

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** Anyone to speak. All right. I am putting the question. The question is :

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

*The motion was adopted.*

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1 the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

**SHRI F. H. MOHSIN :** Sir, I move :  
"That the Bill be passed."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

### **THE BUDGET (GUJARAT) 1974-75** (General Discussion)

**SHRI HIMMAT SINGH (Gujarat) :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the situation in Gujarat, as it has been developing for the last several months, has been widely commented upon and every section of public opinion, depending upon its predilections, prejudices and biases has commented upon the situation. People have tried to compare the Gujarat situation with situations elsewhere. I beg very seriously to differ from this comparison. This superficial comparison leaves one to conclude that what happened in Gujarat was something which could be compared with what was likely to happen in other parts of the country. But what was likely to happen in other parts of the country was something which, in my opinion, was being pre-planned in a manner which I can only describe as diabolical. In Gujarat there was a popular resent-

ment. There was righteous indignation and the students and the youth of Gujarat expressed their resentment and their righteous indignation in a manner which I can describe as very disciplined in the earlier stages and I cannot but help greet those students of Gujarat who led the torch of their righteous indignation against what was obtaining in Gujarat and which had become almost intolerable. My heart also goes to those bereaved families in distress today, who have lost their young ones, families who depended upon their breadwinners, those who could count on the daily wages only to keep their body and soul together. My heart goes to them and I take this opportunity to express my sympathy to the bereaved and distressed families.

The situation in Gujarat, Sir, if I may say so, was something which could have been foreseen. In fact, the President of the Youth Congress of Gujarat had gone to Gandhinagar and presented a memorandum to the then Chief Minister on the 12th of December. This memorandum contained a list of grievances which were agitating the mind of the common man. This memorandum also stressed the need for corrective action. This memorandum also stated the steps for rectification which were necessary to get the administration deal with the situation in an appropriate manner. The then Chief Minister of Gujarat dealt with the memorandum in a most officious manner and no acknowledgment even to the memorandum was either given to the President of the Youth Congress in Gujarat or communicated to him subsequently. Even an interview to discuss with him the serious questions that obtained in Gujarat was denied to the President of the Youth Congress of Gujarat. Instead, only when the first shots were fired in Gujarat, a very small, officious communication was received by the Youth Congress President that because the situation had

[Shri Himmat Sinh]

developed on account of scarcities of foodgrains and other things for which the Centre was responsible, the State Government could not do anything. You see, Sir, a worst possible example of shirking the responsibility. The State Government did not feel at all responsible to respond to the representation which was given personally by the President of the Youth Congress who led a delegation of 500 youths and students. This was the precursor of what was to follow.

In Gujarat it is said we have the mother of agitations. Well, Gujarat is verily the mother of agitations, and the discipline of Gujarat youth and students is something to be seen to be believed. I am reminded of the great struggle for bifurcation which took place in Gujarat under the leadership of that great leader of our State, Shri Indulal Yagnik. The man had a vast following amongst the common people. The man had no army to help him, but the man could respond to the sentiment of the common man and, therefore, he was respected. He practised in his life what Gandhiji preached and that is why Indulal Yagnik was able to lead such a vast movement in the face of opposition from the then Central leadership of no less a person than our revered late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. And he was able to hold a parallel meeting in Ahmedabad where six to eight lakh people attended against a meeting of Jawaharlal Nehru where there were not more than about 50000 people. This was the popular sentiment which Gujarat expressed at that time; this was the popular sentiment which Gujarat also expressed at the time when the erstwhile leaders of the Congress were trying to undermine the urges of the common man and were trying to hoodwink the people. Gujarat, and Ahmedabad in particular, had a self-imposed curfew not to hear the leaders who had come specially

from Bombay at that time—I do not want to mention names—and the self-imposed curfew was one of the most exemplary expressions of resentment and indignation. What I mean to say is that when you have a Government which gets isolated from all sections of the people, that Government can only misgovern. And that is what happened in Gujarat. We had a Government which was formed as a result of internal crisis, an internal crisis which was brewing for a long time. When the Assembly elections took place, when the personnel was selected to fight the elections, there were many from amongst us who said that this Assembly—that was in 1972—was being elected in order to be dissolved sooner rather than later. This opinion was shared by many. And those of us who could, we registered our protest also at that time against this sort of violation of confidence reposed in the party by the common people. Well, the Assembly was elected. But the Assembly which was elected failed to elect its own leader and it was at that time that the Centre had to intervene and send somebody from here who was acceptable with some sense of unanimity to be chosen as leader of the party in Gujarat. And a popular Government was formed. Unfortunately, I was then also reminded of what happened in our country in 1967. In 1967 the Congress rule was replaced in many States by a conglomeration of parties, a hotch-potch of sections and individuals and groups of different political complexions. And what happened? What was the fate of those Governments which were formed hastily on the basis of some sort of an alliance? I can only call it an opportunist alliance. Those Governments did come into existence. But what was the fate of those Governments? Those Governments could not last and we had President's rule galore not in one State, but several States. Similar situation, in my opinion, also

took place in Gujarat in 1972. Our Prime Minister described it very aptly that this open-arms policy had its own risks and its own dangers. These risks and dangers we witness in plenty and the consequences also we now suffer a great deal. Those who had no allegiance to the party programme, those who had no sense of commitment to the programme on which they were voted into power had all come in. When I was there in Ahmedabad, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, also visited Ahmedabad and I was with him going about places where firing had taken place. And that was the day when buses were hijacked, not in twos and threes, but in dozens, and a long procession of students with hijacked buses came. I was wondering at that time how it was possible for a handful of students to hijack so many buses. Later on when I probed into this question I came to know that the hijacked buses were not really the hijacked buses, but arrangements had been made in advance for groups of students to occupy those buses from the bus stands, from the depots of the State Transport, from the municipal transport centre. How was it possible? The numbers of the buses were given to the groups of students who would occupy them and that was how it was called hijacking. Well, it may have been hijacking of two or three buses, but when buses are occupied in such large numbers, what is one to conclude? One can only conclude that there was a pre-plan. Everything was organised and mobilised to take place in a certain fashion and it did take place in that fashion. The procession was very quiet and very peaceful because despite the pre-planned arrangement, the students did not yield to pressures which were being exercised on them at that time to indulge in acts which could only be regarded as anti-social. I give full credit to the students

who, at that time, conducted themselves in such a huge procession the like of which had never been seen except at the time of the independence celebrations. They conducted themselves with a sense of great discipline and decorum. I was standing there. Some of the students recognised me and they told me: We know that you hold a point of view. We know your associations with radical forces. We also know that what is going on is perhaps not to your liking, but we want to ask you one question. How is it that you asked us to vote for your party and made us give such a big mandate to your party when you knew that your party was going to behave like this later on? My mouth was shut. I had no words to reply to that question. The point I am making is this. Despite the decision to send somebody from the Centre who could be unanimously elected as the leader of the party, once again that arrangement did not work. That arrangement did not work because of factions which started influencing the arrangement which was thought of in great wisdom to be the only practical way of approaching the difficulties. That, to some extent at least, was self-created and we had the spectacle of re-enacting, to an extent, what happened in Andhra. It was unknown even in Andhra, the State to which you, Sir, Mr. Vice-Chairman, belong. Andhra did not have a similar experience as Gujarat had. When these factions from within tried to sabotage the leadership, that did not stop at that. They tried to sabotage the administration. I am very sorry to say that the legacy of this administration during the last ten years—I am saying ten years because Gujarat came into existence only in 1960—has been anything but edifying. Within the administration individually and in groups Government employees align themselves with certain political leaders and if one political leader occupies one ministerial

[Shri Himmat Singh]

chair and the administrative personnel do not like him, everything is done to sabotage things. This was the internal situation inside the administration that I have described and the internal situation within the political party ruling the State, a combination of the two, brought about a result which was most unbecoming, which was most unwholesome, although not unexpected because there was no other logical conclusion to which anything like that would have led except what it did. In Gujarat in the summer of 1973 it became impossible for one Government to continue to function and we had what came to be known as a secret poll to determine the question of alternative leadership. That question was to be determined also in a particular manner. I thought that at that time those who had a sense of the realities of the situation, those who could foresee things, should have taken a certain decision. And in my opinion, that decision was not taken at that time, namely, to suspend the Assembly at that time. Instead, opportunity was given to the most unscrupulous elements within the party, and this was the result. The Chief Minister who resigns even after the resignation, shamefacedly declares in a most provocative manner that he still remains the leader of the legislature party. What was left of the legislature party after his dismissal?—he should have realised that. And subsequently, action had to be taken against him, and he had to be expelled from the party. I welcomed his resignation but I also welcomed much more his expulsion from the party. It is this type of elements which have gone into the public life of Gujarat, which have nothing to do with ideologies or programmes or policies. They have only their own nest to feathers, and it is that element against which the students of Gujarat, the youth of Gujarat, protested, and protested most vehemently. I congra-

tulate them for their protestations. If, as a result of this, the public life...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): How much time do you take?

SHRI HIMMAT SINGH: I would like to speak a little more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): There are a good number of speakers. You take five minutes more.

SHRI HIMMAT SINGH: All right.

It was against this sort of ugly element inside the public life in Gujarat that they protested. And this, I say, is not only applicable to Gujarat but to many parts of our country also. Our public life has been reduced to a mockery, and this has not happened overnight. We are facing this legacy for the various acts of omission and commission that have been going on for the umpteenth years after independence. Nobody has bothered to keep our public life on an even keel, to infuse some sense of standards or some sense of rectitude in public life, because the old leadership—and particularly that in Gujarat; I want you to know—was anxious only to have people who could raise their fingers when required. For the first time, thanks to the splitting of the Congress, for the first time thanks to the great leadership provided by the Prime Minister, democracy has started asserting itself in Gujarat internally within the party and outside also. The steam-roller rule, even though you have a majority, will not work, and that is why I congratulate the students of Gujarat for the protest, for their righteous indignation against the filthiness and the ugliness that had entered the public life of Gujarat and the country as a whole. I think, if there is one lesson one can learn from Gujarat it is this that there comes a time in the life of every nation, when each individual

citizen becomes responsible for tolerating the evils, and history does not forgive him for his forbearance. I think such a time has come in our country and each one of us will have to sit up and think as to whether we are conducting ourselves in a manner which would help rectify these things. The time is with us, the opportunity is with us. I only hope that we shall not fail the common man of this country.

Sir, there are two things that I should like to mention briefly within two or three minutes, and then I shall have done.

What are the present problems of Gujarat? So far, I have said something generally about the background of the situation in Gujarat. Now I want to be specific and mention two or three things which are really irksome to the people of Gujarat. First is the question of education. I think, the way in which education has been allowed to be commercialised in Gujarat is something which no one can tolerate. When I hear that this year, in the list of examinees for the IAS, not a single boy from Gujarat has been selected, it is a matter of shame for me and my fellow-citizens of Gujarat. Why is it so? It is because in this process of commercialisation of education standards have been completely undermined. My friend, the ex-Vice-Chancellor of Gujarat will bear me out when I say that standards of education in Gujarat have been thrown overboard. Commercialisation has taken place. Agencies and individuals are able to exploit monetarily the aids which are given by the State and by the Centre to make education as free as possible for the common people. These financial subsidies today are being utilised by individuals and agencies who control these institutions and who use those institutions for their own interest for showering of patronage, if you like to call it, or providing *sinicure* to the undeserving.

6-6 R. S. S./74

I had the good fortune of meeting the Governor when the trouble started in Gujarat and I made a very small suggestion to him that the first and the foremost thing that was required to be done in Gujarat was to call a conference of all parties, of all views, of all those interested in the question of education in Gujarat and sort out the problem of education as the first and foremost problem to be tackled in Gujarat. Unfortunately, that was not done. The Governor had his own handicaps at that time. Now I am glad to say that the first thing which the Governor has done on the declaration of the President's Rule and after dissolution of the Assembly is the calling of such a conference. I welcome the move and I only hope that this conference will be a precursor of the many more steps which are yet to be taken in order to solve the problem of education in Gujarat.

The second thing on which opinions may differ but it is sometimes necessary to say things bluntly and frankly is the creation of this capital of Gujarat in Gandhinagar. The sacred name of the Father of the Nation has been associated with this place, Gandhinagar. But I personally feel that it was the most ill-advised step that the then Government took where crores of rupees were spent and are still today being spent on the creation of a capital which can never acquire life, which is an artificial capital as far as the word "capital" goes, which means daily hardships, and daily inconveniences to the people who have to go there. And has that capital really become the practical capital of the State? No. You have the Raj Bhavan and the Governor functioning from Ahmedabad. You have the High Court functioning from Ahmedabad. You have all the important departments of the State Administration functioning from Ahmedabad, and yet you have got this luxury of a big Sachivalaya in Gandhinagar. You

[Shri Himmat Singh]

have the luxury of these big bungalows for the Ministers. The Chief Minister's bungalow has been constructed at a cost of nearly Rs. 8 lakhs. And it was not this party which was responsible for it but those who are voicing vocal sympathy with the agitation were responsible for this vulgar expenditure. It is about time that good money is not wasted after bad money. Now that there is the President's Rule in Gujarat both the Governor and those in authority at the Centre will apply their mind seriously to get rid of this white elephant that has been put on the heads of the Gujarati people, namely Gandhinagar.

The third thing which I want to mention—and this is my last point—is the claim that extraneous elements have not played their ugly role. This is simply nonsense. I know it for a fact and there is evidence on record that people who have resigned from the Congress party, within hours of their resignation were interviewed by foreign journalists who ran down from Bombay to Ahmedabad and their interviews have been televised in the United States. How does it happen? This is not just a mere coincidence. These things have happened and they have their own tale to tell. It is against these dangers, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that I want to sound my note of warning. I hope those in authority now will take heed and do what is right and correct. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The House stands adjourned till 2-15 P.M.

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

The House re-assembled, after lunch, at eighteen minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-chairman (Shri S. S. Mariswamy) in the Chair.

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अधिष्ठाता महोदय, गुजरात का बजट इस मदन के सामने प्रस्तुत है। मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि गुजरात जैसी शान्तिप्रिय स्टेट में ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ पैदा हुई कि वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पड़ा और यह बजट जो गुजरात की विधान सभा में पास होना चाहिए था उसे विधान सभा में इस पर वाद-विवाद होना चाहिए था वह आज हमारे सामने पेश है और हम उस पर वाद-विवाद कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमन्, गुजरात की विधान सभा 168 मੈम्बरो की विधान सभा थी जिसमें 140 मੈम्बर नई कांग्रेस या मत्ताधारी कांग्रेस के थे जिसके माने यह हैं कि 85 परसेंट तादाद शासकीय कांग्रेस की थी और 15 परसेंट में बाकी लोग थे। इतनी बड़ी मेजारिटी जनतंत्र में बहुत कम पार्टीज को किसी देश या प्रदेश में प्राप्त होती है। मुझे याद है, सन् 1952 में जब पहली दफा चुनाव हुए थे तब उत्तर प्रदेश में 90-91 परसेंट कांग्रेस के लोग आये थे। करीब-करीब उसी मात्रा में शासकीय कांग्रेस की तादाद गुजरात में थी। इसके बावजूद भी वहाँ पर शासन नहीं चल पाया और राष्ट्रपति शासन थोपना पड़ा।

श्रीमन्, आज मेरे सामने सब से बड़ा सवाल यह है कि इस देश के अंदर पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी का भविष्य क्या होने जा रहा है। जनता वोट दे सकती है, जनता किसी भी दल को बहुमत में भेज सकती है, लेकिन उम बहुमत के बाद भी, उस पार्टी के अंदर अपनी सामर्थ्य न हो तो शासन कैसे चल पायेगा। गुजरात में जो हुआ उससे मुझको बहुत कष्ट है, बहुत दुःख है और एक सच्चे कांग्रेसी होने के नाते मेरे सामने पार्टी का कोई सवाल नहीं है। मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ कि जो यह मानते हैं कि देश पार्टियों से बड़ा है, देश पार्टियों से ऊँचा

है और जब देश के अंदर इस तरह की परिस्थितियां पैदा हो जायं, इस तरह की पार्टियां सिर उठाने लगे कि जिनके कारण देश में हिंसा का जोर बढ़े, यहां आगजनी हो, तोड़ फोड़ हो, अनुशासनहीनता की बाढ़ आ जाय तो उस समय मैं समझता हूं कि उन पार्टियों को, कि जिनकी आस्था जनतंत्र में है, जिनकी आस्था अहिंसा में है, जिन्होंने राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी के चरणों में बैठ कर सत्य और अहिंसा का पाठ पढ़ा है और उस के द्वारा हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी हासिल की है, उनके सामने एक ही रास्ता रह जाता है कि वे उन तत्त्वों का डट कर, एकता के साथ मुकाबला करें और इसके अंदर पहल जो आज रूलिंग पार्टी है उसको करनी पड़ेगी। अगर देश नहीं रहता तो कोई पार्टी भी नहीं रहती। आज देश में हिंसा बढ़ती जा रही है। आन्ध्र में यह शुरू हुई, उत्तर प्रदेश में लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय फूका गया और बिहार में जो कुछ हुआ है सबको उसका बहुत दुख है और मुझे उसमें ज्यादा दुख इस बात का है कि बिहार की चर्चा इस सदन में बहुत हुई। मैं उम्मीद करता था कि आडवाणी साहब और दूसरी पार्टियां एक राय से और मजबूती के साथ इस बात को कंडम करेंगी कि कोई भी तत्व हो, हिंसा इस देश में बर्दाश्त नहीं की जायगी। श्रीमन्, गवर्नमेंट स आयेंगी, जायेंगी, लेकिन अगर एक बात यह लोगों के दिमाग में बैठ गयी कि हम इंटीमिडेशन से या कोअर्शन से, हिंसा के दबाव से किसी सरकार को झुका सकते हैं तो श्रीमन्, आप मुझे माफ करेंगे यह कहने के लिए कि कोई भी गवर्नमेंट इस देश में नहीं रहेगी और कोई जनतंत्र नहीं रहेगा, कोई सोशल आर्डर नहीं रहेगा, और कोई आर्गनाइज्ड सोसाइटी नहीं रहेगी। तो आज एक भयंकर चीज हमारे सामने खड़ी है और सरकार को यह सोचना है कि केवल पार्टीवाजी से, हमने पार्टी में भाषण कर दिया तो उससे ही काम नहीं चलेगा। सोचना पड़ेगा केन्द्रीय सरकार को और नयी कांग्रेस के नेताओं को कि क्या वजह है कि 70 परसेंट 72 परसेंट

और 66 परसेंट और 85 परसेंट बहुमत के बाद भी हम शासन को नहीं चला पा रहे हैं। सही बात है कि गुजरात में कीमते बढ़ी और गुजरात में ही क्यों बढ़ी, आज सारे देश में कीमते बढ़ी हैं। यह बात सही है कि अन्डरप्लायमेंट बढ़ रहा है, बेकारी बढ़ रही है। यह बात भी सही है कि आज भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ रहा है और यह बात भी सही है कि चीजों की कमी है, लेकिन श्रीमन्, इन सबके खिलाफ आंदोलन करना मैं कोई गलत बात नहीं मानता हूं। जनता को यह अधिकार है कि वह सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करे, मगर शान्तिमय ढंग से। हमारा आंदोलन पीसफुल होना चाहिए, नान-वायलेंट होना चाहिए। लेकिन जब आंदोलन एक बार शुरू होता है तो फिर वह पीसफुल रह नहीं पाता। ट्रेने बंद की जाती हैं, ट्रेनों को रोक दिया जाता है। आज मैं अब्बार में पढ़ रहा था कि बिहार में करोड़ों रुपये की कीमत का जायदाद को फूक दिया गया। श्रीमन्, जायदाद को फूकने से, सर्चलाइट के दफ्तरों को आग लगाने से या सरकारी इंप्लाइज के घरों को फूकने से क्या स्केयरसिटी कम हो जायगा, क्या करप्शन दूर हो जायगा या बेरोजगारी दूर हो जायगी। मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता हूँ। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि स्टूडेंट्स को अधिकार भी यह है और मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि गुजरात के अंदर स्टूडेंट्स ने जो त्याग और बलिदान की भावना दिखलायी उसमें मुझे याद आती थी उन प्रि-इंडिपेंडेंस डेज की बात, आजादी के पहले के दिनों की बात जब गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में हमारे लोग बलिदान के लिए बढ़ते थे और त्याग करते थे, लेकिन इसके साथ साथ उन स्टूडेंट्स में कुछ और तत्व भी हैं, जो उनमें मिक्सड हो गये, उनमें शामिल हो गये और गुजरात में भी तोड़ फोड़ हुई, गुजरात में भी हिंसा हुई।

मुझे इस बात का ताज्जुब है कि जब 9 फरवरी को राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर दिया गया तो उसके बाद असेम्बली को डिजोल्ड क्यों नहीं किया गया, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं

[श्री नवल किशोर]

आई। मैं शुरू से ही इस विचार का रहा हूँ कि अगर गवर्नमेंट की यह फीलिंग है कि कंस्टीट्यूशनल मशीनरी किसी देश के अन्दर टूट चुकी है और वहाँ काम नहीं कर रही है तो श्रीमन् यह तफरी की बात नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश में असेम्बली सस्पेंड कर दी गई, आंध्र में सस्पेंड कर दी गई और प्रेजीडेंट रूल हो गया। अगर आप यह समझते हैं कि मशीनरी फेल हो गई है तो आपका फर्ज है कि असेम्बली डिजोल्व की जाए।

मुझे खुशी है और मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूँ प्राइम मिनिस्टर को, कि उन्होंने गुजरात की असेम्बली डिजोल्व की लेकिन अगर दो हफ्ते पहले कर दी होती, 10 दिन पहले कर दी होती तो स्थिति इतनी खराब न होती। मैं नहीं जानता कि उनके एडवाइजर कौन है? पर जो कदम अब उन्होंने उठाया है, सही उठाया है, मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ और बधाई भी देता हूँ। अगर यह कदम कुछ दिन पहले उठाया गया होता तो और ज्यादा अच्छा होता।

मुझे इस बात की भी खुशी है कि मोरारजी भाई ने किसी खास परिस्थितियों में—जब कि गुजरात में आग लगी हुई थी—उन्होंने उपवास किया। मगर प्रधान मंत्री के इस कदम के उठते ही उन्होंने अपना उपवास तोड़ दिया। मुझे इस बात की आशा है कि बहुत जल्दी वहाँ पर शान्ति स्थापित होगी और गणेश साहब और उनकी सरकार आम चुनाव कराने की स्थिति में होंगे और नई असेम्बली बनाएंगे।

श्रीमन्, गुजरात में अजीब चीजें हुईं। चीफ मिनिस्टर को एक्सपेल किया गया। यह उनकी अपनी पार्टी का मामला है मैं इसके अन्दर जाना नहीं चाहता। मगर आप यह तो सोचें कि यह सब हो क्या रहा है। चिमनभाई पटेल ने वही आधुनिक, प्रगतिशील तरीका इस्तेमाल किया जिन तरीकों को इस्तेमाल करके कई प्रदेशों के अन्दर सरकारों को धराशायी किया गया उन्होंने जिन

तरीकों से उन्होंने अपने आपको नेता चुनवाया। यह बात सही है कि जब से चिमनभाई पटेल नेता चुने गए, उस समय से ही कुछ एक ऐसा सेक्शन था गुजरात कांग्रेस में, कि जिनको उनका नेतृत्व पसन्द नहीं आया। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि मुझे चिमनभाई पटेल से कोई हमदर्दी है लेकिन इतना बड़ा कांड हुआ इस पर आज केन्द्रीय सरकार को, खामतौर से कांग्रेस पार्टी को यह देखना चाहिए कि आखिर इस गड़बड़ के पीछे चीज क्या है?

मेरे दोस्त हिम्मत सिंह जब बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने स्वागत किया इस कांग्रेस की फूट का। उन्होंने फर्माया कि कांग्रेस की फूट एक बहुत बड़ी चीज हुई है, यह बात सही हो सकती है। मैं उन आदमियों में से हूँ जिन्हें कांग्रेस की फूट की बहुत तकलीफ है। आज आप देख रहे हैं कि इसके बाद से अन-स्टेबिलिटी ही बढ़ी है, स्टेबिलिटी नहीं आई है। यह सही है कि कुछ ऐसे तत्व जिनका कोई स्थान इस देश की राजनीति में नहीं था, कांग्रेस की फूट के बाद उनको एक मौका मिला, आगे बढ़ने का। वे ही लोग इस फूट का स्वागत कर सकते हैं। मैं कांग्रेसी के नाते यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे दिल में टीस पैदा होती है। जिस जमात को हम सभी लोगों ने बनाया था उस जमात के टुकड़े हो गए। मैं जानता हूँ इसके पीछे स्थिति क्या थी लेकिन मैं उनका जिन्न नहीं करना चाहता। 1962 में ही एक पार्टी के दिमाग में यह बात आ गई थी कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर घूसकर तोड़-फोड़ की जाए क्योंकि यह बहुत मजबूत जमात है। मुझे दुख है वे तत्व इसमें कामयाब हुए और कांग्रेस में टूट-फूट हुई। उसके बाद से ही कांग्रेस के अन्दर जो अपरचुनिस्ट एलीमेंट्स थे, कैरिस्टिक्स, एडवंचरिस्ट्स एलीमेंट्स थे, आगे आए। इसके बाद ही कांग्रेस के अन्दर चारों तरफ से गड़बड़ पैदा हुई और वह स्थिति पैदा हुई जो हम देख रहे हैं।

एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने वहाँ राष्ट्रपति शासन कर दिया, इसका मुझे कोई दुख नहीं है, यह आपने अच्छा किया, वहाँ पर स्थिति



ऐसी थी। मगर हम देखते हैं कि, आंध्र, यू० पी० गुजरात में क्या हालत हो रही है। मेरे दिमाग में एक परेशानी, पैदा हो गई—एक डेमोक्रेटिक इन्सान के नाते—और एक बड़ा प्रश्न मेरे सामने खड़ा हो गया वह यह है कि इस देश के अन्दर जनतंत्र का और खास तौर से संसदीय जनतंत्र का भविष्य क्या होगा ?

क्या इस देश के अंदर वायलेन्स चाहिए, इन्डिस्प्लिन् चाहिए, सैबोटैज चाहिए, डिस्टरबेन्स चाहिए या इस देश के अंदर एक आर्डर्ड सोसाइटी चलेगी। मैं एक अदना आदमी हूँ लेकिन मैं इस बात को कहना चाहता हूँ, और जितनी मेरे अंदर शक्ति है उस शक्ति के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ, कि इस वायलेन्स को जहां कहीं वह हुआ है, मैं कन्डेम् करना चाहता हूँ और इस बात का यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ—और आज मैं सरकार को आगाह भी करना चाहता हूँ—कि वक्त आ गया है, चूंकि आपने अपनी गलतियों से हिन्दुस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति को चौराहे पर खड़ा कर दिया है, जब कन्ट्री के आगे दो आल्टरनेटिव्ह हैं, या तो वे तमाम शक्तियां जिनका विश्वास शांति में है, जनतंत्र में है, सेक्गोलिरिज्म में है, सोशलजिज्म में है, नान वायलेन्स में है, वे एक साथ खड़ी हों। और, यदि यह नहीं हुआ तो कोई ताकत हिन्दुस्तान को आने वाले कैओस, कन्स्यूजन और एनार्की से बचा नहीं सकती।

आपने आर्मी का इस्तेमाल किया, गुजरात में भी और आज बिहार में भी। मैं श्रीमन्, अहमदाबाद गया नहीं था, पर मैंने सुना कि जब आर्मी के जवान वहां पहुंचे तो विद्यार्थियों ने कहा कि आपने जो कुछ भी अपनी बहादुरी दिखायी पाकिस्तान के साथ जंग में, हमने आपको बधाई दी है, फूलों की मालाएं दी हैं, उसके बदले में क्या आप हमको गोली देने आए हैं ? मैं इस बात से कोई घबराता नहीं हूँ—हमें अगर ऐसा वक्त आए तो आर्मी का भी इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए—

लेकिन आर्मी के इस्तेमाल से पहले हमको बहुत कुछ सोचना चाहिए। मैंने देखा 1921 के आंदोलन में, और उसके बाद भी देखा, अंगरेजी के जमाने में भी जब देहली में स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी का जलूस निकला था और जिस समय हुक्म दिया गया कि जलूस पर गोली चलाओ, तो फौज ने अपनी बंदूकें झुका दी थी। लेकिन अगर कहीं कोई किम्म का वायलेन्स हो रहा हो, कोई मर्डर कर रहा है—मुझे माफ करेंगे अगर वह स्टूडेंट भी कर रहा है तो वह मेरी निगाह में स्टूडेंट नहीं है—अगर वह आग लगा देता है या किसी का मर्डर करता है, तो वह भी एक आर्डिनरी क्रिमिनल की हैसियत में है और अगर आर्मी या पुलिस किसी मर्डरर पर या जो हूलिगन्स हैं, जो फूंक रहे हैं प्रापर्टी को, उन पर गोली चलाए तो मैं उसके खिलाफ नहीं हूँ। लेकिन मैं यह जरूर चाहता हूँ कि सरकार कुछ और तरीका भी सोचे। केवल पुलिस और फौज की ताकत पर अमन कायम नहीं होगी। आज देश जिस स्थिति में से गुजर रहा है उसमें अगर आपने शऊर से काम नहीं किया, बुद्धिमानों से काम नहीं किया, और अगर आप फाल्स प्रेस्टीज के अंदर बैठे रहे और पार्टी कमिडरेशनम् के अंदर ही फंसे आप बैठे रहे, तो इस देश के अंदर स्थिति और खराब हो जाएगी। लिहाजा आज वक्त है कि हम सोचे और हम उन तमाम ताकतों को इस्तेमाल करें, मंचित करें, उनका आह्वान करें, उनका महयोग लें, जो देश के अंदर सद्दी मानो में डेमोक्रेसी में विश्वास करती है।

मैं श्रीमन्, आज अखबार में पढ़ रहा था गुजरात के विद्यार्थियों ने, उनकी नवनिर्माण समिति के नेताओं ने, कहा है कि हम दूर डेमोक्रेसी के लिए फाइट करेंगे। मगर वह दूर डेमोक्रेसी क्या होगी, उसकी परिभाषा समझ में नहीं आई। दूर डेमोक्रेसी के माने क्या होंगे ? मैं चाहता हूँ, जो हमारे सामने एक बड़ा सवाल आ गया है और चूंकि देश सबसे प्यारा है, हमने भी इस देश के लिए अपना सब कुछ दिया है, हम आज भी आपके साथ खड़े होने के लिये

[श्री नवल किशोर]

तैयार है, मगर आपको भी यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि क्या आपकी पार्टी लाइन्स के आधार पर देश बचेगा ?

श्रीमन्, गुजरात के बारे में मेरे दोस्त हिम्मत सिंह जी ने भी कहा । मैं उनकी इज्जत करता हूँ, बड़े रेडिकल आदमी है, मुझे भी अपने बारे में कुछ गलतफहमी है कि मैं भी रेडिकल हूँ । तो उन्होंने पता नहीं किस मूड में कहा—कांग्रेस में फूट का उन्होंने स्वागत किया—लेकिन मैं उनसे एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ, हिस्ट्री के अंदर एक कहावत है :—नीरो वाज्र फिडलिग व्हाइल रोम वाज्र बनिन्ग । तो उसके कदमों पर आप चलने की कोशिश मत कीजिए । आपने कुछ बातें कहीं जो आपकी पार्टी बाजी की पर्सनल बातें हैं या आपकी अपनी प्रेजुडिसेज है । गुजरात में कांग्रेस के अंदर जो डिसेन्सियन हैं, कांग्रेस के जो पैक्शनस हैं...

SHRI HIMMAT SINGH : That is the heritage from your party,

श्री नवलकिशोर : श्रीमन्, हर चीज की दवा हैरिटेज, बन गई है अब श्री हिम्मत सिंह एक नए तरीके की हैरिटेज पैदा करना चाहते हैं । गांधीजी और नेहरू की यह एक नयी हैरिटेज हिम्मत सिंह जी पैदा करना चाहते हैं । पुरानी हैरिटेज का तो उनमें शायद ही कोई रहा हो जो उनके महान कर्ण धारोंके ज़माने में था ।

उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि गांधी नगर मे चीफ मिनिस्टर का बंगला 8 लाख रुपये की लागत से बनाया गया था । मैं आपकी बात की तारीफ करता हूँ कि उनके लिए जो बंगला बनाना चाहिये था वह 8 हजार रुपये से ज्यादा का नहीं बनाना चाहिये था । लेकिन मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कभी आपने यह भी सोचा कि यहां पर सेन्टर मे मिनिस्टर कितना रुपया खर्च करते हैं और वह भी आपकी नाक के नीचे । लेकिन इस तरह की बात कह कर आप किसीको हिट करना चाहते हैं, तो आप हिट कीजिये, मुझे इसमें कोई परेशानी नहीं है लेकिन यह आपके अन्दर की बात है । मगर

मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप हिट कीजिये, लेकिन आज वक्त आ गया है जब कि हमको और आपको मिलकर बिहार और गुजरात के बारे में सोचना चाहिये । यह जो वायलेस करने वाली शक्तिया देश में पैदा हो गई है, उनका हमें डटकर मुकाबला करना चाहिये । यह काम न पुलिस से होगा और न ही आर्मी से होगा । इसलिए यह जो बजट आज पेश किया गया है, जिन हालात में पेश किया गया है, वे दुःखद हालात हैं, हमारे लिए एक प्वाइन्टर है और अगर हमने इस चीज की रोकथाम नहीं की तो यह देश कहां से कहां पहुंच जायेगा, यह बात देखने की है ।

यह बात सही है कि गुजरात वालों ने इतिहास का एक नया पन्ना खोल दिया है और वहां पर 168 मेम्बरों में से 86 मेम्बरों ने इस्तीफा दे दिया । इसमें आपकी पार्टी के मेम्बर भी थे । उन लोगों ने इस्तीफा इसलिए दिया ताकि वहां की असेम्बली डिजोल्व हो जाए और वहां पर किसी तरह का वायलेंस न हो । लेकिन मैंने देखा कि वहां पर इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा हुई कि असेम्बली को डिजाल्व करना पड़ा । जैसा मैंने पहिले कहा कि जो कुछ हुआ वह अच्छा हुआ, लेकिन अगर असेम्बली को पहिले डिजोल्व कर दिया जाता तो और भी ज्यादा अच्छा होता । इस बीच 100 आदमी मारे गये, इसका भी मुझे बहुत दुःख है । सही बात तो यह है कि जब कभी इस तरह की बातें होती हैं तो मुझे बहुत परेशानी होती है । क्योंकि मेरा भी वास्ता होम डिपार्टमेंट से पड़ा है । मैं इस बात से घबराता हूँ कि अपने बच्चों के ऊपर गोली चलाई जाय । लेकिन जब बच्चे कानून को अपने हाथ में ले लेते हैं, क्रिमिनल बन जाते हैं, तो फिर कभी इस तरह की बात करनी ही पड़ती है । लेकिन साथ ही साथ रिव्रैशन और टैरेराईजेशन से भी काम चलने वाला नहीं है, मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग वायलेंस करते हैं, उनके प्रति मेरी बिल्कुल भी हमदर्दी नहीं है । जो लोग सेवोटेंज और दूसरे किस्म के वायलेंस करते

है उनके प्रति मेरी विल्कुल भी सहानुभूति नहीं है। सर्व लाइट की बिल्डिंग को आग लगा दी गई। उम अखबार वाले ने इन लोगों का क्या बिगड़ा था। इसी तरह से वहां पर दफ्तर, मकान और दुकानें जला दी गई। किन किन पार्टियों का इसके पीछे हाथ है, मैं इस बारे में कुछ नहीं जानता हूँ। गुजरात के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि इन सब बातों के बावजूद, वहां पर करपशन की जो बात कही गई है वह एक मेन इश्यू था और इसके बारे में एक हाई पावर कमेटी बनाई जानी चाहिये। मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हिम्मत सिंह जी चाहें तब इन 50 सालों के अन्दर करपशन के जितने भी केस हुए हैं, चाहें वे ब्रिटिश सरकार के जमाने के भी क्यों न हों, उनके बारे में भी इन्क्वायरी होनी चाहिये। अगर जनता में यह भावना घरकर गई कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जो मिनिस्टर हैं, वे बेईमान हैं, तो फिर देश के अन्दर डेमोक्रेसी नहीं चल सकती है। हम लोग जो लाखों इंसानों का विश्वास लेकर आते हैं, अगर उनके अन्दर यह भावना पैदा हो गई कि जो एम० पी० है, एम० एल० एज० है, एम० एल० सी०, वे सब बेईमान हैं, करप्ट हैं, तो इससे ज्यादा शर्म की बात हमारे लिए नहीं हो सकती है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY) : You have already taken 20 minutes, Mr. Nawal Kishore.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : I may take 2 or 3 minutes more, Sir. In fact, I started at 2.20. I am just completing 20 minutes.

श्री हिम्मत सिंह जी ने कहा कि कि इन 10 सालों के अन्दर पब्लिक की राय को मखौल बना दिया गया था। आपने विल्कुल सही बात कही। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी बात क्यों हुई और इसके पीछे क्या राज है? इस बात को हमें ईमानदारी से सोचना चाहिये और ठण्डे दिमाग से सोचना चाहिये।

जहां तक बजट का सम्बन्ध है, मैं इस सम्बन्ध में एक दो बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो 334.4 करोड़ का बजट है वह एक

अच्छा बजट है और इसमें कोई डैफिसिट नहीं है।

सरप्लस ही हो गया है। कुछ उन्होंने वादे किए हैं कि स्थिति अच्छी हो जायगी। पहले जो वहां कीमतें बढ़ गई थी, गेहूं का भाव 5 रुपए किलो था, चावल का भाव 11 रुपए 12 रुपए किलो है, इस तरह की खबरें थी, मैं चाहूंगा अब जबकि गुजरात की असेम्बली डिस्माल्व हो गई है, प्रेसिडेंट रूल हो गया है, सरीन साहय जैसे बड़े शासक वहां भेजे गए हैं तो वहां कीमतों की स्थिति पर भी कन्ट्रोल होगा, नियंत्रण होगा।

श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा जी ने भी कहा कि पटना में शान्तिमय आन्दोलन होना चाहिए। जब कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी ने शान्तिमय आन्दोलन की, पीएमकुल एजीटेशन की बात कही तो मुझे बहुत खुशी हुई। खुशी इसलिए हुई कि कम से कम सी पी आई का कन्वर्शन नान-वायलेन्स में हो गया गांधीजी के मरने के 26 साल के बाद तो हिन्दुस्तान न कुछ तो एचीव किया है। मैं डरता हूँ कि अगर वायलेन्स बढ़ी तो हिन्दुस्तान भी इन्डोनेशिया न हो जाय इसलिए स्टूडेंट्स को भी टेम करना है। मेरी इस हाउस के जरिए से स्टूडेंट्स से दरखास्त है, कि हिन्दुस्तान का भविष्य उनके हाथ में है, हिन्दुस्तान को किस दिशा में ले जाना है, यह हमसे ज्यादा स्टूडेंट्स की जिम्मेदारी है, वे अपनी जिम्मेदारी को महसूस करें, किसी पार्टी के बहकावे में न आएँ, किसी वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट के बहकावे में न आएँ, किसी फारेन पावर के मोहरे न बनें और सही माने में इस देश की सही सेवा करने की कोशिश करें, और देश को सही रास्ते पर ले जाने की चेष्टा करें। श्रीमन, मैं इन शब्दों के साथ अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ। जहां तक इस बजट का सम्बन्ध है, इसमें कोई खाम चीज नहीं है, इसलिए मैं उसे अपना ममर्थन देता हूँ।

SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I had mainly intended to concentrate my attention on the Budget itself because I thought the debate was really on the Gujarat Budget but I notice that in the debate,

[Shri H. M. Trivedi]

several political overtones have been injected including those by my hon. friend, Mr. Himmat Singh, and lately by hon. friend, Mr. Nawal Kishore. Mr. Nawal Kishore, of course, is a very seasoned politician, and in his own suave and inimitable manner, he has touched upon certain aspects relating to the Gujarat agitation. I have no intention of entering into any detailed controversy or conducting any postmortem on the developments which have happened in Gujarat. I would only say that I entirely and wholeheartedly agree with the proposition made by Mr. Nawal Kishore that if a feeling grows in the country and more particularly amongst the younger generation in the country that violent agitation will be able to upset the duly constituted Governments or that political demands which are not related with any particular difficulties at a particular time in a particular State can in fact be furthered into violent agitation and lead to or bring about a constitutional break-down, then that is going to be an evil day for what we all have given to ourselves, namely, the Constitution of India. This morning, my friend, Mr. A. P. Sinha, very naturally and quite rightly pointed out that if this is the tenor, if this feeling grows, then certainly we are striking at the very roots of democracy. At the same time, Sir, there is a certain contradiction in what Mr. Nawal Kishore said. He suggested that there was a certain phase in the agitation. But I would only like to mention two things. In fact, in the last Gujarat agitation, there were rather two phases. In the first phase, some of the difficulties which were experienced, in a sense limited to the student community, triggered off some of the agitation. These arose from a backlog over the last ten years certain evils which have cropped up in the management of educational institutions, etc. It was combined with the development of certain pockets of shortages, high prices, etc. which is

not only confined to Gujarat but is common to the country. Certainly, certain pockets of shortages, etc. persist. Then, Sir, the failure of the then Government to be able to take steps in time, to alleviate or remedy some of the shortages and to control prices. Sir, one of the major failures of this Government was the failure to evolve what we may call, a coherent food policy and a policy in relation to essential commodities of mass consumption. I am not on the political overtones of who ruled, why he ruled and what were the dissensions, and so on. I do not think it is relevant to refer to them. But, arising from these causes it is quite true that the student community took up the agitation mainly on the ground of removal of corruption in public life and they have to be congratulated on that. They also simultaneously took up the question of removing the Government which proved deficient in handling some of the problems. But, that was the first phase. It is highly regrettable that even in the first phase violence did occur. I think we are all one and I think that even Members from the opposition Benches have contributed to the idea that violent agitation is something which has to be avoided despite the fact that there may be cause for agitation. Simple agitation is one thing and violent agitation is another thing.

I would, however, like to point out that there is a certain contradiction in what my friend Mr. Nawal Kishore said. He proceeded to say that if after the constitutional machinery had broken down and after the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry had resigned, why was it that the Assembly was not dissolved? Sir, I suggest to you that the dissolution of the Assembly is a political demand and, in fact, the dissolution of the Assembly was a political demand which arose only in the second phase of the agitation. I think it will be recognised on all sides that it was a political demand which was not a demand related to student

grievances, which was not a demand relating to shortages and which was not a demand relating to difficulties experienced by the people. To the extent that it was a political demand, I think the Central Government was quite right in maintaining the position that until normalcy is restored and peace returns to the State the Assembly would not be dissolved. If violence can bring about the dissolution of a duly elected legislature of a State we are going to fall on evil days. In this connection, I would like to point out, Sir, that this political demand in the second phase of the agitation was not primarily a demand of the students but it was taken over by political elements, recognised political elements, who wanted the Congress Party, in a sense, to be destroyed in Gujarat.

Now, Sir, the opposition parties in a democracy have a perfect right to raise an agitation on a political demand but let us not relate it directly and say that what happened in the second phase is also something equally welcome in relation to what happened in the first phase, namely, in relation to the removal of corruption and resolving the difficulties of the people.

Now, Sir, article 356 of the Constitution does not call for the dissolution of the Assembly simultaneously with the breakdown of the constitutional machinery in a State. The fact that certain methods were employed in order to bring about a dissolution of the State Assembly though a matter of the past is a very regrettable matter. However, as I said, I do not intend to go over that ground. As I said there is a contradiction in the saying that we deprecate violence, that we deprecate violent agitation which strike at the roots of constitutional machinery and at the same time saying that such agitations are justified in relation to a political demand such as the dissolution of a properly constituted Legislature. However, as I said these are all matters of

the past and I have no intention of going over that ground.

Reverting back to the second phase, to the extent it was taken over, supported, fomented by political elements, recognised political elements, it has had its danger and to some extent this danger is now getting reflected elsewhere in the country. I only hope that this vicious spiral will soon come to an end.

Sir, I am one of those who is not primarily a politician, deeply immersed in politics like my friend, Mr. Himmat Singh, and, therefore, I would like to offer a few remarks on the Budget itself. I feel that it is unfortunate that Presidential rule in Gujarat has come at a time when the first year of the Fifth Five Year Plan is beginning. Although not expressed in terms of a demand, I think it would be correct to say that there is a subdued and unexpressed feeling in Gujarat that by and large in terms of Central assistance, by and large in locating Central projects, etc., Gujarat has had its equitable of the share. Now one can go on arguing about it and there may be several answers. There is also a general feeling entertained—I am talking of Central Hall gossip even prior to this situation—there is always the general feeling that Gujarat is a wealthy State, that Gujarat is a prosperous State and so on. But no one seems to care to analyse the sectors of population in Gujarat which are, in fact, as poor as, if not poorer than, other sections in other States in the Union. They talk of cash crops but most people seem to forget that Gujarat has hardly any irrigation, that Gujarat is totally dependent upon thermal power, that Gujarat has very limited power resources, that irrigation potential has not been developed, that Gujarat has been denied or, let us say, at least has not had the benefit of one of the largest river valley schemes which could have been, in fact, started some years back and so on. I am not trying to paint a

[Shri H. M. Trivedi]

picture that Gujarat is again a poor State, but any general impression that Gujarat is a rich State and does not need attention from the Centre or that it does not need an equitable share of what is being spent by the Centre, I think, would be a fallacious impression. I would therefore like to say, Sir, that in this sense, as I said, I want Government to take care. I would also like to suggest to the hon. Finance Minister that in the absence of an elected legislature there cannot be a very detailed analysis of the budget figures under each head and so on. In fact, the budget figures have been given to us only yesterday. But in the absence of a legislature it becomes our duty as representatives of Gujarat in this Parliament to express our opinion on what is, in fact, likely to happen now under the budget which has been presented.

Sir, it is the duty of the Governor and his advisers to see that this unexpressed and subdued feeling in Gujarat is not aggravated and does not grow certainly at least during the first years of the 5th Five Year Plan. One can never be sure when another elected legislature is going to be in being and I do not wish to be an astrologer on that score. But, as of today, right at the beginning of the 5th Five-Year Plan under the President's rule in Gujarat I would very humbly request the Central Government, the Governor and the advisers to take into consideration the fact that this subdued feeling should not be allowed to get aggravated.

Now, Sir, it is in that context that I would like to offer a few remarks on the Budget. I find that here is a budget presented in which the revenue receipts are supposed to be about Rs. 334 crores and the revenue expenditure Rs. 397 crores. The revenue surplus is supposed to be Rs. 37 crores. The revised estimates for 1973-74 do not show any surplus as such. For 1974-75 this is what it is likely to be. Now, Sir,

I am not too sure that a rosy picture is not being presented. A rosy picture is being presented on the basis of cutting down on revenue expenditure, in terms of essential services, Sir, you will find that family planning here has been given some thousands of rupees only. You will find that there is no large provision for any of the likely projects which Gujarat can legitimately expect during the 5th Five-Year Plan. I am not sure when the Narmada Valley Project will come, but certainly some provision for the purpose of the Narmada Valley Project in the first year of the Fifth Plan should really be there. As I said, on the revenue side it seems as if there is pruning of expenditure in order to present a surplus. I suppose, because no taxation measures in fact can be contemplated under the presidential rule, no larger surpluses can in fact be generated. But even within the frame-work of such taxation measures as exist, even such statutory taxation as exists, marginal adjustment may by which revenue resources are augmented and instead of merely generating a revenue surplus, revenue expenditure certainly on essential services and on building at least some of the infrastructure which would be of help to Gujarat for promoting its own claims in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, could certainly be undertaken. I do not see, with due deference to my friend Mr. Ganesh, any indication of that.

Sir, the total annual plan for 1974-75 has been estimated at Rs. 143 crores. Now when you look at the subsector-wise allocation under Rs. 143 crores, you find no indication whatsoever of any major projects for which work must necessarily start in the first year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and you do not find any indication of that either in the revenue or in the capital budget.

There are at least 2 or 3 projects which I would certainly like to refer to and that is the possibility of having an atomic power project in Gujarat and

the likelihood—not only the likelihood but I would even say the strong claim of Gujarat for location of a shipyard at Hajira. The techno-economic group has already indicated that Hajira and Goa are the two suitable sites on the west coast for location of the shipyard.

Now I would say about the development of further power resources in Gujarat. Gujarat has been deficient in power resources to such an extent that most of the industrial development in Gujarat has been affected by power shortage. Now, Sir, I find that this entire Budget is merely on the indications which had been given by the Planning Commission. I am sure the State Government—even before the Government fell actually—has had discussions with the Planning Commission and to that extent there were certain indications. The whole Budget is based entirely on indications, tentative indications, given by the Planning Commission as to what the State is likely to get in the first year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. You will find, Sir, out of this 143 crores of rupees, Rs. 67.64 crores are supposed to be from the State resources and all that the Centre is supposed to give is something like Rs. 32.17 crores, some by way of loan and some by way of grant. Even there, the loan exceeds the grant. I would very respectfully urge, Sir, that under Presidential rule, it is the duty of the Governor and of the advisers to press forth the claims of Gujarat as vigorously as any elected Government would have done. I am afraid, Sir, any *status quo* budget which relies merely on taxation measures as they exist, anticipated revenue, anticipated revenue expenditure, capital allocations as they were existing or as they were anticipated until yesterday and a tentative indication by the Planning Commission, any *status quo* budget of this character is certainly not going to satisfy. In this particular context I do not wish again to refer to the fact that while the immediate past

agitation may have related to many other causes, there is no doubt that there is a subdued feeling that Gujarat has not had its equitable share both of Central assistance and Central Plan projects. Sir, in the Third and Fourth Five-Year Plans, Gujarat has not had any major Central project located in Gujarat except for the petro-chemicals which had inevitably to be located at Koyali and the fertilizer project at Kandla. Except for these, no major Central project in the Third and Fourth Five-Year Plans has been located in Gujarat. I would, therefore, very humbly urge that Government must take care to see that the interests of Gujarat are advocated and pursued vigorously.

Sir, I would only like to 3 P.M. make one more statement. I differ from my hon. friend, Mr. Himmat Singh. I think the Administration in Gujarat is a very good Administration. If the administrators are left alone and if in fact they are not made part of political parties and political influences the Administration in Gujarat is quite sound and I only hope and trust that now under President's rule there will not be that kind of political interference with the administrative apparatus. I only hope, trust and pray and I would in fact appeal to the Administration to live up to the fair name which they have enjoyed in the past and pursue the interests of Gujarat to the best of their ability.

Thank you.

श्री डी० के० पटेल (गुजरात) : श्रीमन्  
मैं बजट के कुछ पहलुओं के ऊपर कहना चाहता हूँ। बजट में गुजरात के बंदरगाह, प्रकाश-  
स्तंभ एवम् नौवहन के लिए कुल मिला कर  
2 करोड़ 89 लाख 92 हजार रु० आवंटित  
किए गए हैं जब कि गुजरात का जो समुद्री तट  
है वह समग्र देश के समुद्र तट का एक-तिहाई  
हिस्सा है। कुल मिला कर गुजरात का समुद्री

[श्री डी० के० पटेल]

तट 1690 किलोमीटर है और एक बहुत बड़ा प्रलंब समुद्र तट है। इस समुद्र तट पर 40 छोटे-बड़े बंदरगाह हैं जिनका बहुत शिथिल गति से विकास हो रहा है। गुजरात में अगर उन बंदरगाहों का विकास तेज गति से किया गया तो आयात और निर्यात के व्यापार को बहुत बढ़ावा मिल सकता है और किनारे के ऊपर मत्स्य उद्योग भी बड़ी अच्छी तरह से चल सकता है। अगर इस बजट में यह व्यवस्था नहीं है तो मैं केन्द्र सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि गुजरात की जनता के सामने इसके वास्ते पब्लिक लोन के लिए अगर अपील की जाए तो कुछ फायदा हो सकता है। इतना बड़ा समुद्र तट गुजरात का है, उसका उपयोग गुजरात को मिले, उसका विकास हो, और गुजरात को उससे फायदा मिले, यह बहुत जरूरी है। नर्मदा के मुख के पास भी एक बहुत बड़ा बंदरगाह बनाया जा सकता है जिसके बारे में आए दिन लोगों में यह चर्चा है कि यह होना चाहिए।

इसके साथ-साथ, भारत सरकार की योजना है कि समग्र भारत के समुद्र तट के ऊपर एक नेशनल हाइवे बनाया जाए। उसका अमल गुजरात में बहुत कम हो रहा है। टुकड़ों में कुछ रास्ते बने हुए हैं। उन रास्तों को भी गुजरात में ठीक ढंग से बनाया जाना चाहिए।

गुजरात में गत वर्ष उत्तरी और मध्य भाग में सूखा बहुत था लेकिन जो अभूतपूर्व बाढ़ आई उसमें, सूखे में जो थोड़ा बहुत अन्न पैदा हुआ था, वह भी चला गया, घर-बार उजड़ गये किसानों के हजारों एकड़ जमीन में रेत के स्तर के स्तर पड़े हुए हैं। तो युद्ध के पैमाने पर उन रेतों के स्तरों को उठाने के लिये यंत्र सामग्री की नितान्त आवश्यकता है। इसके लिये बजट में कोई खास व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। करोड़ों रुपये का नुकसान हुआ है, किसानों का भी हुआ है, उनको भी कुछ कम्पेंसेशन दिया जाये। मकान खड़ा करने के लिये भी उनको निर्व्याज आर्थिक लोन दिया जाए।

इस बजट में सब से बड़ी कमी जो मैं महसूस कर रहा हूं वह यह है कि अगर जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से देखा जाय तो गुजरात का एक तिहाई हिस्सा अनुसूचित जाति और जनजातियों से भरा हुआ है। इस बजट में जनसंख्या के अनुपात से इन पिछड़े वर्ग के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए 67 करोड़ रुपये की राशि रखी जानी चाहिए थी, जब कि इस काम के लिये थोड़ा ही हजार रुपया नजर आता है। अनुदान मांग का जो विवरण है, उसको मैंने देखा, उस विवरण के पृष्ठ 108 पर केवल 50 हजार रुपये रखे गये हैं जब कि जनजातियों की बस्ती करीब 40 लाख की है और अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों की संख्या करीब 14 लाख तक की है। इस तरह से इनकी बस्ती की जनसंख्या करीब 54 लाख तक पहुंच जाती है, जिसके लिये केवल 50 हजार रुपया रखा गया है अर्थात् पिछड़े वर्ग के एक व्यक्ति को एक नया पैसा भी नहीं दिया गया है। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि इस बजट में उन लोगों के विकास के लिये ज्यादा अवसर नजर नहीं आते हैं। इन लोगों के विकास के लिये केवल 50 हजार रुपया ही रखा गया है और इसीलिये मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अगर गुजरात में हर पांचवां व्यक्ति पिछड़े वर्ग का है, तो उसके विकास के लिये यहां पर ज्यादा धनराशि की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये थी। पहली सरकार ने भी इस कार्य के लिए बहुत कम धन रखा था और आज भी वही पुरानी परिपाटी को बजट में चलाया जा रहा है।

वहां पर एक ट्राइबल वेलफेयर कारपोरेशन गवर्नर राज्य के समय से बना हुआ है। पापुलर गवर्नमेंट ने यह कार्य नहीं किया था बल्कि गवर्नर राज्य के समय वहां पर ट्राइबल वेलफेयर कारपोरेशन और रूरल हाउसिंग बोर्ड की स्थापना की गई थी। एक व्यक्ति किसी कार्य को अच्छी तरह से सोच सकता है। लेकिन गुजरात में दो तीन गवर्नमेंट बनी और गिरी, लेकिन किसी ने भी इस बात पर विचार नहीं किया। अब ट्राइबल वेलफेयर कारपोरेशन के लिये



5 लाख रुपया रखा गया है जब कि इन लोगों की 54 लाख की आबादी है। 5 लाख रुपया 54 लाख लोगों के लिये रखा जाय, यह तो एक मजाक हुआ। इस 5 लाख रुपये में से तो 3 लाख रुपया एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर हो खर्च हो जाता है और बाकी दो लाख रुपये की क्या योजना बन सकती है और वह कहां पर खर्च किया जा सकता है। इन चीज के लिये ही वहां पर सब आफिसरों को लगाया गया है। यह एक मजाक है।

इस तरह से बजट में रूरल हाउसिंग बोर्ड का एक अलग से हैड होता और उसके लिये करोड़ों रुपया आवंटन किया जाता तो अच्छी बात होती। लेकिन इस तरह की कोई बात नजर नहीं आ रही है।

एक बात में शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भी कहना चाहता हूं। गुजरात में बुनियादी शिक्षा का प्रचलन है, लेकिन इस शिक्षा की जो संस्थाएँ हैं, उनमें महात्मा गांधी के सिद्धांत चरितार्थ नहीं होते। चारित्र्य का निर्माण, उद्योग की तालीम, स्वावलम्बन और इस तरह की शिक्षा और इस तरह के काम अच्छी तरह से नहीं हो रहे हैं। वहां पर तो तकली और चरखा चलता है। आज के आधुनिक युग में तकली और चर्खे की इतनी जरूरत नहीं है। अगर तकली और चर्खे के साथ साथ थोड़ी काश्तकारी भी चलती है और विद्यार्थियों को आधुनिक विषय जैसे हायर मैथ्स, अंग्रेजी, फिजिक्स, कैमिस्ट्री का भी अच्छा ज्ञान नहीं दिया जाता। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि गुजरात में जो बुनियादी शिक्षा है वह केवल पिछड़े हुए वर्ग तक की ही एक विशिष्ट शिक्षा बन गई है। इसमें कोई राज-नैतिक आदमी रस नहीं लेता है और नहीं उसके बच्चे उन स्कूलों में पढ़ते हैं। गुजरात के बल-साड़, सूरत, भड़ौच, वड़ौदा और पंच-महाल जिलों के जो पूर्वी भाग हैं जो जंगली भाग हैं, आदिवासियों से भरे हुए हैं, वहां पर इस तरह के बुनियादी स्कूल खोले गये हैं जो कि कांग्रेस पोलिटिकल सेंटर के रूप में काम आते हैं। अगर इन संस्थाओं का आमूल परिवर्तन नहीं

किया गया तो ये पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग पीढ़ियों तक इसी हालत में रह जायेंगे और इसका किसी तरह से कोई विकास नहीं हो सकेगा। जिस वर्ग की शिक्षा ठीक नहीं होगी, उसका विकास भी नहीं हो सकता है और नहीं वह आगे बढ़ सकता है। इन शिक्षण संस्थाओं में टर्नर, मोटर मैकेनिक, फिटर, प्राथमरी इंजीनियरिंग और टेक्नोलॉजी के विषय दाखिल करने चाहिये ताकि ये लोग देश के नव-निर्माण में हिस्सा ले सकें और एक अच्छी तालीम लेकर निकलें और अपने लिये कोई काम कर सकें। ग्रामोद्योग एवं लघु उद्योग के लिये गुजरात में 517 हजार रुपये आवंटित किए गये हैं, जो बहुत कम हैं। इन लघु उद्योगों का विद्युतीकरण हो जाय और गांवों को ठीक ढग से उद्योगों में सक्रिय बनाया जाय तो गुजरात में जो गरीबी है वह हट सकती है। आज भी गुजरात में केवल 4687 गांवों में बिजली लगी है जबकि कुल 18 हजार गांव हैं। मेरे पूर्व वक्ता ने कहा कि हम पावर शाटेंज का सामना कर रहे हैं। जो वहां थर्मल स्टेशन है और हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रिक पावर स्टेशन हैं उनको जल्दी से जल्दी क्रियान्वित बनाना भी जरूरी होगा।

मुझे कुछ और बातें भी कहनी हैं, जैसे गुजरात में अन्न की बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। उसमें केन्द्र सरकार ने इतना साथ नहीं दिया। गुजरात के लोग अन्न के लिये चिल्ला रहे थे और मई 73 से लेकर नवम्बर 73 तक केन्द्र से गुजरात को जो खाद्यान्न मिलना चाहिये उसमें केन्द्र कटौती ही करता रहा। मई 73 में 95 हजार टन मिला, जून में 83 हजार टन अनाज मिला, जुलाई में 65 हजार टन मिला और नवम्बर 73 में केवल 15 हजार टन अनाज ही गुजरात को दिया गया। यह अनाज जो फेयर प्राइस शाप्स, सस्ते अनाज की दुकानों या सहकारी दुकानों की मार्फत आया उसमें भी इस प्रकार की इरेगुलैरिटीज, अनियमितताएं चली कि जो कुछ चीनी और खाद्यान्न आता था वह भी पिछले दरवाजे से खुले बाजार में आ जाता था और फिर उसका काला बाजार होता था।

[श्री डी० के० पटेल]

इसका सारे गुजरात में बहुत विरोध होता था लेकिन इसमें फूट एंड सिविल सप्लाई डिपार्टमेंट अपनी एफीशिएन्सी नहीं दिखा सका, वह कार्यक्षम सिद्ध नहीं हुआ। जो आन्दोलन हुआ उसमें यह भी एक कारण था।

गुजरात में जो पुलिस अत्याचार हुए उसके बारे में जूडीशियल इन्क्वायरी तो जरूरी है ही, परन्तु इस आन्दोलन में जो शहीद हुए उनके परिवार को 250 रुपये प्रति माह की सहायता दी जानी चाहिये। इतना ही नहीं इस सदन में जनसंघ को गुजरात की हिंसा के लिये जिम्मेवार ठहराने का भी प्रयत्न हुआ। उस प्रदेश में जनसंघ का उत्तरदायित्व निभाने वाले व्यक्ति की हैसियत से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 10 जनवरी तक गुजरात में 150 अलग-अलग स्थानों पर जनसंघ ने बन्ध के कार्यक्रम किये। उनमें से 149 स्थानों पर कोई हिंसा नहीं हुई। जनवरी 10 तक का व्योरा मैं आपके सामने रखता हूँ। राजकोट में एक दंगा हो गया, थोड़ी हिंसा फैली। उसमें कुछ और लोग थे। वहाँ के बारे में रिपोर्ट निकली जिसमें कहा गया कि उसमें और लोग थे। जनसंघ ने जो “बन्ध” के कार्यक्रम किए उनसे कोई हिंसा नहीं फैली बाद में धीरे धीरे आन्दोलन बढ़ता गया। विद्यार्थियों की नव-निर्माण समिति अस्तित्व में आई और उनके तत्व उसमें मिलने लगे। ऐसी हालत में गुजरात में जो हिंसा हुई है उसके लिए जनसंघ को बदनाम करने का जो प्रयास हुआ वह ठीक नहीं है। उस हिंसा में कुछ उत्तरदायित्व निभाने वाले व्यक्तियों के बारे में शंका-आशंकाएं गुजरात में है। जैसे ओलपाड़ के विधायक को खून के इल्जाम में पुलिस ने पकड़ा है, दूसरी भी शंका-आशंकाएं वहाँ पर हैं। बलसाड़ जिले के त्रमालिया स्थान पर दंगे में दो जवान मारे गए उनमें वहाँ के विधायक उत्तम भाई पटेल के ठेकेदारों का हाथ है। वहाँ भी यह इल्जाम पुलिस में दर्ज हुआ है। तो लोगों में बहुत शंका-आशंकाएं हैं।

इसी तरह से राजपीपला में भी गोलियाँ चली। वहाँ के विधायक अपने मकान में बैठे थे कि उन के लोगों ने उनके मकान की ऊपर का मंजिल से गोली चलाई और उनके बुलेट से एक विद्यार्थी मारा गया। यह जो आशंकाएँ या शंकाएँ हैं उनको दूर करने के लिये अब कार्य-वाही शुरू होनी चाहिये।

गुजरात में जो क्षुब्ध है, जो जोतने योग्य जमीन है उसमें सिंचाई के अधीन आने वाला जमीन केवल 10 परसेंट है। इसलिये नर्मदा योजना गुजरात का प्राण प्रश्न है। वैसे मैंने एक रिपोर्ट देखी थी। मध्य प्रदेश के संसद सदस्यों की जिन्होंने बताया था कि—Narmada is basically a river of Madhya Pradesh. इसके अनुसार गुजरात उस पर कोई अपना हक स्थापित नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन देश की जो सम्पत्ति है वह जल हो, कोयला हो वह नेशनल सम्पत्ति है और गुजरात का इस तरह से उस पर अधिकार नहीं है ऐसा जो बयान मैंने पढ़ा उससे मैं चिन्तित हुआ। अगर गुजरात में नर्मदा योजना जल्दी से अस्तित्व में आ सकती है तो बहुत हद तक खाद्यान्न का सवाल हल हो सकता है। गुजरात में नर्मदा अवार्ड की लोग बाट जोह रहे हैं लेकिन उसका कोई परिणाम अभी तक घोषित नहीं हुआ। इस प्रश्न को लेकर गुजरात में फिर कोई आन्दोलन हो सकता है क्योंकि वहाँ की समिति ने यह भी कहा है कि नर्मदा योजना को लेकर हम आन्दोलन करेंगे। अगर नर्मदा योजना साकार हो सकती है तो सौराष्ट्र, कच्छ और राजस्थान के कुछ हिस्से को पानी मिल सकता है और अनाज की पैदावार बढ़ सकती है।

गुजरात का जो वन्य विभाग है, जो वहाँ जंगल हैं वह दिन व दिन घटते जा रहे हैं। सरकार उसकी ओर उतना ध्यान न दे सकी और गुजरात के जंगल कटते र। गुजरात की 8 प्रतिशत से भी कम जमीन में जंगल है। इसलिये जंगलों का विस्तार होना बहुत जरूरी है।

अन्त में मुझे बड़े अदब के साथ यह कहना है कि गुजरात में इतनी हिंसा फैली, फिर भी डिस्सोल्यूशन बहुत धीरे से हुआ। वहाँ के गवर्नर ऐसे लगे मानो राजशाही जमाने में जैसे जब श्रीमान महाराज दरबार में पधारे तो द्वारपाल कोनिश बजाते थे। उसी तरह से राज्यपाल का व्यवहार रहा है। जब यहाँ से-केन्द्र से आदेश हुआ तब उन्होंने कोनिश बजाई, तब धारा सभा का विसर्जन होता है। इससे राज्यपाल का जो गौरव है वह कम हो रहा है। ऐसा लगता है मानो वह कोनिश बजाने वाले द्वारपाल हैं। राज्यपाल के बदले मानों वह द्वारपाल हैं, इस तरह उनको बना रखा है। सवाल तो यह है कि क्या इस देश में 19-20 राज्यों के लिये किन्हीं प्रतिभावान व्यक्तियों को हम नहीं चुन सकते? लेकिन हम अपनी पार्टी के आदमी को या एक्स-मिनिस्टर को गवर्नर नियुक्त करते हैं तो वे लोगों की इच्छाओं का प्रतिघोष नहीं पैदा कर सकते—नहीं व्यक्त कर सकते।

गुजरात में इतनी हिंसा हुई, ऐसा लगता था कि गुजरात मानो झार के समय का रखा हो। लोग मर रहे हैं, उन पर पुलिस की जीपें दौड़ाई जा रही हैं। ये सब हो रहा है, फिर भी हमारे राज्यपाल मौन मूर्ति के रूप में देखते रहे। इससे राज्यपाल का जो स्थान है, जो गौरव है उसको भी एक धक्का पहुँचा है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करता हूँ।

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are discussing the Budget of Gujarat at a time when the agony of Gujarat has not been reduced to any significant extent. We are discussing this Budget (Vote-on-account) at a time when the deep wounds sustained by the people of Gujarat have not yet been healed. Sir, there is persistent dissatisfaction in Gujarat even after the dissolution of the Assembly. The people of Gujarat have lost 80 lives in police firing. In 1942, during the Quit India movement, the Bri-

tish imperialists could take only about 12 lives in Gujarat. During the period 1956-59, during the Maha-Gujarat movement, only 33 lives were lost. But the Congress Government in Gujarat has taken 80 precious lives during the recent agitation. Though the agitation began on a relatively smaller issue, regarding the hostel mess bills, the movement widened into a fairly massive one and I would like to narrate some of the reasons for this particular development. Sir, a study was made by a responsible person, Prof. Jitendra Dholakia of the School of Social Sciences of Gujarat University and he came to the conclusion, after a serious survey study, that the deep-rooted economic crisis caused the current student unrest in Gujarat. Sir, according to the study, 52 per cent of the students coming from the poor middle class families miss a meal a day. And 53 per cent of the students hope to enter politics to purify politics and cleanse the corruption-ridden economy. In other words, man-made shortages of food, man-made increases in the prices of essential commodities, gross corruption at top echelons of the Government, all these were instrumental in inflaming the agitation.

Sir, I am referring to all this only to bring to the attention of this House that when we discuss the Budget (Vote-on-account) of Gujarat, we must ponder over this basic problem whether the Budget proposes to heal at least partially the wounds. I have gone through the Budget. What do we find here? In this Budget (Vote-on-account) for the next few months, they have a notionally token one-third of the total expenditure normally put in the annual Budget. In one of the columns, for the Council of Ministers, out of Rs. 8,34,000 they have provided Rs. 2,78,000 for the next three months. May be they hope to have another Ministry soon, after rigging the elections in Gujarat. But let us look at

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

the more interesting feature. The amount for the Police Department in the annual Budget was Rs. 18.77 crores. But we find that instead of providing one-third of the expenditure, they have provided a much larger outlay for police for the coming few months. They have provided Rs. 8.15 crores, instead of the notional amount of one-third which should come only to Rs. 6.25 crores. Therefore, you find that for only one item they have increased the expenditure substantially, i.e., police, because they want to pursue police terror in the country to subdue the people who are agitating for their grievances. On the contrary, you find that for the consumer industries, which have a capital expenditure in the annual Budget of Rs. 68.15 lakhs, there is no expenditure at all, even notional, included in this Budget for the next few months. Investments in industrial finance institutions: Again you find a substantial reduction in the expenditure included. You find, therefore, a basic imbalance in the Vote-on-Account produced for the next few months. You find a provision made for the non-existent Council of Ministers. I can understand that provided they have any hope of getting Ministers after another rigging as they did in Bengal. On the other hand, there is a substantial increase in expenditure on police, a repressive, coercive, element, which is found to be want only beating up people, breaking their bones and killing and shooting people. In fact, if you look into the police oppression, you will find umpteen number of examples in Gujarat where people were dragged out of their homes by the police and shot dead. Young men were made nude and made to march through the Streets. People even inside a temple compound were shot and killed. And you find an order of the Gujarat Government for shooting being set aside or questioned

by the Gujarat High Court. I am quoting what the High Court said :

"A Division Bench of the High Court today held that the law and machinery of the State Government had no authority to shoot at anyone for a mere breach of curfew orders. Mr. Justice Mehta and Mr. Justice Shah who constituted the Bench also ruled that the executive directions in the Gujarat Government announcement relating to the threat of shooting were unlawful and void."

Instead of understanding the writing on the wall that the path of shooting the people at sight in the name of unlawful assembly would not heal the wounds of Gujarat, that the path of authoritarianism would not heal the wounds of Gujarat, what the Government is trying to do is to give us a Budget in which there is a substantial increase in police expenditure. Let us look into the Budgetary provisions for planning and development. I have made a little exercise about the Plan provision. In Gujarat under the President's rule, when Shri Shriman Narayan was the Governor, a perspective plan was produced for the period 1974-1984. In that perspective plan a total expenditure of Rs. 7,200 crores was provided. The Governor is reported to have stated, according to the 'Hindustan Times' of New Delhi dated 18th February, 1972—and I quote—"The Governor claimed that the Plan was labour and employment oriented even though it has overall development as its aim. It aims at eradicating unemployment at the end of the decade on the assumption that the present rate of success in family planning will continue". Unemployment is proposed to be solved at the end of the decade by continued success in family planning. I am surprised to see the statement reported in the Press by no less a person than an existing Governor. Let us look at the perspective plan. Out of the perspective plan for 1974-1984 for the

first year of the Fifth Plan which was originally supposed to constitute Rs. 1,053 crores, I find in the Budget a provision is made, for the first year of the Plan, Rs. 143.37 crores. If you really work out the erosion in the rupee value during the last several years, you will find that not only the total provision in the Fifth Plan was achieved to the extent of only 50 per cent, even the annual Plan provision for the next year is much below the average provision which should have been made in the Budget in terms of the Fifth Plan Outlay. One-fifth of the Fifth Plan Outlay of Rs. 1053 crores works out to be over Rs. 210 crores; part of it comes possibly from Central assistance and part of it from other sources. I would like to have an explanation why even after the continued agonies of Gujarat adequate provision in the annual Plan was not made and why you have made only this paltry provision of Rs. 143.37 crores which in real value is being depreciated every year at the rate of 15 to 20 per cent. You also find that the Budget makes a notional cash balance of Rs. 2 lakhs at the end of the year. In fact, this is fictitious, because the State Government is making such assumptions on the basis of a nominal surplus Budget in the hope that Plan and non-Plan expenditure will be economised, that steps will be taken for speedy recovery of Government dues, and so on. On these assumptions they have shown in paper a notional deficit. In fact the rate at which expenditure has been rising in the past in the various Departments indicates that the real expenditure will be much larger and the deficit at the end of the year will be substantially higher.

I would like to deal with some of the developmental projects incorporated and not incorporated in the Fifth Plan. According to a statement in the Press, we find that despite the four Five Year Plans there are many pockets of backwardness in Gujarat State. Despite high rate of industrial development in

the urban centres, we find that Gujarat is one of the States in India which has the most backward pockets in the rural areas. Urban population in Gujarat, according to 1961 census, was about 25 per cent. By 1971 census figures it was reported to be about 28 per cent. The rate at which urban development is taking place shows the urgent need for larger provisions to solve the problems such as provision of civic amenities and development of various municipalities. Irrigation potential created in Gujarat upto March 1969 was only 11.35 per cent of the total cultivable area. This compares unfavourably with the national average of 20.7 per cent. If you exclude Narmada, the irrigation potential is 21.4 per cent as against 41.3 per cent in the country as a whole. They have to depend either on Narmada or on other schemes which are yet to come.

In Gujarat out of the 19 districts, at least ten are reported to be drought prone and the cultivators are exposed to seasonal variations in weather and vagaries of nature.

Similarly in the field of forestry, the area of forests in Gujarat is only 9 per cent as against the all India average of 24 per cent and the national policy of achieving the figure of 33 per cent.

Gujarat occupies the 12th position in respect of roads. Similarly, Gujarat, has, along with Rajasthan and Punjab, very large border areas. These areas are still neglected in terms of developmental allocations. Similarly in the field of mineral wealth, with discoveries of oil and gas of commercial quality and with rich deposits of Fluoride, Lignite and Bauxite, Gujarat has immense potentiality to solve most of the problems of the State.

If you look into the agrarian structure, you will find that out of 22 lakh cultivators in Gujarat State, about 11 lakhs, almost 50 per cent, are holders of below 5 acres. About 65 per cent of these cultivators really come under

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

the category of marginal farmers who live below the subsistence level.

Regarding Adivasis and Harijans, they constitute 21 per cent of the State's population. Gujarat has 10 per cent of the Adivasi population of the entire country. In the district of Dong, for instance, the concentration of Adivasis is as much as 93.5 per cent. The agricultural labour population of the State is something like 22.5 per cent. The total working class population in the State is like any other State in India.

In the backdrop of these problems, we should examine what the Government has done so far. In the field of procurement of rice, and other essential commodities, the State Government has miserably failed. At a time when Gujarat was bleeding, at a time when Gujarat needed foodgrains, foodgrains were rotting at Kandla port from where they were moved to far-off Uttar Pradesh to buy votes. This was what was actually done. In order that the ruling party people maintain themselves in power, Gujarat was allowed to bleed and starve at a time when Gujarat needed foodgrains very badly. In the case of levy on bajra and rice, we find a miserable failure in achievement compared to the targets. Fifty per cent of the bajra went underground during the last several months and the procurement of bajra was less than one-tenth of the target and the target was one lakh tonnes. Procurement was hardly 6,100 tonnes. In the case of rice, against the target of 62,000 tonnes, the State Government could procure only a small proportion, that is, only about 14,000 tonnes. Sir, the greatest scandal was possible in the case of groundnut oil. One of the biggest scandals in the country now relates to the groundnut oil case in Gujarat. The price of groundnut oil in Gujarat used to be about Rs. 90/- per tin. The Gujarat Government which also

used to procure groundnut oil to the extent of about 50 to 75,000 tonnes found itself in a position where the entire groundnut oil was being taken out of the State and sold at a premium of 200% and even in Delhi you find that groundnut oil is being sold at substantially higher prices! Now you will find that lakhs and crores of rupees have been taken away in this manner by the traders and mill-owners in Gujarat and other places. The profit of the mill-owners during the crushing season in Gujarat is estimated to have been at least Rs. 45 lakhs per day and out of this share, the Congress is reported to have got about Rs. 25 lakhs. Sir, this is published in the newspapers and this is an open secret in Ahmedabad. If you go to Ahmedabad, you will hear in the streets there stories about what share out of this gross profit taken by the mill-owners was given over to the Congress coffers. All these things indicate that instead of solving the problems of Gujarat, instead of solving the wounds of the Gujarat people, the Government has gone on a war-path and is using the police and is spending increasingly on the police which is the instrument of coercive power at the hands of the Government. Instead of developing the economy of the State of Gujarat and instead of solving the problems of Gujarat through a meaningful perspective plan, through allocation of adequate resources for the State Plan and also through Central assistance, the Government has now come up with a Vote on Account which, I think, we must totally reject.

Sir, with these words, I conclude.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is the fourth time during these last ten days that I have had an occasion to speak on this very sad subject. I appreciate that this a repetition. But still I know and you will agree with me that this is a subject

which will stand repetition and the people of Gujarat need all the sympathy of the House and the Government.

As you know, Sir, we have passed through tremendous and unprecedented agony and we have never known such things ever having taken place not only in Gujarat, but also in any other part of India and, therefore, Sir, it is not something which is to be treated lightly. Sir, the people of Gujarat have been known for their law-abiding nature and they are constitutional-minded people. But such people, such docile, lovable, straightforward and honest people, of Gujarat were driven to this situation where the law and order completely broke down. If you go into the root of these problems, you will agree with me that the basic cause for all these things was an economic one. But Gujarat is not a State which is not richly endowed and yet, with all the handicaps, it has been trying to make progress and achieve industrial progress and the people of Gujarat need to be congratulated for their industry and for their patience and for putting up with their hardships, when, in spite of their hard work and in spite of their industry, the economic conditions started failing, the basic necessities of living were vanishing, food was not available and the other amenities were altogether vanishing from the scene, these docile lot of people of Gujarat were driven to the wall and they came back in agitations which shocked the entire State. Now, such people who were not by temperament given to these activities should be treated and handled with compassion. Now, because of these economic difficulties, there was political breakdown. Therefore, now if we want to re-establish political stability in this part of the country, it is essential that we ensure that economic stability and economic well-being is also brought about. With the greatest difficulties, Sir, Gujarat is limping back to normalcy and all of us would like to preserve this normalcy. To preserve this normalcy it is neces-

sary that we do not let any untoward thing and economic difficulties crop up whereby whatever little patience the people have got and whatever little assurance they have of stability that they are trying to achieve, is destroyed any further. Therefore, it is my most humble and earnest request to the Central Government, which has got this opportunity, to show that Gujarat can be well administered and can be given whatever its basic necessities are. We are not begging for any extraordinary thing. Our request is, please meet the bare minimum necessities of this part. Right now, Gujarat is unfortunate; it does not have a popularly elected Ministry, and therefore it should not be that in the absence of such popular government the necessities of Gujarat are neglected. In fact, it is the greater responsibility of the Government to take care of its every requirement. In this light, I would like to put forward a few suggestions.

Sir, traditionally, Gujarat, is a deficit State. Its soil is suitable for oil and for cotton. We produce in Gujarat about one-third of the groundnut that is produced in the whole country. Out of the groundnut oil consumption, half of it is supplied by Gujarat. Gujarat groundnut is considered to be so good that every year 70,000 tonnes of hand-picked groundnut seeds are exported, and that brings us precious foreign exchange.

Now, last year the groundnut production was 3 lakh tonnes. But we had drought conditions this year. We did not have a real bumper crop as we can wish. In the years 1970-71 and 1971-72 we had produced 18 lakh tonnes of groundnut. But this year we have produced 13 lakh tonnes, that is, four times more than what it was last year.

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri V. B. Raju) in the Chair.]

Last year, during the month of March, the price of groundnut oil was

[Shrimati Sumitra K. Kulkarni]

in the range of Rs. 5-6. But I regret to inform this House that today with 13 lakh tonnes production, the price of oil ranging between Rs. 8 and Rs. 9. Now, this a fantastic situation. On the one hand, we have such a good crop, and on the other hand we are not able to control or contain the price.

Ordinarily, groundnut oil is used for Vanaspati. Last year, when we did not have enough of groundnut, 45% content of every Vanaspati produced was limited to 45% of groundnut oil. This year it has been raised to 55%, thus raising it by 10%. We are reducing a considerable amount of the groundnut which should be available to the States. It is not as if with this 45% content, the standard of Vanaspati will go down. I would like to urge that a State which is going to export 70,000 tonnes of hand-picked groundnut seeds and is going to earn foreign exchange, should be given a little benefit at least out of this thing. We do not want direct results of this foreign exchange. But some imported oil-seeds should be issued to the Vanaspati producers so that they can do with only 45% of the groundnut and the 10 per cent extra can be released for the people of Gujarat. Rapeseed oil, mustard oil—all these can be used without any damage to the standard of Vanaspati. So it is my very earnest request to the Government that they should take care of this aspect of the Gujarat economy.

Sir, similarly, Gujarat is an area which is producing cotton—Shankarcha cotton—which is produced in Sabarkanta district and other areas of Gujarat, which is used entirely for export purposes. It is considered to be even better than Egyptian cotton, long staple cotton. In these circumstances, it becomes necessary that we have divert our arable land towards these cash crops. Traditionally, Gujarat is a deficit State as far as foodgrains are concerned. In this light, I

would like to say that when we are producing cash crops which are useful for the country as a whole and when we are supplying 50 per cent of the groundnut oil needed by the country, at least food materials should be supplied to us. Since the month of February, 1974, 52000 tonnes of foodgrains are being supplied every month to Gujarat. If we were to assess our requirement at the rate of 7 kg. per person per month, we would need much more. But we of Gujarat would be quite content if only 1 lakh tonnes of foodgrains are supplied. It is my request to the Government as well as to the Food Minister who is not here that he should somehow ensure that one lakh tonnes of foodgrains are supplied to this very tired and riot-torn State. People go to these extremes because of hunger and unless this hunger is appeased, we will not be able to establish the normalcy which all of us desire so intensely. Therefore, this is my request about the food shortage.

The second point is this. This is the first year of the Fifth Five Year Plan. Gujarat, as I said earlier, has tried to bring about industrial development in spite of so many handicaps. Sir, we need coal for our textile mills. We have got 125 textile mills. It comes to one-fourth of the total textile mills in the country. We are the biggest producers of textiles in this part. We need coal. But coal has to be brought from places 2000 miles away. But coal supply is affected because of the wagon position and our textile production is also affected. Sir, this is the beginning of the first year of the Fifth Plan. Now, there is no Government there. Therefore, it is for the Central Government to take a keener interest in the development of Gujarat.

Sir, I would say one word in support of my hon. friend, Mr. Harubhai Trivedi and I would like to contradict Shri Himmat Singh Ji, the hon. Member from my party. To say that administration is responsible will be a little too much.



**SHRI HIMMAT SINGH :** I would like to clarify my position. Earlier, Mr. Trivedi also mentioned about me. I have not blamed the administration. What I have said is that there are individuals in the administration who are identified themselves with political leaders. They are sabotaging the administration.

**SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI :** I am grateful for his clarification. I would like to make a point in favour of our officers. If Gujarat has made this progress, it is because of the excellent standard of administration of the Gujarat officers. Gujarat officers are not only Gujaratis. They come from all parts of the country and they have made that State as their own. They have given the best of their services to Gujarat and that is the reason that I am defending the administration of Gujarat and the officers of Gujarat. My only request to them is that they should achieve such wonderful progress in the coming months as they have achieved in the past.

Coming back to energy, I declare that we do not have any energy. We have no other hydel project. There is Narmada project which is still in the offing. In the absence of coal or because of inadequate and irregular supply of coal, there is no other energy source. Therefore, it has been our consistent request that one atomic power station is given to us.

(Time Bell rings.)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** You can take three minutes more.

**SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI :** The other two gentlemen from our party were not there. All right, I am finishing very shortly. We have a great need for power and energy. In the Fifth Plan, our requirement is 3100 MW. The State is able to produce about 2300 MW. That leaves a shortage of 800 MW. It is my request

that one of the atomic power stations in the Fifth Plan should be located in Gujarat. I may submit that it is not at all technically difficult. In fact, a site called Balna near Bhavnagar in the West Coast of Gujarat is under very active consideration. And *prima facie*, it appears to be one of the most convenient places. I will give you the specific reason why it is the most suitable place for locating an atomic plant. One is that it is not near any habitat. Secondly, it has got plenty of sweet water which is needed in bulk quantity for any atomic power station. It has also a rocky portion which gives it an excellent foundation and which can carry sufficient load and weight of the reactor building of the power plant itself. If this atomic plant is located in Gujarat, initially it may give us 450 MW of power and later on it can develop 900 MW. If that load factor is taken into consideration, it is highly justified and this is according to the annual projections in the Fifth Plan. That is why, Sir, it is my request to the Atomic Energy Commission, through the Finance Minister, that we must be given the privilege of having this atomic power plant. The only other thing is that it is 30 kms. away from any earthquake zone. It is said that it may be in the danger zone. But Tarapur also had the history of the same danger zone about earthquakes. It was seismologically and geologically considered. But this is not such a fault that it may be altogether ignored. I understand, Sir, that Goa is claiming one such atomic power station. I personally think that Goa is such a small State, may be it can spare the facility for an energy-dry State like Gujarat. Maharashtra has already got one. I think it would be logical that Maharashtra does not require a second plant.

Now, Sir, I would like to give a small reply to my friends in the Jan Sangh and the C.P.I. I think, the hon. Member from Jan Sangh mentioned about

[Shrimati Sumitra G. Kulkarni]

the name of Shri Uttambhai Patel. Shri Uttambhai Patel is an Adivasi leader, who is loved by the 38 lakh Adivasis of Gujarat. I cannot imagine that he can ever be employed in any kind of a criminal activity, much less a murder case. I think there is some mistake about it and it should not be repeated...

श्री डी० के० पटेल : श्रीमन्, उस में ऐसा है कि जो मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट के लिये खड़े थे श्री गमनभाई वीरजी भाई पटेल, वह कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवार थे 1971 में, उन्होंने एक पर्चा प्रस्तुत किया है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि उत्तम भाई पटेल वहाँ हाजिर थे। उन्होंने देखा, अपनी जमा में भी देखा कि उन के आदमी विद्यार्थियों पर हमला कर रहे हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने उनको मना नहीं किया। फिर उन के ठेकेदार समझिये, वह उन को दो किलोमीटर तक दौड़ा ले गये और दो जवानों को मार डाला यह सारा आँखों देखा हवाला है जो श्री गमनभाई वीरजी भाई पटेल ने प्रसिद्ध किया था। मैं ने सदन में भी पेश किया था।

श्री उपाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० दी० राजू) : आप का भाषण तो हो गया न ? आप बैठिये।

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : I would submit that this was such a huge rally that nobody can tell what exactly has happened. But we can vouchsafe for the character and the abilities of this gentleman, who will never associate himself in such activities. This I tell you on my own authority, which is also not less because nobody in this House can ever believe that Mrs. Kulkarni can indulge in this activity. If I can, so also Mr. Patel...

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Dr. Kurian, let her speak.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : Sir, I am also very grateful to Dr. Kurian for his love for Gujarat.

But I would say that all these disturbances were mainly the activity of his Party and his partymen...

(Interruption)

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Mrs. Kulkarni, you are giving too much credit to us. You have done enough damage to Gujarat and, therefore, you are to blame yourselves.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : Sir, it is utterly a false report that...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : I am surprised that you put the blame on the Opposition when you yourself said in the speech that *hunger* was at the root of the whole problem. Who is to be blamed for the hunger of the people? Your own Government. Why not blame your own Government?

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : Sir, I have only one submission to make. He said that there was a police budget of Rs. 18 crores. And one-third works out to Rs. 6.5 crores, and only two more crores of rupees are there for purchasing the equipment which has been already ordered and also for paying the Home Guards who have been brought out on a special duty. Now, this is one fact about our...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Are you the Minister in charge of Police?

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : I know very well about it.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Any components for the purchase of machine guns also there?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Do not provoke her.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI : Now, this agitation was started by the young men. My analysis of the situation is that this thing happened because there was a lack of communication between the administration and the youth. After all, their demands are very

simple. Their demands about education can never be something insurmountable. My request to the Central Government as well as to the present day administration is that they may please understand their requirements and demands and try to solve them so that no more such problems may come up. I appeal to the younger people. It is good that they came out with this kind of thing. But, future is for them. Future is for the progress of the tradition. Now, tradition can best be preserved by democracy. The way democracy was handled in the last month is an extremely sad affair. I feel hurt as a parent that people, parties and individuals should incite youngsters and mislead them. Is this what we want from our youngsters? Is this what we want from our sons and daughters? This is a common and combined responsibility of every mature person that he should not play with such a volatile and such an energetic force, like our young men. They should be preserved. Therefore, it is my request to every party which is trying to fish in these troubled waters to be careful and not to play with them because if they do so they will be playing with fire. These young men are the power and energy of the future of our country. We should not mislead them. We should not provoke them and give them wrong suggestions and take them on a wrong path. If we do so, we will be setting up bad traditions which will not be worthy of us. (*Time Bell rings*) It is not the problem of Gujarat alone. It is the problem of whole country.

(Interruptions)

SHRI N. G. GOREY (Maharashtra) : Sir, rather difficult to speak after such an eloquent speaker as Mrs. Kulkarni. I only wonder how things have changed within the last five days. The temptation to be sarcastic is there because you must have listened to what some of the Members from those Benches were saying only last Thursday when my friend, Mr. Bipin Pal Das and even the young Turk, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, felt that I was being somewhat heretical and they

were surprised and pained that I should take that attitude and describe what happened in Gujarat as a mass upsurge by the people, for the people and of the people.

But, Sir, I am really happy that the Government at last took this decision of dissolving the Assembly, which in fact should have come much earlier. I feel very sad, however, that the decision has been delayed. Had that decision been taken a bit earlier, many young lives would have been spared. Nearly 100 young boys were killed and many more were maimed for life. Sir, I think that we are going through a period of tailism in the sense that things happen first and all that we can do is to try to analyse things after the events take place. It

shows how alienated we have been from the common man, the political leaders, the intellectual elite and those who are governing this country. Every time something happens we come on the scene and try to understand why this should have happened in this particular manner. The same thing most probably has happened in Bihar and after a couple of days we shall be discussing Bihar, as to why Bihar, the land of Buddha, just as Gujarat, the land of Gandhi, should explode like this. It is not a sign of leadership at all. It is not a sign of good government at all that every time the people take to action and all that is left for us is to have a sort of postmortem and the Government only wakes up after they have burnt their fingers.

I do not want to dwell on the problems of Gujarat because I hope that now normalcy is coming back and I should be careful in saying anything that will hurt the process of healing. I would like the healing to take place as quickly as possible.

Sir, I will come to the question of Budget. Somehow, on the backdrop of these happenings, it looks very lifeless, almost irrelevant. I do not know how

[Shri N. G. Gorey]

the Government, the caretaker Government, the President's Rule is going to help this process of healing and that is what is wanted. I think one of the things that the Government will have to do is to establish close contacts with the people, try to understand them. Mrs. Kulkarni said that they must be treated with compassion; I won't use that word. I would say that they should be treated with understanding, there must be a liaison between the Government officers and the common man and I think if the Government officers rise above party politics and appeal to all the Opposition parties to help in this process, I am quite sure, Sir, that the necessary co-operation will be forthcoming. If the sole idea is to re-establish the Congress, if the sole idea is to bring back those discredited people, then I think the whole experiment will be an exercise in futility.

Sir, so far as the Budget is concerned, I would like to say that there is an impression throughout the country that the Gujaratis are rich people and Gujarat is a rich State. It is almost like judging Maharashtra from what you see in Bombay. Sir, just as in Maharashtra so in Gujarat, it is a lop-sided development. Industrial growth has taken place only in certain pockets and the entire hinterland is left undeveloped. That is exactly the state of affairs in Gujarat. I think hundreds of villages, nearly three-fourths of Gujarat is undeveloped and all the development that has taken place is from Ahmedabad to Surat along the western coast. The major development is confined to that area, while the rest of Gujarat is very poor, prone to scarcity, famine. That is why, Sir, I would say that this Budget does not provide enough for levelling up those areas which remain undeveloped. It is a paltry sum that you have provided. You have said that because of the drought, because of the scarcity of rainfall, nearly two-thirds of Gujarat was

suffering from food shortage. If that is so, then the provision that you have made in the Budget for developing those areas is very scanty. You must be very liberal and try to bring up those areas so that the Gujarati people can be assured of enough foodgrains to meet their necessities. How can you do that?

Then I come to the next question, that is, irrigation. Sir, very rightly Member after Member pointed out that the decision about Narmada is overdue. Sir, I will make an appeal now to the Prime Minister, to the Government, that they should not delay taking a proper decision about Narmada. I know that there is a dispute between Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat but for the last fifteen years this dispute is going on and if you leave it to the Chief Ministers of those respective States it is never going to end. Therefore this is the proper time when some decision should be taken. You can meet half-way. The fear that is in the mind of Madhya Pradesh that so much land will be submerged can be allayed through it cannot be completely removed. This Narmada Valley Development will perhaps give you enough food and enough electricity for which you have been searching all over. If this Narmada valley scheme is properly developed it will give up enough food not only to the Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat people but the people of all India will benefit from that because the potential is so great. Just now Mrs. Kulkarni talked about atomic plant. It will take years to come up and perhaps it may be very costly, but this is a hydro-electric project and this can give you all the electricity that you need. I know that the Gujarati people are very enterprising, not only the merchant class, the trader class, but also the peasant in Gujarat is very skillful. They are industrious and if you give to the peasant the water that he needs and if you give the entrepreneur the electricity that he needs, then I am quite sure that within the next five or ten years Gujarat will be altogether a different

State, perhaps a surplus State and that is exactly what we want.

Then I would like to point out what is happening in Kandla. So far as my knowledge goes, Kandla is dying; except for a little oil that you take from the tankers there is hardly any activity in the port worth mentioning. Therefore I would beg of the Central Government that having invested so much money in Kandla port they should go ahead and try to make it a really first-class port which Gujarat can make use of and the entire country also can profit from.

Now, so far as social welfare is concerned, I think the point that was raised by my friend from this side deserves consideration. One of the biggest concentrations of Adivasis is in Gujarat. It is a belt stretching right from Ranchi to Panch Mahals. It is the Adivasi belt and it is not just an accident that one of our foremost social leaders like Thakkar Bapa came from that area. He worked there; it was he who pioneered the whole thing. Thakkar Bapa is a name which we shall never forget; we should never forget. Now a man who started that sort of work naturally must have hoped that very soon the Adivasi area will be developed but now we find that this Budget provides a very small sum for the welfare of the Adivasis. On the one hand in the Fifth Plan we are talking very big about the minimum needs of the people, and in the minimum needs you have said that particular attention will be paid to the Adivasi areas, to the backward areas, to the weaker sections of the society. Now this entire Adivasi belt in Gujarat consists of weaker sections, exploited people. Uttambhai Patel was the leader of these people. Now Mrs. Kulkarni claimed that she knew Uttambhai Patel. I can say I know Uttambhai Patel for the last fifty years. I was the man who witnessed the first Satyagraha by Shri Uttambhai Patel and his Adivasis in that area. So, Sir, this is really a very sorry state of affairs and I would ask Mr.

Ganesh to go deeper into the matter. If these people, fifty lakhs of them, remain unsatisfied, then you are really creating a problem for yourself in that particular area.

The last point that I would like to say is, let us try to see that this phase, the phase of President's rule, in Gujarat is as short lived as possible. Gujaratis are a very proud people. They are a well-organised community. By nature they are peaceful and constructive. Now, if such a people were made to feel that President's rule is the only solution, then, I think, they will feel hurt. Therefore, I say, make this period as short as possible. Go in for fresh elections as soon as possible. Delimitation and all that procedure should be followed without loss of time. Let the Gujarat people have a new Assembly of their own. I would say that the appeal made to all the opposition parties to co-operate, this particular point, has been well taken. We know that we must co-operate, but for what? If you really want a cleaner democracy, I entirely agree with the appeal made by the Navnirman Samiti leaders. We want a clean administration. We want a Government which is not corrupt. You must try to understand these things. It is no use blaming each other. I do not want to indulge in mud-slinging. Let us all agree in time, but not after the time is over. It is no use bolting the door after the horse is stolen. I am saying that if you find that your own people are corrupt, you must have the courage to say so in time, not after they have gone. If my party people are corrupt, I must have the courage to say so. This is what the people want. People can stand all this scarcity, shortage of food, etc. if they are convinced that the Government is doing its utmost to see that whatever is produced is being taken to the people. This is the point which I would like to stress before concluding. Mrs. Kulkarni pointed out that Gujarat soil is fit for some cash crops which we need desperately, viz., groundnut and cotton. Yes, we require them.

[Shri N. G. Goray]

Now, if Gujarat soil is suitable for these cash crops which are needed by the entire country, then let not Punjab or Haryana or Madhya Pradesh grudge to give them necessary cereal. The entire country will have to be considered as one unit. If Maharashtra can give you sugar, well, give Maharashtra the grain that it needs. Unless we take to this sort of specialisation, we shall come to this pass that every State must be self-sufficient, but every State will not be self-sufficient because the soil is not favourable. Therefore, I would say that the Gujarat people must be given this assurance that if they grow enough groundnut, if they grow first-rate cotton, which is needed for export, they may rest assured that the needed wheat, rice and other cereals will come to them. If that is done with honesty and sincerity, I am quite sure that the people of Gujarat or anywhere else will not feel the necessity of rising in revolt. Revolt does not take place all of a sudden. People watch and people wait. I have not come across any people throughout the world who are more patient than the Indian people. They are so patient that one really wonders why they did not rise in the revolt earlier. But they are very patient. And if they are patient, then you must also be sincere and honest. If they think that nobody is fair to them, that the Government is all steeped in corruption and selfishness, then they take this step. I eschew violence, I condemn violence. But please tell us what a man going hungry for days and weeks together should do. His wife, his children and he are starving. If you say, "All right. All that he has to do is to die quietly," then I am not with you. I would say, let him fight back whatever the consequences rather than die without raising a voice of protest. And that is exactly the point you are pushing the country to. I say, let us all join together, try to see what can be done, what is being produced, and let us distribute it honestly and fairly so that everybody will get his due

share. If this is done, I am quite sure that this process of healing will be quickened and normalcy in the real sense of the term can be restored in Gujarat.

Thank you.

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत (राजस्थान) :**  
उप-सभापति जी, पिछले दो ढाई महीनों में जो कुछ गुजरात में हुआ वह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण था और देश के लिए दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है।

इस सदन में गुजरात के मामले के ऊपर एक बार नहीं, कई दफा विचार हो चुका है। सभी लोगों ने अपने अपने मत इसके बारे में व्यक्त किये। पिछले दो महीनों में हमने गुजरात में जो काम किये उनसे अनेक पार्टियों के अनेक रूपों को देखा। कई बार हमें ताज्जुब भी हुआ कि कई व्यक्तियों ने जो अहिंसा के पुजारी कहे जाते थे, अहिंसा में विश्वास करने वाले थे, जिस तरह के उन्होंने उपदेश दिये उसके विरुद्ध उन्होंने गुजरात में काम किया।

उप-सभापति महोदय, इन बातों के ऊपर काफी चर्चा हो चुकी है। मैं गुजराती हुई बातों में नहीं जाना चाहती। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जो कुछ गुजरात में हुआ उससे हमें, हमारी सरकार को, हमारी राजनीतिक पार्टियों को सबक ले लेना चाहिए। यह क्यों हुआ, इसके पीछे क्या कारण थे। हम नहीं चाहेंगे कि जो गलतियाँ गुजरात में हुईं उनको दोहराया जाए, उनका स्मरणकथन किसी दूसरे राज्य के ऊपर हो। इसलिए हमें उन गलतियों से सबक लेना निहायत जरूरी है। गुजरात में सारा का सारा तनाव खाद्यान्न की कमी के कारण, मंहगाई के कारण, चीजों के भाव एकदम बढ़ जाने के कारण हुआ। दिक्कत सबको है, लेकिन गुजरात की जनता में एक तरह का विश्वास हो गया कि सरकार ने कुछ ऐसे कदम उठाये हैं जिनके कारण सारी की सारी बुराइयाँ तेजी से बढ़ती गई, जनता को वहाँ की सरकार के ऊपर विश्वास नहीं हुआ और उसके कुछ कारण भी थे। जहाँ खाद्यान्न की कमी का जिक्र आता है वहाँ इस

माल अच्छी फल हुई पिछले साल के मुकाबले में । 15 लाख टन पिछले साल में हुई इस साल 23 लाख टन हुई, लेकिन लोगों को खाने के लिए अन्न नहीं मिल रहा था । जहां मूंगफली की बमर क्राप हुई पर सारी मूंगफली अंडरग्राउंड चली गई, 50 परसेंट अंडरग्राउंड चली गई । स्टुडेंट्स को और जनता को यह महसूस हुआ कि जो उस समय मिनिस्ट्री वहां काम कर रही थी उसके लोग भ्रष्ट थे, इसलिए ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हुई । स्मगलिंग होकर ग्राउंडनट बाहर जा रहा था और जो स्मगलिंग हो रहा था उसके लिए हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने परसों मेरे एक सवाल के जवाब में इस बात को स्वीकार किया कि हमारे वेजॉटेबल घी की इसलिए कमी हुई कि गुजरात से काफी ग्राउंडनट मुक्त में ही नहीं, विदेशों को भी स्मगल होकर चला गया । इन सब कारणों को लेकर जनता में एक रोष पैदा हुआ और उन्होंने रोष व्यक्त किया । हमें उससे सबक लेना चाहिए कि हम अपने आगे वाली कीमतों को इस प्रकार जमायें कि भाव ऊंचे न बढ़ने पायें, होडिंग न किया जा सके और उसको लेकर ही यह बात चली थी ।

उपमहापति जी, हमारी जनता ने, वहां के, गुजरात के लोगों ने जो कुछ किया उस के पीछे उन का यह विश्वास था कि वहां के फूड मिनिस्टर ने और श्री चिमनभाई पटेल ने, जो कि वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, उन्होंने होडिंग में लोगों की मदद की और भ्रष्ट काम किये और इसलिए वहां होडिंग बढ़ती चली जा रही है । वे लोग इसी बात को ले कर चले । तो हमें अपने दूसरे राज्यों में इस तरह के भवाल हाथ में लेने हैं और यह सबक लेना है कि हम वहां अच्छी डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन व्यवस्था कर सकें और होडिंग न होने दें, जमावोरी न होने दें और चीजों के भाव जो अनावश्यक रूप से बढ़ रहे हैं उन को रोकने में हम पूरी की पूरी ताकत लगायें । दूसरा सबक जो हमें लेना है वह यह है कि गुजरात की जनता आम तौर पर शांतिप्रिय रही है और किसी को उम्मीद नहीं थी कि वहां की जनता इतनी वाधनेश्वर कर सकती है ।

लेकिन जो कुछ वहां हुआ उस में वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर पर तरह तरह के भ्रष्ट आरोप लगाये गये थे, स्पष्ट तौर से लगाये गये थे, और उसी समय हमारी सरकार को चाहिए था कि उनको उन के पद से हटा दिया जाता । बाद में जो उन को हटाया गया उस से पहले ही उन को उन के पद से मुक्ति दिला दी जाती और अगर उन पर मुकदमा चलाया जाता तो जनता में इतना रोष न होता । जनता को विश्वास होना चाहिए कि हमारे ऊपर के लोग जो काम करने वाले हैं वह सिसियेरिटी के साथ हमारे कष्टों को दूर करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं और हम से सच्ची सहानुभूति रखते हैं ।

**श्री उमाशंकर जोशी (नाम निर्देशित) :** अब मुकदमा चलाइये ।

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चुडावत :** मैं मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने यह बात रखना चाहती हूँ कि चिमन भाई के ऊपर मुकदमा चलाया जाये । उन का पब्लिक ट्रायल हो । आप कहते हैं कि उस के लिए स्पेसिफिक चार्जेंज होना चाहिए । इस से बढ़ कर और क्या स्पेसिफिक चार्जेंज हो सकते हैं कि उन के किये हुए कामों के कारण हमारा गुजरात दो महीनों तक जलता रहा और वहां सैकड़ों जानें चली गयी । इन से बढ़ कर स्पेसिफिक चार्ज और क्या हो सकता है । मैं याद दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि मुंदड़ा कांड जो हुआ वह गुजरात के मुकाबले में कुछ भी नहीं था । लेकिन उस समय उस कांड के कारण श्री टी० टी० के० को पब्लिक ट्रायल के लिए हाजिर होना पड़ा था । तो आप चिमन भाई का भी पब्लिक ट्रायल क्यों नहीं करते । अगर उन्होंने गलती की होगी तो उन को सजा मिलेगी और अगर उन पर झूठा शक है तो वह बरी हो जायेंगे । तो इस लिए हमें दूसरे लोगों को रास्ता दिखाने के लिए यह कार्य करना चाहिए । और इसी प्रकार अगर किसी में जनता को अविश्वास हो जाता है, किसी के संबंध में जनता सोचने लगती है कि वह भ्रष्ट है तो उन को जनता के सामने रख देना चाहिए उस को पब्लिक ट्रायल के

### [श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकुमारी चूडावत]

लिए सौंप देना चाहिए और वहां वह ठीक है या गलत इस को देखना चाहिए। मैं मानती हूं कि जिस के संबंध में शक हो उस का इस तरह से पब्लिक ट्रायल कराना चाहिए। जिन लोगों पर जनता को अविश्वास हो उन के लिए यह आवश्यक है। इस के बाद प्रेसीडेंट रूल गुजरात में हुआ है। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहूंगी कि अब गुजरात के कंस्ट्रक्शन के लिए आप के हाथ में पावर है तो आप को उस के कंस्ट्रक्शन के लिए ठीक कदम उठाने चाहिए। जैसा कि आप जानते हैं और सभी जानते हैं कि गुजरात सब से बड़ा काटन प्रोड्यूसिंग एरिया है और वहां काटन बहुत अच्छी होती है। लेकिन होता क्या है कि वहां के किसानों को उस की रुई की कीमत ठीक भाव से नहीं मिल पाती। इस लिए जिस तरह से आप ने स्टील अथारिटी कायम कर रखी है, कोल अथारिटी कायम कर रखी है, उसी तरह से आप एक काटन अथारिटी भी कायम करें जो किसानों की काटन ठीक भाव पर खरीद सके और वह देखें कि उस रुई का ज्यादा से ज्यादा और अच्छे से अच्छा उपयोग किस प्रकार से किया जा सकता है। अभी श्रीमती कुलकर्णी ने बताया था कि इजिप्ट से जो काटन आती है वह उस से अच्छी है जो वहां पैदा होती है और बाहर एक्सपोर्ट के काबिल है, लेकिन जहां तक मैं समझती हूं कि जितना एक्सपोर्ट काटन का या सुपर फाइन क्लॉथ का हम को करना चाहिए वह हम कर नहीं पाये हैं। आज हम इस तरह का एक्सपोर्ट कर के काफी कमा सकते हैं लेकिन इस के लिए जो काम होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो रहा है। इसी तरह से मैं आप का ध्यान मूगफली की तरफ दिलाना चाहती हूं जिस को आप ग्राउंडनट कहते हैं। उस के लिए भी इसी तरह स्टील अथारिटी के तौर पर एक अथारिटी कायम हो और उस से जो ईडेबिल तेल बनता है आज उस की बड़ी दिक्कत हो रही है। मैं चाहती हूं कि सरकार उस का इंतजाम अपने हाथ में ले ताकि उस मूगफली की किसान को बाजिब कीमत मिल सके और जिन फैक्ट्रीज में

यह वेजीटेबिल आयल बनता है उन का सरकार अपने हाथ में इंतजाम ले ले, उस आयल के डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन का काम सरकार अपने हाथ में ले ले। मैं यह नहीं कहती कि आप उन मिलों का नेशनलाइजेशन कर लें, या जो कारखाने चल रहे हैं उन सब को अपने हाथ में ले ले, लेकिन उन में जितना प्रोडक्शन होता है वह सरकार के नियंत्रण में होना चाहिए ताकि किसान को अपनी मूगफली का ठीक दाम मिल सके और जो तेल का उत्पादन उन में हो उस का सरकारी एजेंसियों के जरिये ठीक से वितरण किया जाय। हो क्या रहा है? हो यह रहा है कि इसकी कीमतें बढ़ी जा रही हैं दिन-दुगनी। हर साल वेजीटेबुल आयल की कीमत बढ़ती है। बम्पर क्रॉप्स होती है तब भी कीमत बढ़ती है और जब बम्पर क्रॉप्स नहीं होती है तब भी कीमत बढ़ती है। आज हमारे देश में फूड-ग्रेन की दिक्कत हो रही है जिससे हम को खाने की चीजें नहीं मिल रही हैं। सरकार इसका वितरण अपने हाथ में ले ले और वितरण तभी लिया जा सकता है जब प्रोडक्शन के ऊपर आपका कंट्रोल हो। प्रोडक्शन हाथ में लेकर उसको सरकारी एजेंसी के जरिए चलाए।

अगली बात की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूं—गुजरात समुद्र तट की ओर। यह समुद्र तट शुरू से ही स्मगलिंग तट मशहूर है। इस वक्त हमारे देश से वहां पर जो नौकाएं हैं वह अरब देशों में हमारा माल बाहर भेजनी हैं। आज नहीं कई साल पहले चांदी की नौकाएं यहां से बाहर स्मगलिंग हुई हैं और आज जब हमें खाने को नहीं मिल रहा है तब हमारी खाने की चीजें बाहर स्मगल हो रही हैं। मैं चाहती हूं सरकार इसका पूरा प्रबन्ध करे ताकि इस तरह से स्मगलिंग चीजें गुजरात के समुद्र तट से होकर बाहर न जाएं।

इसके बाद मैं नर्मदा की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूं। इसकी ओर कई और माननीय सदस्यों ने भी ध्यान दिलाया है।



नर्मदा की समस्या कई वर्षों से लटक रही है। गुजरात ही नहीं, महाराष्ट्र ही नहीं, राजस्थान भी इसमें पिछा जा रहा है, जहाँ की धरती प्यासी है। अगर यहाँ नर्मदा का पानी आ जाए तो हमारे यहाँ के बहुत बड़े क्षेत्र में अनाज पैदा हो सकता है। हमारे इन स्टेटों के आपसी झगड़े के कारण, सेंटर से मामलें न सुलझाए जाने के कारण हमारा राज्य पिछड़ा हुआ है। नदियों की जो योजनाएँ हैं उससे हमारे राज्य में सिंचाई न होने की वजह से हमारे राज्य में एक बहुत बड़ा हैंडीकैप आ रहा है। किसी स्टेट को ज्यादा मिलता है और किसी को कम मिलता है। इससे कोई ज्यादा फर्क नहीं पड़ता, रहता देश में ही है। मैं यह चाहती हूँ आप इन चीजों के बारे में फैसला करें। मध्य प्रदेश के साथ, नर्मदा के साथ, उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ जो मसले हैं वह बराबर लटकते जा रहे हैं। हम किसी नतीजे पर न पहुँच कर हम आगे बढ़ने वाले कदम को रोकते जा रहे हैं।

तीसरे, मैं इस बात की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि आपने जो गांधी नगर नाम का एक सफेद हाथी पाल रखा है, वहाँ पर सचिवालय है, वहाँ पर असेम्बली है लेकिन लाखों कोशिश करने के बाद भी आप उसको डवलैप नहीं कर पाए हैं। अहमदाबाद से जाने वालों को 20 मील दूर जाना पड़ता है। इस मंहगाई के जमाने में और पेट्रोल की कमी के कारण लोगों को परेशानी उठानी पड़ती है। सारे के सारे इस्टीमेट और हाई कॉस्ट वगैरा अहमदाबाद में ही हैं। क्यों इन इस्टीमेट्स को गांधी नगर में बदल रहे हैं। वहाँ पर वैंस्टर्न हाई कमाण्ड हो, मिलिटरी कैंन्टोनमेन्ट हो। आपका सचिवालय वहाँ बेकार ही है उसको आप अहमदाबाद में लाइए। मैं वहाँ गई हूँ। मैंने देखा है कि वहाँ कितनी परेशानी लोगों को होती है। जाने वालों को पानी नहीं मिलता, टैक्सी नहीं मिलती। मिट्टी और धूल सारा दिन उड़ती रहती है। इसलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि पैसा बरबाद करने के सिवाय वहाँ और कुछ नजर नहीं आता। इसलिए गांधी नगर को ही अहमदाबाद में ले जाया जाए

और इस तरह के कदम उठाए जाएँ जिससे गुजरात में शांति हो। डवलैप करने का कोई सवाल नहीं है। वह डवलैप हो नहीं सकता।

आज पेट्रोल की इतनी कमी है पर वहाँ के लोगों को 20 मील दूर गांधी नगर में जाने के लिए पता नहीं कितना ही पेट्रोल फूकना पड़ता है। इस वक्त गांधी नगर को डवलैप करने की बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती इसलिए बेहतर है कि यहाँ पर आर्मी का कैंन्टोनमेन्ट हो जाए। मेरी आपसे अंत में यही प्रार्थना है कि आप इन बातों की ओर खास ध्यान दें।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** Before I call the next speaker, I would like to announce that immediately after the discussion on the Budget of Gujarat, the Half-an-Hour Discussion will be taken up. The two Statutory Resolutions, I think, may be taken up later on. Now, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) :** Sir, we have discussed Gujarat in some other connection several times in this House. Some of its problems were touched even at that time. Now we have got the Budget before us and this is usually a ritual for the House because we are not in a position really to study the Budget properly, much less to give opinions on different aspects of the Budget proposals or, for that matter, the problems of Gujarat. After all, all of a sudden we cannot get acquainted with these matters in order to give a very informed and considered opinion. Unfortunately Gujarat Assembly is no longer there. It is good that it is gone, but the people of Gujarat will not have the advantage of having their problems discussed in the forum of their State Assembly. But the people are not to blame for what has happened. Gujarat is a name now in a different context. It has always been in the limelight of our national life. Today it has again become a focus of national attention. Different people are trying to interpret Gujarat in different ways. We on this

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

side of the House have held this as a spontaneous popular mass upsurge among the people of Gujarat the like of which has rarely been seen in this country after independence. The upsurge, as you know, was in support of the demand for the daily necessities of life, against rising prices, against hoarders, profiteers, monopolists and against corrupt, all of which are eminently democratic demands of the people. And these demands evoked sympathy and support among the entire people of Gujarat and the movement was led initially by the Nav Nirman Samiti of the students. Those who had witnessed this movement in January and even later would bear out the fact that it was by all accounts a democratic massive, popular upsurge. We are not amongst those who have tried to malign the movement simply because some designing elements of right reaction and communal parties have sought to take advantage of the situation. Therefore, when we say Gujarat, we have in mind the massive, surging, heroic, upsurge of the entire people against rising prices and other demands affecting the life of the people and the society. But there are others who have their own way of looking at Gujarat. For example, the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the Syndicate Congress for that matter, and similar other organisations have their way of looking at Gujarat. And indeed they are using the name in other contexts in other places to justify downright acts of violence and hooliganism against forces of progress and essentially in the interests of exploiting the classes. What is happening in Bihar today is no reproduction or projection of what happened in Gujarat. In Gujarat it was a mass upsurge of the entire people, initially very disciplined, despite provocation and attack on the part of a corrupt Ministry, constantly unifying the entire people into a mighty movement and upsurge. What we see in Bihar today is something entirely different.

There we have the RSS and the Ananda Margis organising a bashful campaign of terror and violence, arson and looting, indiscriminately let loose in the cities and towns with a view to creating anarchy and chaos so that the forces of reaction and fascism can make a headway. It has nothing to do with what they call the Gujarat way. The Gujarat way, if I take into account what happened in Ahmedabad and elsewhere, is the will of the surging people in vindication of their right and interest. What is happening in Bihar? What we have read today in the newspapers is something shocking. If these things are allowed to continue what we will have in this country is the destruction of the very foundation on which Parliamentary Democracy and Parliamentary system stand. That will pave the way not only for a rightist takeover, but for a fascist, counter revolution. That is why we say that it is an insult to the people of Gujarat and their great movement to compare the orgies of arson, loot and all kinds of violent actions in Patna city with what happened in Ahmedabad and other places in Gujarat. I was in that great State in the height of the movement towards the end of January. I saw no arson taking place anywhere there whereas it has taken place in Patna. I never saw indiscriminate looting going on or newspaper offices being attacked and burnt. I did not see such things at all. I did not see Anand Margis being backed by Jan Sangh and Shri Vajpayee suddenly appearing in the streets as a real democrat. I did not see in Gujarat RSS boys leading the campaign—although they were there—and similar elements lurking and prowling on the streets to take advantage of the situation. Basically they were not there in Gujarat. But in Patna it is first and foremost, in every sense of the term, the handiwork of very planned conspiracy of these people. What I see there in Patna is the unleashing of certain dangerous tendencies in our political life. It does appear that the right

reaction and communal forces, having failed to seize political power in the country and even in some States through election and similar other methods, have now taken to some type of counter-revolutionary and extra Parliamentary methods in order to make the functioning of democratic institutions impossible so that they can take advantage of the situation and bring about a rightist takeover from outside with the help of the reactionary elements, both within and outside the ruling party. I say both within and outside the ruling party. Are we to stand such a thing? We will have thousands of quarrels with the Government and Government may have quarrels with many of us. Such problems have to be settled democratically conforming to the norms of democracy, through democratic process, through elections and through democratic and peaceful mass movements in our country. If we surrender to Anand Margis, to obscurantist forces and to communal reaction in the RSS, before long we shall be facing a situation when there shall not be democracy to talk about in this country. That is why we are intensely against the kind of thing which has been indulged in Patna. That is why we are opposed to bringing in the name of Gujarat to justify what has happened in Patna. I say this thing today because the time has come to see the writings on the wall. If the Government does not mend its policies, if the Government does not attend to the grievances of the people and to the problems of food, shelter and the daily necessities of life, and if they do not take action against hoarders, profiteers and black-marketeers and unearth the black money, a situation will be created which will be exploited by communal reaction and fascism. That is what I see. Sir, history is replete with examples when inept and corrupt and anti-people governments create in some ways a situation even within the framework of democracy which is exploited by the fascists, firstly to subvert democracy and then to replace it by a reign of fascist

terror and counter-revolution. Are we to witness the opening of such chapters in our political life? Are we to see before us that what we have built is endangered not to speak of what we seek to achieve through our struggle, in the future? This is the poser before the nation.

Sir, Patna brings the grim warning to the nation that the forces of counter-revolution, the forces of fascism, forces of reaction combined with the forces of colonialism and religious obscuratism, are acting to a plan, almost to a schedule, in order to start these incidents now here, now there and then in different parts of the country, so that we are faced with a situation when they will be in a position to strike from a position of strength, having let loose the reign of reaction and a reign of terror and having upset everything. We are not for it. In fact, Sir, a time has come for all of us to stand against it and that is why, Sir, I feel sorry when some people are trying to talk in the name of Patna and Ahmedabad in the same breath although I know that the same forces to an extent are acting in Patna and Patna also is not out of bounds for them and I am aware of it. But what is happening? Sir, in this connection, I should like to say one thing: Gujarat has many lessons to offer. But I do not know whether the Government is trying to learn the correct lesson. I wish, Sir, in our Constitution there was a provision for recall. We have demanded for the provision for recall in our Constitution. Why should not there be a provision for recall? In the Committee on Defections which deliberated on this subject, we suggested that there should be a provision for recall in order to see that the people's mandate is respected and in order to give the people their inherent right not only to send their representatives to assemblies and Parliament, but also to recall them should they forfeit their faith or betray the trust reposed in them. In our Constitution there is no provision for recall. If we had such a provision, a provision for

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

recall, perhaps these things would not have taken the turn they did in Gujarat. Sir, it is clear that democratic norms and processes must be observed by all. However convenient it may be for this and that party at a given moment, I for one, Sir, would not be one who would like to see a legislator or a Member of Parliament resign his post or membership by being forced in a manner which is sometimes sought to be done as was done recently by shaving the person's head or by beating him or his family. I would certainly not like it. But I would like the right to be given to the electorate to decide according to the law of the land and I would like to have a provision in the Constitution as to when he should be recalled or to decide whether he has forfeited the confidence placed in him in order to justify his recall. This is how I would like to have it done, to make it absolutely clear. Sir, these are all the beginnings of wrong trends. Sometimes, Sir, unwittingly we also do certain things. But I think these things should not be encouraged. Therefore, I feel that we should try to make a provision for recall in our Constitution.

In this connection, Sir, I would like to say that the young people in our country who have attained the age of 18 should be given the right of vote. This again is causing frustration, the denial of vote to millions and millions of our young people above the age of 18, but below 21. Why should they be denied this right? Let them also be participants in the initial process of democracy. I think the Government should seriously consider such things.

Sir, in Gujarat, I do not know whether we saw a melodrama or whether it was a tragedy or it was comedy. But we saw Mr. Morarji Desai going on fast. Sir, I did not know how to feel about or react to it. We have known our friend, Mr. Morarji Desai, for many years. You may accuse him of anything. But you cannot accuse him of any love

for democracy. We have seen him in hunger strike in Ahmedabad only to prevent linguistic reorganization of States. We have seen the same gentleman as the Chief Minister of a composite Bombay State shooting down 105 workers in a cold-blooded manner in Bombay and Maharashtra and another 26 or so in Ahmedabad in Gujarat with a view to denying them the very legitimate demand for linguistic reorganization of composite Bombay into two linguistic States, which later came into existence. We have seen the same Mr. Morarji Desai in Parliament. We have seen how he refused even to listen to the demand of the Lok Sabha to get the Attorney-General to give an opinion. Ultimately he had to yield. He said, "I would not bring him even if the entire Lok Sabha wants". And he had to eat a humble pie. We have seen Mr. Morarji Desai, in the case of the working class, how he came down heavily upon them with repressive measures, using Preventive Detention Act and other black laws to suppress the working class. We have never seen Mr. Morarji Desai supporting any struggle of workers, peasants, students, teachers and other toiling people in his entire career since Independence. He occupied a very high position in the ruling party and Government. We have always seen him suppressing. The same Morarji Desai became a champion suddenly, who flew from Bombay to Ahmedabad to enact a wonderful drama of fast unto death. Morarji Desai knew that life does not end so easily and death does not come for simply asking and a fast of this kind. The background, against which he undertook the fast, should also be seen. Sir, when he fasted, it was thought that the Gujarat Assembly had virtually dissolved itself with the resignation of eighty MLAs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the country, had stated in the other House that the Government had no intention of reactivating the Gujarat Assembly. Morarji Desai anticipated the dissolution, coming sooner or later—sooner rather than later. He thought: Why not go into

action? So he began the fast—fast according to the schedule, fast as per declaration of the Prime Minister, fast as per announcement of the Government. He knew that dissolution would come; it was only a matter of time...

(*Time bell rings*)

Sir, I raised this question because that might create some misgivings in the minds of the people and also spoil the atmosphere. Mr. Morarji Desai is a very old man. He should be wiser than we are. But we are not men of kindergarten as if we do not understand what is a stunt. We understood it. The people understood it and it became a laughing joke. We knew that somebody was waiting perhaps with a glass of orange juice to be handed over to him in a matter of hours when the dissolution would take place. Sir, it was a drama, badly conceived, badly executed and which badly ended. Therefore, let us not go into that. Let us not listen to Morarji Desai's advice. Sir, I say this thing because such situations are also there. I feel that Morarji Desai was not so much interested in restoring peace in Gujarat as in re-establishing his fading image today. I must congratulate him that he took the situation rather well, in a particular manner. He knew that he would have to fast for a few hours. Why was it not done earlier? When we were all pleading for the dissolution, the Government did not do it. First of all, the Government does not do the right thing at the right time. Even if it does it, it does it in a clumsy manner and the others take advantage of it and the Government cannot take advantage of it. No wonder, Sir, that the newspapers are saying that the dissolution has come as a result of Morarji Desai's fast. Nobody is saying that the dissolution has come as a result of Bhupesh Gupta and others who had been pleading in this House over the past week. It has come as a result of Morarji Desai's fast. I was thinking of cursing myself why I did not go on fast somewhere in the

Parliament House. I could have also done it and should have been a co-faster in order to get some co-credit. Maybe, the lion's share would have gone to him because after all he is a Gujarati and a minor share might have come to me because I am a Bengali.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : You missed the chance.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This is what I concede. (*Time bell rings.*) I leave Morarji Desai alone for the time being. I knew that he would be hale and hearty and we would see him back. I think this fasting for two days has done him good. I fasted for two days. I was reduced in weight and felt very active. He is in good spirits and good health. We hear the talk about Syndicate Congress merger. Even Shri C. B. Gupta is in favour of it. Sir, I leave it at that.

Now, coming to Gujarat State, the police excesses should be investigated and an enquiry should be held. It is very important. Corruption charges should be enquired into. I am told that there was a Propanchvati incident. I am told that many M.L.As. were taken there at the time of Ministry making and were treated to all kinds of entertainments, some printable and some unprintable. Do you think that such legislators can command respect? Gujarat brought out 114 donkeys, each donkey representing one M.L.A. It actually happened. If the M.L.As. behave in this manner, they cannot command any respect. They are no longer M.L.As.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI : They were sheep and not donkeys.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I think that is more charitable to them. I think that most of them are donkeys. Some of them may be sheep. However, that is what happened. You must enquire as to what happened in Propanchvati Garden.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI : Propanchvati is a nickname.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Whatever it may be. You should be knowing. There was feasting and all the rest of it. It did happen. People talk about it. Sir, as you know, the Ministry was formed through corruption and money. Everybody knows about it. Lakhs of rupees were spent. All this should be enquired into. People can never respect such an Assembly. After having been chosen as the Chief Minister, Chimanbhai Patel surrendered all along the line to the wholesalers, the profiteers and the monopolists. We are told that he was collecting money and there should be an enquiry into the money part of it as well as the surrender part of it. Sir, Gujarat was driven into that position by people like Zala who was the Civil Supplies Minister. He came from the Swatantra Party. The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, wanted to produce a massive majority, more massive than the bloated bureaucrats of the country. And, therefore, they caught hold of the Syndicate people, they caught hold of the Swatantra people, and the swindlers and the drunkards, the time-servers, the down-right agents of the monopolists, the wholesalers and the kulaks. And all these were brought under one umbrella and were presented to the people of Gujarat as massive majority, which should give Gujarat stability and good Government. All this show pitchforked him as the Chief Minister. Sir, now it has collapsed. It is good that it has collapsed. But certain other things have also collapsed along with it—the make-belief about the massive majority minus the policies. The massive majorities disappear the moment the people realise that the Government failed to meet their minimum needs and indulged in corruption. Sir, I make it absolutely clear that when the Ministers go anti-people and anti-democratic, disregard the vital interests of the masses, act as agents of monopolies and wholesalers, indulge in corruption, the people demand for their resignation and the demand for the resignation of such Members of Parliament and Assembly

is a just demand by all accounts. And we cannot say that the people are wrong in demanding it. In fact, if a recall has been there, they would have applied the procedure of recall to get them out of the seats of power. Therefore, what is wrong in it? If an Assembly fails to protect the people against the onslaught of the monopolists, landlords, wholesalers, what is wrong if the people demand the dissolution of the Assembly in order that they may exercise through fresh elections their verdict and create another new Assembly? There is nothing wrong. Sir, I say if the reorganization of the ruling Party means again bringing together of the shady forces of misfortune and evil forces in the political life of Gujarat, you will be heading for yet another crisis, another explosion. And I do not know how they are going to settle their affairs. But I do hope that the leftist forces, the progressive forces, the patriotic-minded people in Gujarat, the men of goodwill and honour, should come together and take charge of the situation. Sir, I am shocked that the RSS and others are now trying to take advantage of the situation and to keep up the tension and conflict alive. They have had enough of it. Sir, those forces and other reactionary forces must not be given any quarter by anyone. The people of Gujarat who have won their battle, the resignation or the ouster of the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry, and the dissolution of the Assembly should close their ranks and come together with correct perspective and correct ideals with confidence in the future. Therefore, why to blame the people for it? How this thing should be done is a matter of detail. Obviously, there are some forces which may like to take advantage of it. And we should think how the situation should be tackled. Sir, smuggling and other things should also be gone into. In Gujarat, groundnut oil production was good, but a crisis developed and the prices rose. How was it possible? Gujarat is deficit in food. The Centre should have given more food supplies. How is

it that food was scarce when the crop was good? Is it not a fact that the Ministry was helping the monopolists, the hoarders and the others to conceal these things? I need not go into all this. I would like to say very many things.

Finally, Sir, the problem, I think, will have to be settled. How the Congress Party will manage its own affairs is their business. I leave unto Caesar what to Caesar, and I am no going into it. But how the affairs of Gujarat should be managed is the concern of the entire nation. Sir, we are anguished; we have felt sorry for the people of Gujarat for their sufferings. We have sympathised with them. Therefore, we would like that the legitimate demands of the teachers and the students are met. We would like the essential commodities supplied to the people of Gujarat. We would like them to be looked after better than they had been. We would like the small traders and businessmen in their due way prosper and so on. We would like the monopolists, wholesalers and others to be 5 P.M. taxed. They should start the day with their own hands and sacrifices and sufferings, with their genius being brought to bear upon the situation and then proceed to build a new Gujarat. That is very important. Therefore, Sir, as I speak today, I look forward anxiously to brothers and sisters in Gujarat in the cities and villages and in the Adivasi areas, who have been so badly let down by the Congress Government, by the reactionaries, both within and outside the ruling party who conjointly worked together to ruin the future of the people of Gujarat. I expect the people will be conscious of what has happened and with a new sense of urgency and new awareness of who are their friends and who are their enemies, they will rise to the occasion and will remake all that has been sought to be destroyed. That is what I hope. I leave it at that.

Sir, I hope that when the Committee is formed we shall go into the details

in order to give whatever assistance we can. I am not one of those who is for accepting things as they come. It is for the people of Gujarat to decide. President's Rule, as you know, is not a very reliable factor in our life. But, now that it has come, we Members of Parliament should be particularly vigilant as to what is happening in Gujarat. We should give our thought to the problems of Gujarat. We should share their anxieties. We should show a better understanding of their problems and suffering and we should see how we can do our best and we should persuade the Government to take the right steps in action in order to alleviate the sufferings of the masses and see the people of Gujarat live with dignity and honour and no longer be delivered to the tender mercies of a handful of monopolist wholesalers, hoarders and profiteers or their henchmen in political life who are purchaseable political creatures today.

Sir, Gujarat must be rid of whole bunch of these reactionary politicians, no matter which party they belong to and somehow or the other we should all work together to find out a new road for the welfare of the people of Gujarat who are honest men, descent men. Progressive people, men and women and others must come together in order that they can play their rightful role and are given full initiative to play their rightful role. It is all that I say. I do not know what the Government will say. Do not try now to seek the blessings of Mr. Morarji and his co-operation. Sir, these are back numbers; whether it is Chimanbhai Patel or Hitendra Desai or Morarji Desai or Amul Desai or some such people. I do not know. They have all been exposed in the turmoil of Gujarat. In the test of life everyone of them has failed. It is for the masses and their true representatives to come forward and take the test heroically, bravely and with honour—the test that lies ahead. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this has been a debate which was naturally dominated more by the great political events that have taken place in Gujarat and there has not been much time for the hon. Members to go through the Budget provisions made. I may submit, Sir, that the debate has been of a very high order and has been dominated by political events and their assessment. Sir, it was natural that the hon. Members from Gujarat should have taken part in this debate and expressed their feelings about the events that have taken place in Gujarat. Sir, there has been varied reaction and assessment of the situation in Gujarat. At this time, when Gujarat is limping back to normalcy, as one hon. Member had stated, I think it is better not to say anything which might stop this process of normalcy that is there.

Sir, there are one or two problems, one or two facets of the Gujarat situation which have been mentioned here and to which I would also like to refer. The hon. Member, Shri Bhupesh Gupta spoke, spoke very clearly, very definitely, he knew his mind when he spoke and gave his assessment, his Party's assessment of the situation. The debate also was highlighted by the fact that some of the senior Members of Parliament, of Rajya Sabha, took part in the debate. Shri Goray also spoke, the Jan Sangh member spoke and the hon. Member, Shri Nawal Kishore of the Cong(O), also spoke. Everybody has put across that there was an upsurge in Gujarat. Facts are there and it is not my intention nor am I required to go into the details of these facts. Sir, our parliamentary democracy has developed during the last many years in a particular form. It is not a *status-quo* democracy. Our people have learnt to express their voice outside the forums of Parliament and

Legislatures and our country has seen various aspects and facets of the peoples' struggle or whatever one may call it, which has been seen in various parts of the country. Therefore, Sir, our country has acquired an extent and depth by the various movements that have taken place. They have strengthened our democracy rather than weakening it. My difficulty is to appreciate those hon. Members who could not appreciate these struggles that have taken place. Shri Goray very well said that the land of Gandhiji has been in agony and the land of Buddha, meaning thereby Patna, is now going through a very difficult period. The Jan Sangh Members also called the events in Gujarat and Patna as an upsurge. With your permission, Sir, speaking as a student of political science, more than speaking as a Minister, may I submit to this House that the persons who shuddered at the very name of Naxalite, if your assessment is that there has been an upsurge in Gujarat, in Patna, and these upsurges in these places have been on very genuine difficulties and grievances of the people, we also in this House had seen a phenomenon which took place in West Bengal? I do not agree fully with what happened in Gujarat; I am completely opposed to what is happening in Patna. It is an attempt to subvert all that is best in our Parliamentary and in our national life. I do not agree with what happened in West Bengal and the Naxalites. After all, they were also students belonging to some of the finest colleges, best of the students of the Calcutta University. They were also there. My point is that this half understanding of an event, of a situation that was there in our country, will not lead to a correct understanding of the situation that is taking place. However, Sir, the fact remains that certain events have taken place; the Gujarat Assembly had to be dissolved and the Government had to go and President's rule has come there.



It is now the responsibility of all political forces which believe in democracy, which believe in observing the kind of democracy as has been evolved in our country, it is the responsibility of all those political forces to see that we revert back to the democratic processes as we have understood and as we have evolved. Sir, what is actually worrying my mind is that there is poverty; there are difficulties; there is food shortage; there is shortage of various things in our country which this House has discussed. The Budget has been placed and debated upon and the Finance Minister has answered. Various aspects of these problems are there. Now, Sir, as an hon. Member from our side also said that it is the economic difficulties, it is probably the hunger that has brought the situation in Gujarat and various other places to this stage, if you take a position like that and say that it is justified to take to certain extra-parliamentary forms for the redressal of those difficulties, then Sir, very many issues are raised; many many questions are raised. Shri Bhupesh Gupta need not answer this question because he is very clear in his mind. But those political parties and those political forces who do not have this perspective clearer in mind, how can they come to the conclusion that the difficulties faced by the people, hunger and various other things, could lead to a situation that developed in Gujarat? I am not for a moment harping on this fact that they are faced with difficulties. You express their anger in a democratic manner, in a manner that our Parliamentary system has accepted. But when it takes to extra-Parliamentary forms as it happened in Gujarat and worst of all it happened as far as Patna is concerned, of course, when, if I am permitted to use the expression, counter-revolutionary situation is going on, then, Sir, it is a matter of serious concern and all these who believe in Parliamentary democracy as we have

understood and as we have evolved in this country, have got to attend to this problem.

Sir, having said these few words, I shall now confine myself to some of the problems which the hon. Members have raised about the Plan outlays in the Budget, tribal development, food position, irrigation and power, Capital of Gujarat and various other things. Sir, as far as the tribal development is concerned, I am given to understand that at the instance of the Planning Commission, steps are taken to prepare a draft tribal area plan, envisaging an outlay of Rs. 65 crores. This is apart from the funds that are likely to be given to various tribal projects from the general sector of the Plan for the benefit of the tribal areas. This will work out to about Rs. 70 crores and the total outlay for development of Adivasis in the Fifth Plan would be of the order of Rs. 135 crores. I may also inform that the general plan is about 14% of the Fifth Plan outlay. Similarly, out of Rs. 135 crores about 80 to 90 crores will be spent on tribal areas during 1974-75 through the Tribal Development Corporation which has been specially created for this purpose.

Sir, some reference was made to Central assistance. I am given to understand that Central assistance in 1974-75 for each State in the whole country in the first year of the Fifth Plan is limited to what was given in the earlier year, in 1973-74 and, therefore, every State gets an identical allotment. As far as the share of the Centre in the Fifth Plan is concerned, it will be decided by the NDC when it meets next. The Fifth Plan outlay as tentatively fixed in consultation with the Planning Commission is Rs. 1,053 crores, but the first year's outlay cannot be 1/5th of this amount as the expenditure will start rising from

[Shri K. R. Ganesh]

year to year. A total outlay of Rs. 143 crores in 1974-75 was fixed by the State Government of Gujarat in consultation with the Planning Commission. Sir, when the NDC meets and when certain other proposals come, then this allotment would increase.

Sir, the House is aware that as far as the Narmada project is concerned, it is a very vital matter for Gujarat. It is a matter which has to be decided at the highest level. A token provision of Rs. 30 lakhs is provided in the budget estimates for 1974-75 for certain surveys and services connected with this project.

Reference was also made to family planning. A provision of Rs. 5.26 crores is made for 1974-75 and this is a fully Centrally-sponsored scheme.

As far as the food position is concerned, which was very difficult in Gujarat and which probably was one of the main ingredients for the making of the situation that was there in Gujarat, the facts that I have got is that Gujarat is exploring all avenues to increase the availability of foodgrains in the State. Twentyeight thousand tonnes of bajra has been purchased from Haryana and Punjab; rice to the extent of 2,000 tonnes and maize to the extent of 1,500 tonnes have been arranged and more purchases are being made. About 5,000 tonnes of bajra from Karnataka are being despatched to the State. The State Government has announced its wheat policy for the ensuing rabi season and it is expected that the wheat crop will be normal and the production will be of the order of 7 lakh tonnes. I may inform the House that the price of wheat has shown a downward trend and the fall has been of the order of Rs. 20 per quintal. The number of fair price shops will be

increased and action against hoarders has already been taken and more vigorous action will be taken.

About Gandhinagar capital project about which some hon. Members made some criticism, I might say that this project is divided into two phases. The first phase is estimated to cost Rs. 29.54 crores while the second phase is estimated to cost Rs. 16.23 crores. At present works are taken up under the first phase only and an amount of Rs. 27.96 crores would have been spent in the first phase programme up to the end of March 1974. About 6,221 different types of residential quarters including various Government buildings have been completed. Facilities for roads, drainage, water supply, etc., in Gandhinagar have been developed. It is a matter on which only the elected Government of Gujarat can take a decision, whether the project should be there or should not be there. It is a matter which we would not like to decide. Sir, these are the specific matters in the budget which were raised by the hon. Members. I will end by saying that events in Gujarat and some aspects of their extension by some reactionary parties to Bihar give us a warning signal and I hope that all political parties believing in democracy, the kind of democracy that we have followed, will take note of this warning signal and whatever differences they may have with the Government, whatever criticism they may like to make of the Government, whatever may be our failures, at least the basic structure of our democracy will be safeguarded and saved by the combined efforts of all those parties which believe that our democracy has to remain as it has remained during the last many years.

With these words I would commend this budget.