of votes. With that majority—again it is very painful but I am using this word—five people in UP are prepared to join the ruling party. How is this? I can say they have purchased them or an attempt to purchase these people is going on and that too soon after the election. Is this thing to go on? There was comparison with Andhra. I can say that in Andhra the people were tired out. The rule was by the military and police. Forty thousand military men were put there. Leaders of people were actually tired out. It was because of the selfish ends of politicians. I know some people have played a very noble role there to bring about sanity. A solution of that kind may not be found. The attempt should not be to tire out the people and then satisfy the aspirations and ambitions of the opportunist and adventurist politicians in your party. You come to power with the strength of the ballot. But what do we see actually. With tainted money, with bullet, you rule. Will the people tolerate this? Also, I think the motto of the ruling party now is, either there should be a Congress Government or no Government at all. This game also we have been seeing. I am only saying this because since the civilisation started five thousand years ago—from what we know—India has been believing in democratic methods and ways. But today democratic processes, democratic values and the values of life are being thrown to the winds. The name of democracy is there for you only to come to power and then you rule the country by other means. In both ways, they have the best advantage to themselves.

I would like to say something about Orissa also. A minority Government has been formed there. If it is to continue there, it has to continue there with the grace or courtesy of the CPI. What a miserable or difficult position. What will be the image of this country in the world?

In the Rae-Bareilly constituency, the fourth counting took place. That means, they were counting until the ruling Congress candidate got elected. It is for you now to seriously find out the truth everywhere in this country and also face the realities in Gujarat. It is a mass movement. They have proved it to the entire India and to you also. If you have the mind to understand, if you have got the ears to hear and the eyes to see, it is a mass upsurge, it is not any political pressure that is being put on the ruling party to dissolve the Assembly there, but it is the moral pressure, it is the mass movement started by the students and helped by the teachers and the intelligentsia of this country who were naturally agitated over or disappointed with or frustrated by the corrupt practices of the Government there and its henchmen or disciples. The difficulties and the misery of the people have been increasing every day. But no serious attempt is being made to set right things. The example is before you. There are other places also. Gujarat has given the lead by a mass movement, a mighty movement. Unless you wake up to the realities of the situation, you will be thrown over board. And what is happening in Gujarat is an eye-opener for all of us. The people's movement started there is getting stronger and stronger. I understand that 200 students came here all the way from Gujarat but all sorts of motives are being attributed to them. They went to the President of India—I am very happy about that—though the position of the President has been brought down and made... —I do not want to use stronger words... But they have recognised only the President of the country because the ruling party has failed miserably to look to the difficulties and grievances of the people and fight for their democratic rights to live as respectable citizens of this country. That is why they have refused to go to other people and they have

[Dr. K. Nagappa Alva]

gone to the President of India. That itself shows that realisation is coming in the students because it is not only their future, the future of India is gloomy. They feel there is no hope for them. If this kind of administration goes on, with misrule and mismanagement everywhere, their future would not be bright. Corruption has to be put down at all levels wherever it may be.

Sir, there are so many great lessons to be learnt. It looks as if the Karma theory has started working. Sir, it looks as if the country is actually for politicians and their agents, monopolists, smugglers, blackmarketeers, adulterators in this country. It looks as if it has become impossible for the people to survive. The question now is whether good people can live in this country. The people are now crying, "God save us from these leaders".

SHRI B. K. KAUL (Rajasthan): Including yourself.

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA: I can include myself if I am guilty. Sir, the law of Karma and the cycle of life is that you reap what you sow. The Chief Minister of Gujarat has reaped already what he sowed. This is clear. Discipline and rule of law which are the basis for democracy have shaken and these values have been thrown to the winds. The ruling Congress, the ruling party thought it fit to expel him for not obeying their duties and for having given his opinion to dissolve the Assembly. Of course, he has to survive and he must have done it. But what I am happy about is that the ruling Congress for the first time in their history took action and expelled him for six years realising the importance of discipline.

Sir, the demand of the students leaders, backed by the mass of people in Gujarat, is for the dissolution of the Assembly. That is a reasonable demand. It is time and opportune time, as my worthy friend, Mr. Goray, said, please do not stand on prestige. Dissolve the Assembly at the earliest time. The present leadership of our country has started reaping for their acts of omission and commission, of destroying democracy and encouraging mobocracy by undemocratic and dictatorial and

vindictive ways to continue in power at any cost. May wisdom dawn on the leadership to bow down to the people's will and wish. Thank you Sir.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I look upon this opportunity as one not so much for post-mortem of what has happened during the tragic two months that have passed in the life of Gujarat, but as an opportunity to vindicate the cause for peace. It is time that things settled down in Gujarat. One reads in the newspapers of deaths occurring every day even after the imposition of the President's rule. We had hoped that peace would return to Gujarat after the ouster of the Ministry. That has not happened. It is time to endeavour for bringing peace to the violence-torn state of Gujarat.

While listening to the Minister's report one felt that there was an element of heart-searching; even members of the ruling party have been candid enough to own that there was something wrong, something rotten, in the State of Denmark. The pity of it is that they became articulate a little too late; otherwise, they could have spared Gujarat of two blood baths. I have already placed before this honourable House my interpretation of the causes and the course what happened in Gujarat during the past two months. I have also been on record that I look upon it as nothing short of a revolution, a great social phenomenon, a great uprising of a people which had to do something under certain stresses. Now, the people in the ruling party also are vociferously saying that the party leadership, at least at the Government level and also at the party level, had not behaved. I would only add that if the ex-Chief Minister, as was suggested, forms a new party, he will require 85 followers in a House of 168 to rise to power by jumping on the band wagon of the New Congress. It has happened on earlier occasions also. We have such instances in history. But unfortunately it happened in Gujarat by jumping on the band wagon of a new party which had raised hopes of a social change, he could manage to rise to power with only 70. So the first lesson that we should draw, according to me, from this tragic event is that the days of manipu-

latory politics are numbered. The people of India will not suffer manipulatory politics. Such politics also manipulates economy and that is what contributed to the short-lived career of the Chimanbhai Ministry.

Now, what are we going to do? The only solution lies, it seems, in the dissolution of the Assembly.

The second lesson that we should try to draw from the outline of what has happened during the past two months as it emerged from the Minister's statement is that democracy can survive only if there is accountability. The political debacle in Gujarat is due to the negation of this sound principle. There was no accountability, and what the students and their teachers wanted to inject into the body politic seems to be a modicum of accountability. The right of recall should have been provided in the Constitution because that would have helped us in Gujarat. From the lesson of Gujarat I think we should explore the possibility of providing for a right of recall.

Certain bad things have happened. Some Members have said that by and large it was a peaceful uprising. There has been violence; and violence of any kind is bad, irrespective of the agency that commits it. There has been violence at three levels. There was violence which had something to do with the students, especially the tiny tots in the streets. They indulged in stone throwing and other pranks. They were just pranks possibly. Maybe there were a few cases of violence committed by some students. But the incidence of violence is more at another level which I should like to describe as police-cum-people violence. There were instances of violence and counter violence when people and a repressive police organisation were locked in a morbid, grim struggle. The third type of violence is to be traced to the unsocial elements. Sometimes this violence was committed by imported goondas and hooligans who have some expertise to break bank buildings and do such things. The total violence on the part of students may not be that much. But some untoward things have happened. For instance, the way an MLA was treated in Jamnagar. It leaves a bad

taste in the mouth. Again, some students were submerged in salty water by some MLA. All these things have happened.

When the question of dissolution is considered it is said that first normalcy should come to Gujarat, and the law and order position should be stabilised. Some people, were men of good hopes with justification, feel that it should be the other way round. If dissolution is not granted, it may be difficult to achieve the conditions of normalcy. There is a point in arguing in favour of there being normalcy before such a step is taken in the larger interests of Indian polity. However I would urge upon the Government through you, Sir, to take a liberal view of all these things and I am encouraged by the fact that they have been taking a liberal view and that they have not taken a rigid stance. They have said that the dissolution is not a matter of principle or policy and as the Minister was good enough to add if even "prestige" and it sounds convincing to us also. They have kept room for movement and for manoeuvrability. Things are fortunately becoming normal since yesterday. As everyday brought us bad news and sad news, even a day that passes peacefully is a great boon to us and hopefully, today also must be one day more of such normalcy and hopefully we may look forward to tomorrow and the day after passing off peacefully.

Sir, the Gujarat students are here in the capital of India. Hundreds of them have come here ostensibly to protest against the police repression. Many bad things have happened as just now mentioned. But some good things also have happened even in this tragic hour and the greatest of them is that communal harmony is not disturbed. The nightmarish memories of 1969 and of the last year's Modasa flare-up have not left us altogether and it would have been our complete undoing if communal harmony had been disturbed. Not that there was no attempt to disturb it. But, fortunately, the students had the better of it and the people also understood it instinctively. In Ahmedabad Samiti students went to Shahpur, Pankaj's house to console his father who had lost an only son, and

[Shri Umashanker Joshi.]

then went to Jamalpur, another part of Ahmedabad, to console Abdul Rahim who had lost his son Fazlul. And, again, when there was some playing with communal harmony, instinctively the students got together and some of them read the Koran and the others started reading the Gita and this is how they have succeeded in preserving communal harmony.

Another good thing that has happened is that peace among the mill workers, among the textile workers, was not disturbed. The textile mills are working and nobody thought of disturbing their work and production has not suffered. It could have Sir. But the trade union founded by the Father of the Nation a Well-knit trade union an outcome of a unique experiment that he had started, saw to this and the mill workers have been patiently and peacefully carrying on their work.

The production, as I said, has not suffered. Credit must be given where it is due.

The third thing is that the students and the younger people have not gone underground. It was one of the worst mistakes of the ex-Chief Ministry to have abused the MISA. After the imposition of President's rule, it is good that they have not abused the MISA.

I am reminded of the curfew that was clamped down upon not only cities and towns but far off villages also in various districts of Gujarat including Kutch. I come from Sabarkantha. There the Adivasis living near a village put under curfew talked amongst themselves: अहमदाबाद भी करफ्यु आइयुं है हैडों जोवा Curfew has come from Ahmedabad let us go and see it for ourselves and have a look at it. The whole people were scared. But even after the President's rule, the police repression has not abated. It is a sad commentary on the President's rule that indirect beatings have been harder.

I should add a word about the army also. People have nothing to complain against the army which was drafted on the night of the 27th of January. Nothing untoward happened during the stay of the army in Ahmedabad. It was hailed by the people of Ahmedabad. A lakh of

people lined up in the streets to fraternise with them. But that cannot be said about the army that was moved in the city of Baroda after the imposition of President's rule. They broke gates open, they broke the doors and houses open and beat up the people. The students have suffered a lot at the hands of the police during the past ten days. And to lay bare their wounds they have come to the metropolis of India in hundreds.

However I do not want to refer to the opening wounds. I want to take this opportunity for emphasizing the need of healing the wounds, of pouring some balm on the tortured life of wounded Gujarat, a part of our country. If dissolution is imminent, why is there delay? The ruling party has stated that it has no intention of forming a government from the remnants of the party in the Assembly. I can see the point of having normalcy first in the interest of the polity of the country. I would urge upon the ruling party, the Government, through you, Sir, and through this august House, that as a teacher I feel that normalcy means that all students go to the class room—school children as well as college students. If they do not enter the class rooms, on Monday, I think, a great moment will be lost. Then things may not be solved easily later.

5 P.M.

The students from Gujarat are here. They met the head of our State who was pleased to receive them. He told them to bring the conditions to normalcy. The students, while they are here, may be made to play a very constructive role. Their very name is 'Nav Nirman Samiti'. When the Government has not taken a rigid stance on the matter, it seems more possible for them to take the next step with great consideration, sympathy, boldness and imagination. It is a moment when the whole question can be handled with a constructive approach. Feelings can be assuaged and the only solution under the circumstances should not be delayed, especially when it is imminent. I should like to make an appeal through this august House to the Prime Minister to use this moment creatively before it is too late so that the students who have come here in hundreds may go from Delhi straight to

their class rooms and that means normalcy.

SHRI AWADESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar): I would like to know from Mr. Joshi as he was a Vice-Chancellor and is a very learned man as to what prevents the students from going to their schools and colleges. Will he kindly tell me?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): He has already given a narration.

SHRI AWADESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: It is something which is non-academic and for him to support such a thing is just to win the popularity of the students.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: We don't cease to be human beings if we also happen to be academicians, teachers or students. You have only to go to Gujarat to know this. You have the account, which the hon. Minister has placed before the house, of the shape of things in Gujarat only a few weeks ago at the Government level or at the party level. You yourself take at least that part of the blame. Therefore, please be a little considerate to those who could not stand it at the green age. Let me tell you that it is something very good that has happened. I say this with all earnestness and all awareness of running a society in a healthy manner. These students have risen against corruption, against the black-marketeers, against the hoarders and against the profiteers. We could not enthrone them during the past 25 years to rise to the occasion. When the British power was there, the challenge was written on the wall and anybody could read it. After independence, it was difficult to read or figure out the challenge. These students of Gujarat have figured out the challenge. They have said that they would not stand that sort of thing. Let us use the energy. There are no politicians about. Sir, the Hon. member is an elderly person and a freedom fighter of our country. I say to him with all seriousness that there are no political parties there. There may be some arm-twisting by this party or that. Politicians know how to do that. Sir, I see it as something over which we should feel happy and this should spread to the whole of the country. You are not sympathetic because

you are looking at it as something morbid or as something which would cut at the roots of a Government or a State. But if you look at it from another point of view, you will find that the young and the green among us are aware of the undesirability of the suffering of the people because of corruption and all that. This is an opportunity for us. Let us see that this energy is directed in a creative channel, in a constructive channel. And let the hoarders and the profiteers now onwards beware that the youth of India will suffer then no more. Let even the parents know that their sons and daughters will not brook corruption in their life. This also means that these young sons and daughters will themselves have to remain away from corruption. They have to remain not only uncorrupted but also incorruptible. This is nearest to the heart of each one of us. So, let us look at this as a creative phenomenon. I think when the tempers cool down, it would be possible for the members of the ruling party to see as it has already been possible for them to see the bad things that were there till 9th of February, that there is much good that has come up during this uprising. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar-Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will take just one minute. I am very sorry and a little ashamed to hear the two speeches, one by Mr. Goray and the other by Mr. Joshi, which are, of course, a little more considerate to us, who are in the ruling party. To them, we are all sinners sitting on this side, and they are the pious people sitting on that side. Our difficulty is that Mr. Goray has asserted that it is not corrupt leadership that has been thrown out but the people have rejected the Congress Party, lock, stock and barrel. I am not saying this today, but two or three days back I narrated the same sentiments which have been expressed by Mr. Joshi that it is good that the students have risen against corruption, against something which is evil in our political life. We are not afraid of this sentiment of the students. We welcome this type of organization of students and their movement against corruption, against nepotism and against the evil that is pervading in the society. But the only thing is whether this can be extended to be an alterna-

[Shri Chandra Shekhar.] ... alternative of democratic institutions or not. Our only apprehension is whether a street action is going to be an alternative of parliamentary institution. It is a very serious situation; it is a grave situation. If the Congress Party or the ruling party or the people who are ruling the State are not able to come up to the hopes and aspirations of the young people, a person like Mr. Joshi, of his eminence and of his stature, says there is some point for the good of the polity and the Assembly should be dissolved. But Mr. Joshi finds himself in a difficulty to appeal to the students to restore normalcy...

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: I have been doing all this.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Whatever it may be, in your whole speech, even a word was not said that student community should bring normalcy in the State because you find that, perhaps, it will not be favourable to appeal to the student community there. If a person of Mr. Joshi's stature, who is not directly involved in politics, is not able to say a word in favour of a thing which is good for the polity of the State and the country, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you can well understand the limitations of the ruling party, which is not only to see things as are happening in Gujarat... but which has to face problems in many other States. These are the compulsions. These are the limitations of the ruling party. The second thing I say is what do you want to do with the student power that has arisen today. Mr. Joshi has acclaimed that this power has arisen. What do you want to do with it. Do you want to protect it, preserve it for better, constructive use and to channelise and utilise it for those purposes or do you want to destroy it? If any movement is stretched too far, violence, counter-violence and vicious circle is bound to come. Sir, my apprehension or my fear is that instead of consolidating the student power which we can use for introducing something virtuous in Indian politics, we may not be destroying it for our political ends, although this power we are supporting today in this House. I would have been very happy if Mr. Goray's party or Mr. Niren Ghosh's party would have been the alternative to Congress party in Gujarat. But, they them-

selves say that there are no other political parties there. So, what is the alternative? Is there going to be the The Lok Raja of Sarvodaya? Even then I would have been happy. Do you want to create a vacuum? I think it is neither proper for us nor dignified for the Parliamentary institution to behave in this way. Let all of us by all means fight against corruption, fight against Congress party. That I can understand. But, if Mrs. Gandhi, the Prime Minister, has assured us that they do not want to revive the Government in the State, is it not enough for the opposition leaders or for a person like Mr. Joshi. Cannot Mr. Joshi appeal to the student community that they have gained a point, that they have added something to the Indian polity for which everybody should be proud but let them try to understand the difficulty of the present Government which is ruling not in the State of Gujarat but in the whole of the country. Our difficulty should be understood. I do not want to make any prophesy. Such prophesies were made only a month back in U.P. A prophesy was made in Orissa also. It is not always that people reject us easily. I can understand the anguish. I can understand the anger and the justification of the student community in rising in revolt. At least, I expect, I may be wrong in it, from persons like Mr. Goray and Mr. Joshi that after the Prime Minister has stated that they do not intend to rule through this Assembly that they will advise the student community to come forward and state that they will help in restoring normalcy. There is nothing wrong in it. It is not always the student community which does the mischief, as was stated by some friends the other day, but there are anti-social elements who create difficulties and we have to deal with them also. Unfortunately, they have become a part of this movement. So, no Government can tolerate that situation. That is our difficulty. We are not against the student power. We are not against the spirit in which the students have risen in revolt. We want to preserve the spirit for the progress of the people of this country. I assure Mr. Joshi and Goraysahib, for whom I have great regard, that he will find Congress Party rising to the occasion and leading the student movement to its distant course.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Sir, I want...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): It may not be good to allow a dialogue. It will act and react.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Sir, I would not have intervened.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): It does not help. I think both of you have understood each other.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Sir, I will take hardly a minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Not that I want to prevent you from speaking, but it does not help.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: I rarely speak.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Let them speak and let the things come out.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: I do not belong to any party and my interests are rather national. If I speak with reference to Gujarat the ultimate aim is the well-being of the whole country. And, my friend did concede that I referred to the healthy way in which the polity of this country should be run. The point is that it is a post-mortem now. They took time. The ex-Chief Minister was expelled, but all that happened during the course of about three weeks and the people had nightmarish recollections. When the ruling Party has very sagaciously kept the elbow-room for decision making, I urge upon them to do something when the students are here. I have stood for peaceful ways. While the students are here, time is of the essence.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Why do you not make an appeal to the students? Why not a point for the student community?

(Interruptions)

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: It is my intervention.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): No further debate. The point is simple. What Mr. Chandra Shekhar has said is: Should it be decided in the streets about dissolution? That is all.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a matter of a personal character. That is why I urge upon you to give me a little time. The point is that the students are not the only decision-making body. There are several other factors. You know them better.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): We are entering into a wider subject.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Please listen to me. I am not joining hands with one section or the other. You as politicians know more than I do. You could win over a certain section of the society in good time and salvageth. That is my plea. I am not entering into a post-mortem operation. I would urge as my last plea, that in English they say: She stoops to conquer. I think the partisans, the party members, the bureaucrats or academicians like me or other people cannot take the view in the fullest perspective. The leader of the ruling party, I hope, will be able to take the step and, as I said, it may be in the good of the country if 'she stoops to conquer'.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, I want to say one thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): No, no please. Yes, Mr. Bipinpal Das.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This is my right. I want to say only one thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): I have called Shri Bipinpal Das.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: But this is a parliamentary right I would take time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): No, no, please.

SHRI OM MEHTA: Let him say what he wants.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I want to say only one thing. I am sorry that I cannot fully accept Shri Chandra Shekhar's view. He should remember how Gomulka came into power in Poland. You should remember the Polish things. If a condition was imposed that unless the Polish working

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

class did not come down, the other persons sitting in power would not be removed, Gomulka would not have been in power and that is precisely the thing you are insisting upon.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not insisting on that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I say: Dissolve the assembly today, tomorrow the students will go back to their State.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not saying about the history of Germany or Italy. You must know whether the history of Germany or Italy or for that matter the history of Poland or the Soviet Union is comparable with that of ours?

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: You see, there are vested interests who would like to see that the agitation is continued and that the normalcy is not restored. That is what I am hinting at.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Yes, Mr. Bipinpal Das.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: So, I am the only poor man left out.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): The situation in Gujarat is a matter of serious concern for all of us and while discussing this situation and trying to find a way out I do not think any useful purpose will be served by resorting to polemics. And, therefore, I have no intention of answering all the points made by my esteemed friend Mr. Niren Ghosh or my esteemed friend Shri Goray or Shri Joshi.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I do not want to waste your time by intervention.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, in the course of his speech, Mr. Niren Ghosh however made certain observations which to me were very extraordinary. The first observation that he made was about the army being used in Gujarat and the way he put it in a very subtle manner, he tried to bring a cleavage within the army itself between Jawans on one side and the officers on the other side, and so on. This kind of opinion expressed in the House, particularly with reference to the army, whatever be their conduct in Gujarat, certainly is not

in national interest. It will jeopardise the very existence of the nation.

Sir, Shri Niren Ghosh has admitted and also Shri Goray that the working class is not there in the current agitation. They have not joined, Shri Joshi also has said it. But Shri Niren Ghosh has said that the working class will come and take over the leadership of the movement at the last stage of the revolution. Sir, my knowledge of Socialism or Marxism I do not claim to be as high as that of my friend Mr. Niren Ghosh but I simply do not understand what kind of revolution it will be when the working class waits somewhere to see others to carry the revolution forward and they will come and jump into up the leadership only at the final stage when there is hope of success. I do not understand it.

Sir, I listened to the speech of Shri Goray very carefully with due respect; I told him also outside. He has certainly a right to have his own say. But I must say I felt very sorry when I heard him saying that it was a peaceful revolt. He went a step further to congratulate the people of Gujarat for staging this revolt. Sir, if this is a peaceful revolt, with my little knowledge of the freedom struggle and Gandhiji's teachings and all that, or of the democratic system, I do not know what a violent revolution is and what a non-violent revolution is.

(Interruptions)

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: This is Tottenham approach.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Gandhiji himself condemned the 1942 movement. Only Nehru owned it. Gandhiji himself condemned the violent part of it.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Gandhiji did not accept Tottenham's charge—about Congress responsibility for violence.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I do not think it was a peaceful revolt. To call it peaceful is going too far. Now, Sir, Shri Goray rightly analysed. He tried to analyse the causes of the whole situation and he said that there were 3 main causes...

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Gandhiji talked of the lionine violence on the part of the government.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: ... and those causes were: scarcity, high prices and corruption behind this agitation in Gujarat. Now I am not going to answer him in details. I am just trying to understand. No doubt, there was scarcity. Gujarat is a deficit State. Scarcity was not only in Gujarat but in several parts of the country...

SHRI AWADESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: That is the real point.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Nobody denies there was scarcity in Gujarat for some time. Therefore people will be angry; there will be agitation; there will be discontent. But when after the President's rule has come this scarcity situation has been relieved to a large extent taking into account the situation in Gujarat as it was, why is it that the movement is going on? Why is it that, if the people started the movement only against scarcity conditions created by the Government of Gujarat, they are burning the grocery shops? If anybody suffers for want of food and as a result becomes angry and tries to misbehave, when the food comes why does he burn the food? Does that prove that this was a movement against scarcity?

Then high prices. The whole country is suffering from high prices. But Gujarat fortunately is one of the most prosperous States in the country. If high prices have caused suffering to the people of Gujarat, then people in my part of the country, people in Madhya Pradesh, people in Bengal, people in Orissa, are suffering much more than the people of Gujarat. Why is it that on the plea of high prices such a situation suddenly developed only in Gujarat? If it was only against high prices, after the President's rule the prices have come down; why has not the movement been withdrawn? Why does the movement continue even after the prices have come down in Gujarat? I do not agree that the people of Gujarat or Ahmedabad suffered most in this country because of high prices. There are hundreds of areas in the country where the people are suffering much more than the people of Ahmedabad or the people of Baroda. Therefore particularly when the prices have come down

now the continuance of the movement stands to no reason.

About corruption...

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Corruption is everywhere.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I admit that there is corruption in the Administration, in the Government. Only the other day I admitted that there was something wrong with the Government in Gujarat. But have we not taken any action? The President's rule itself was the first step. The Central Government, the leadership removed that Government which was accused of corruption and mismanagement. The Government was removed; the Chief Minister was removed.

श्री ओइम् प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह कारण था कि वहाँ पर यह आन्दोलन छिड़ा ।

श्री बिपिनपाल दास : जब आप बोलते हैं तो हम आपको इन्ट्रस्ट नहीं करते । आप हमें इन्ट्रस्ट न कीजिए । The first step that was taken was to remove the Government. Was it not a major action taken? Was it not a response to the grievances of the people? Not only that; we removed the Chief Minister also from the leadership. How can you say that we intend to bring back the same Government again? We have not only removed the Chief Minister from the leadership but he has been expelled from the Party. We have even removed the President of the PCC from his office. These are the major political steps that this Government, this Party and the leadership have taken. Are they not correct? Are they not true? Do they not indicate that we are quite sensitive to what the people are saying, that we are responsive to the grievances of the people? Therefore if corruption was the only cause—and corruption of whom? Corruption of the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry; that was the charge—that cause has been removed; the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry is not there. He has stepped down from Chief Ministership. He has been in fact expelled from the party and there is no hope of Mr. Chimanbhai Patel coming again back to power under Congress ticket. If the grievance of

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the people of Gujarat was against the corruption of this Ministry, after the removal of that Ministry should they not withdraw the movement? Why is it that the movement still continues?

All these facts of the situation persuade me to come to one conclusion. The conclusion is that the entire agitation as it is today—it may be that some other streams have come in from different directions; streams from this side and from that side and as Dr. Joshi said anti-social elements also might have come in, hooligans might have come in—is not based on economic factors. The whole movement is politically motivated as Shri Goray has rightly put it. They want to remove the entire party from power. Is it not political motivation? Why in the Gujarat movement the slogan was raised, not only Chimanbhai Hatao, but also “Indira Hatao?” I agree that the economic factors gave them a handle, gave them a plea, gave them an excuse and created conditions in which they functioned, but the whole movement is basically politically motivated. There is no doubt about it. Otherwise they should have been satisfied with the steps taken. Otherwise they would not have demanded the dissolution of the Assembly. Otherwise, in the words of Mr. Goray they would not have demanded the complete ouster of the Congress Party from Gujarat and ultimately from Delhi also. If a movement starts like this with a political motivation, then one has to be very careful.

If it is concerned with economic questions, I would certainly ask my Government to do everything possible to meet the scarcity conditions, to bring down prices. I have been fighting in this House myself against high prices, against corruption, against blackmarketing, against hoarding. The agitators have not done anything practically against the hoarders, against the profiteers, against those who were guilty of raising prices *artificially* taking advantage of the scarcity conditions because of the deficit in Gujarat. Because of scarcity conditions, traders raised prices abnormally and *artificially*. The students have not risen against them. They have not gone against them. With all respect to Dr. Joshi, to my

friends from Gujarat and others, my information is the entire movement has been financed by those very people who were guilty of raising the prices unnaturally and abnormally taking advantage of scarcity conditions just to discredit the Government of my party. I again say my Government was not free from blame. The Government of Gujarat was not free from blame, but those businessmen, who were really guilty of hoarding, profiteering and blackmarketing, it is they who have financed this whole movement. This is my information. I will not go into details, but if necessary I am prepared to go into the details. (*Interruptions*). I may tell Mr. Tyagi that this is not a working-class movement. The working-class has refused to join it. It has been said that it is a mass upsurge, that it is a popular upsurge. This is what they have said. I have also seen some movements in this country, not only before independence, but also after independence. I have seen some...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR:

Have you participated?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I have also participated. It was all non-violent movement. In this particular case, if it is a mass upsurge, if it is the people's spontaneous upsurge, as they say, why is it that in the city of Ahmedabad itself, even after, as they allege, the police resorted to reckless atrocities and all kinds of things, in spite of scarcity and high prices, in spite of police misbehaviour, the working-class has not jumped into the movement? Are they happy, are they rich people and are they quite satisfied? My information is, and this information I want to convey to the Home Minister and he should make enquiries, some of the millowners—I will not name them—asked the unions to go on strike. They asked the working-class to go on strike, but the workers said that they had nothing to do with it and that single fact brings out the whole character of this movement. Neither the working-class, nor the poor peasant is in it. Just now Dr. Joshi said: People did not know what curfew was and they wanted to come out and see what curfew was. The imposition of curfew may be wrong, but what he said brings out the fact that the people in the villages

were completely out of this agitation. They did not know what was happening or why they were conducting the agitation or what it was for. The peasantry and the working class, the two vital classes at the bottom of the society, have kept out of the agitation. If the agitation is led only by the middle-class or a section of the middle-class can you call it a spontaneous, popular upsurge, a revolution and all that? Sir, I do not claim to be a wise man, I am half-literate. I do not know much of these things. But with all respect to the gentlemen sitting opposite, I must say from what I have learnt from history about revolutions or mass upsurges, that it is certainly not of that kind in Gujarat.

Dr. Joshi has made an appeal to the Government that dissolution is the only solution. Why not do it now? As the Prime Minister has announced, dissolution of the Assembly is not a matter of principle or policy. That means that the Government has kept its mind open on the question. But dissolution under coercion—what does it mean? The whole Assembly has been elected by the people through a regular procedure. And dissolving the Assembly by coercion? And coercion by whom? The principle of the right of recall was mentioned. So far as the principle of the right of recall is concerned. I also want that some such principle should be incorporated in the body of our Constitution. But the question is, how do you exercise that right and who will do it? Gheraoing the MLAs and getting their signatures for resignation under force? Is that the way how the right of recall is to be exercised in any democratic society? Fantastic.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: There is no other way.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Shri Goray says that there is no other way. Do you encourage this? Suppose I am an MLA. I am elected from one constituency and am in Ahmedabad. Why should they in Ahmedabad force me to resign? I have seen the photographs myself. That is why I am saying this. But my voters are somewhere else. Is that the way of exercising the right of recall? Is it fair to democracy, to the democratic institutions? Sir, it is a strange way of explaining things.

Sir, I am glad that Dr. Joshi has said that violence has been resorted to. But I was shocked to hear from Shri Goray that it was a peaceful revolt. Dr. Joshi has given me some relief by saying that violence was there. And a very revealing thing Dr. Joshi has brought out. If my story is incomplete, Dr. Joshi's intervention has made it complete.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: It can bear repetition. There are parties and groups who have a vested interest in continuing the violent agitation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Dr. Joshi, he has heard you and you should not interrupt him.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Now you have gone further. You have strengthened my case. I say, the students might have genuine grievances. I do not deny that. But in the course of the movement other forces have come in.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: They would always do so.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: The entire movement has gone out of the control of the students and the teachers. And these forces wanted to force the MLAs to resign, people elected through a proper democratic procedure. They want to get the Assembly dissolved by Force. But by whose force? I could have understood if thousands and lakhs of people had risen, but here only a handful of people. If you do not believe me, see the photographs yourself—it is a handful of people compelling the MLAs to resign. Is it democracy or is it gangsterism?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What did you do in 1949?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Politics of gangsterism is another name of fascism. With all respect to my friends opposite. I say this whole agitation in Gujarat is unfortunate. Although their grievances are genuine, although they have got a right to protest democratically and peacefully, what is actually happening in Gujarat is not a movement against their economic hardships, but a politically motivated

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movement organised and financed by a section of the people who do not want the country to go in the direction in which the country has to go. And, therefore, they have applied a tactics which were known only to Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy. Let me remind Mr. Niren Ghosh of what happened in Germany after the great depression of 1929. It was because of the misreading of the situation and bungling by the socialists and the communists of Germany that Hitler came to power. Please do not make that mistake again.

Dr. Joshi, referring to the students, said that it was a silver lining in the sky, that the students have come out to take up the cause against social evils. If it were true, Sir, I would have been one with him...

(Interruption by Shri Umashanker Joshi) I will tell you something else, Dr. Joshi. I

have also a little experience of administering students. The students who take up a stand against corruption, one day they will take up all these things and the next day they will themselves fall a victim to the same things. I would welcome if the students in the right spirit take up fighting the anti-social elements and social evils in a democratic and peaceful manner. But do not rest your hope too much on it. After all, they also belong to the same society, same soil in which you and I have been born. With these words I support the Resolution moved by Mr. Mohsin and I oppose the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Mathur.

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल (विहार) : उप-सभापति जी, जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने माधुर जी ने प्रस्तुत किया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। हमारे देश में आज जो स्थिति है, चाहे वह आर्थिक स्थिति हो, राजनितिक स्थिति हो वह इतने नीचे स्तर पर चली गई है कि वह सीमा के बाहर हो गई है। जिस किसी आदमी का दिल अच्छा है और जो नए खून के आदमी हैं उनके दिमाग पर इसका असर बहुत जल्दी पड़ता है। यही कारण है कि गुजरात में जो कुछ अभी हो रहा है, उसका नेतृत्व वहाँ के छात्र लोगों ने लिया है; क्योंकि उन लोगों ने देखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो आर्थिक

स्थिति आज मौजूद है, महंगाई की वजह से, अभाव की वजह से या भ्रष्टाचार की वजह या कांग्रेस के अन्दर, शामक पार्टी के अन्दर आपसी लड़ाई की वजह से उसे सहा नहीं जा सकता। वहाँ गांधी जी का जन्म हुआ, इस बात का भी असर वहाँ के छात्रों पर हो सकता है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि जो वहाँ के लोग हैं वे बहुत संयत लोग हैं। इसलिए वहाँ पर जो कुछ आन्दोलन शुरू होता है बहुत सोच समझ कर शुरू होता है और जब शुरू होता है तो बहुत देर तक वह आन्दोलन चल सकता है। इसलिए वहाँ के छात्रों ने इस तरह का आन्दोलन खड़ा किया है। इस देश की जो खराब स्थिति हुई है उसमें एक प्रधान कारण यह हुआ है कि चूँकि जब से देश स्वतंत्र हुआ तब से एकछत्र पार्टी का और एक खानदान का—दो वर्षों को छोड़ कर—इन सारे वर्षों में शासन रहा है। इसका नतीजा क्या होता है? इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि उसका संपर्क देश के जो प्रभावशाली लोग हैं चाहे ब्यूरोक्रेसी में हों चाहे धन वाले लोगों में हों, उनका एक सम्बन्ध बैठ जाता है और चूँकि उनको अपने शासन में रहने के लिए उनसे रुपये की जरूरत पड़ती है, इसलिए हमेशा रुपये वालों से रुपया लेना पड़ता है। हम लोगों ने देखा है कि इधर जितने भी चुनाव हुए हैं, हर चुनाव में करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया गया है। इन करोड़ों रुपयों को जमा करना किसी एक पार्टी के लिए कैसे सम्भव हो सकता है, बिना भ्रष्टाचार के? वह नहीं हो सकता है और नतीजा यह है कि देश में भ्रष्टाचार, महंगी और हर तरह की जो बुराई है वह आ गई है। इन सारी बातों का असर गुजरात पर भी पड़ा है, देश के दूसरे प्रांतों पर भी इसका असर पड़ा है। लेकिन गुजरात के लोगों ने इस आन्दोलनों का नेतृत्व किया और जो इसका रिएक्शन हुआ है, उससे दूसरी जगह भी आन्दोलन हो सकते हैं। अभी खड़ा नहीं हुआ है, हो सकता है भविष्य में आन्दोलन हो। इसलिए यह बात सही है कि चिमन-भाई पटेल का मामला लेकर यह सारा मामला शुरू हुआ है। चिमनभाई पटेल का जो

मामला है वह क्या है ? वह वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर हो गये थे, लेकिन सेटर के जो नेता थे, जो प्रधान मंत्री थी, उनकी इच्छा के खिलाफ हो गये थे। ये नहीं चाहते थे और वहां का एक ग्रुप था वह भी नहीं चाहता था कि वह चीफ मिनिस्टर बने और वह हर तरह से चाहते थे कि किस तरह से उनको गिराया जाए। इसलिए जो तनाव हुआ उसने उग्र रूप धारण किया, हो सकता है कि चिमन भाई रुपया इकट्ठा करने में लगे हों। रुपया पैसे वहां पर बहुत हो सकता है, क्योंकि वह समुद्र के किनारे पर है और वहां पर तस्कर व्यापार भी चल सकता है या और तरह का भी भ्रष्टाचार चल सकता है। इसलिए यह मसाला मिल गया हो उनके विरोधी को आन्दोलन करने का उन्होंने उनके खिलाफ आन्दोलन खड़ा कर दिया, इसका लाजमी नतीजा जो होना चाहिए था, वस्तुओं जिस अभाव, महगी, भ्रष्टाचार और आपसी छीना झपटी को देखते-देखते वहां के छात्र ऊब गये और आन्दोलन में कूद पड़े। जिस तरह की स्थिति वहां पर हो गई थी, राष्ट्रपति शासन बहुत पहले कायम होना चाहिये था। लेकिन बहुत खीचातानी होने के बाद ही और लोगों को बहुत तकलीफ होने के बाद ही वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन कायम हुआ है। उसके बाद लोग सोचते थे कि वहां की स्थिति में सुधार आयेगा, लेकिन सुधार लाने के बदले ही वहां के आन्दोलन को बेरहमी से जबरदस्ती दवाने की कोशिश हुई। उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि आज वहां पर हिंसा का बोलबाला हो गया है, वहां के जो छात्र हैं या दूसरे लोग हैं, उन लोगों को आज भी दमन करने की कोशिश की जाती है। यह हो सकता है कि दूसरे लोग जो बैड ऐलिमेंट्स हैं वे भी उसमें शामिल हो गये हों, दूसरी पार्टी की भी उसमें सम्पैथी हो या कुछ ऐक्टिव सहयोग उनको मिला हो। यह भी हम मान सकते हैं। लेकिन हमको मालूम नहीं है कि यह सही है या नहीं, इसका प्रत्यक्ष ज्ञान हमको है नहीं। फिर भी हो सकता है कि इस तरह की बात हो। लेकिन सोचना पड़ेगा कि क्या इस तरह की स्थिति वहां पैदा हुई थी कि नहीं वहां के लोगों को इस तरह का आन्दोलन खड़ा

करना पड़ा, जो इतनी गोलियां चलने के बाद भी नहीं दब रहा है, इसका मतलब यह है कि उस आन्दोलन में दम है, वहां के लोग इतने नाराज हैं वहां की स्थिति में कि वह गोलियों से भी दबना नहीं चाहते हैं।

इस लिए मैं चाहता हूं कि अगर वहां के छात्र यह चाहते हैं कि जब वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन कायम हो गया है तो वहां की असेम्बली भंग होनी चाहिए तो हम समझते हैं कि उनकी यह जो मांग है यह एक जायज मांग है। क्योंकि अगर कोई चीफ मिनिस्टर कोई गड़बड़ी करता था, बदनामी के काम करता था, वहां के लेजिस्लेटर्स उस को रोक नहीं सकते थे तो उसके लिए उनकी भी कुछ जिम्मेदारी हो सकती है। तो अगर चीफ मिनिस्टर बरखास्त होना है या वहां के लेजिस्लेटर्स और उनकी पार्टी के मेम्बर्स को भी बरखास्त करना चाहिये, तो उस का मतलब यह है कि वहां की असेम्बली को भंग करना ही एक उपाय रह जाता है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को वहां की असेम्बली को भंग करके जो आन्दोलन वहां चल रहा है उस को शान्त करने की चेष्टा करनी चाहिए और इस काम में प्रेस्टिज पर अड़ने की कोई कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिये।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मान्यवर, मैंने प्रारम्भ में जो बातें कहीं थीं उससे कुछ अधिक कहने की आवश्यकता तो नहीं होगी, लेकिन कांग्रेस के जो सदस्य बोले हैं और खास तौर से विपिन पाल दास जी और मालवीय जी ने, उन्होंने इस आन्दोलन की जिम्मेदारी जो विभिन्न राजनितिक दल हैं उन पर डालने की कोशिश की है या उसके कुछ राजनितिक कारण बतलाये हैं। अगर उस के कारण राजनितिक होते तो जिस बात को स्वयं सरकार स्वीकार कर के चली है, मोहसिन साहब ने भी जिसको स्वीकार किया है और वह यह कि चिमन भाई के हटने के बाद कहां की परिस्थिति सामान्य हो जानी चाहिए थी वह परिस्थिति वहां की शान्त हो जाती, लेकिन जहां तक जनता का संबंध है, उसका

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

आंदोलन केवल चिमन भाई के विरोध में नहीं था। उसका यह आंदोलन तो वहाँ की सारी व्यवस्था के विरोध में था और इस नाने चिमन भाई के हटाने के कारण, उस के बाद भी वह आंदोलन समाप्त नहीं हुआ। चन्द्रशेखर जी चले गये और बहुत जोर से वे जोशी जी के संबंध में बोले, लेकिन मैं उनकी अनुपस्थिति में श्री ओम् मेहता जी से और गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगा और इस ओर उन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह आंदोलन वहाँ की प्रजातान्त्रिक व्यवस्था को समाप्त करने के के लिये चलाया जा रहा था। जिस समय केरल में आपने वहाँ की सरकार के विरुद्ध आंदोलन किया था तो उस समय प्रधान मंत्री जी कांग्रेस की अध्यक्षता थीं और उन्होंने वहाँ चुनी हुई सरकार को हटाने के लिये आंदोलन किया। तो वह क्या था? यह गुजरात का आंदोलन प्रजातंत्र को समाप्त करने का आन्दोलन नहीं है, यह वहाँ की वर्तमान व्यवस्था को हटाने के लिये आंदोलन है। उस समय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कुछ जो किया वह तो ठीक था और यह गलत था। मोठा-मोठा गप और खारा-खारा थू।

श्री ओम् मेहता : एम० एल० एज० का घेराव कर के इम्तिफा तो नहीं दिलाया था।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : एम० एल० एज० का घेराव कर के जनसंघ ने भी इस्तीफा नहीं दिलाया। वहाँ विधायकों ने अपनी-अपनी इच्छा से इस्तीफा दिया। इसलिये अगर आप समझते हैं कि आपने जो कुछ केरल में किया वह ठीक था इसलिये कि कांग्रेस की अध्यक्षता आप की प्रधान मंत्री था और यहाँ जो कुछ हुआ वह गलत हुआ, यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं सिर्फ गृह मंत्री जी से एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज होली का दिन है और कल सारे देश के अन्दर

जिस प्रकार की परिस्थिति मंहगाई की है, जेरोजगारी की है उसक बाद भी सारे देश में रंग खेला जायेगा। एक वातावरण सारे देश में बनेगा। मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह बड़े बुजुर्ग हैं और वयोवृद्ध हैं और इस सदन के नेता हैं, उनके दूसरे दिल में होने के बाद भी वे हमारी श्रद्धा के पात्र हैं, मैं उनसे निवेदन करूँगा कि कम से कम कल गुजरात में खून की होली न खेनी जाय। जब सारा देश रंग की होली खेलेगा तो वहाँ खून की होली न खेनी जाय। आज वे उत्तर नहीं रहे हैं इसलिये सरकार विचार करे सारी परिस्थिति पर गंभीरता पूर्वक और गुजरात में भी कल जनता को एक नया मौका दे। कल का दिन है, आज की रात है, अगर वे कोई निर्णय करने वाले हैं तो तुरन्त निर्णय करें इस प्रकार का कि जिसके कारण गुजरात का सारा वातावरण कल सामान्य हो जाय। मोहसिन साहब ने कहा कि आज वहाँ कोई विवाद नहीं सुना गया। हम भी चाहते हैं कि वहाँ शान्ति रहे और हर्ष और उल्लाम का वातावरण वहाँ बने। तो हमारे माननीय गृह मंत्री जी सदन के एक वयोवृद्ध नेता हैं, गुजरात देश का एक प्रान्त है और इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि वहाँ कल खून की होली न खेनी जाय, इस नाने आप कोई उचित निर्णय करें तो अच्छा होगा। आज आप इसका उत्तर न दे कर इस पर विचार करें और सारी परिस्थिति के बारे में निर्णय लें, इसी प्रकार का मेरा उनसे निवेदन है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday

The House then adjourned at fifty-five minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 11th March, 1974.