

Minister in the Ministry of Finance, I beg to lay on the Table following papers;

I. A copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) Notification G.S.R. No. 6(E) dated the 1st January, 1974, publishing an amendment in the Second Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, under section 4A of the said Act. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6179/74]

II. A copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) Notification S.O. No. 21(E) dated the 4th January, 1974, publishing the Wealth-tax (Amendment) Rules, 1974, under section 46 of the Wealth-tax Act, 1957. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6170/74]

III. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) Notifications G.S.R. Nos. 14(E) to 16(E), dated the 18th January, 1974, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6182/74]

IV. A copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) Notification G.S.R. No. 26(E) dated the 1st February, 1974, publishing the Central Sales Tax (Registration and Turnover) (Amendment) Rules, 1974, under sub-section (2) of section 13 of the Central Sales Tax Act, 1956. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6177/74]

Report (1968) of the Tariff Commission on the Selling Prices of Automobiles Ancillaries and Related Papers

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HEAVY INDUSTRY (SHRI DALBIR SINGH): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy (in Hindi) of the Report (1968) of the Tariff Commission on the fair selling prices of Automobile Ancillaries together with a statement (in English and Hindi) giving reasons for the delay in laying the Hindi version of the Report. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6157/74]

Annual Report and Accounts (1972-73) of the Tungabhadra Steel Products Limited and related Papers

SHRI DALBIR SINGH: Sir, I also

beg to lay on the Table a copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following papers, under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:

(i) Annual Report and Accounts of the Tungabhadra Steel Products Limited, for the year 1972-73, together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India thereon.

(ii) Review by Government on the working of the Company. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6156/74 for (i) and (ii)]

Limestone and Dolomite Mines Labour Welfare Fund Rules, 1973

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR (SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Labour Notification G.S.R. No. 1273 dated the 15th November, 1973, publishing the Limestone and Dolomite Mines Labour Welfare Fund Rules, 1973, under sub-section (4) of section 16 of the Limestone and Dolomite Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1972.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-6251/74]

Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund (Second Amendment) Rules, 1973

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Labour Notification G.S.R. No. 1353 dated the 28th November, 1973, publishing the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund (Second Amendment) Rules, 1973, under sub-section (3) of Section 10 of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1947. [Placed in library. See No. LT-6250/74]

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Deterioration of Law and Order Situation in Gujarat

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the deteriorating law and order situation in,

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

and the reported increasing police firing in different parts of Gujarat resulting in the death of several persons including some students.

Sir, first of all, the Home Minister, Shri Umashankar Dikshit, should have been present here on this occasion. I am afraid whether justice would be done at all

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Sir, ... Short supply of certain essential commodities and steep rise in prices sparked off agitations by different groups of people in various parts of Gujarat from the beginning of the current year. In the course of these agitations, extensive attacks on Government grain godowns, grain shops, oil depots, Municipal and State transport buses, looting of grocery shops and fair price shops, damaging public and private property by stone-throwing and arson occurred in several parts of the State. It is a matter of deep regret that the police had to resort to use of force in dealing with such disturbances.

Prior to the 9th February, 1974 when a Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution was made by the President, police opened fire at 30 places resulting in the unfortunate death of 45 persons and injuries to 137. One Police Sub-Inspector and two policemen were killed and 919 police officers and men had received injuries during the agitations. After the 10th February, 1974 until the night of 20th instant police had to open fire at 8 places resulting in the death of two persons and injuries to 53 persons. It has come to Government's knowledge that police had to open fire at Ahmedabad yesterday (21-2-74) resulting in the tragic death of one person and injuries to six persons. The Government would like to express its deep grief over these incidents and extend its full sympathies to the bereaved families of those who lost their lives in the course of these agitations.

The State is facing difficult problems arising out of shortages and high prices

and the undivided attention of the administration will have to be bestowed on seeking satisfactory solutions to the pressing economic problems of the State. Yesterday, while making a statement on the Gujarat situation in the Lok Sabha I made an appeal to the students and others in Gujarat to co-operate wholeheartedly for the immediate restoration of normalcy so that the problems facing the State could be resolutely tackled. I sincerely hope that all sections of this House would join me in my appeal.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, this is the biggest, most extensive, prolonged and continuous upsurge of the people in the country since Independence. I would like to know from the Government whether it is not double standard in the attitude they have adopted. In 1959, a sort of deliberate movement was initiated and inspired by the Centre, and on that basis the Communist-led Ministry of Kerala was dismissed on the basis of a mass struggle. And why is it that here, when there is the biggest, single upsurge, wanton force should be used and the army should be called in? Why should not the Assembly be dissolved and why has not the Patel Ministry been dismissed instead of being allowed to tender resignation?

Sir, as far as the shortage of good-grains is concerned, is it not a fact that the Prime Minister's allegation that the affluent people stirred up the struggle is totally untrue and wide of the mark in order to divert attention? As far as my information goes, the affluent sections of smugglers, in connivance with the Congress President, the Chief Minister and several Ministers of the State, exported and smuggled out of Gujarat 'vanaspati ghee', foodgrains, wheat, rice and what not to the Gulf Countries, where prices run much higher still. And that is what caused the shortage. They minted a lot of money. And this corrupt Ministry that has been allowed to tender resignation but not dismissed after this sort of firing....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Smuggled everything, except Ministers.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes. So it is totally untrue. I am sorry, I regret, to make this observation. The Prime Minister should have been aware of this fact, or she should be aware of this fact, in order to make an allegation like this. She did this yesterday on the floor of the House.

Now, Sir, I would like to know whether the Congress Party has been a source of instability in the country—Ministry after Ministry—in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Orissa and what not. If the Congress is tomorrow returned to power in U.P., it will again be like this. U.P. then might become another Gujarat also. Why has not the Gujarat Assembly been dissolved? It is the desire of all the people that the Assembly should be dissolved. Why are you still hesitating and allowing the agitation to be continued? I would call attention also to this fact that blood signs have been written large over the face of the Government, both at the Centre and in the State, on this occasion. My information is this that to cow down hungry people, thousands and thousands of ordinary people were shot down—an unprecedented thing which is happening in Gujarat, the land of Mahatma Gandhi who preached non-violence. And the most violent Government is wreaking vengeance on the hungry people of Gujarat. So I would like to know if the Congress is a source of instability in this country in this manner. Has not the time come for the Central Government to quit in order to bring peace to India? My information is that more than one hundred persons have been shot down and thousands and thousands of them have been injured. You have given figures which do not tally with the actual state of thing . . . (*Time bell rings*). It is a sort of concealment. I would like to know what would happen tomorrow in Orissa, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh? Uttar Pradesh may become another 'Gujarat', Orissa may become another 'Gujarat', and so on. These things should be taken into consideration. So I would say that calling in the army to shoot down people creates a hiatus between the army and the people. The purpose of the army

is to defend our borders. The Government should know the army people come from the ordinary people and they are shooting down the ordinary people. And you are making the people hate our army. You are driving the army to such a pass. It was done in West Bengal. You are repeating it in Gujarat. I do not know what you will do in future. This Assembly must immediately be dissolved. If possible the Centre should quit. The time has come to bring peace and stability. The Centre should quit. They are the fountain source of all these troubles.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Sir, the honourable Member in his speech has sought to give a number of facts, some information, which is very far from the truth. I have given the exact number of persons who have died or who got injured as a result of firing and other incidents that took place there. To say that those figures are not correct or that those figures do not tally with the truth is not proper. The army had to be called in because a very grave situation developed. And the army was called only when it was not possible for the police and the civil administration to contain the situation, the situation which was full of violence and full of provocative violence, if I may say so . . .

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): Whose violence?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Violence of the Government and the army; State violence; police violence.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: The honourable Member is at liberty to have his own ideas of violence. He has full liberty to have his own ideas of what constitutes violence. So far as he himself is concerned, nothing would constitute violence because even the presence of this Government would be regarded by him possibly as a continuing violence or some such thing. It is very difficult to argue with persons who hold such views on basic, fundamental, matters. But I would repeat the situation there is of a serious nature and I would appeal to the honourable Members to take

[Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha.]

a very serious look at what is happening there. Incidents of violence and arson are taking place every day. Banks are being looted. Transport buses are being set on fire. The life of peaceful citizens is being disrupted. Instead of trying to find ways and methods of restoring normalcy so that the administration could be enabled to tackle the very basic problems, quite a number of people are taking steps or are behaving in a way which only aggravated the situation.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now Mrs. Kulkarni.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: But, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I wanted a pointed answer to my question. I put a pointed question whether the Gujarat Assembly would be immediately dissolved. I want an answer to it, yes or no. The Minister should say, yes or no. He has not answered that. He should say whether the Assembly would be immediately dissolved or not. We want to know that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, I have called Mrs. Kulkarni.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I seek your protection. The Minister should give a clarification. I seek your protection on this point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But how can you force the Minister to say, yes or no. It is up to him how to answer the question. You cannot force him to answer in a particular way. Now, Mrs. Kulkarni.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI (Gujarat): It is with deep anguish that I rise to speak before this House. Never before the people of Gujarat have seen such turmoil and such difficulties. It is well known that the people of Gujarat are very mild and lawabiding by temperament. To this day in the history of Gujarat we have never seen such occurrences. And yet today they feel that they have no other means of protest. Obviously, I feel that all these protests point towards the fact that they want to say something, they

want to express their feelings, their sense of frustration, their sense of anger, their sense of hopelessness, and they want that the country should feel the depth of what they say. This is the reason that I read behind their protests. This is a popular upsurge though small boys, young men and young women are taking part in this agitation. I still feel that the rest of Gujarat is watching them and certainly not disapproving them. Now this indicates that there is somewhere something greatly wrong and this is the point that they are trying to tell to the whole country. It will be wrong to treat this as a purely political problem, just as Mr. Niren Ghosh was trying to suggest. I would like to differ from him that this is not so much a political problem.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I say it is the problem created by the Ministry there.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: All other political parties are trying to make a political issue out of this thing while this is much more a humane problem . . . (*Interruption*) I would very humbly submit to my friend on the other side not to treat and confine this and make it into a political problem. This is first and foremost a humane problem and we in this House know . . . (*Interruption*) Mr. Niren Ghosh, I come from that part and I represent them. It is my humble suggestion that let us not convert this into a political problem. This is first of all the humane problem of the people of Gujarat and that we should not forget. Therefore, the time has come that we the representatives of Gujarat as well as all the people sitting in this august House may look into our own hearts and search for an answer. This is an answer which cannot be found outside. For that, every one of us is responsible and we have to look for those replies within ourselves. We, as their representatives, should know what their feelings are. But the communications have broken down somewhere and till we understand these things and solve them, we cannot handle this situation. This is a situation where we

have to stitch the thread without exciting them or without causing further aggravation of the situation. This is the basic necessity of the hour rather than giving all these exciting figures and making exciting statements here. The basic reason for this agitation, in my opinion, is the shortage of food. Traditionally, Gujarat is a deficit State which has always the need to import foodgrains because the soil of Gujarat is suitable for growing cotton and oilseeds, and from the sale proceeds of these cash crops, Gujarat has been paying for its foodgrains. Repeatedly, shortage of food was brought to the notice of the Food Ministry at Delhi. But our pleas and our requests remained unheeded and that sparked off these disturbances. But it is not as much that the people of Gujarat cannot be made to understand the shortage of food. After all, only six months ago, Gujarat experienced severe drought and during those days, the people never protested, and patiently bore with the hardships. But now they are protesting and protesting vociferously. Therefore, it is essential that we seek redress to this situation within ourselves. Of course, immediately law and order has to be established . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will have to wind up now.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Sir, this is a question of attitudes and I want to describe the feelings of the people. These solutions are not found in any statute books or by any law and order. I am dilating in a little abstract way as to what the feelings of the people of Gujarat are. And some peace and stability has to be brought to this ravaged State. While doing so, it is my earnest appeal to the Government that let it be done with a lighter though a firm hand. We have to soothe the ruffled feelings of the population. And this can be done only with affection, with care and with consideration.

Sir, I am glad that in the person of our Gujarat Governor, Mr. Viswanathan, we have a highly cultured and a refined

man and he has a soothing touch. Of course, Mr. Sarin . . .

(Interruption)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not try to reply to others.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Sir, they are interrupting me.

Of course, Mr. Sarin is well known for his experience and sagacity and, therefore, I am sure, that while carrying out the work of reconstruction, the Government will go about in an understanding and considerate manner and I am confident that this will yield the desired results. Sir, even if we have committed some mistakes in the past, we can rectify them. I know that the people of Gujarat are very generous and magnanimous. They have sacrificed a good deal in the past and it is not as if they will not be prepared to do sacrifices now.

(Time bell rings)

Sir, I must be given two or three minutes more. I have to ask some questions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will have to conform to the requirements of time. You cannot be going on making a speech.

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Sir, Mr. Niren Ghosh interrupted me and therefore you must give me some more time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are several other Members who want to speak. I am sorry, you will have to wind up now. I have already given you more time. Mrs. Kulkarni this is a Calling Attention Motion. You cannot make a written speech here. You wind up now.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: Sir, first of all the Government must ensure that there is a steady flow of food in that part of the country and it should be made available at a reasonable rate. The second thing is that they should do it with charity in their heart and consideration. This is not the time

[Shrimati Sumitra G. Kulkarni.]

that Government should come with a heavy hand over the people of Gujarat. After all, this is an open upsurge of the people. I am sure that the people of Gujarat will co-operate. My only appeal to the people of Gujarat is that they should give an opportunity to the Administration which has come to re-establish order and to bring about some sort of a reconstruction in Government so that the administration can be carried on. I hope Centre will give leadership in the matter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you do not sit, there will be no answer.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Sir, I fully appreciate the spirit in which the hon. Member has made her observations. I share her sense of anguish and distress at the happenings in Gujarat. It is very true that the State is passing through a very difficult time and it needs efforts on the part of all of us to pull the State out of its present difficulties.

Well, Sir, as regards the food situation, it is true that Gujarat is a deficit State in the matter of food. But, the Central Government has always been considerate in meeting the requirements of food of that State within the limitations of the stock position in our country and kharif crop prospects. The food supply to that State was regulated and was also increased when it was necessary. Even now I can assure the hon. Member that everything possible will be done to rush essential supplies to the State of Gujarat and it will be seen that the difficulties of the people there are minimised.

Well, Sir, one point that the hon. Member made was that people should not be dealt with a heavy hand and that force should not be used indiscriminately. Sir, I may assure her and the House also that it is never the intention of Government or local administration to use force unless it becomes absolutely essential to do so. If you see the large number of persons in Police and Administration, all senior officers . . . S. D. Ms. Dy. S. Ps., D.I.Gs. and A.S.Ps—who have been injured, you will be surprised to see with what a great amount

of patience and restraint they have acted. We should, therefore, appreciate the fact that the Administration, Civil as well as Police, has acted with great restraint and patience. And I can assure the House that they will continue to do so but it all depends on what the situation is there. They would certainly see that peace is maintained and those who are bent on disturbing peace are brought to book.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I am very sorry to say that whatever may be the hon. Minister's characteristics, the statement made by him is a howlingly hypocritical and dishonest. It should be rejected by the House because it one-sidedly blamed the people. Sir, the situation in Gujarat was the creation—the creation, if I may say emphatically—of a corrupt and inept Ministry supported initially by the Central Minister, Mr. Dikshit. I do not see him present in this House. We had in West Bengal in the British days a permanent settlement producing 'absentee landlords' and now we have a permanent tenure of ministerial office producing absentee ministers.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He is campaigning in U.P.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know where he is but as the Union Home Minister he must have been present here today.

(Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Niren Ghosh, you cannot be addressing any other member like this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know Mr. Dikshit is very efficient in household management and now he must be looking after the home of the Congress Party but as a Union Minister he should have been present today. You should take note of it and this should not be bypassed like this. It should be taken seriously.

Sir, I have been to Gujarat last month and I saw with my own eyes what happened. The shootings that have taken

place in the initial stage—it was the one-sided action, violent action by the Government. Apart from mobilising 24,000 policemen of Gujarat, they drafted the services of the SRP, CRP, Border Security Force and later on army was brought on the scene in Ahmedabad. This has been done. How many people have been killed I do not know but the number given is not correct. I went to the Jamalpur area and also the Shahpur area. A young Muslim boy was shot dead when he was flying a kite from the roof-top of a house. How could he be killed like this? I went to the house of the boy and saw the spot where he was actually killed. And yet no enquiry has been ordered. In Shahpur area, Shri Pankaj Joshi, young boy, was similarly shot when there was no such police action, much the less. Such things are happening.

Then the hon. Minister should have told the House how the artificial scarcity and shortage was created when the production of rice, foodgrains was better than the previous year in Gujarat and the groundnut production had reached an all time peak. There should not have been any scarcity or shortage as far as edible oil is concerned yet it was created. Foodgrains were in short supply. Smuggling went on and the Chief Minister, particularly the former Chief Minister, Mr. Chiman Bhai Patel, was in league with some wholesalers and indulged in wholesome corruption. A number of Ministers had been guilty of corruption and party to smuggling, blackmarketing and profiteering which became such a scandalous disgrace that even the peace-loving and law abiding citizens of Gujarat could not tolerate. That is what I saw there. Sir, there was a demand for the resignation of the Ministry much earlier. I met the Prime Minister on the 2nd of this month and told her that this was the only way out. Later on, Sir, the ministerial responsibility was defied. In fact some of the Ministers like Mr. Amul Desai and others were harping for higher posts, in order to step in the shoes of the Chief-ministership and they were openly quarreling and fighting like cats and dogs for of-

fice. They were using the crisis with a view to advancing their personal and factional ambition. That was the height of the scandal. But then nothing was done. I would like to know why the Home Minister did not go to Ahmedabad, in Gujarat. Later on, Shri K. C. Pant from another Ministry was sent on a fact finding mission. It was a great joke. After the whole Gujarat was aflame, he was sent on a fact-finding mission and the Home Minister did not have the courage to go there, make on-the-spot study and take necessary steps. The Constitution enjoins upon him to go there and see for himself but it was not done. You must explain these things. Sir, it is even more scandalous when Chimanbhai Patel was brought here and he held a Press Conference to tell the people of the country and the people of Gujarat that he had the backing of the Central Government. It was an act of provocation to the outraged people of Gujarat. Gujarat's sense of honour, Gujarat's dignity had been outraged by the inept, corrupt, anti-people reactionary government in league with Gujarati millionaires and monopolists. This Government here was watching the situation when people were dying. Now he is blaming the people of violence. I can tell you what kind of violence the people were put to; curfew, lathi-charge, teargasing, molesting of women, attacking the people and in the Muslim areas I must say, the police went there and indulged in orgies of violence guided by communal passion. What action are you taking against them? These are criminals. They should be tried. Sir, the orgy of Gujarat will not be over unless the Government makes an end of it. Therefore, I suggest (1) enquiry into all police atrocities should be instituted; (2) enquiry into the charges of corruption against the Ministers should be started under the Commissions of Inquiries Act or, otherwise; it is very essential; (3) foodgrains and other essential commodities should be rushed from here to Gujarat and with the co-operation of the people, should be distributed among them; and (4) all the repressive measures should be withdrawn and there should be rapport with the people on the part of authorities. Unless this is done, you cannot tackle the situation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Should not the Assembly be dissolved?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not interested in the rightist slogans whether Assembly should be dissolved or not. You may consider this. At the moment I am talking what they should do for the people. If the dissolution of the Assembly means solution of the problem, I can understand it. I am only speaking of what should be done. Food-grains should be sent; other essential commodities should be supplied; repressive measures should be withdrawn. Members of our own party, including the one MLA we have got, were arrested.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Our party members also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, your party leader was also arrested. Such things were happening, and there is not an expression of regret. Sir, Gujarat has been shamed by the filthy foul Chimanbhai Ministry. These Congress leaders who are in position should be branded as unfit for public life, not merely for Ministries or high positions, but unfit for public life. Sir, it is a matter of concern for us today that the right wing forces in the country are trying to take advantage of the situation. Obviously they will try to do that if you afford them such an opportunity. I do hope that the people of Gujarat will not fall prey to communal right wing forces. I believe in the patriotism of the people of Gujarat. Therefore it is very essential. Sir, the Central Government should be pilloried. The Central Government was playing with fire. The Central Government allowed the things to continue. The Central Government thought that Chimanbhai could be maintained in power somehow or other, even at the cost of so many lives they have taken by putting the army in the streets in the name of giving protection to an uncivil, unwanted, corrupt, discredited Ministry, that is, the Chimanbhai Ministry. The Home Minister of India Shri Umashankar Dikshit had behaved in this matter in a most disgraceful and shameless manner and it is the duty of the Parliament today to voice condemnation

in protest against the Home Ministry for the things that have been done there. Sir, I, therefore, demand that these steps should be taken. These are very essential steps. Sir, I seek your permission. This statement should be withdrawn. This statement which has been read out to the House is an insult to the....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes; it should be withdrawn. I agree.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:commonsense of the House. If the statement is to be there, let it be the subject-matter of a thorough debate. I shall give a motion; let the statement be the subject-matter of a thorough debate; it is nothing but a distortion of facts and insult to the suffering people of Gujarat. It can be torn to pieces if we have a little chance of a debate on the subject. Mr. Mirdha, I may tell you that you are holding a very wrong baby. Mr. Umashankar Dikshit should have been here today. I have seen several other Home Ministers sitting in this place and they used to be present on such occasions in this House. Gujarat is not a kind of your zamindari that you can ignore it; there are others in the country. I feel the tragedy of it that the land of Mahatma Gandhi has been subjected to such tyranny, national humiliation and suffering by the very people who swear by the name of Gandhiji. I think it is a matter of shame. I do not know whether the Government has any sense of shame in this respect. I do want that the question of Gujarat should be subjected to a thorough investigation from every angle. Finally, before I sit down I must say I was shocked when I went to the parents of Pankaj Joshi who has been killed by police firing. After the poor boy has been killed the Police Commissioner goes and offers the parents Rs. 2000 as compensation; this is adding insult to injury. I should say this is cynical that after killing the boy when the tears were flowing down the cheeks of the mother, when every member of the family was in deep grief, the Police Commissioner goes there and offers Rs. 2000. The Ministers may cost Rs. 2000 but the life of a young man cut short at this age costs much more; that is an invaluable precious possession of the

parents. Have you called for an explanation for this kind of insulting behaviour to the aggrieved parents after committing a cold-blooded murder of their son? Why are you hiding all these things from the House? Sir, I feel very sore about this. I went there and I can tell you that I have seen many movements before independence and after independence but I feel very sorry at the manner in which the peace-loving quiet people of Gujarat have been provoked and treated by the Government which should be hauled up before the bar of India's public opinion, indicated and punished. Sir, those people have gone; the dissolution of the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry was long overdue.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do; let him answer now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What I say is now you should do something to assuage the feelings of the people and relieve their suffering and misery.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The agony of Gujarat is the agony of India.

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD (Kerala): May I know under what particular rule Mr. Niren Ghosh is acting as Sancho Panza to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Under the same rule that permits your presence here.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: The statement that I have made is neither one-sided nor wrong as has been alleged by the hon. Member. All that I have tried to do in the statement is to give the background which gave rise to the agitation, what happened in the course of the agitation and the action that was taken in pursuance thereto. The hon. Member has raised a number of points but has asked very few questions. He said that what needs to be done is to give relief to the people and to send foodstuff as early as possible. I have already assured the House that everything possible within the limits of our

resources is being done to provide food-grains and other essential commodities to the State of Gujarat and we will see that the difficulties of the people are minimised to the extent possible but that also can only be done when peace and order prevail in the State. The normal administration should be restored, so that the administration could address itself to the very important task of rushing civil supplies, replenishing stocks in fair price shops and meeting the day-to-day needs of the people. Something was said about police atrocities and alleged excesses. All I can say is this. Whatever information or complaint is received in this respect would be fully enquired into and if anyone is found to be at fault he would be punished under the normal rules of Government. The same holds good about the charges of corruption against the administration. We have a definite, set procedure for dealing with such complaints...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have brought complaints before you.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: If any concrete complaints are made in this regard we will deal with them in the proper way.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Umashankar Joshi.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is this the answer?

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI (Nominated): Sir, I rise to speak more in sorrow and agony than in anger. It all started with a rise in the price of foodstuff at a college. The Government could not tackle the problem efficiently. The students were in wrath, perhaps provoked by the inefficient and corrupt nature of the Government. They announced a student curfew. We had the experience of a Janta curfew in 1956 against the then leader. Then, they announced a Bund and not only in cities and towns, but in every village the personnel was ready because students are everywhere. So all the programmes that the students gave were successful and

[Shri Umashankar Joshi.]

the people joined them. It rarely happens. People joined them not merely because of the deficit in foodgrains, not because of the small or major problem of keeping the body and soul together. Our people have learned the art of living by licking their fingers if they have some modicum of faith in the Government, but the people of Gujarat—let me tell this hon. House through you, Sir,—had lost all faith in the Government because they came into existence through corruption. A Government that comes into existence through corruption maintains itself by corruption and violence. They indulged in making a lot of money through playing with the idea of charging a levy on groundnut when there was a bumper crop with Diwali round the corner. There were stocks of last year and the people thought that it was the Government which helped the hoarders of oil in fixing double the price which the stocks would have got in the open market. Then, again, after Diwali they were indulging in corruption. People say Rs. 25 lakhs or Rs. 31 lakhs and it is anybody's guess. The people thought that they as consumers had to pay through the nose all this money that a corrupt Government raised from hoarders and profiteers. I think this is how it clicked. It rarely happens. This is not a disturbance or a riot or an upsurge. I would call it an uprising. It is nothing short of a political confrontation, a sort of awareness, a sort of revolutionary wave overtaking the people. Let the powers that be conscious and beware, before it is too late, of the true causes that have led to the people of Gujarat rising against their own Government. Sir, the Army battalions were brought to Gujarat from Delhi; the Army was moved in. And we had only to listen to the speech of the Chief Minister on the 27th night. One is used to associate such things in Nazi Germany. Just after that speech, no less a person than the Director, Mrs. Venkataraman from the radio read out the announcement regarding the curfew that anyone of them running and even coming out of the house during the curfew hours will be shot at. She spoke with blood dripping like Kapala Kun-

dala. Can such things be done in any part of this great country which has been led to independence by great leaders during the last one century? People talk of violence. The hon. Minister of State spoke of violence, arson, loot, police-inspectors being injured and all that. People ask men like me who belong to the world of letters and of art, "Oh! Gandhi's Gujarat has been doing this!" Let me tell you, Sir, that this could happen only in Gandhi's Gujarat that a whole people would rise against an immoral rule. What were the others doing in this country? People like me have warned during the last two years publicly, and this is the rule that we got. People like me have been let down because the political party has committed *harakiri* and some dark forces entered, and men like me, living alone, living apart in a literary or artistic world, would have to fight such forces. This is a great betrayal; nothing short of a great betrayal. And the powers-that-be coaxed and encouraged the corrupt Government in the name of violence in the streets, in the name of democracy. What is the total violence done by the students? A thousand college teachers of the five universities were behind the students. Is there one case of violence by a professor? Show. What are the cases of violence indulged in by the students? The students in Gujarat do not carry fire-arms, they have not held bombs, they were thrown underground. The words of the hon. Shri Kalyan Roy are ringing in my ears. Two years ago, while...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I found that the Congressmen went underground. I say that except my friend, Shri Himmat Singh, all Congressmen disappeared.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: He congratulated the Chimanbhai Government in the middle of January amongst others. It is so unfortunate. It was in the papers.

SHRI HIMMAT SINGH (Gujarat): We know by whom the press in Gujarat is controlled. And the present violence is encouraged by these Gujarat papers. The Gujarat press is the dirtiest press

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: The students and the people of Gujarat have asked for a clean rule. Is that a crime? The new Congress wanted to deliver certain goods. Perhaps, it could not engineer a fervour, a revolutionary spirit, in the youth. Now, the youth feels it and you pounce upon them as if they were criminals. I think it is time that narrow party interests may not be used as blinkers. National interests in this hour of crisis in the country should have the foremost consideration. It is time that you do not believe in the reports that you receive from the C.I.D. as the Britishers did. Go and have on the spot study. As was very wisely said, M.L.As. have been somewhere but in their own constituencies. The Government has fallen.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: M.L.As. took shelter in Gandhi Nagar when students presented bangles to them. When I was there I was also asked to present some bangles to them. I asked them not to do that because they would give them to their wives.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Have you got an idea of the number of students who have been murdered by the police?

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: The number was given. It is about correct. Till the 9th February when the Ministry fell the official number was 49 or 50. I think the hon'ble Minister of State said it was 45. This is the official number. Today is higher. There was a blood bath given to Gujarat before proclaiming the President's Rule. Is there a necessity for another blood bath? Are you going to call the army again? Is this in the interest of democracy? (*Time bell rings.*)

In the first instance the High Command somehow or the other remains high and dry and does not command in time. It does too little and too late. The Ministry was toppling when you gave the green light from here. What can stop dissolution? Dissolution is not the end, I agree with hon'ble Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. But if Members submit resignations what can sustain dissolution?

SHRI HIMMAT SINH: Under pressurisation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Then let the Assembly meet and decide.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: One man can be pressurised for all the time . . . (*Interruption*) Let me finish.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Mr. Joshi, if the Assembly is dissolved they will lose the Rajya Sabha seats. Therefore, they will dissolve the Assembly only after the Rajya Sabha elections are held.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: That is not my concern. Sir, one man can be pressurised for all time, all for some time, but not all for all time. Why do they not go to their own constituencies? They have lost all credibility. I have been saying this publicly and to influential persons. If the Members of the Gujarat Assembly, 140 in number, cannot give us a viable government, what is the *raison d'être* for their existence as M.L.As? Anyway. I will now put specific questions. On the 10th February some ex-Ministers levelled charges of corruption against the Chief Minister and the Chief Minister as a rejoinder said that he did not care if an enquiry is launched against him. What prevents the Government to institute an enquiry not merely against the Chief Minister but all the Ministers and others who have been responsible for corruption running riot?

My second question is why should the Speaker of the Gujarat Assembly hesitate, if not put obstructions, in accepting resignations? Why should he undertake a pilgrimage to Delhi when he was given personal resignation by his Deputy? The third and the most important question is: What are we going to do to restore law and order in that unfortunate part of our country? Are we contemplating to take some specific steps or are merely trying to apportion blame at the door of this party or that, or the rich men? Let me tell you that the Ahmedabad traders had the Chief Minister as their hatchet-man, and the students and professors have carried on their movement without the expense of one rupee till the Ministry fell.

SHRI HIMMAT SINGH: What about now?

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: I have left the place. You know better. You would enlighten us. You are good at such things.

SHRI HIMMAT SINGH: It suits you to plead ignorance.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : गुजरात जाकर बोलिए । यहाँ पार्लियामेन्ट में क्या बोल रहे हैं ?

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: When Bhupesh babu hailed the people who had taken a motor-buscade of 38 buses from his party office, my friend who was there, also hailed it—running with the hare. Then they asked for his resignation. He sulked. Sir, the question is, how are we going to bring peace to this unfortunate part of our country? Is the Prime Minister contemplating to go to them and use the student energy, which was wanting and which is now made available, and channelise it into constructive ways? The politics of corruption is at the root of this matter. Let us not connive at this big truth. The politics of corruption should end in this country. In Gujarat the Ministry has fallen. That does not mean that the politics of corruption has ended. This problem is not a law and order problem. It has a wider significance. Corruption will have to be tracked down wherever it is, even if it is within a few metres of your august presence. The rulers, by and large, have lost their credibility. There is a crisis of confidence. People have lost confidence in them. But one good thing that is happening in this country is that the people are now beginning to gain confidence in themselves. This is a great thing. Let the rulers who want to rule this country for high ideals recognise this fact and avail of this opportunity, this moment, a moment which rarely comes, a moment which is fraught with great possibilities of advancement as a people.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: The hon. Member has given an analysis and an interpretation, according to his light,

of what led to the present situation in Gujarat. Well, I would not like to dispute him about his premise and other observations that he made. It would involve us in a long debate that might even extend to discussing some basic concepts regarding the way we want to run parliamentary democracy in our country. This is not the place or the time to do so, and I would not go into that sphere. He wants to know what the Government proposes to do regarding the charges of corruption against the administration that have been levelled. I have already said that we have a certain way of dealing with charges against Ministers and persons in high authority. We have a set code of conduct, set procedures, set rules for handling such type of allegations. I would repeat that if some positive and definite allegations are made, we would certainly look into them and take all possible action.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: The ex-Chief Minister himself said that he was going to appoint a Lokpal. Can't you do it when it is under President's rule?

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Let some people come and tell us definitely concrete instances of what has happened and we will inquire into that.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: It is all in the papers.

1 P.M.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मिर्धा साहब, जब 120 मेम्बरों ने श्री बंसीलाल के खिलाफ लिख कर दिया था तो तब आपने कुछ नहीं किया । अब गुजरात में आप अपनी तरफ से कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं करते हैं ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Mirdha, on this point in the past you took umbrage that this must come through the State Government. You called for the State Government to explain. Now here there is no State Ministry. The responsibility is entirely yours. Therefore, you have no such inhibition or difficulty in ordering an inquiry. You

can do it absolutely on your own in conformity with the conventions and according to the constitutional provisions.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: All I said was this that we will not go into procedural difficulties, whether they come through the State Government or not. All I said is this that if any list of charges, properly authenticated so that we can act upon them, is received by the Government, we will act on them, we will not take refuge under any procedural difficulties. We want to inquire into these and we do not want to slur over these things, these allegations, which are made....

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: This would assuage the feelings because the agitation started against corruption.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: We will very seriously inquire into all positive and definite allegations that will be made....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is not the point, whether you will inquire. The inquiry must follow certain public standards and procedure. Ministerial inquiry or departmental inquiry or inquiry by Mr. K. C. Pant or yourself will not do. There is a Commission of Inquiry Act...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has not said anything about the mode of inquiry. He said he wants to have the charges inquired into.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: I never said we would not do so. Let us have some positive allegations, allegations that are capable of verification and further action. Sir, then the honourable Member wanted to know why the Speaker is not accepting the resignations. It is not in my province as to why the Speaker is taking or is not taking a particular action. He will do whatever he thinks proper. Lastly he asked a question as to what the Government is doing to restore law and order or to restore peace. All along I have been saying that we have to take steps to restore

law and order in all possible ways. I am not trying to apportion blame one way or another. In my statement, I merely stated what is happening there. When I gave instances of arson, looting, violence, the honourable Member gets up and says that this is part of the revolutionary fervour of the students, without a word of condemnation...

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: I wanted to be protected. Mr. Deputy Chairman. I never said that. Sir, I have a right to intervene. I seek your protection because he is putting words in my mouth. The point is there is a police-cum-people violence. Hell was let loose on the 9th. Hell was let loose on Ahmedabad before the army was moved in. Who does it? There are agent-provocateurs. We have been told this during the British regime also. Please do not repeat such things.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: I am not repeating anything. You are responsible leaders of public opinion. You should at least say something about this that these are very violent things that are happening, instead of trying to say that there is a revolution coming ...

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: Why are you shying away from revolution? You stand for revolution. I do believe that you stand for revolution.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: We do stand for revolution but not through methods that take to streets. We are committed to progressive revolution through constitutional means, through the system of parliamentary democracy to which we are committed. And we do accept that there have to be protests also. But there is a limit to the extent of public protests. We do believe that everyone has a right to protest democratically. We accept the contention of the honourable Member ...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Why are you forgetting the violence of the police? You are putting the blame on the people.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: I am not trying to apportion blame on one or the other. I am only appealing to the honourable Member from whom we have great hope—I still have—to take a lesson to the students. If you can take a lesson from Gandhiji, even he said if something wrong were done to you, do not take to violence....

(Interruptions)

UMASHANKER JOSHI: I am no leader.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: I want to ask a small question which arises out of this...

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called Shri Chinai.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: The hon. Member has asked what steps you have taken or Government have taken to establish peace...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Shri Chinai.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: For that purpose bullet is not the only step...

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Bullets from house tops.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Did you invite leaders of all Parties? Did you try to convince them? To establish peace, did you take any such action? All public and important persons should be invited. You could have a conference and you could persuade them to see...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is only a suggestion.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: An all-Party Parliamentary team should be sent there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I have called Shri Chinai.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: You have not taken any step to persuade people...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: (Maharashtra) I would like to know from the hon. Minister if he has applied his mind as to what is the next step he is going to take. We had a civil government which could not control the State. So it had to go. But before going, it called in the Army and asked them to see that the law and order is re-established. But in spite of the Army and in spite of imposing President's rule, the law and order has not been maintained. This is what we have been reading in the newspapers from day to day till yesterday. In view of that, has the Government taken the clue as to what is actually required to be done in the city of Ahmedabad and in the other cities in the State of Gujarat? Having introduced the President's rule, I would like to know whether Government is thinking of ruling the State through some advisory committee or only through the Governor and his adviser who has been sent there. I would like to know whether the Government would take necessary steps to send some high dignitaries there so that they could see for themselves as to what is the exact position there. I could understand that the hon. Prime Minister and the Home Minister and others are busy with the U.P. elections. But we are at the end of it now. I hope immediately some high dignitaries will go and try to understand the problem because what has happened is that students have come to the forefront. It is not the general public. It is the students' world now. We must find out who are at the back of the students' world. We should try to solve their problems and see that those who are at their back are not with them.

I want to say a word about resignation of M.L.As. There is one saintly, old person called Ravi Shanker Maharaj. He is 91 years old. He never indulges in any public controversy. He has advised everybody that those who cannot rule must resign. I can understand that. But I cannot understand Shri Jayaprakash Narain saying that

every student must get out of his class for one year and every teacher and professor must get out of the school and college for one year. For what ? He has no business, advice is wrong.

SHRI HIMMAT SINGH : Ravi Shanker Maharaj has not said that...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I do not want to say what you feel. I want to say what I feel. I want to say that all energies should be spent to see that students are pacified. They should be told to go back to their schools and colleges. Teachers and professors should go back to their schools and colleges. Thus, you have to see that normal life is restored in the State.

Another point on which I want to say is this. It is often said that Gujaratis are docile; they are sobre; they will not do anything. You must not forget that there is a proverb that even a worm can turn round and attack if provoked to such an extent. On this analogy, Gujaratis are bound to take to agitational and other methods. Agitations are all right. But then you cannot expect them to break the law. I am one of those who believe strongly that law and order should be maintained. But, at the same time, the grievances of the students and the public should be looked into and removed.

Lastly, Sir, I want to say a few words about the repercussions of what is happening in Gujarat and in other States. Sir, I want to warn in this House and through you, Mr. Mirdha and the Home Minister and the Prime Minister that there are several other parts also in the country including the city of Bombay which are sitting on the volcano today and if you do not take action in time, you will find that the other States are also involved. Sir, about the things that are done by the Shiv Sena and others in the city of Bombay, I have made a mention and have drawn the attention of the Prime Minister to those things and I hope she will also speak to you in this connection. Otherwise, the other parts in the country, one after another, would witness the ugly sight which we have witnessed in Gujarat. I would like to

appeal to you and through you, Sir, to the honourable Prime Minister once again with folded hands: "Please go to the state of Gujarat, meet the leaders there, meet the student leaders, because the students have golden hearts and tender hearts and you can turn them in the way in which you want to and I am sure they will listen to reason and they will play their part properly in restoring order there." This is my appeal. Once you assure them that they will have a non-corrupt government in the future, they will listen. I am not one of those who would agree to the resignation of the MLAs through coercion. If the MLAs want to resign, they may resign on their own and I have no objection. But I object to people going to the houses of the MLAs and others when they are not there and when their wives and children only will be there and coercing them or trying to gherao them. All sorts of things are done and this is not the way of democracy. If democracy is to survive in India, these things will not help and these things should be stopped immediately. I beseech the student community to listen to reason and I appeal to them to go away from this type of demonstration and I appeal to them to put themselves in the position of others and see things for themselves. If they want the resignation of the MLAs or somebody else because they feel that the Government there cannot run properly, I can understand that. But here is another picture that has come to us through the papers and from others who have visited Gujarat. I stay in Bombay though I belong to Gujarat. I was born and brought up in Gujarat and our hearts are burning and bleeding on seeing all these things. I appeal to the honourable Minister to convey our feelings to the Prime Minister and take immediate action as suggested by me.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : Well Sir, I agree with the honourable Member that this is not merely a law and order problem nor do we treat it as such. It is a very complex and difficult problem and I would even go to the extent of saying that the Government alone cannot tackle or handle this

[Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha]

problem in a successful way. This needs the participation by and co-operation of all sections of the public and the representatives of the people.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : What efforts have you made so far ? That is the difficulty.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : Efforts can only start when in the situation a dialogue is possible. In the present situation, when violence is stepped up every day—every minute and every hour we get news about the eruption of violence and the consequent shooting when it becomes absolutely necessary—it is difficult and there will, therefore, be no hesitation for any dignitary to go there. Mr. Gokhale went there and Mr. Pant went there and, if necessary, anyone else would go and even the Home Minister himself may go there.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Mr. Pant went there only to sort out certain party problems there.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Have you met all the leaders there ?... (*Interruptions*) ... Have you met the students?

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : Sir, it would be wrong to say that Mr. Pant went there to sort out the party problems. They met every section of public opinion, they met the representatives of the students and the teachers, representatives of lawyers and everyone else who wanted to see them. I would again assert that we are not treating it as a political problem or a problem of our own party and we are not taking any partisan view or looking at it from the party angle. We believe that a concerted effort by all is necessary to handle this thing and that can only be done when co-operation from all is available. I would tell what steps we are going to take and we can take those steps when a situation is created in Gujarat, when an atmosphere is created in Gujarat, in which a dialogue with the students, a dialogue with the teachers and a dialogue with the leaders of public opinion, is possible.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I suggested one way out . . .

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please sit down, Mr. Niren Ghosh. . . (*Interruptions*). Mr. Yadav.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : श्रीमान उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, गुजरात सरकार ने और केन्द्र की सरकार ने जो कहर गुजरात की शांत और अहिंसक जनता पर ढाया है, मैं उसकी घोर भर्त्सना करता हूं। मैं कुछ रचनात्मक और सीधी-सादे प्रश्न गृह राज्य मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूं। अभी तक गुजरात की पुलिस से लगा कर आपने जो सैनिक वहां पर लगाये उनकी संख्या क्या थी? अखबारों में वहां पर मरने वालों की संख्या लगभग सौ और घायलों की संख्या लगभग एक हजार आई है। उसकी जांच करा कर के क्या स्थिति उस में आपने पाई है? इसी संदर्भ में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि उन मृतकों में कितनों के परिवारों को आपने सहायता दी है, क्षति-पूर्ति दी है और कितने घायलों को क्षति पूर्ति दी है। दूसरा सवाल मेरा यह है कि गुजरात में कितनी अनाज की आवश्यकता उसकी कमी के कारण है और कितने अनाज की आपूर्ति आप आन्दोलन के समय से अभी तक करते आ रहे हैं। गुजरात में लोगो ने रोटी के लिए गोली खाई। उत्तर प्रदेश में चुनाव के कारण आपने कितना अनाज दिया है। इन दोनों राज्यों को कितना अनाज दिया गया है, उसकी तुलना करके क्या आप बतायेंगे? तीसरा सवाल जो मैं पूछना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि आन्दोलनकारियों की मांगें क्या हैं? क्या उनकी यह मांग है कि उन्हें अनाज की पूरी आपूर्ति की जाय? क्या उनकी यह भी मांग है कि भ्रष्टाचारियों पर जांच आयोग बैठाया जाय, विधान सभा भंग की जाय और नया चुनाव कराया जाय? इस पर सरकार ने अभी तक कौन सा दृष्टिकोण रखा है, जिस के कारण विद्यार्थी वर्ग या आन्दोलनकारी, जिन्होंने यह आन्दोलन कर रखा है

[श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव]

वे आप के विचारों को सुनें और जो वातावरण आप चाहते हैं वह स्थापित हो। एक बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि मंत्री, प्रधान मंत्री और स्वयं आप इस कहर को ढाने में अपने को दोषी मानते हैं या नहीं। मैं इसलिए धापसे यह प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ कि संस्कृत में एक कहावत है :

“बुभुक्षितम् किम् न करोति पापम् ।”

जो आदमी भूखा है वह कुछ भी कर सकता है। लेकिन जो पेट में अनाज डालने वाला है वह उसके बदले में गोली दे तो फिर क्या कहा जायेगा। कृषि मंत्री उनको अनाज नहीं दे सके। इसके लिए क्या उन्होंने अपना दोष माना? होना यह चाहिये था कि अपने को दोषी समझ कर के कृषि मंत्री, प्रधान मंत्री, गृह मंत्री अपने पद से रिजाइन कर बेते, वहाँ के गवर्नर साहब की प्रशंसा की गई है। मुझे अफसोस है कि जिस राज्यपाल की रेजीम में गांधी जी के राज्य में वहाँ की शांति प्रिय जनता को गोलियों से मारा गया, उसने वहाँ की असेम्बली को डिजाल्व न कर के वहाँ के मंत्रिमंडल का रेजिगनेशन एक्सेप्ट किया। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ के कितने विधायकों ने राज्यपाल महोदय के पास इस्तीफा भेजा है। उनके अतिरिक्त कितने दूसरे कौंसिलर्स या नगर पालिका के सदस्यों ने इस्तीफा दिया है। राजनीति से सरोकार न रखने वाले जिन जान माने लोगों ने गुजरात के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं, क्या उन पर सरकार ने कोई ध्यान दिया है? श्रीमन्, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपूर्ति का जो आपने हिसाब रखा है, उस में यह ठीक है कि गुजरात अनाज कम पैदा करता है और वनस्पति और कपास ज्यादा पैदा करता है, तो इस हिसाब से पहले भी गुजरात को अनाज की आपूर्ति अधिक की जाती थी। तो मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार बताये कि पहले गुजरात को कितना अनाज दिया जाता था और अब कितना दिया जाता है। मैं सरकार से एक बात और जानना चाहता

हूँ कि राज्य सरकार के ऊपर यह चार्ज लगाया ही जाता है कि वहाँ जब जनता खुले आम रोटी की मांग कर रही थी, तो गुजरात की सरकार उत्तर प्रदेश और उड़ीसा के चुनाव के लिए मिल मालिकों से चन्दा ले रही थी? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह बात सत्य है और क्या सरकार ने इस बात की जाच या जानकारी करने की कोशिश की है?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you should finish, Mr. Yadav.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मैं अंत में यह कहना चाहना हूँ कि आज अनाज की कमी के लिए गुजरात ने एक मार्ग दर्शन किया है। गांधी जी ने देश का मार्ग दर्शन किया था और आज इस देश में जो भीषण महंगाई और बेकारी और भ्रष्टाचार का तांडव नृत्य हो रहा है उस को देखते हुए समूचे देश को इस सरकार के खिलाफ उठना चाहिए था, लेकिन वह नहीं उठा। गुजरात ने उसके लिए एक मार्गदर्शन किया है और अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार सचमुच में अभी भी होश में नहीं आना चाहती है तो मैं उन को बताना चाहता हूँ कि बिहार में भी अनाज नहीं है और वहाँ ढाई सौ रुपये क्विंटल गेहूँ बिक रहा है। महाराष्ट्र और उड़ीसा में भी यही हालत है और यही हालत प्रायः सभी जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं की है। इनकी आपूर्ति के लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है और अगर उन वस्तुओं की आपूर्ति सरकार नहीं करती है तो क्या सरकार यह समझती है कि जिस गोली की बढ़ावत सरकार ने गुजरात में शांति रखी हुई है, उसी का प्रयोग सारे देश में किया जायेगा। क्या सरकार सारे देश में मिनीटरी का शासन चाहती है?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You will have to end now, Mr. Yadav.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : हमारे कुछ मित्र बड़े तपाक से अपनी बात कहने के लिए तैयार रहते हैं। वे अपनी बात बड़े तपाक से कहते हैं, लेकिन वह बतायें कि आज सरकार ने

[श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव]

गुजरात में छात्र नेताओं या आन्दोलनकारियों के उपकार का कौन सा काम किया है। जब वह रोटी की मांग कर रहे थे तो उस के लिए आपकी सरकार ने क्या किया? सरकार वहां भी कांग्रेस की थी। अगर किसी दूसरे दल की सरकार होती तो यह बात समझ में आ सकती थी कि उस से केन्द्र की सरकार का बैर भाव है। लेकिन वहां तो आपकी ही सरकार थी और इस बात को आपके गृह मंत्री जी ने स्वीकार किया कि वहां अनाज की आपूर्ति ठीक प्रकार से नहीं हुई। तो जिसने यह आपूर्ति ठीक प्रकार से नहीं की उस के लिए आपने क्या कार्यवाही की है?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Minister, 'You will answer now.'

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : माननीय सदस्य ने कुछ विशेष प्रश्न पूछे हैं और मैं उन का उत्तर दूंगा। वह जानना चाहते हैं कि पुलिस की वहां पर संख्या कितनी है जो इस सारी व्यवस्था में लगी हुई है। इस के संबंध में मुझे यही कहना है कि मेरे पास अभी आंकड़े नहीं हैं कि कितनी पुलिस वहां लगी हुई है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मैं श्रीमन् से सुरक्षा चाहूंगा। गुजरात सरकार की 24,000 पुलिस है, उस के अलावा वहां वार्डर सिक्क्योरिटी पुलिस है और दूसरी पुलिस है, तो उन की संख्या जान बूझ कर छिपाने की कोशिश की जा रही है, इसलिए कि उस का आतंक वहां बना रहे। कितनी ब्रूटेलिटी के साथ वहां दमन हुआ है इस को जाहिर वे नहीं करना चाहते। उस की संख्या न बताना सदन के साथ अन्याय करना है।

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : यह संख्या मेरे पास नहीं है कि कितने समय के लिए बी० एस० एफ० या आर्मी वहां रही। वह हमेशा वही वहां नहीं रहती कि जब चाहे तब उसे इस काम में लगा लें। ऐसी बात नहीं है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आपरेशन में उस ने जिस प्रकार से भाग लिया उसे देखते हुए आप को उन की संख्या बनानी चाहिए। अगर आपरेशन में आने वाले फोर्स की संख्या आप के पास नहीं है तो आप ने जो मृतकों की संख्या दी है उस की ही क्या गारंटी है कि वह ठीक होगी।

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि मृतक सौ से ज्यादा हैं। मैंने 48 की संख्या दी थी। जो आंकड़े मैंने दिये हैं वह सही हैं और यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि मृतकों की संख्या 100 से ज्यादा है। कितनी बटालियनों सी० आर० पी० और बी० एस० एफ० की वहां रही, इसकी संख्या मैं दे सकता हूँ, लेकिन इस का मतलब यह नहीं है कि वह हर समय इस काम में लगी रहीं। क्योंकि सिविल प्रशासन जब जरूरी समझता है तो थोड़े समय के लिए वहां उनको बुला लेता है। अनाज की आवश्यकता के लिए माननीय सदस्य ने कहा...

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आप उन बटालियनों की संख्या ही बता दें।

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : तीन बटालियनों बी० एस० एफ० की और दो सी० आर० पी० की थीं जिनको समय-समय पर राज्य सरकार ने इस्तेमाल किया और कुछ राजस्थान आर्म्ड कांस्टेबलरी थी, लेकिन उस को लगाने की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ी। यह भी कभी-कभी लगायी गयी।

जो सिविल पुलिस है उसने यह सारा काम किया था। यह उनकी जिम्मेदारी थी। मैंने संख्या के बारे में भी प्रतिवाद किया कि वह 100 की संख्या नहीं है। माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि गुजरात में अनाज की कमी पैदा हुई है इसी कारण यह सब कुछ हुआ। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात की ओर विशेष ध्यान रखा जाता है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : क्षति पूर्ति हो रही है या नहीं।

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : जो खाद्यान्न की कमी है उसको देखते हुए, उसी अनुपात से उनको खाद्यान्न मुहैया किया जाए इसकी ओर ध्यान दिया जा रहा है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : क्वान्टिटी बताइए।

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : मेरे पास नहीं है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : जब इनके पास क्वान्टिटी नहीं है तो कालिंग अटेंशन कैसे स्वीकार हो गया ?

(Interruptions)

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : सरकार दूसरे राज्यों से भी जैसे—पंजाब और हरियाणा से भी बाजरा और खाद्यान्न खरीद रही है। इसकी भी रियायत दे दी गई है और यह भी कोशिश की जा रही है कि खाद्यान्न पर्याप्त मात्रा में वहां पहुंच सके।

(Interruptions)

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मैं प्रोटेक्शन चाहूंगा। मैंने पूछा है कि कितने लोग मरे हैं? और दूसरा सवाल मैंने यह पूछा था कि जितने लोग मरे हैं उनमें से कितने लोगों की क्षति पूर्ति दी गई? मैंने ये सवाल पूछे थे और इनके जवाब नहीं दिए गए।

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : यह मेरे पास जानकारी नहीं है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मैंने दूसरा सवाल पूछा है कि स्टुडेंट्स की जो मांग थी उस पर आपने कोई विचार किया है?

श्री उपसभापति : यह आपने नहीं पूछा।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आज इसी मांग के कारण तो सब कुछ हो रहा है।

श्री उपसभापति : आप अगर नये-नये क्वेश्चन पूछने लगेंगे, तो सब का कैसे जवाब दिया जाएगा।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मैंने एक भी नया सवाल नहीं पूछा है। मैंने पूछा है कि स्टुडेंट्स की यह मांग है कि विधान सभा भंग की जाए, भ्रष्टाचारों की जांच की जाए, अनाज पूरा किया जाए।

श्री उपसभापति : जो सवाल आपने पूछे हैं, उनके जवाब आपको मिल चुके हैं। (Interruptions)। मिस्टर मारिस्वामी।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मेरे सवाल का जवाब नहीं मिला है। इन्होंने संख्या नहीं बताई है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He has said 48. So many Members asked this question and he has answered. Now I have called Mr. Mariswamy. Will you please take your seat or not? Whatever he says will be off the record.

(Shri J. P. Yadav continued speaking)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This will not go on record.

(Shri J. P. Yadav continued speaking)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You do not deserve any protection if you defy the Chair. Mr. Mariswamy has the floor.

(Shri J. P. Yadav continued speaking)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You must know how to behave in the House. If you cannot...

(Shri J. P. Yadav continued speaking)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Generally I do not lose my temper. I am very sorry for you. And it is not for the first time that you are behaving like this...

(Shri J. P. Yadav continued speaking)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Nothing will go on record.

(Shri J. P. Yadav continued speaking)

[Shri J. P. Yadav and some hon. Members left the Chamber.]

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I have heard with great attention Mr. Joshi, who seldom speaks in the House. But, today he spoke in a manner that would touch everybody's hearts.

Sir, my information is that there were four main reasons which were responsible for the trouble in Gujarat. The first reason was the in-fight in the Congress Party. The second reason was that in order to collect money from groundnut dealers the Government allowed the export of groundnut from Gujarat with the result that there was scarcity of groundnut oil in Gujarat. By doing so the Congress Party collected Rs. 45 lakhs in the name of U. P. elections. The third reason was that soon after the assumption of office by Mr. Chimanbhai Patel—who was connected with many colleges—he raised the tuition fees in colleges and this was responsible for student agitations. The fourth reason was, as has been stated by my friend, Mr. Joshi, the prevalence of all-round corruption in the administration. These are the main causes that resulted in the volcano erupting in Gujarat, which is otherwise a very peaceful state and which has given birth to Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Even in the days of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, when there was a 'No Tax Campaign' at Bardoli, the police and military did not act in the manner in which they have acted recently.

Sir, I have got an eye-witness account given to me by a friend of mine. It happened in the city of Ahmedabad between the 7th and 11th of this month. He had seen military moving around in the city with sten guns, machine guns, automatic rifles and 303 bore guns. They were moving in camouflaged cars with binoculars and walkie-talkies. The entire city looked like a town occupied by Nazis in Europe during 1939-45. I could never imagine that military people would be going around in a civilian city camouflaging their vehicles with their binoculars, walkie-talkies and sten guns and machine guns in order to kill

people. This is the first time in my life after Independence that I have seen such a thing happening. A military regime was let loose on the peaceful city called Ahmedabad. My friend stated that in Raipur Ghad, Relief Road and Aswara Road—I am told these are important roads of Ahmedabad city, I have not seen these places in my life because I have not gone there—some half a dozen urchins were pelting stones on closed shops. That was the crime that they had committed when the military rushed and took aim at the boys and killed three of them on the spot. The fourth boy was crawling with a wound in his leg and entered a nearby house. The military walked into that house, dragged him out, shot him and killed him on the road. This has been narrated to me by a very reliable and close friend of mine. The photographs and cameras of newsmen were snatched away. Their green passes which entitled them to move about during curfew hours, were also taken away and torn to pieces. When they protested that these green passes belonged to them, they were told that nobody cared about their green passes and they could go to hell and that these green passes meant nothing to military. The correspondents then proceeded to Raj Bhavan to see General Kaul and some military officers so as to report the matter to them. General Kaul told them that he was not able to understand what they were speaking and told them that military had taken control of the city, newsmen would not be allowed to take any photographs and that they would not be allowed to question the authority of military. When the correspondents wanted to lodge a complaint with the Governor, they were taken out of Raj Bhavan. This is what has happened between the 7th and 11th of this month in Ahmedabad. I want an answer from the hon. Minister stating whether it is correct or not. On the top of it I would like to know why this situation has arisen in Ahmedabad. We found the same situation prevailing in Andhra some months before. Now it is Gujarat. The root cause of all this trouble is—and I would request the hon. Minister to ponder over this—there is a lot

of Central interference in the State's affairs. The people elect their representatives and the representatives have to sit together and elect their leader. Instead, what we find is, the moment the State legislators are elected, they have to come to Delhi . . . (*Time bell rings*) . . . to elect their leader. What happened in Gujarat was, soon after the General Election they had to come here and Mr. Oza who was a Minister here was taken unawares and he had to go to Ahmedabad to preside over the Cabinet there. He survived for six months and after that he was thrown out. Again there was an in-fight, there was rivalry. Again a direction was taken and our great Sardar Swaran Singh went all the way to Gujarat to take a ballot. And what did he do? He brought the entire ballot box to Delhi and it was opened here and Chimanbhai Patel was proposed to be the Chief Minister. And Chimanbhai Patel had to go. Now, will Delhi learn any lesson out of it? No, it will not.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You are putting question and giving answers yourself.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : This is what had happened in Andhra. Andhra legislators came here and one Narasimha Rao was made the Chief Minister. He remained there for a few months. Now Vengal Rao has come and I do not know what will happen to him. Now, this is what will happen if Delhi interferes with the States' affairs. It is for the State to elect their leader, to choose the Chief Minister . . . (*Time bell rings*) . . . and then the Centre, if at all it wants to do something helpful to the State, may come in. Unless and until that is done, as my friend has said, this would spread to the other States also. And so I warn the Centre. Let it keep its hands off the State's affairs and also see that normalcy is brought back as early as possible to the war-torn State of Gujarat.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : I regret to say that the hon. Member has made very wild and unverified allegations not only against politicians but against the army.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA
MENON : Eye-witness.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : About alleged corruption we have been hearing all sorts of fantastic figures : sometimes 25 lakhs, sometimes 31 lakhs or 45 lakhs. I do not think this House and the people would take seriously allegations of this kind.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Kindly examine; please inquire into it; go to Ahmedabad.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : How can we examine wild allegations of this nature? Every minute the figures are inflated in a most irresponsible manner, and the most surprising and regrettable thing is the slur the hon. Member seeks to cast on the army—that the army was shooting people and was taking aim even at boys. This is the most irresponsible statement by the hon. Member.

(*Interruption by Shri S. S. Mariswamy*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mariswamy, please listen to his answer.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : The army resorted to firing on only four occasions and not a single casualty resulted as a result of the firing. And the hon. Member seeks to present a gruesome picture to the House which is unverified, untrue and false. I think it is a slur . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I repeat again : I base my report on eye-witness accounts. Having got it, you institute an inquiry. I am ready for court-martial if I am wrong.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : You are talking all sorts of things—moving down children and mowing down people. We do not inquire into wild allegations of this nature . . . (*Interruption*) . . . Simply someone has given him some wild tales and he is taking protection of the House to repeat those things to cast

[Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha]

a slur on our brave army people. It is most regrettable. Only on four occasions the army resorted to firing and not one casualty was there, what to speak of death. They acted with great restraint and patience.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No, no.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA : I completely repudiate these things.

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSES ON THE UNTOUCHABILITY (OFFENCES) AMENDMENT AND MISCELLANEOUS PROVISION BILL, 1972

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to amend the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 and further to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1951.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have to inform Members that the following letters dated the 18th February, 1974, has been received from Shri M. S. Oberoi :

"I am going out of India on some urgent business. I shall thank you to kindly sanction leave of my absence till the 15th of March 1974."

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri M. S. Oberoi for remaining absent from all meetings of the House till 15th March, 1974, during the current Session ?

[No hon. Member dissented]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Permission to remain absent is granted.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE : GOVERNMENT BUSINESS DURING THE WEEK COMMENCING 25TH FEBRUARY, 1974

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) : Sir, with your permission, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House during the week commencing 25th February, 1974, will consist of :

(1) Discussion on the President's Address.

(2) Consideration and passing of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Amendment Bill, 1974.

As Members are already aware, the Railway Budget for 1974-75 will be laid on Wednesday, the 27th and the General Budget for 1974-75 on Thursday, the 28th February, 1974.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : I suggested that a separate discussion should be held on the establishment of a U.S.-U.K. military base, nuclear naval base, in Diego Garcia. In view of the opinion in the country I suggest we should back up the opinion against it by the adoption of a unanimous Resolution.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : In this I agree.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 3.00 P.M.

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

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

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Goray is not here. The next Resolution.