

serious note of and we shall take serious note of it and whatever steps will be necessary will be taken.

REFERENCE TO WITHHOLDING OF CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): This is a point for you to consider. As Members of Parliament we do get correspondence from very many people all over the country. Today in the *Patriot* there is a news that some political workers belonging to tribal community from an Andhra jail had sent me a copy of the memorandum they have submitted to the Prime Minister. A copy had also been sent to the General Secretary of our Party, Shri Rajeswara Rao. I checked up with him. Neither Shri Rajeswara Rao nor I received the said copy of the letter which the prisoners have sent from the jail. It seems that they have stated in this communication that they are supposed to be Naxalites, that they have changed their political views and they have disowned such kind of wrong techniques. This is very important. Now, who has withheld this communication? Surely, it has been withheld by somebody either in the Central Government or the State Government. I would, therefore, request the Home Ministry, through you, that they should intervene in this matter to find out who is responsible for withholding this communication sent by some political prisoners from a jail to the General Secretary of our party and to me as a Member of Parliament. I hope some inquiry will be made.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is lunch time now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shall I get the letter? It had been sent to me.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT / संसदीय कार्य विभाग तथा नौवहन और परिवहन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (SHRI OM MEHTA): We will try.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will

continue after lunch. The House stands adjourned till 2.15 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at fifteen minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION REGARDING THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF GUJARAT

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS / गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (SHRI K. C. PANT): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

“That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 13th May, 1971, under Article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Gujarat.”

Sir, copies of the Governor's Report leading to the issue of the Proclamation has been laid on the Table of the House. I shall briefly recapitulate the circumstances necessitating recourse to the provisions of Article 356. It may be recalled that immediately before a motion of no confidence was to come up for consideration in the State Legislative Assembly on the 31st March, 1971, the Chief Minister, Shri Hitendra Desai, submitted his resignation. However, subsequently he staked his claim to be invited to again form a new Ministry. On coming to the conclusion that Shri Hitendra Desai enjoyed the support of the majority of the Members of the Legislative Assembly, the Governor invited him to form a new Ministry which Shri Hitendra Desai did on the 7th April, 1971. In the month of May, however, after a number of members belonging to the ruling party in the State resigned from their party, the Chief Minister advised the Governor to dissolve the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly, on March 29, 1971, had passed the Vote on Account for expenditure only for the first four months of the financial year 1971-72 and the Budget for the remaining part of the year had to be passed before the 31st July, 1971. The Governor explained to the Chief Minister that if the Assembly was dissolved under Article 174 (2) (b) of the Constitution, then it would not be possible to

[Shri K. C. Pant]

pass the Budget by the 31st July and the administration of the State would come to a standstill. The Chief Minister appreciated this difficulty and told the Governor that he had no objection to the issue of the Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution. He did not press his claim to function as a caretaker Government after the dissolution of the Assembly. The Governor was also convinced that the Leader of the Opposition was not in a position to form a stable Ministry. He, therefore, recommended that the President might take over the administration of the State under the provisions of Article 356. In accordance with this recommendation, the Presidential Proclamation was issued on the 13th May, 1971. The Legislative Assembly was also dissolved.

Members of the House are aware that the Election Commission is undertaking an intensive revision of the electoral rolls in a number of States including Gujarat. This revision is expected to be completed in October this year. Steps will then be taken to hold fresh elections to the Legislative Assembly of the State on the basis of the revised rolls. In accordance with clause 3 of Article 356, the Proclamation issued in relation to the State of Gujarat will cease to operate on 13th July, 1971, unless meanwhile it has been approved by the Parliament. As I have stated, it will be possible to hold fresh elections in Gujarat on the basis of revised electoral rolls only after October this year. I would, therefore, request the House to grant its approval to the proclamation so that it may continue for the further period of six-months.

I may be permitted to state that it is the wish of the Central Government to keep the State under President's rule for as short a period as possible. It will be our endeavour to have the elections as early as possible after the current revision of electoral rolls to pave the way for the constitution of a popular Government. Even while the State remains under President's rule, the State Administration will give the fullest consideration to the views of leaders of public opinion. We propose to bring shortly before the House a Bill seeking to delegate to the President the legislative powers of the State legislature. As usual, the Bill will also provide for the constitution

of a consultative committee consisting of Members of Parliament.

Lastly, I may state that during the President's rule the concern of the Govt. will not be confined to the day to day running of the administration but that it will also be our endeavour to attend to tasks of development. We recognize that in the short period no spectacular achievements may be possible, but the administration must be geared up to be in a position to tackle, in the long run, the gigantic problem of poverty and maladministration. Thank you.

The question was proposed.

श्रीमती पुष्पाबेन जनार्दनराय मेहता (गुजरात) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, मैं इस रिजोल्यूशन का विरोध करने के लिये खड़ी हुई हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि गुजरात का राज्य ठीक तरह से चलता था। वहाँ का जो तंत्र था, वह भी अच्छी तरह से चल रहा था। 1960 में गुजरात राज्य की स्थापना हुई। 1960 से 1971 तक वहाँ का विकास जिस तरह से हुआ, वह विकास मैं सोचती हूँ कि प्रशंसा के पात्र हैं।

हमारे गुजरात का जो इतिहास राजतंत्र का है, वह अलग है। आप जानते हैं कि पहले सौराष्ट्र और कच्छ दोनों अलग-अलग राज्य थे और गुजरात अलग था। उन तीनों का एकीकरण बम्बई राज्य के साथ हो गया 1957 में। उसके बाद 1961 में हम अलग हो गये। गुजरात, कच्छ और सौराष्ट्र तीनों का एकीकरण होकर गुजरात राज्य की स्थापना हुई। उसकी स्थापना के बाद हमने देखा कि हमारे अन्दर जो स्वतंत्रता की भावना आई थी, हमारे अन्दर जो विकास की भावना आई थी, उसका मूर्तस्वरूप हम देख रहे थे। हमारे यहाँ काम की कोई मुश्किल नहीं थी, अच्छी तरह से हमारा काम चल रहा था। हमने यह भी देखा कि गुजरात की मिनिस्ट्री आई और गई, चुनाव भी दो तीन हो गये। मगर उसके बाद हमारा जो काम था उसमें कोई बाधा नहीं आई और इस काम के लिये हम सब

को गौरव था। हमारे दिल में यह बात थी कि कभी गुजरात में प्रेसिडेंट रूल नहीं आयेगा। किन्तु हमारा दुर्भाग्य था कि कांग्रेस का बंटवारा हुआ। उससे जो हमारा काम अच्छी तरह से चलता था, उसमें बाधा आ गई। फिर आचार्य और गयाराम का डिफेक्शन होने लगा। फिर हमने देखा कि जो काम स्थिरता से चलता था, उस काम में बाधा आने लगी। उसके बाद चुनाव की भी जरूरत पड़ गई और हमने देखा कि जो गुजरात राज्य अभी तक यहां के गुड बुक्स में था वही गुजरात राज्य, वहां के मिनिस्टर और वहां की सरकार बैड बुक्स में हो गई। हमने देखा कि हमारे यहां खटपट शुरू हो गई। उस खटपट के बाद हमने देखा कि वहां जो जनता का अच्छा काम हो रहा था, वह रुक गया। आज हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने भी बताया है और गवर्नर का जो कागज टेबिल पर रखा उसमें भी बताया कि हितेन्द्र देसाई जी ने जब इस्तीफा दिया तब उनकी मेजारिटी थी। मगर हम सबने देखा कि वहां डिफेक्शन होते थे। आज कौन आया, कौन गया, आज कौन आने वाला है, कौन जाने वाला है, इस सबसे जनता का काम भी खराब हो रहा था और आखिर में यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आया और जो वहां का विकासपूर्ण राजतंत्र था, उसको हटा देने की एक परिस्थिति पैदा हो गयी। मैं आपको बताना चाहती हूं कि गुजरात राज्य में 1961 से 1971 तक जो काम हुआ, वह कितना अच्छा काम था इस पर हमारी गवर्नमेंट को भी सोचना चाहिए और उसे यह समझना चाहिए था कि ऐसा विकासपूर्ण राजतंत्र जो इतना अच्छा काम कर रहा था, उसे हटाने की जरूरत नहीं थी। आपने देखा होगा कि 1960-61 में हमारे यहाँ 18,500 प्राथमिक स्कूल थे, मगर 1968-69 के स्टेटिस्टिक्स के हिसाब से वे 21,500 स्कूल हो गये। माध्यमिक स्कूलों में भी कन्या शिक्षा हमारे यहां फ्री थी। कन्या शिक्षा के लिये कोई फीस नहीं ली जाती थी और मैं यही बताना चाहती हूं कि सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन फ्री करने का हमारी गुजरात सरकार का इरादा था और उसने उसके लिए प्रस्ताव भी पास कर दिया था। हम नहीं

जानते थे कि प्रस्ताव पास करने के बाद चन्द रोज में ही हमारी गुजरात की मिनिस्ट्री खत्म होने वाली है। इसलिए जब गवर्नर महोदय ने अपने हाथ में अधिकार लिया तो उन्होंने माध्यमिक शिक्षा को, फ्री करने की योजना को एक किनारे रख दिया और उन्होंने कहा कि मैं यह प्रस्ताव लेने वाला नहीं हूं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कुमाराओं के लिए जब माध्यमिक शिक्षा को फ्री करने का इरादा हमारी सरकार का बन चुका था, तो हम लोगों को पता नहीं था कि हमारी मिनिस्ट्री चन्द रोज में ही हटायी जा रही है। आज उसको थोड़ा बढ़ाया गया है, 3,600 रुपये से ज्यादा वालों के लिये कर दिया गया है, लेकिन जो फ्री एजुकेशन थी वह बंद कर दी। 1961 में वहां 100 कालेज थे, आज वहां 250 कालेज हैं। 1968-69 में। इन सालों में हम कितना बढ़े यह मैं नहीं कह सकती। सबसे ज्यादा छोटी जल सिंचाई योजनाएं हमारे यहां मौजूद हैं, लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि नर्मदा की जो योजना है, वह आज भी पूरी नहीं हुई है। इसमें गुजरात के लिए कुछ कहना मुश्किल है। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने हमारे को इस नर्मदा योजना में धोखा दिया है। उन्होंने कभी नहीं बताया कि गुजरात जो अपने दुष्काल के लिए प्रसिद्ध है, वहां पानी की मुसीबत नर्मदा की योजना से पूरी होने वाली है और यहां से उसका काम कभी पूरा नहीं हुआ और हम अब भी सुनते हैं कि 1973 तक उस का कोई जवाब नहीं मिलेगा। मालूम नहीं कि उसका क्या होगा और गुजरात की पानी की समस्या कैसे हल होगी। उर्काई योजना आगे बढ़ रही है और उसका प्रोग्राम अच्छी तरह से चल रहा है। हमारे यहां दुष्काल भी हमेशा ही रहता है और पिछले तीन सालों में बराबर हमने दुष्काल का सामना किया है और उसमें वहाँ की मिनिस्ट्री ने जो काम किया है, उसके लिए वह धन्यवाद की पात्र है। उन्होंने अच्छी तरह से उसका सामना किया है। भूमिहीनों को जमीन देने में भी सब से ज्यादा काम उन्होंने किया है। हमारे यहां जमींदारी ज्यादा नहीं है कि जिसमें जमींदारी नामदी का प्रश्न हो। भूमिहीनों को जमीन देने की योजना हमने

[श्रीमती पुष्पाबेन जनार्दनराय मेहता]

बनायी है और जो आदिवासियों ने और पिछड़े हुए लोगों ने अनधिकृत रूप से जमीन अपने कब्जे में ले ली थी, उस समस्या को हल करने का भी हमने वहां अच्छा प्रयास किया है और मुझे खुशी है कि यह काम अच्छी तरह से पूरा हो सकेगा। 1960-61 में हमारा सामाजिक सेवा में साढ़े चार करोड़ के करीब खर्च था और वह 1969-70 में बढ़ कर 10 करोड़ तक पहुंच गया है। सहकारी प्रवृत्ति और ग्राम पंचायतों का विकास कितना हुआ है, वह बहुत विस्तार से मैं नहीं बतला सकती हूं, लेकिन उस बारे में आप सब लोग जानते हैं। रोड के लिये भी कितना ही काम हुआ है। मगर यह सब देखते हुये भी आज हमने देखा कि हमारे यहां कांग्रेस में जो खतरनाक परिस्थिति पैदा हुई इसी से एक स्थिर राजतंत्र को अस्थिर राजतंत्र कर दिया है, जो राजतंत्र अच्छी तरह से चलता था उसको हटा दिया है। यह खतरा आज देख रही हूं कि जो विरोधी पक्ष का राजतंत्र है, जिनका कोई सिद्धांत या जिनका रहन-सहन कोई अलग है और चूंकि दूसरी पार्टी का राज है, इसलिये, उसको इस तरह से हटा दे तो मैं सोचती हूं कि फिर तो भारतवर्ष में कोई स्थिर राजतंत्र नहीं होगा। हमने यह पिछले चार पांच साल से देखा है कि एक राज्य में आज एक मिनिस्ट्री होती है तो कल दूसरी होती है और फिर तीसरी होती है। आज बिहार का प्रश्न हमारे सामने है। तो हम क्या करना चाहते हैं! आखिर को हम दावा करते हैं कि हम सामाजिक सेवा करना चाहते हैं, हम गरीबी को हटाना चाहते हैं, हमारा सामाजिक राजतंत्र होगा, लेकिन हम क्या कर रहे हैं! हमें इतना अधिक सत्ता का मोह है कि दूसरे विचार वाले जो हैं उनको सहन नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम उनको हटाने के लिये प्रयत्न करते हैं। और आज गुजरात में जिन्होंने गुजरात को बढ़ाने के लिये, जिन्होंने गुजरात को स्थिर करने के लिये, गुजरात को अच्छा राजतंत्र देने के लिये काम किया, उन्हीं को साम दाम दंड भेद से, किसी भी तरीके से, वहां से हटाया। वहां के सब नेता इधर से उधर जाने लगे और

आज जो गुजरात की स्थिति है, वह हमारे लिये एक बड़ी दुखद परिस्थिति है। मिनिस्ट्री की कोई गलती नहीं है, मगर जो शासक-कांग्रेस हैं उसने जो संस्था-कांग्रेस की मिनिस्ट्री थी उसको हटाने के लिये जो खटपट की वह मैं सोचती हूं कि एक बड़ी दुखद परिस्थिति है और इसी से आज गुजरात में यह प्रेसिडेंट रूल आ गया है। प्रेसिडेंट ने भी बताया है, इस खत में जो परिस्थिति बताई है, उससे भी मालूम पड़ता है कि हितेन्द्र देसाई की जो मिनिस्ट्री थी उसको मेजरिटी मिल जाती थी लेकिन इसके बढ़ने, इसके हटने, इसके रखने, इसको छोड़ने से वह हमेशा नहीं चलती है। तो मेरा कहना है कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और यह खटपट दोनों साथ नहीं चलता है। जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन करने वाले हैं, उनको देखना चाहिये कि हम कितनी खटपट कर सकते हैं।

श्रीमन्, वहाँ प्रेसिडेंट रूल होने से आज हमारी बहुत-सी योजनायें स्थगित हो जायंगी। अभी मंत्री जी ने हमको आश्वासन दिया है कि अच्छी तरह से सब होगा, मगर जहाँ तक चुनाव नहीं होगा वहाँ तक हमको मालूम नहीं कि क्या होगा और चुनाव में मैं सोचती हूं कि क्या होगा और क्या नहीं होगा वह तो परिस्थिति के ऊपर निर्भर होगा, लेकिन एक बात भारत की जनता को मालूम हो गई है कि हमारा जो राजतंत्र स्वच्छ राजतंत्र होता है, उसको भी बर्दाश्त करने को हम तैयार नहीं, क्योंकि उसने अपने साथ क्ले आदमी नहीं हैं, अपने से अलग उनकी बात है। इसलिये आज जो परिस्थिति है, उस परिस्थिति के कारण यह परिस्थिति आई है कि यह प्रेसिडेंट्स रूल हुआ और मैं इसका विरोध करती हूं और यहाँ से एक बात बोलना चाहती हूं कि हमारी सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को सोचना चाहिये, शासक-कांग्रेस के सब आगे आने वाले लोगों को सोचना चाहिये कि हम क्या कर रहे हैं? आखिर में, हमारे सामने कितने बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं, कितने दुखद प्रश्न हैं। हमारे सामने बंगला देश का प्रश्न है, हमारे सामने और भी बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं, लेकिन उन सब

को छोड़ कर के हम आपस में काटने की जो कोशिश कर रहे हैं, उससे क्या होगा ? इसी से मैं सोचती हूँ कि हमारे देश का कोई विकास नहीं होगा, हमारा देश आगे नहीं बढ़ेगा । हमारे राष्ट्र को भविष्य में क्या-क्या सहन करना पड़ेगा, वह हमें मालूम नहीं है ।

तो मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि जो प्रेसिडेंट रूल हुआ है, उसमें 31 जुलाई तक वहाँ का जो बजट है वह पास नहीं करेंगे तो क्या खतरनाक परिस्थिति होगी । आपको यह मालूम होगा कि हमारे यहाँ जो सर्विसेज है और हमारी जो स्टेट थी, हमारे जो मिनिस्टर्स थे और हमारी जो जनता थी, इन तीनों के बीच में सम्बन्ध बहुत अच्छे थे । हम यह कह सकते हैं कि हमारी सर्विसेज हमारे साथ अच्छी तरह से काम करती थी और कभी भी सर्विस और स्टेट के बीच में कोई झगड़ा नहीं हुआ था, गुजरात राज्य में उनको सब मंहगाई भी दी गई थी, जितना भी उनको अधिकार था, वह दिया गया था और उनका काम भी अच्छी तरह से होता था, कभी कोई कठिन परिस्थिति आई होगी, लेकिन हमारी सर्विसेज ने हमारे साथ अच्छा काम किया था ।

तो जो प्रेसिडेंट रूल हुआ है, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि कार्यतन्त्र और राजतन्त्र में कोई शिथिलता नहीं हुई है । सिर्फ यह दिल्ली की खटपट से हुआ है । इससे ज्यादा मुझे नहीं कहना है । मैं यह जानती हूँ कि यह परिस्थिति क्यों पैदा हुई है, जो रिजोल्यूशन है, वह हमारे लिए बहुत दुखद परिस्थिति है । मैं बिना मेन्टल रिजर्वें जानती हूँ जो परिस्थिति पैदा हुई । आज गुजरात में गैस के बारे में जो प्रस्ताव है, वह भी निश्चित नहीं होता है, मैं जानती हूँ गुजरात के साथ अन्याय हो रहा है । अभी तक वह सवाल हल नहीं हुआ है ; क्योंकि गुजरात में अब तक मिनिस्ट्री कांग्रेस (संगठन) की रही, इसलिए उसके कारण जनता के साथ एक बड़ा अन्याय करना ठीक नहीं है । मैं चाहती हूँ कि यहाँ से जो परिस्थिति उन्होंने पैदा की है,

वह पैदा करने वाले अच्छी तरह उसको हल करेंगे । जो जनता का प्रश्न है वह प्रश्न जनता का ही है, वह शासन का नहीं है, वह किसी संस्था का नहीं है । तो वह इस बात को देखेंगे कि आज गैस के बारे में हमारी बहुत दुखद परिस्थिति है, अभी तक उसका कुछ हुआ नहीं है । अभी आगे कुछ होगा वह भी निश्चित नहीं है । आज हमारे यहाँ बहुत से प्रश्न हैं । इसलिए हम आपके सामने यह विनती रखेंगे कि अब प्रेजिडेंशियल रूल के दमियान भी जनता के साथ कोई अन्याय न हो, वहाँ की कोई विकास योजनाएं बन्द न हों, वहाँ की प्रगति रुक न जाए, इस तरह से काम करने वाले लोग हों । आखिर में तो हम प्रेसीडेंट को गाइड करते हैं, गवर्नर को हम मौका देते हैं काम करने का, मगर जो कुछ होता है वह कैबिनेट के हाथ में होता है । जो हम बात करते हैं और सोचते हैं कि जनता का राज हो, समाजवादी राजतन्त्र हो तो हमें चाहिए जनता के प्रश्नों को अच्छी तरह हल करने के काम में दिल लगाएं और ऐसी खटपट जो चलती है, वह देश के लिए हानिकारक होगी ।

इतना कह कर मैं मानती हूँ कि गुजरात के साथ बड़ा अन्याय किया है और जो प्रेजिडेंशियल रूल है इसमें जो सबसे बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है वह कांग्रेस की है ।

श्री ना० कु० शेजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश) : मान्यवर उपसभापति जी, अप्रैल के पहले सप्ताह के लगभग ही इस बात के आसार नज़र आने लगे थे कि गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हो जाएगा, और 13 मई को गवर्नर महोदय मुख्य मन्त्री की एडवाइज के पश्चात दिल्ली को दौड़े । राष्ट्रपति शासन हुआ । उसके बाद चुनाव होंगे, ऐसा आश्वासन अभी माननीय गृह मन्त्री महोदय ने दिया है । राष्ट्रपति का शासन अब कोई नई बात तो हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर नहीं रही । अनेक राज्यों में इस प्रकार का राष्ट्रपति शासन हुआ है । भारत के पिछले दो, तीन वर्षों के इतिहास को अगर देखा जाए तो ऐसा आभास होता है कि सत्ता को छोड़ने के लिए सत्तारूढ़ दल के

[श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर]

लोग तैयार होते नहीं और उससे किसी न किसी प्रकार से चिपक कर रहना चाहते हैं। यदि केन्द्र के अन्दर संजीवैया कांग्रेस का अधिकार है तो उससे उनको संतोष नहीं है, वह चाहते हैं कि और प्रान्तों में भी जहां-जहां अगर किसी दूसरे का शासन हो तो उस शासन को गिराया जाए और किसी न किसी प्रकार से गिराया जाए।

आज लगभग डेढ़ वर्ष पूर्व इसी सदन में और लोक सभा में इस सम्बंध में बड़ी चर्चा हुई कि डिफेक्शन्स को किस तरह से रोका जाए—दल-बदल अच्छा नहीं है, इसको रोकना चाहिए। एक समिति ने अपनी सिफारिश भी दी। कहा भी जाता है कि कोई इस सम्बंध में विधान शीघ्र ही लोक सभा में और राज्य सभा में लाया जाएगा। परन्तु उस कहने में कितनी सच्चाई है या कितनी उसमें ईमानदारी है, इसके बारे में शक है। हम देखते हैं कि जो जो आज केन्द्र में सत्ता में बैठे हुए लोग हैं, वे जिस प्रकार से प्रयास करते हैं, उससे हमें ताज्जुब आता है। मेरी बहिन ने अभी यहां पर गुजरात राज्य की चर्चा की। लेकिन वहां अच्छाई और बुराई का कोई आधार किसी राज्य को गिराने का होता नहीं, वहां तो आधार यही होता है कि किसी न किसी प्रकार से हमारी सत्ता स्थापित हो जाए। और अब तो ऐसा मालूम होने लगा है कि न मालूम इसके लिए क्या-क्या चीजों का प्रयोग किया जाता है। अब तक तो केवल पद के लालच के लिए यह एक बात रहा करती थी। लेकिन अब तो दिल्ली के अन्दर जो अभी 60 लाख रुपये का कांड हुआ है, उसके कारण ऐसी शंकाएं भी उत्पन्न होने लगी हैं कि विधायकों को अपना दल परिवर्तित करने के लिए धन का भी खुले रूप से प्रयोग किया जाता रहा होगा। टाइम्स आफ इंडिया का ही 12-13 मई के समाचार में एक खबर आई है कि कांग्रेस (आर) के, जो विरोधी दल के प्रमुख हैं श्री पटेल हैं, वे विधायक आश्रम में रात्रि के 12 और 2 बजे के

बीच विधायकों के साथ चर्चा करते हुए पाये गये। अगर आप किसी की बुद्धि से या तर्क से समझाने का प्रयास करते हैं या उसका मन परिवर्तित करना चाहते हैं, तो इसमें कोई बुराई नहीं है। मनुष्य को परिवर्तित किया जा सकता है और तर्क के आधार पर परिवर्तित होने वाले भी एक आध ही होंगे। मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि सारे के सारे लालच या लोभ के शिकार बनाये जायं। लेकिन इस प्रकार से रात्रि को 1 बजे, 2 बजे के बीच धूमना—नोटेशनल एक्टिविटीज का ख़बरार में हैडिंग आया हुआ था, इस प्रकार के जो कार्य है, इस शंका को दृढ़ करता है कि इसमें अवश्य कुछ न कुछ धन का खुलकर प्रयोग किया गया है।

आज इस तरह की स्थिति सब जगह व्याप्त है। बिहार के अन्दर भी आज इसी तरह की परिस्थिति बनाई जा रही है और यही तरीका वहां भी फिर से अपनाया जा रहा है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि एक तरफ तो जब कि प्रजातन्त्र का बहुत जोरों के साथ छिंदोरा पीटा जाता है और स्वयं कांग्रेस के शासन का पतन इस दल बदल के कारण मध्य प्रदेश हरियाणा और और स्थानों पर हुआ। जिस समय कांग्रेस की सरकार का पतन हुआ था, तो उस समय इस चीज की तीव्र भ्रत्सना की गई थी। आज जब स्थिति पलट रही है तब इसके बारे में कोई भी गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करने की आवश्यकता नहीं समझ रहा है। आज मैं समझता हूं कि जब इतना बड़ा बहुमत संजीवैया कांग्रेस को मिला है, तब उनका यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है प्रजातन्त्र की रक्षा करने के लिए ऐसा कोई आदर्श पेश करें, जिसके कारण एक नई दिशा हमारे इस देश के अन्दर जो इस समय राजनीति चल रही है उसको मिले।

मेरी बहिन मुझे क्षमा करेंगी, आज भी इस सदन में और भी सदनों में इस प्रकार की स्थिति हम देखते हैं। चाहे वह एकता के नाम पर हो

और या कोई दूसरा इश्यू हो, लेकिन आज इस तरह की बात चल रही है और इसके आधार पर हड़कम मच रहा है। ऐसा मालूम होता है कि कोई भी राजनीतिज्ञ अपने सिद्धान्त को सामने रख कर अपना कदम बढ़ाना नहीं चाहता है और वह किसी न किसी प्रकार से अपने स्वार्थ और भविष्य के बारे में ही चिन्ता करता है तथा अपना मार्ग निश्चित करता है। आजकल ऐसी स्थिति हो गई है और इसमें किसी को कोई शर्म का आभास नहीं होता है। एक दल से दूसरे दल में जाने का एक आसान रास्ता सा बन गया है।

यह जो परिस्थिति है, इस परिस्थिति की जिम्मेदारी मैं समझता हूँ कि वास्तव में हमारी प्रधान मन्त्री पर ही है, जिन्होंने राष्ट्रपति के चुनाव में एक अपना ही रोल अदा किया। उस समय से लेकर आज तक जो कुछ हम देख रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि उस सारे का उत्तरदायित्व उन पर और उनके दल पर है। यदि वे एक आदर्श इस राष्ट्र के सामने उपस्थित करतीं तो उसका भी एक तरीका हो सकता था। कांग्रेस द्वारा समर्थित राष्ट्रपति को अगर वे नहीं चाहती थीं, किसी दूसरे को चाहती थीं तो उसी समय अपने दल से त्याग पत्र देकर वे दूसरे का नाम प्रस्तावित कर सकर सकती थीं। लेकिन आज यह जो गलत तरीका राज मार्ग, मान्य मार्ग मान लिया गया है, जो हमारे देश के लिये बड़ा भारी दुर्भाग्य है, इसी के कारण आज हम देखते हैं कि अस्थिरता उत्पन्न हो रही है। उसमें यह भी चिन्ता नहीं है जैसा कि हमारी बहन ने कहा कि वहां पर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का क्या होगा, विद्यार्थियों का क्या होगा, देश की तरक्की जो है उसकी क्या स्थिति होगी और विकास होगा या नहीं होगा। किसी बात की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं है। केवल एक बात की तरफ ध्यान है कि हम किस प्रकार से अपनी सत्ता स्थापित करें और वहां जाकर के बैठ जायें। यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है। इस कारण गुजरात के अन्दर जिस तरीके से राष्ट्रपति शासन लाने का एक रास्ता अपनाया गया वह उचित नहीं कहा जा सकता। जो होना था वह तो वहां मजबूरी में होना ही

था; क्योंकि जब हितेन्द्र देसाई जी ने देखा कि उनके हाथ में सत्ता नहीं रह सकती।

श्री नेकीराम (हरियाणा) : यह गड़वा तो आपने ही खोदा है।

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर : जो ट्रेनिंग आपने दी है, उसको आपके ही लोगों ने अपनाया है और उसमें आपके ही लोग आगे कूद कर आये। जितना भी डिफेक्शन हुआ है, जितनी भी गतिविधि देखने में आई है, वह कांग्रेस में ही देखने को आई है। जिसको खून चाटने की आदत लग गई है, वह इधर उधर कैसे जा सकता है। हम तो हमेशा विरोधी दल में रहे हैं, इसलिए हमारे लिये डिफेक्शन का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता। तो आप और आगे बातें मत खोलिए।

तो मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ वह स्वामाविक था। जब श्री हितेन्द्र देसाई बहुमत में नहीं रहे तो उन्हें स्वयं ही सरंडर करना पड़ा। लेकिन इसके पीछे जो इतिहास है, वह वास्तव में बहुत दुखदाई है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही के द्वारा यह जो राष्ट्रपति शासन स्थापित हुआ है, उसका समर्थन इस सदन को नहीं करना चाहिये। इसलिये इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करने के लिये मैं यहाँ उपस्थित हुआ हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I do not wish to say very much but now that we have got an opportunity for the first time to take up Gujarat in this House I thought I should not miss the occasion. The hon. lady Member from Gujarat has spoken. We are proud of the people of Gujarat, their excellent culture and patriotism and to some extent their position also. The achievements of the people of Gujarat will be cherished and certainly they have certain things to claim despite the fact that Gujarat had been always under a rule which was conservative and even reactionary. Therefore, the tribute should go to the people. Now Gujarat has also another side, and that is the side of the monopolists. Ahmedabad is a very important

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centre of India's monopoly capital. The big business houses between them control in a large measure Gujarat's industrial economy and have big stakes also in the national economy as a whole. These people are very much opposed in many ways to the labour and to the working class. As you know, Gujarat is another place where the trade union movement struck its roots in the early days. Unfortunately an attempt has been made by the mill-owners to condition the trade union movement to their needs and requirements. You see there, therefore, a militancy in them. Gujarat again has got a few sons of feudalism. Some of the princes come from Gujarat. We have got Mr. Piloo Modi. He is not a prince. He is a prince of big money, not of feudalism. Mr. Piloo Mody is big in every way but bigger in money also.

SHRIMATI PUSHPABEN JANARDAN-RAI MEHTA: You do not know. He is coming from Bombay. He was elected from Panch Mahal. You cannot consider him as an inhabitant of Gujarat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very glad, our friend has immediately disowned Mr. Piloo Modi, a Swatantra leader.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Adopted as Prince of Wales in Gujarat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Gujarat has adopted Mr. S. K. Patil. I am coming to that. I will come step by step. Now, she is quite right. He is a man of big money, and Gujarat's big monopolists have a flair for big money, and big money has very little racial, linguistic or other affiliations. Money is everything, as far as big money is concerned. Which is why Mr. Piloo Mody was imported into Gujarat to contest an election. But as you know, he has returned. And of course, Mr. Morarji Desai is another man. He is a man of the soil, man of the soil not understanding the soil. To that I will come later. So feudal elements are there. And they have kept deliberately some of the areas of Gujarat backward, which is why, when Mr. S. K. Patil was searching for a constituency, Gujarat came forward and at the instance of his erstwhile enemy Mr. Morarji Desai, Gujarat adopted him as one of its candidates and that is how Gujarat returned him, Banaskantha

returned him. (*Interruptions*) Banaskantha remains, because you know your home affairs better.

Now, Sir, when Mr. S. K. Patil was elected, in a paper 'Indian Monitor' an article appeared, I think, in May, immediately after the election saying that Mr. Patil now has come to Parliament and that a Cabinet place should be found for him; that he should be made at least equal to Mr. Morarji Desai in the Cabinet, and therefore, it was necessary for vacancies to be created. Everybody took it for granted, when Mr. Patil was returned to Parliament, that he would go to the Cabinet, he would occupy No. 2 post—or since there was No. 2 already, he would be No. 2(a) or 2(b) there. And it was also argued in that interesting article—you should read it—that somebody should resign. Mr. Jagjivan Ram or somebody and that some place should be found for him elsewhere and that place could be given to Mr. Patil. Almost it was taken for granted that Mr. S. K. Patil would be given a place next to the Prime Minister, well, if not next to the Prime Minister singly, along with Mr. Morarji Desai. And with this ambition he came here. But now nobody hears about the Banaskantha hero, nobody knows where the hero has gone just as the heroine who has taken drug. But that is not the main point. Now that chapter has been closed. Gujarat was then regarded, after the split of the Congress to which reference has been made, as the den of right reaction. The plenary session of the Syndicate Congress was held near Ahmedabad, in a place called Gandhinagar, and in the forums of the Syndicate Congress there, we were told that from there the battle of reaction was going to be opened all over the country. Heroic speeches were made by Mr. Morarji Desai and others. I read with amusement those speeches some of them are still with me. They will form part of the black history of our country. Hence I have kept them.

It was thought that Gujarat would be one of the mainstay, one of the bases of counter-revolution and reaction in India. Now we find that those people who dreamt of Gujarat being turned into an impregnable base of reaction are out of office and have lost their Government. It is a good thing that Mr. Hitendra Desai and his outfits are no longer there. It is a good thing because

it was really a Government which was run at the behest of Mr. Morarji Desai from here. According to Mr. Morarji Desai's wish the Government functioned. Even the Chief Minister went. As you know, there was a Chief Minister who later became the High Commissioner in London, who was turned out of office because the people belonging to Mr. Morarji Desai's group and he himself did not like him. That is why he had to go into a kind of political wilderness for the time being. That is how things have been manipulated. Aya Ram Gaya Ram business, to which reference has been made, is the oldest in Gujarat. In the Congress practically everybody is a reactionary. Whether it is the Indira Congress, as they call it, or it is the Syndicate Congress, they are all reactionary, most of them.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): It is a good thing that you realised it now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I realise facts always when they should be realised. The only thing is I do not confuse facts. Now, if there were many progressives, I would have welcomed because I am never tarred by Congressmen by the same brush. How can I equate Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Mr. Krishan Kant, Mr. Mohan Dharma and others and Mr. Sheel Bhadra Yajee and many other friends with Mr. Morarji Desai, Mr. S. K. Patil, Mr. Nijalingappa and Mrs. Tarkeshwari Sinha? She has now made a statement. How can I equate them? Surely, therefore, when differentiation is necessary, I make it. But here in Gujarat, I can tell you, the differentiation did not exist until recently. I do not know whether it is coming about that way. There may be individuals here and there. Every after this split, some of the Congressmen belonging to what they call the Congress (R)—I hope my friend sitting there, the Leader of the House, will kindly note it if he has overcome sleepiness for the time being like me—were saying that they joined Congress (R) to fight Indira communism although they do not understand what Indira is or what communism is. When some people pointed out that they should not say such a thing, they said they would rather drop the word 'Indira' than "Communism". That was their approach. They had joined the Congress to fight communism and fight Indira Congress. That was their idea.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT): Not in the Congress. I have not seen any statement in Gujarat about this kind of differentiation which Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is making.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My friend is under illusion. It took a split of the Congress to understand that Mr. 3. P.M. Morarji Desai and you could not go together. But the Communist Party and people like us pointed out even during Nehru's time that in some ways they were not very compatible people. It took a Presidential election for many of you to realise what sort of people they are. So, you have not yet understood Gujarat. It will take you a little time. After all, it is very difficult to find out in Gujarat which is Swatantra Party, which is Congress (R) and which is Syndicate Congress. The Gujarat capitalists were building up some Congressmen. Then they shifted their loyalty for a while to some people in the Swatantra Party and they tried to build them up. Then when the Congress split, these Gujarat monopolists of Ahmedabad started backing up Congressmen in both the parties, the Syndicate Congress and the Congress (R). Now, if my friend has not realised this, I suggest to him that a commission of inquiry of his party be appointed with Mr. Chandra Shekhar as the Chairman. Then it can be found out.

It is not very difficult to find out. I tell you, these are God's own truths, since you believe in God. Now, what will come in Gujarat is what worries me at present, and for this naturally we of the Left Party, all of us, are also responsible. To-day unfortunately—and it is a great tragedy for the people of Gujarat—the Left movement is extremely weak there. The alternative in Gujarat is not this or that Congress, the Syndicate Congress or the Congress (R). They would provide no alternative in Gujarat. President's rule has come. We do not want it. It should go. And there should be elections. But what worries me is what is coming in Gujarat. Unfortunately, an acceptable alternative from the standpoint of the masses is not in sight. It would matter little which of the two Congresses comes back, with or without the Swatantra Party. As I said, both the Congresses there are basically reactionary, anti-Left, anti-working-class, tied up with big money or, in fact, maintained in some ways by big money in Gujarat. Of course, I was interested

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in the fall of the Syndicate Congress rule there because they made it a kind of base in order to carry on their plot all over the country. And it is good it has been shattered. No tears need be shed for the exit of the Syndicate Congress rule there. But what is to come there, I do not know.

As I said, unfortunately, the Left movement is very weak there. Therefore, ways and means should be found by the progressive forces in Gujarat to build up a powerful mass movement, working-class movement, Left movement. Gujarat must have a strong Left movement. It cannot be built in a day or by command. It has to be built brick by brick through constant efforts of all those who stand for progress, irrespective of which party they may belong to at the moment. The Leftists have an important part to play and I think the only alternative Gujarat should look forward to, which would be good for the people and good for the masses, is a Left alternative. But, for this we have to work for a long time in Gujarat. It cannot come so easily. That is what I feel. As far as some of the Gujarat politicians are concerned, they should retire. Mr. Morarji Desai should also retire. I think the slogan should be "Morarji Desai, hands off Gujarat". I think it is a good thing. He and his like should not dabble in Gujarat, in any politics for that matter. The younger generation among the middle classes and other sections of the patriotic people in Gujarat should come forward to build up a political alternative to what has been in office or what has been their fate in Gujarat all these years. That is how we should work for substituting the President's rule.

Then about the monopolists in Gujarat. Now that you have got the power—previously you did not have it—take some action against these Gujarat monopoly houses. Ambalal Sarabai and many other houses are there. Kasturbai and Shah family and so many families are there. Action should be taken against them. I think the Central Government should now have a little more interest in the few months in order to set the tune there, so that whichever Government comes into existence there will have to pursue this thing. Now they have developed not only an economic oligarchy but they have created a political oligarchy also in Gujarat which

should be broken. Therefore, that is another point which I wanted to make.

Before I finally sit down let me say about another thing. My friends have said they would bring a Bill about Gujarat, for the improvement of Gujarat, and so on. That, of course, they will. But what has the Central Government done? The Central Government has now taken charge of Gujarat administration and this very Central Government the other day produced a most shameless Union Budget here. That is what I say. . .

SHRI K. C. PANT: Say it in the Budget debate.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak about it in the Budget debate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I never miss an opportunity to bring in anything. That Budget is a clear violation of the mandate of the people. I must say this now because the Central Government is in charge of the Gujarat people. The honourable Minister said he will do something good for Gujarat. But the people of Gujarat will now say that a Union Budget has come full of political manoeuvres and financial manoeuvres. Well, the people of Gujarat will be paying taxes now. All the taxes are there, tax on soap, tax on textiles, tax on cigarettes. With a little fun and joke Mr. Chavan said with a peculiar sort of humour that there comes a time in the life of a smoker when considerations of his health, etc. overweigh some thing as else. I say there also comes a time or there also should come a time in the life of politicians when they stop double talk and know how to implement the pledges they give during elections. That is why I say the people will not take this administration any more. Now we have replaced the reactionary Syndicate Government. Good. But what image are you projecting as a Government to the people of Gujarat? Are they going to believe that this Government is going to do anything good? Therefore, I say all these things now. You have got wealth tax and other taxes. Go and impose them. Go yourself and make an assessment of the property of these people. All this is bogus of course, we know. Much of the tax will be evaded. In the Budget Rs. 27 crores will come from direct taxes this year as

against Rs. 131 crores from indirect taxes which hit the people. Prices are already rising. The price of petrol has gone up. Everywhere rise in prices is going on. So I say do not talk now about progress for a while. Do something worthwhile. Your Budget is contradicting your promises and it is necessary for us to tell the Government that this kind of violation of the electoral pledge will not help. Mr. Chavan started with the utterance, "Massive mandate we have got. . . . "He roared like a lion when he started his Budget Speech and mewed like a cat when he ended his Budget Speech "We cannot do very much. Well, this is the position." They cannot do very much because they would not be ready for structural changes in our economy. They would not be ready for attacking the big monopoly and wealth, princes and big landlords many of whom exist in Gujarat as also in other States. I should like to see what you are going to do to them. Now you have got direct charge of the administration of Gujarat.

Gujarat in many ways has been happy. I agree. But it is not so happy from the point of view of its people. Poverty is there in many areas, especially among Adivasis. Something has got to be done. Speaking about the elections, I speak with a heavy heart because I do not know what will come in through the elections in Gujarat. We have all heard 'between devil and deep sea'. On the one hand, some people who are reactionary are parading as progressive in Gujarat. Others are exposed. The reactionary clique is broken. It has gone. Let us not worry about that. For example, where is the syndicate? Our friends are sitting there and I do not know how many shall be going over to the other side. The traffic has started. Aya Ram and Gaya Ram is taking place in this House also. This has been without any reason and the only reason is the fashing of the elections and the dressing down in the elections has been so severe. This may happen to the syndicate of Gujarat also and I am sure certain people in Gujarat also will join the Indira Congress. I know Shri Sanjiva Reddy has issued a statement; Shrimati Tarakeswari has issued a statement and Shri Nijalingappa is issuing statements. Never have I seen such political leaders collapsing because of one single election blow. One election blow was enough to bring them down like a house of cards. They are collapsing and

accusing each other and making statements and behaving, I do not know as what. Therefore that is gone. . . .

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): You think of your own Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Nothing has happened. We have suffered in the election. . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has asked me to think of my Party. I am thinking aloud. We too have suffered in election in some places. We have suffered in the past also in election. But why should a party collapse?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: No collapse.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: With one blow you are collapsing. You have collapsed. Only thing is you do not understand you have collapsed. Shri Gurupadaswamy, you are a heroic person. But the ground is shifting from under your feet. You do not know whom to quarrel with. Shri Sanjiva Reddy has disowned your Party and you accuse him of betrayal and treachery. Sir, when the thi v.s quarrel with one another the honest people come to their own. I have got abundant affection for my friend Shri Gurupadaswamy. It is a matter of habit that I have developed affection for him. You have read about the boy on the burning deck. You are on the losing seat. So, I say that the Syndicate Congress is the greatest comic show in the whole world today. If you want to earn more foreign exchange through tourism, include Syndicate leaders as one of tourist attraction and put a sign board there. People will come from all over the world to see the Syndicate leaders there. Never has a leadership been created in this manner and never has a leadership gone down in history in so short a time and so scandalously as the Syndicate leadership has and yet my friend is a lovable man. Therefore, Sir, I say that the Syndicate today is a matter of amusement. Last year, the Syndicate was an expression of tragedy in our politics in some respects, certainly a tragedy of Congress politics.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

But the Syndicate has today become a matter of boundless comedy in our public life. So we have passed from tragedy to comedy, from tragic developments to comic developments and we need not bother about them. Today I hope Gujarat, however, would go.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, the greatest comedy in this House is the presence of Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is the only intelligent thing that you have said so far, Mr. Gurupadswamy. That is good. That is why I like him, because, you see, even in the midst of such a calamity how wonderfully he smiles.' But that is not true of others, Sir. Somebody took too many sleeping pills. I hope he will not take such sleeping drugs; otherwise I shall be losing his smiling face here. So, Sir, I have said that I hope that Gujarat will be.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope that Gujarat will be put on a democratic basis. But, for this purpose we need a powerful left movement in Gujarat to which, to the development of which, all those who are really fighters for the cause of the people should make their due contribution. It is good that the Syndicate is out there. I hope it shall never return nor does it return the other reactionaries in other guises and garbs, because Gujarat can no longer tolerate and suffer such people.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश): श्रीमन्, श्री के० सी० पन्त जी ने जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है, मैं उसके विरोध में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मगर एक बात की मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि श्री भूपेश गुप्त के बोलने के बाद तत्काल ही आपने मुझे बुला लिया। मैं लगातार यह प्रयत्न करता हूँ कि भूपेश गुप्त जी हमारे नजदीक आएँ, मगर जब मैं उनको सुनता हूँ तो मुझे लगता है कि वह मुझ से बराबर दूर होते जा रहे हैं। एक व्यक्ति जो अपने को डेमोक्रेट कहता है, जनतंत्री कहता है, समाजवादी कहता है, वह व्यक्ति गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन की ताईद करे, कम

से कम श्री भूपेश गुप्त तो. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are telling me? No, I have not supported it. I said the Government is gone, and it is good.

श्री राजनारायण: और वह व्यक्ति यह कहता है कि यह अच्छा हुआ कि गुजरात में सरकार गयी (Interruptions) जरा सुनिये। घबराइये मत। मैंने एक-एक शब्द उनका याद किया है। भूपेश गुप्त जी ने जहाँ तक इंडीकेट और सिंडीकेट का प्रश्न है, उसमें दोनों को बराबर रखा है। इसलिए भूपेश गुप्त के दृष्टिकोण से चाहे वह सिंडीकेट की सरकार रहे या वहाँ इंडीकेट की सरकार रहे, उन दोनों से जनता का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। यह भूपेश गुप्त जी ने कहा और उन्होंने कहा कि वहाँ पर इंडीकेट की सरकार भी बनेगी तो स्वतंत्र पार्टी के दिमाग से बनेगी और सिंडीकेट की सरकार भी बनेगी तो स्वतंत्र पार्टी के दिमाग से बनेगी उसकी शक्ति से बनेगी। तो भूपेश गुप्त जी का अपना एक ढंग है और उन्होंने कम से कम गुजरात में इंडीकेट और सिंडीकेट को समकक्ष रखा है और प्रेसीडेंट ने रूल की ताईद की प्रकारांतर से। चाहे वाणी से यह न कहा हो कि प्रेसीडेंट रूल अच्छा है, मगर जो उन्होंने तर्क दिया वह सिद्ध करता है कि आखिर जब दोनों सरकारें एक ही ढंग की हैं और जो एक सरकार गयी उसके बाद आने वाली दूसरी सरकार को यह पसंद नहीं करेंगे तो उनके विचार से प्रेसीडेंट रूल ही अच्छा है, वही आना चाहिए। (Interruptions) अब यह चुनाव के बारे में आ गये। भूपेश गुप्त जी एक और सत्य को महसूस करते हैं, और सही महसूस करते हैं, मगर किसी सत्य की अनुभूति होने के बाद भी यदि मनुष्य उसके तदनुरूप कदम न उठाये तो उस इंसान को क्या कहा जाय। यानी जहाँ तक इन्दिरा सरकार के बजट का प्रश्न है, श्री भूपेश गुप्ता ने ठीक कहा कि चुनाव के समय इन्दिरा-कांग्रेस की ओर से जनता को जो वायदे किये गये इस बजट प्रस्ताव से सबको झुठला दिया। हमसे कुछ लोगों

ने कहा कि आप अपनी प्रतिक्रिया दीजिये तो हमने कहा कि हमसे कुछ न पूछो, भूपेश गुप्त से पूछो। हम तो जानते थे कि ऐसा बजट आयेगा। और मैं भूपेश गुप्त को बता दूँ कि 1974 ई० तक 2,000 करोड़ रुपये तक का नया टैक्स बढ़ाना होगा। अभी 177 करोड़ देखते हो और 220 करोड़ का डेफिसिट देखते हो, आगे देखना। तो इन्दिरा सरकार से बढ़ कर प्रतिक्रियावादी, जन द्रोही, देश द्रोही सरकार आज तक कोई दुनिया में नहीं हुई।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : जरा इनको रोकिये। यह देश द्रोही कह रहे हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : हमको कौन रोकेंगा।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : हम रोकेंगे। हम आपके लिये भी बराबर ट्रेटर शब्द बोलेंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये हम सरकार को कह रहे हैं। हाँ, सरकार ट्रेटर है। जो सरकार बंगला देश को मान्यता प्रदान करने में हिचक रही है, वह सरकार ट्रेटर, ट्रेटर, ट्रेटर है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : यह शब्द बहुत बुरा होता है। डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, या तो राजनारायण जी इसको वापस लें नहीं तो इसको आप वापस करिये।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, जो याजी ने कहा है उसके बारे में आपको कुछ कहना है।

श्री राजनारायण : जब आपने पूछ लिया तो मैं बताता हूँ कि यह सरकार देशद्रोही कैसे है।

श्री उपसभापति : मैंने यह पूछा है कि जो याजी जी ने कहा है उसके बारे में कुछ कहना है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : इसको विदड़ा करना चाहिये।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर याजी जी अपने

चक्षु बन्द कर लें तो मैं क्या करूँ। इससे बड़ी देशद्रोही सरकार न कभी हुई है और न कभी होगी।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप इसको वापस कीजिये।

श्री राजनारायण : श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने इतनी बात सही कही कि यह प्रतिक्रियावादी बजट है, पीछे देखूँ बजट है, मारक बजट है, गरीबी बढ़ाने वाला बजट है, बेकारी बढ़ाने वाला बजट है, मुद्रा स्फीती बढ़ाने वाला बजट है, महंगाई बढ़ाने वाला बजट है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : हम भी राजनारायण जी बनेंगे। मैं नहीं बैठता। यह जो देशद्रोही कहा है इसको वापस लें। हम डिमांड करते जायेंगे कि इसको वापस लें।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, या तो हमको आप हाउस का पजेशन दें या उनको दें।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप नहीं बोल सकते। आप कैसे इन्दिरा जी को देशद्रोही कहेंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं बता रहा हूँ सुनिये। आप उनको बैठाइये। मैं बताऊँगा कि कैसे देशद्रोही है।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, किसी सदस्य को, इस सदन के या उस सदन के जहाँ के भी हों, किसी को ट्रेटर कहना ठीक नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपको बता रहा हूँ मैं किसी सदस्य को देशद्रोही नहीं कह रहा हूँ, मैं सरकार को कह रहा हूँ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आपने इन्दिरा का नाम लिया।

श्री राजनारायण : इन्दिरा सरकार मैं कह रहा हूँ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : यह वापस लीजिये। इन्दिरा सरकार भी देशद्रोही नहीं है। अगर आप इस तरह बोलेंगे तो हम भी नहीं बोलने देंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, हम बैठते हैं, उन्हीं को बोलने दीजिये ।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, आपका भाषण समाप्त हो गया ?

श्री राजनारायण : जब आपकी इतनी क्षमता नहीं है कि इस सदन को एक आदमी के अधिकार में रहने दें तो मैं कैसे बोलूँ । मैं शिष्टाचार को एक सीमा तक ले जाता हूँ ।

श्री उपसभापति : ठीक है, आप अपना भाषण जारी रखिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे शिष्टाचार को कोई कमजोरी मानता है तो हम थोड़ा रिवोल्ट कर जाते हैं । मैं कहता हूँ कि जो आज भारतवर्ष की सरकार स्वाधीन बंगला देश को मान्यता देने में विलम्ब करती हो, वह सरकार देशद्रोही है ।

श्री उपसभापति : यह गुजरात के बारे में है, बंगला देश के बारे में नहीं है । गुजरात के बारे में बोलिये ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आपकी पार्टी के लिये मैं भी यही सब कहूंगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, ठीक है । मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करते हुये अपने मित्र भूपेश गुप्त जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ । जब केन्द्र की सरकार जिसने ऐसा गरीबी बढ़ाने वाला, महंगाई बढ़ाने वाला, बेकारी बढ़ाने वाला बजट पेश किया, उस राष्ट्रपति शासन में जब गुजरात गया तो गुजरात की स्थिति क्या होगी, इसका भी उत्तर भूपेश गुप्ता को देना चाहिए । मैं तो हैरत में पड़ा हुआ हूँ, श्रीमन्, कि भूपेश गुप्त अब तक तोतारटत में चिल्लाते हैं,—लेफ्ट मुवमेंट, रिएक्शनरी, मोनोपोली, प्रोग्रेसिव इन चार शब्दों का उन्होंने प्रयोग किया है । मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूँ । लेफ्ट के मानी क्या हैं, कौन वाम है, कौन दक्षिण है ? मैं उनसे जानना चाहूंगा : रिएक्शनरी, प्रतिक्रियावादी के मानी क्या हैं ? आज जो केन्द्र का बजट है—और बजट

वह आइना है जिसमें सरकार का सम्पूर्ण चित्र प्रतिलिखित होता है—इस बजट में अगर केन्द्र सरकार का, इन्दिरा सरकार का स्वरूप देखा जाएगा, तो इससे बढ़ कर प्रतिक्रियावादी सरकार कोई होगी नहीं । इसलिए इस प्रतिक्रियावादी सरकार के समर्थन में भूपेश गुप्त क्यों लगे हैं ? हमारे साथ क्यों नहीं आते ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now you have asked me. First of all I criticised the Budget. And certainly the Budget has certain other proposals also which, I pointed out, were wrong. Now I cannot go with you unless you leave all of them, Mr. Nijalingappa, Mr. C. B. Gupta, the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh. If you leave them all, certainly I will have to go with my SSP friends.

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, बैठिए । हो गया । मैं मित्र भूपेश गुप्त को फिर बताता हूँ । यहां पर गंगा बाबू बैठे हुए हैं, मैं गंगा बाबू को साक्षी बनाऊंगा । जब सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का लाहौर में अधिवेशन हुआ, तो भूपेश गुप्त समझ लें, उनकी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के बारे में हमारे सम्मेलन में क्या बातचीत हुई । 1936 में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने अपनी नीति को बदला । 1936 के पहले उनका कहना था कि कांग्रेस रिएक्शनरी है, उनका कहना था कि कांग्रेस एन्टी पीपुल है । उनका कहना था कि तिरंगा झंडा पूंजीपतियों का झंडा है । 1930 और 1932 के जन आंदोलन को भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने बिल्कुल खराब करने की कोशिश की, हमारी नीतियों को भंग कराया, हमारे झंडों को उन्होंने फाड़ा और उसके बाद 1936 में जब उन्होंने अपनी नीति में कुछ परिवर्तन किया तो वे कांग्रेस पार्टी में शामिल हो गए । 1934 में चूँकि सोशलिस्ट पार्टी बन गई थी, सब सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में आ गये । सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में आ जाने पर सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव सरीखे प्रमुख नेताओं ने तमाम दक्षिणपंथी दलों को लेकर सोशलिस्ट पार्टी को संगठित करने का भार अपने मित्र कम्युनिस्टों को दे दिया जो आज कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में हैं । क्या हमारे साथ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नम्बूदरीपाद नहीं थे, क्या हमारे साथ . . .

श्री उपसभापति : गुजरात के बारे में कहिए ।

श्री राजनारायण : गुजरात पर ही तो यह सब हो रहा है । रिपब्लिकनरी, लेफ्ट, मोनोपोली यह सब गुजरात के बारे में नहीं है तो क्या है । सुनिए, मीठा-मीठा गप, कड़वा-कड़वा थू, ऐसा मत कीजिए । तो श्री भूपेश गुप्त की चिट्ठियाँ पकड़ी गईं, उनकी साजिश हुई कि किसी तरह से सोशलिस्ट पार्टी को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में बदल दो । किसी तरह से सोशलिस्ट मूवमेंट पर कब्जा कर लो, सोशलिस्ट मूवमेंट पर कब्जा करके कांग्रेस के अंदर आओ ।

मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त से पूछना चाहता हूँ: भूपेश गुप्त के पास क्या सफाई है कि जिस स्टालिन के नारे "स्टालिन जिन्दाबाद, स्टालिन जिन्दाबाद" लगाए जाते थे, उसी का चित्र कब्र से निकाल कर फेंक दिया जाए । देखिए, फिर नया मूवमेंट वहाँ हो रहा है, फिर स्टालिन जिन्दाबाद होने जा रहा है, तो सुनिए भूपेश जी, हमेशा हमेशा के लिए हमको रिपब्लिकनरी मत कहो । यह वामपंथ और दक्षिण पंथ का नारा निरर्थक है । हमारा उद्देश्य ठोस, निर्गुण और सगुण समाजवाद है । अभी निर्गुण समाजवाद है, मगर उसका सगुण स्वरूप आएगा । मगर जब कंक्र्रीट ठोस, सगुण समाजवाद परिवर्तित करने की बात आयेगी तो कतरा जायेंगे । मैं केवल एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि क्या सरकार अपने को समाजवादी कहती है ? क्या कोई दल इस सरकार को समाजवादी कहेगा । जिस सरकार में आर्थिक समता बढ़ती जाती हो इकानॉमिक डिस्पैरिटी लगातार बढ़ रही हो । हम यह मान सकते हैं कि यह सरकार कहे कि हमारे पास ऐसे साधन नहीं हैं, जिनके द्वारा हम मौजूदा डिस्पैरिटी को घटा सके, लेकिन वह इतना तो कह सकती है कि हम इस डिस्पैरिटी को बढ़ाने नहीं देंगे । इन्दिरा सरकार ने, मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि लगातार आर्थिक विषमता बढ़ाई है और लगातार शक्ति का केन्द्रीकरण हुआ है ।

मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि डेमोक्रेसी और जनतंत्र के माने क्या हैं ? डेमोक्रेसी में क्या सत्ता केन्द्र के हाथ में रहे, क्या प्रेजिडेंट रूल कायम करके सारी जन-शक्ति को केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने हाथ में आज क्या नहीं ले रही है ? फिर इस तरह से डेमोक्रेसी का प्रयोग करना बंद कर दो । जैसा मैंने इन्दिरा सरकार का विश्लेषण किया है, वह मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ । मैं इन्दिरा की सरकार को डेमोक्रेटिक सरकार नहीं मानता हूँ, मैं इन्दिरा की सरकार को मोनोक्रेसी की सरकार मानता हूँ । गवर्नमेंट आफ मोनोक्रेसी सपोर्टेड बाई प्लूटोक्रेसी । यह एकतंत्रीय इन्दिरा तंत्र है और गवर्नमेंट आफ मोनोक्रेसी सपोर्टेड बाई प्लूटोक्रेसी है । तो मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे कब तक इस अंधकार में रहेंगे और कब तक धोखा खाते रहेंगे । मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री भूपेश गुप्त के सामने जो अंधकार है वह छटे और अन्धकार से छूट कर हमारे साथ आ जायें । इसलिए मैं बराबर कहता रहता हूँ कि माई भूपेश गुप्त इस अन्धकार में मत पड़े रहो । फर्स्ट इन्टरनेशनल, सेकेंड इन्टरनेशनल, एडहॉक इन्टरनेशनल, थर्ड इन्टरनेशनल, फोर्थ इन्टरनेशनल में कब तक पड़े रहेंगे । थोड़ी सी जो समाजवादी सिद्धान्त की प्रतिष्ठा मानी गई है, उस समाजवादी सिद्धान्त को परखो । इसलिए हमने कहा कोई भी सरकार जो अपने को समाजवादी सरकार कहलाने का दम भरती है, पहिले उसको गिरा देना चाहिये । बड़ी-बड़ी आमदनी वालों की क्या सीमा होनी चाहिये, आज इन्दिरा सरकार में यह क्षमता नहीं है कि वह इस बड़ी आमदनी की सीमा को बांध दे और खर्च की सीमा को बांध दे । अगर वह खर्च की सीमा बांधती है तो फिर किस तरह से 60 लाख रुपये निकाले जा सकते हैं । मैं हैरत में हूँ कि दुनिया में कोई ऐसा जनतंत्र है, जहाँ पर इतनी बड़ी घटना घटी हो और फिर भी वह सरकार चलती रहे । जब इस सदन में इस बारे में पूछा जाता है कि रुपया किस खाते से निकाला गया, तो कहा जाता है कि नहीं बतलायेंगे । जब यह पूछा जाता है कि रुपया किस खाते में जमा था, तो कहा जाता है कि नहीं बतलायेंगे । जब यह पूछा जाता है कि रुपया कहां से आया, तो कहा जाता है कि

[श्री राजनारायण]

नहीं बतलायेंगे। इस तरह का वित्त मंत्री जी का बयान है। (Interruptions) मैं त्यागी जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे हम सड़ें, चाहे हम जेल में चले जायें, लेकिन आज इस सरकार का तो इस्तीफा होना ही चाहिये। स्टेट बैंक जो है वह गवर्नमेंट औन्ड बैंक है और उसमें से 60 लाख रुपया निकाल जाय और हम सब लोग चुप होकर बैठ जायें, क्या यह हम सब लोगों के लिए उचित है ?

हमारे श्री भूपेश गुप्त सदन में विद्यमान हैं, मैं उनकी अक्ल की कमी-कमी तारीफ करता हूँ, क्योंकि वे कमी-कमी अच्छे प्वाइन्ट्स निकाल देते हैं, लेकिन मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह कौनसा जनतंत्र है, जहां पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन होता है। राष्ट्रपति का शासन के माने केन्द्र का शासन है। आज गुजरात में कौनसा शासन लागू होने जा रहा है, क्या इस बात का श्री भूपेश गुप्त को पता है ? (Interruptions) उत्तर प्रदेश में क्या हुआ है ? बिहार में क्या हो रहा है ? श्री सीताराम रजक जो हमारे पार्टी के एक हरिजन सदस्य हैं, जब हम बैठे थे—16 तारीख को, तो कहने लगे कि श्री यशपाल कपूर हमको 50 हजार रुपया दे रहे हैं। हमको 8 हजार रु० पार्टी से दिलवा दो। हमने कहा कि 8 हजार काहे भाई तो कहने लगे कि हम चुनाव लड़ गये थे लोक सभा का और उसमें 8 हजार रुपया हमारा खर्च हो गया और वह 8 हजार रु० हमको मिल जाय। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि यशपाल कपूर 50 हजार रु० हमको दे रहे हैं। आज हमारे पास सबेरे टेलिफोन आया कि सीताराम रजक थैली डकार कर चले गये। यह कोई तरीका है। मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त से पूछना चाहूंगा कि यशपाल कपूर प्रधान मंत्री के चाहे प्राइवेट सेक्रेटरी हों, चाहे जो हों, क्या वे वहाँ पर बैठ कर . . .

श्री उपसभापति : गुजरात के बारे में कुछ कहिये। 2 मिनट आपके बाकी हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : आप हमारे लिये भी घंटी बजाइये और बीच में न बोलिये जैसे श्री भूपेश गुप्त के लिये आप घंटी बजाते रहे, मैंने 3

बज कर 20 मिनट पर शुरू किया है और अभी ३ बज कर 35 मिनट हुआ है . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has started just now and he has only been talking about Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat. It will take little time.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह स्थिति है। भाई भूपेश गुप्त श्री शीलमद्र याजी और दूसरे माननीय सदस्य जो इस समय ट्रेजरी बेंचेज पर बैठे हैं, मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो बिहार में हो रहा है, आज वहाँ पर जिस तरह से लोगों को खरीद व फरोक्त की वस्तु बनाया जा रहा है, जिस तरह से वहाँ पर विधायकों को धोड़ा, गाय, बैल, बकरी की भांति खरीदा व बेचा जा रहा है, क्या यह जनतंत्र है, क्या इसी को जनतंत्र कहा जायगा। भूपेश गुप्त जी, मैं आपसे हाथ जोड़ कर, अदब के साथ विनती करना चाहूंगा कि जनतंत्र केवल एक शब्द नहीं है। जनतंत्र जीवन का एक सर्वांगीण परिवर्तित दर्शन है। अगर जनतंत्र को केवल एक शब्द माना गया तो जिस तरह से राम राम जपते हुये लोग डाका मारते हैं, राम राम जपते हुये लोग कत्ल करते हैं, राम राम करते हुए लोग व्यभिचार करते हैं, उसी तरह से समाजवाद का नाम लेते हुए लोग विशुद्ध ढंग की पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था चलायेंगे और कहेंगे कि यही समाजवाद है, यही जनतंत्र है। यह स्थिति कब तक देश में चलेगी, जरा आप इस पर सोचिये, इसको समझिये।

श्रीमन्, मैं गुजरात हो आया हूँ और गुजरात की स्थिति से अवगत हूँ। मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि गुजरात में आज सार्वजनिक जगहों पर हमको अंग्रेजी देखने में नहीं आई। आज वहाँ पर हिन्दी और गुजराती चलती है।

श्री प्रतुलचन्द्र मित्र (बिहार) : गुजराती चलती है, हिन्दी नहीं चलती है।

श्री राजनारायण : हिन्दी भी चलती है।

श्री प्रतुलचन्द्र मित्र : एक भी साइनबोर्ड हिन्दी का नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : इस पर मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है। अगर गुजरात में गुजरात की रीजनल भाषा चले तो हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। मगर वहाँ के लोग जब हमको बुलाते हैं तो हमारी बातें हिन्दी में सुनते हैं। अंग्रेजी वहाँ नहीं चलती है। अंग्रेजी से वहाँ के लोग नफरत करते हैं। मैं भाई भूपेश गुप्त से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जनतंत्र में सामन्ती भाषा चलेगी या जनतंत्र में जनता की भाषा चलेगी। जो सरकार सामन्ती भाषा का परिपोषण करे, वह सरकार कैसे जनतंत्र और समाजवाद चलायेगी। आज भारतवर्ष में जो अंग्रेजी का हिमायती है, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह भारतीय आत्मा को बेच चुका है, भारतीयता को बेच चुका है और वह एक प्रकार से गुलामी की बेड़ी में जकड़ कर आगे चल रहा है। गुजरात प्रदेश है गांधी का। गांधी जी जब दक्षिण अफ्रीका से लौट कर आये थे और जब वहाँ के लोगों ने उनका स्वागत किया था तो पहली मीटिंग में जिन्ना साहब भी उपस्थित थे और जब लोगों ने अंग्रेजी में भाषण करना शुरू किया तो गांधी जी उठ कर चलने लगे। उन्होंने कहा कि मैं तो समझता था कि मैं अपने देशवासियों के बीच में हूँ। लेकिन यहाँ आने पर पता चला कि मैं अंग्रेजों के बीच में हूँ। उस गांधी जी के गुजरात की मैं उत्तर प्रदेश से तुलना करता हूँ, तो मैं यह पाता हूँ कि गुजरात का किसान उत्तर प्रदेश के किसान से 4 गुना अच्छा है। उनकी आमदनी हमारी आमदनी से तीन चार गुनी ज्यादा है, बिहार से ज्यादा है, राजस्थान से ज्यादा है। जिसकी आमदनी उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार, राजस्थान और उड़ीसा से तीन चार गुनी ज्यादा है वह तो हो गया रिएक्शनरी, प्रतिक्रियावादी और भूपेश गुप्त जी हो गये क्रांतिकारी।

यह खुदा की शान है नाचीज चीज बन बैठे।

जो बेशऊर हैं वे बाशऊर बन बैठे।

ऐसी विचित्र हालत है कि जो घोर प्रतिक्रियावादी हैं, घोर अपराधी हैं, जघन्य अपराध करते हैं, आज वही अपने को दूध की तरह स्वच्छ बता रहे हैं। कहते हैं कि मैं दूध की तरह स्वच्छ हूँ। मैं इसलिए आपके द्वारा भूपेश गुप्त जी से बहुत ही

अदब से जानना चाहता हूँ कि लोक सभा के जो मध्यावधि चुनाव हुए, उनके लिए रुपया कहाँ से आया? किसके पेट से पैसा निकला। यह तमाशा है। यह जनतंत्र है। एक-एक निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में में 5, 7, 10 और 50 लाख रुपया तक खर्च हुआ है और जो सरकार सत्ता में है, वह इतना रुपया सत्ता में रहते हुए कहाँ से लायी?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : जनता जनार्दन ने दिया।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं श्री शीलभद्र याजी जी की भद्रता के कारण जानना चाहता हूँ। आज यहाँ कोई जनसंघी नहीं है। जनसंघ प्रतिक्रियावाद का मूर्तस्वरूप है, लेकिन लोक सभा के निर्वाचन के एक महीने के अन्दर अन्दर ही दिल्ली कारपोरेशन के चुनाव हुए और वहाँ इन्दिरा गवर्नमेंट की छाती पर यह जनसंघ आकर बैठ गया।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप अपना भाषण समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं तो भूपेश गुप्तजी जितना बोले हैं उसका डेढ़ गुना बोलूंगा; क्योंकि हमको उनका जवाब देना है और मैं आपसे एक विनती और करूंगा कि आप बैसे ही घंटी बजायें जैसे उनके लिए घंटी बजाते थे।

श्री उपसभापति : उनके लिए घंटी भी बजाते थे और इशारा भी करते थे। मैं आपको दो मिनट और दे रहा हूँ। आप दो मिनट में अपना भाषण समाप्त करें।

श्री राजनारायण : मेरा निवेदन है कि आप अपनी जवान को कण्ठ न दें, केवल हाथ को कण्ठ दें और आप केवल घंटी बजायें।

श्री उपसभापति : आपने 27 मिनट ले लिए हैं। मैं आपको दो मिनट और दे सकता हूँ और ज्यादा नहीं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप उनको कंट्रोल कीजिए।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस सदन में वही भाषण होगा कि जो केवल शैलियों के बारे में कुछ बताता हो या ऐसा भाषण भी होगा कि जो मूल पर प्रहार करता हो। भूपेश गुप्त जी ने अपने भाषण में मूल पर प्रहार नहीं किया है। वे अपने भाषण में केवल शैलियों की चर्चा करते हैं, पत्तों की चर्चा करते हैं। वे जड़ को नहीं पकड़ते। वे दो घंटा भी बोलें तो कोई एतराज नहीं; क्योंकि उनके द्वारा मूल पर प्रहार नहीं होगा। शैली पर प्रहार होगा चाहे वह उसमें मिश्र जी का नाम ले लें या किसी और का। हमको शैली से मतलब नहीं। हमको जड़ से मतलब है, मौलिक परिवर्तन से मतलब है। इसी लिए मैं भूपेश गुप्त जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर प्रेसिडेंट रूल का समर्थन क्यों?

श्री उपसभापति : मिस्टर मेनन। आप बैठें।

श्री राजनारायण : जब जमीन के लगान को माफ़ करने का सवाल आया, तो मैं गुजरात गया और मैंने श्री हितेन्द्र देसाई जी से बात की और उनसे कहा कि हम उत्तर प्रदेश में छोटे किसानों का लगान माफ़ करने जा रहे हैं। आप अपने यहाँ भी छोटे किसानों का लगान माफ़ कीजिए। उन्होंने अपना व्यौरा दिया और बताया कि वहाँ किसानों के लिए क्या किया गया है। सिंचाई के लिए क्या किया है, कितने नलकूप लगाये हैं, पम्पिंग सेटों की क्या व्यवस्था की है . . .

श्री उपसभापति : आप बैठें। मैंने श्री मेनन को बुला लिया है।

श्री राजनारायण : उन्होंने अपने कामों से किसानों को दूर तक प्रभावित किया था। लेकिन मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ और अपनी जो संगठन कांग्रेस है, उसके नेताओं से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने में आमूल परिवर्तन लायें। आप केवल 10 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम चला रहे हैं। हमारे बाप ने जो सिखाया है वह सीख लो केवल यह दोहराने से काम नहीं चलेगा। समाजवाद के जिस स्वरूप को लेकर हम चलना चाहते हैं, उसमें हमको सत्ता से ऊपर उठना होगा। चुनाव में हार-जीत क्या। हम तो 1948 में कांग्रेस छोड़े हैं। कांग्रेस

को छोड़ कर ही हमने फैसला लिया कि हम जंगल की राह चलेंगे। उस समय कांग्रेस के पास प्रभु-ताई थी, 90, 95 परसेंट वोट उसके पास थे, तब हमने उसको लात मारी। हमने देखा कि कांग्रेस के हाथ में सत्ता आयी तो . . .

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, आप बैठें। आपको आधा घंटा हो गया।

श्री राजनारायण : सुनिये। उस समय आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी ने एक लेटर दिया था जिसमें था कि ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवादियों के हाथ से सत्ता हमारे पास आ रही है, इसलिए मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि वह लोग कांग्रेस में शामिल हों।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, अब आप बैठिये, आपका आधा घंटा हो गया।

श्री राजनारायण : भूपेश गुप्त कितनी देर तक बोले हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : भूपेश गुप्त से आपका पाँच मिनट ज्यादा समय हो गया है।

श्री राजनारायण : 10 मिनट और दे दीजिये।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप बैठिये।

श्री राजनारायण : इस तरह से कहने से हम लाचार हैं; क्योंकि हमको अपने भाषण को समाप्त करना है। कम से कम पाँच मिनट या छः मिनट आप टोकते हैं, इसके बाद शीलभद्र याजी टोकते हैं, इसके बाद श्री भूपेश गुप्त सफ़ाई देते हैं, वह सब हमारे समय में है। इसलिए कृपा करके आप हमको सुनें। हम कोई इधर उधर नहीं कह रहे हैं, हम अपने बेटे-बेटियों के लिए लाइसेंस नहीं माँग रहे हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : ठीक है, आपको अपने समय के अन्दर बोलना चाहिए, आप दो-तीन मिनट और ले लीजिये और भाषण समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री राजनारायण : सात मिनट और दे दीजिये और आप बीच में मत टोकियेगा।

श्री उपसभापति : तीन मिनट से ज्यादा नहीं । आपको तीन मिनट और देता हूँ ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं कौनसा काम करूँ, जिससे कि एक अच्छी, बढ़िया, सुशिष्ट चेयरमैन की जो रूलिंग हो वह आपके मुँह से निकले ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप अपना भाषण जारी रखिये, तीन मिनट के अन्दर समाप्त कीजिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा श्री भूपेश गुप्त से पूछना चाहता हूँ . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The hon. Member asked me so many questions and now he says that I interrupted him.

श्री राजनारायण : श्री भूपेश जी आप इसका जवाब दीजिये । देखिये यह लिखा है :

The Chief Minister, Mr. Karpoori Thakur, has alleged that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi's special officer, Mr. Yashpal Kapoor, has been adopting "questionable means to purchase the loyalty of Bihar Assembly members" to topple his Government.

आज गुजरात में क्या हो रहा है ? गुजरात में यही रहेगा जबकि राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू होगा । जब राष्ट्रपति का शासन गुजरात में लागू होगा तो यही सब होगा ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : यह आप गलत बयानी कर रहे हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, आगे यह है :

In identical telegrams to the Opposition leaders in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, excluding those of the CPI and the PSP, Mr. Thakur urged them to raise the issue in Parliament as the entire toppling move was being managed with the knowledge of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

एक राज्य जो कि आबादी के अनुपात में दूसरे नम्बर का राज्य है, उसके मुख्य मंत्री सार्वजनिक बयान देते हैं और कहते हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री

की जानकारी से, उनकी शह से, यह सारा काम हो रहा है ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : सब गलत बोल रहे हो ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पर इस ढंग का काम हो रहा हो, जिस केन्द्र से इस तरह का काम हो रहा हो, क्या वह जनतंत्र है । इससे बढ़ कर पाप क्या होगा । इससे बढ़ कर जनतंत्र की हत्या क्या होगी ? तो मैं भूपेश गुप्त जी से जानना चाहता हूँ, वह गुजरात के इतिहास को जानते हैं कि गुजरात में किस तरह से मेम्बरों को खरीदा गया, किस तरह से विधायकों को इन्दिरा काँग्रेस के अन्दर लाया गया, किस तरह से सरकार को हटाया गया । क्या केन्द्र की सरकार का यह कर्तव्य है कि जो केन्द्र के विरोध की राज्य सरकारें हों, उनको न चलने दें ? क्या यह संविधान की हत्या नहीं है ? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज यह संविधान की हत्या कर रहा है और मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपनी हैसियत ऐसी न बनने दें कि ओम् मेहता ऐसी सलाह दें कि आप राजनारायण को रोक दीजिये ।

Meanwhile, Mr. Bhola Prasad Singh, Minister for Planning and Vigilance, today strongly objected to the presence of Mr. Yashpal Kapoor, who he described as the "personal secretary to the Prime Minister drawing salary from the public exchequer", in Patna.

देखिये, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यशपाल कपूर खुद कहते हैं :

He said the only assurance given to other party members desiring to join the New Congress was that they would be given Congress ticket whenever election for the State Assembly was held.

आज प्रधान मंत्री के निजी सचिव पटना में जाकर कहते हैं कि जो दूसरे दल के लोग हैं, वो हमारे दल में आ जायें, सरकार को गिरायें, उनको हम टिकट देंगे ।

श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित : श्रीमन्, यह जितनी बातें कहीं जा रही हैं, बिलकुल बेबुनियाद हैं । यह

[श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित]

आदत है राजनारायण जी की कि बिना किसी प्रमाण के, बिना किसी आधार के इस प्रकार के आरोप लगाते हैं। बिलकुल गलत, सरासर बेबुनियाद बातें कही जा रही हैं। सदन की मर्यादा भंग की जा रही है।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं चाहता हूँ प्रधान मंत्री को आप बुलाएं। प्रधान मंत्री जी यहां आकर बतलाएं कि इस मामले से उनका क्या संबंध है। यशपाल कपूर जहां जाता है रुपयों की थैली लेकर जाता है। ऐसे रिश्तों में पैसे बांटने वाले को, करप्शन फैलाने वाले आदमी को बिहार की सरकार गिरफ्तार क्यों नहीं करती . . .

श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित : बिलकुल झूठ।

श्री राजनारायण : उसको गिरफ्तार करना चाहिए, जबकि उसने खुले आम रुपया बांटा है। मैं आपके द्वारा निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जो . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down now. I have given you 32 minutes. Please sit down. No more now.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। मैं इसको जनतंत्र का निषेध मानता हूँ, देश में अव्यवस्था फैलाने वाला मानता हूँ। जब तक यह सरकार रहेगी, जब तक इन्दिरा हटाई नहीं जाएगी, तब तक इस देश में जनतंत्र और समाजवाद चल नहीं सकता।

श्री सीताराम सिंह (बिहार) : श्रीमन्, मेरा व्यवस्था का सवाल है। माननीय नेता सदन ने अभी बताया कि बेबुनियाद बात है, लेकिन समाचार पत्रों में श्री कपूर का बयान आया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि विधायकों से मेरी बातचीत इसलिए होती है कि हम आश्वासन देते हैं कि जब कोई चुनाव होगा तब हम उनको टिकट जरूर देंगे। यह समाचार पत्रों में बयान आया है। इस तरह से जम्हूरियत का कत्ल किया जाता है, जनतंत्र की हत्या की जाती है, पैसे के

बल पर जनतंत्र के साथ बलात्कार किया जाता है।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारा विश्वास डिपुटी चेयरमैन, राज्य सभा में है, चाहे रूलिंग पार्टी का हो या न हो। मैं चाहता हूँ डिपुटी चेयरमैन यहां से फ्लाई करके जाए और देखें। इतना गंदा, इतना पतित, इतना जघन्य अपराध कोई सरकार ने नहीं किया होगा जो इन्दिरा गांधी, यशपाल कपूर और ललित नारायण मिश्र करवा रहे हैं। जिसके ऊपर 23 लाख के गबन का मामला हो वह केबिनेट में है, शर्म नहीं आती, चुल्लू भर पानी में डूबो। चिल्लाते हैं समाजवाद और जनतंत्र। (Interruptions) अभी उनके बारे में इन्क्वायरी बैठी है, 23 लाख रु० जनता के उन्होंने निकाले हैं, मनमाना खर्चा किया है, राज्य सभा में कई बार सवाल उठ चुका है। जो यह इन्क्वायरी कमीशन बैठा है, प्रधान मंत्री के सेक्रेटेरिएट से आदेश जाता है कि राज्यपाल दस्तखत न करें, कमीशन काम शुरू न करे। प्राइम मिनिस्टर का सेक्रेटेरिएट इस तरह से जनतंत्र की हत्या करे . . .

संसदीय कार्य विभाग तथा नीवहन और परिवहन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री श्री मेहता) : यशपाल कपूर प्रधान मंत्री के सेक्रेटरी नहीं हैं, कई दफा हमने कहा, लेकिन बार-बार राजनारायण जी वही कहते रहते हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : अब इन्दिरा जी जब तक प्रधान मंत्री रहेंगी, आपको इससे ज्यादा नहीं मिलेगा। खाली बुद्धों में एक ही ऐसे हैं दीक्षित जी, जिनको पुराने लोग देखते हैं तो समझते हैं शायद हमारी भी बन जाए . . .

श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित : उपसभापति जी, एक बात भी राजनारायण जी ने विश्वास योग्य नहीं कही। यह बात सुप्रसिद्ध है कि राजनारायण जी का सबक कोई सीखता नहीं है। इन्होंने अपने इन तरीकों से अपने साथियों को बर्बाद किया, अपनी सारी पार्टी का सर्वनाश किया,

और हमारे राज्य सभा की सारी मर्यादाओं का नाश कर रहे हैं . . .

श्री राजनारायण : हाँ, रक्षा दीक्षित जी कर रहे हैं।

श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित : हम कर सकते हैं अगर आप सलाह मानें। समाजवाद मैं उनको पढ़ा सकता हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण : जिस दिन दीक्षित जी की चलेगी उस दिन समाजवाद मर जाएगा। मैं दीक्षित जी की तारीफ कर रहा हूँ। हमने दीक्षित जी की तारीफ की; क्योंकि कांग्रेस में जो बुड़ड़े लोग हैं वे कहते थे हमारे लिए इन्दिरा कैबिनेट में जगह नहीं है। अब वह कहते हैं, नहीं भाई, दीक्षित जी तो बन गए हैं, तो दीक्षित जी में जो खूबी है अपने में भी बनाओ। तो दीक्षित जी का इन्दिरा की कैबिनेट में प्रवेश कांग्रेस के बुड़्डा-चियों के लिए एक आशा की किरण है।

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, our House is being asked once more to put the last nail on the coffin of the representation institution in one more State, that is, Gujarat. Sir, this thing has been happening in this country for a long time. When the West Bengal Government, the United Front Government, was toppled it was said that it was due to law and order. In Kerala some other reasons were given.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the chair]

But may I know what is the trouble in Gujarat? Law and order there has been very well kept. Workers have been shot very well in the streets of Gujarat. The agriculture labour, like many other States, is being oppressed there. There is no question of law and order. But then why is it that in Gujarat the Government of Mr. Hitendra Desai, a Government which belongs to the same class as the class which rules the Centre, that is the bourgeois and the landlord class of the country, is being toppled? This has happened in Mysore and in so many other States. Why is it that this is happening?

We know, Sir, that Gujarat is the home of the Indian bourgeois. Most of the monopolists come from there. They were all satisfied with the Government which was led by Mr. Hitendra Desai. Despite the big majority which the ruling Congress today enjoys in this Parliament, the fact is that the political crisis in this country is deepening, the economic crisis is deepening, and in such a situation the bourgeois landlord class cannot afford to have any rule by any party even when it is of the same class. What they want is monopoly control, monolithic control of the entire State machinery in the country. They would not allow any dissident faction to control even a part of the State machinery in the country. That is because the political crisis in the country is developing. That is why the leadership of the big bourgeois class which rules over this country is obliged to suppress even their own class when that class shows a dissident role.

Sir, Gujarat has been praised in this House as a very progressive State. But, Sir, behind the fossil of the sky-kissing chimneys in Ahmedabad there is a story. If you look into the reports of the Commission on Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, year after year you will find that Gujarat is one of the States in India which still is the home of the worst type of obscurantism, of oppression of Harijans, of practice of untouchability etc. and this has been going on since long, even when Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the progressive Indicate Congressman, was in power and when Mr. Hitendra Desai, the reactionary syndicate congressman, has been in power. Therefore, as far as the vast majority of the rural people, the vast majority of the working class, the slum dwellers, etc. are concerned, whether Mr. Hitendra Desai is ruling, or Dr. Jivraj Mehta is ruling or even if the Indira Congress is ruling, the vast majority of the people have no solace. They can get that solace only when a different class comes to power. That will not just come by replacing one set of bourgeois landlord politicians by another set of bourgeois landlord politicians.

Sir, this is one of the tragedies of the times that a place which is supposed to be the birth place of Mahatma Gandhi is the worst oppressor of Harijans in this country, and if the Central Government which claims to be progressive does something in this

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon]

respect, it will be a good thing. But the indications are otherwise. Now, Sir, Mr. Hiten-dra Desai, a few days before he left office, had passed an order that

4 P. M. education will be compulsory and free up to the 10th Standard in Gujarat. It is a very good order. In

fact, everyone should have welcomed it. The Central Government should have supported it. But what did the Central Government and its Governor in Gujarat do? The progressive Central Government and its Governor in Gujarat set aside that order.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: They have said that the new Government will implement it.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: Why should you wait for some other Government to come? The essential fact is that the Central Government is responsible for setting aside that order, an order which was a good and welcome order. Why did the Central Government do it? If they claim to be progressive, what right have they to cancel that order? Therefore, Sir, here it is not a question of being progressive or reactionary. Here it is question of monolithic control of the State power. That is all that is involved. All these days we were fed with stories of reactionaries ruling the Gujarat Congress and so on. Then one day, dozens and dozens of these reactionaries, these lickspittle lackeys of the monopolists, were taken into the Ruling Congress. And suddenly they have all become progressive. I have never heard of such metamorphosis happening anywhere. Reactionaries become progressives overnight and progressives become reactionaries overnight. Whom is this sort of comedy, which is being enacted here meant to fool? It will stop fooling the majority of the people. If the majority does not stop being fooled, even if a good minority stops being fooled by tricks of this sort of the bourgeois landlord class, then the danger of utter contempt for parliamentary democracy will arise.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Your party is also involved in Bihar.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: In what?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: In toppling.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: That way everyone is involved in toppling in Bihar, including the SSP.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No cross-talk, please.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): May I advise my friends on the other side that they unwittingly object to criticism which actually emphasises the criticism? If you quietly listen to it, well, it will not be taken notice of. But sometimes our friends there stand up and protest and it is repeated again and again. Why unnecessarily emphasise criticism?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी: आप तो बराबर कहते जायेंगे, लेकिन अगर हम आपसे कुछ कहते हैं तो आप चिल्लाने लगते हैं।

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: So, as I was saying, the issue is not whether there is reactionary Congress there or progressive Congress here. The whole issue today boils down to a developing political crisis of the ruling classes and their inability to tackle the economic issues confronting the country. And they are trying to hoodwink the masses by tricks of this sort. When at least a part of the masses realises that tricks of this sort are not going to work, then the ruling classes, by their actions, by their utter contempt for the morality of their acts, will bring discredit to the institutions of parliamentary democracy in the country and pave the way for a violent overthrow. Well, that is why Marx once said that the bourgeoisie dig their own grave. I am sure the Indian bourgeoisie are digging their own grave by their utter contempt and amoral attitude to the norms and standards of the parliamentary institutions in this country, and the sooner they dig their own grave the better for all of us.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH (Gujarat): Sir, I welcome the Resolution moved by Mr. Pant approving the Proclamation issued by the President on the State of Gujarat. It was the golden day of 13th May this year when the President intervened and took over the administration of my State. As the matter stands, the House is aware that for the past one year the Hiten-dra Desai Ministry was

all the time coalescing with communal and reactionary parties. Some of us, as a part of the united Congress and subsequent to the split, had been warning them that such an alliance with reactionary forces is going to put the whole country and the State of Gujarat back by a hundred years. That warning was unheeded and the plunge has come. And the net result was that one of the finest bases of the Congress in the State was divided completely, from place to place, from district to district, from taluq to taluq. Therefore, when some of us, emboldened, came over and joined the ruling Congress, in the mid-term poll, we in Gujarat received what the country had given—a massive mandate to the Prime Minister. We again warned Mr. Hintendra Desai on the manner of his functioning. The Hon'ble Member, Mr. Subramania, who is not here now, was asking: What was the reason that the State was so good at that time and what has gone wrong with it that it has become so bad today? I may narrate the whole thing to the House, the type of vested interests which the Hitendra Desai Ministry had created. At one stage we used to have not more than eight Cabinet Ministers and eight Deputy Ministers. In the worst of crises which Hitendra Desai Ministry was facing at the time of the united Congress not one Minister was added. But now he expanded the Ministry to 29 people, 14 Cabinet Ministers and 15 Deputy Ministers. Have you heard of any State in this country which has bought over MLAs and legislators by offering them such prizes? While over the entire period of Gujarat administration from 1962 to 1969-70 we had refused to add one single Cabinet Minister because of the principle of having a compact and homogenous Ministry? The House must be aware of the types of inducements, of the type of purchases and of how they went on horsetrading. My friend, Mr. Rajnarain, was saying that the ruling Congress was horsetrading. This is totally wrong. I may invite him to the streets of Ahmedabad, to Surat and Rajkot, to see what type of horsetrading went on there. The Swatantra Party had 45 members, 23 of them were bought over. Those Swatantra members were supposed to be the most reactionary class in this country against whom we of the Congress had fought in the 1967 election and some of us lost at the hands of the reactionary Swatantrites backed by the capitalists, backed by the Princes of Saurash-

tra. My State of Saurashtra had 222 Princes, on the side of Gujarat there are 37 Princes, the highest number of Princes anywhere. All these Princes combined against us in 1967 and we had to suffer at their hands. All those people at whose hands the Congress suffered its image, were taken back, fourteen of them as Ministers which immediately raised the strength to 29. this hotch-potch Congress (O) and reactionaries could not hold the majority of the Cong (O). Therefore, they created panels, something that could be called open buying. I had been a Minister of Cabinet in Saurashtra and then in the Centre and I had never seen a State creating jobs after jobs, panels after panels, for appointing them as panel chairmen—a panel for education, a panel for social welfare, a panel for irrigation, a panel for Adivasis—parallel to Ministers. Parallel Ministries were created. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A panel for panels also.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: Yes, you are right. If they had continued, there would have been panels and panels and out of 74 Congress members, all 74 would have been Ministers. But it stopped at 43. Now, the point is: Who is bargaining? Who is spoiling the public life of this country? Who is giving such inducements to people that they go and bargain in the streets and want to become Ministers? Therefore, it is very necessary for the House to appreciate that President's rule in Gujarat is welcomed by the entire people.

We were told by the Cong (O) that we would not get a single seat in the whole of Gujarat in the Lok Sabha elections. We are humble people we are small people. There were giants there under whom we have served for one decade, two decades and for almost a generation. They were saying that we will have no popular backing. Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Hitendra Desai went on saying during the mid-term election that we of the Ruling Congress will get no votes. But, Sir, out of 24 seats we got 12 seats thus capturing 2.8 million votes against 2.07 million votes received by Congress (O). There was a difference of eight lakh votes between what the Congress (R) candidates got and what the Congress (O) candidates got.

[Shri Manubhai Shah]

If you would have sent anybody from this august House to the mid-term election in Gujarat, he would have seen people on the Congress (O) side donning yellow caps only. In all the polling booths there were only Jan Sangh workers who were denounced in the past by Shri Morarji Desai when the riots took place in 1970. If you read the Reddy Commission's report, you will come to know that it was the communal parties which created tension in Ahmedabad and everywhere.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) :
जब आप कांग्रेस (ओ) में थे, तब आप जनसंघ की तारीफ करते थे।

श्री मनुभाई शाह : यह बातें हम सारी कर चुके हैं, हमने मिलाते की थीं। तभी तो हम बता रहे हैं। हम अपना जाती तजुर्बा बता रहे हैं कि हम वहां बैठे थे तो क्या हाल था और अब क्या हाल है। हमने कभी जनसंघ की तारीफ नहीं की।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मिनिस्ट्री मिलने को है।

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: We do not worry about that. Therefore, I want to explain here that the Hitendra Desai Ministry, after the mid-term poll, was completely shattered. It carried on by bargaining. It bargained with the Swatantra Party; it bargained with the Jan Sangh. All the members of the Old Congress there wanted to joint Congress (R). But they were prevented from doing that under the fraudulent slogan of unity between the two Congresses. Where is the question of united Congress? The mandate was clear and about 95 per cent of the people voted in favour of the ruling Congress. They of the Congress (O) got 16 seats. When the Ministry was a minority Ministry, it was very, very necessary that we invited President's rule. Shri Subramania Menon said that the progressive measures which the Hitendra Desai Ministry introduced were undone by the Governor. This is not true. For three years when we were in the combined united Congress, we were requesting the Hitendra Desai Ministry to make

secondary education free. We begged of him to do so. He then said that the State finances cannot afford that. But in the last 24 hours when he was heading a minority government, he passed fiscal orders unheard of in a Constitutional democratic history. An outgoing Chief Minister heading a minority government, when people wanted him to get away as soon as possible and whom the people of Gujarat did not want, passed some measures to don socialistic colours. He was trying to create socialism in the last 24 hours. What was that order? The order was to remove irrigation cess and to make secondary education free. When in the past we begged of him to do that, he said the State finances would not permit that. But when he was going, he did it. And what did the Governor do? The order was such that even children of multi-million aires would have got free education. The Governor's orders have been that children of parents with an income of upto Rs. 3,600/- will be given freeships. In other words, there will be no fees in secondary schools for children of parents who get less than Rs. 3,600/- annually. For children of parents whose income is between Rs. 3,600 and Rs. 4,800/-, there will be half fees. Above that limit, there will be no exemption because why should we put a burden on millions of poor people in Gujarat by giving free education to children of capitalists and big businessmen? Shri Subramania Menon and Shri Bhupesh Gupta were saying that Gujarat provides an example of high contrast. This is true. There are Adivasis and backward classes and Harijans who are the worst depressed classes in the world. Shrimati Pushpaben Mehta will bear with me when I say that she has been speaking in the House saying that the largest number of suicides among women is in Gujarat. That is because of the most backward social conditions there. There are a few forward people who are in a minority and there are very backward people and depressed people who are in a big majority in Gujarat. It is, therefore, that we want a ruling Congress government in Gujarat after the next Assembly election, whether in October or in November. I can assure the House that we will work for the Adivasis, and we will work for the Harijans. We want a progressive socialist government which will work for these and other backward classes to whom justice has been denied so far by the Hitendra Desai

Ministry and the previous government in spite of our repeated requests. Here are the Adivasis, here are the Harijans, there are the people in the North Gujarat who are so backward. They must have a statutory board in which the Adivasis and the Harijans must be given statutory powers. They must be given certain amount of finance for their upliftment, and the disparities between the richer classes and the poorer classes, which is the highest there compared to any other part of India, should be narrowed and removed.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : तो क्या यह यूनाइटेड कांग्रेस का वरदान है ?

श्री मनुभाई शाह : यूनाइटेड कांग्रेस का भी कुछ बता रहा हूं, कांग्रेस (ओ०) का भी बता रहा हूं, कांग्रेस (आर) का भी बता रहा हूं। हम आपको प्युचर विजन की ओर ले जा रहे हैं।

I am referring to the vision of the future and I am absolutely certain, Sir, that with the support that the people of Gujarat have given to us in the mid-term poll and our new approach that is taking place in the development and welfare of the Harijans, the Adivasis, the Muslims and the backward classes, we of the Congress (R) will come with a thumping majority and wipe out of Congress (O) from Gujarat. This way we will finish the Congress (O) and bring the Ruling Congress to power in Gujarat and support the Prime Minister's policy to remove the disparities in income and to remove poverty from our land.

Sir, we wanted the petro-chemical complex to come up. What is the record of Hitendra Desai's Ministry in the last few years? In spite of the repeated reminders, what has happened to the complex of Baroda, what about the various gases produced in the State and what about the fertilizer project? All the blame is put on the Centre. There are so many issues and the State Government has not been doing what it should do. Therefore, Sir, it is my request that this House not only approves, but acclaims, this Proclamation, acclaims that the liberation of the people of Gujarat has taken place and that the new Ruling Congress Government is about to come to power in the next three to four months to redeem the pledges given

to the Adivasis, Harijans, Muslims and the backward classes and for the welfare of the men and women of Gujarat. Therefore, I beseech this House to approve the Proclamation which is the liberation of the people from the tyrannous Government of Hitendra Desai.

SHRI U. N. MAHIDA (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with regard to this Resolution imposing President's rule, the House has heard two opposite views and the one is from the first speaker who referred to the excellent progress made by the same Congress to which both the Congress parties belonged a little earlier. We have also heard from the other Hon. Member who has also been in the Old Congress. These political controversies will, at the present moment, take Gujarat no farther. Sir, it was a very impressive statement that the Minister made in connection with what the Centre proposes to do. How the interregnum is likely to be utilised by the Centre, etc. It was stressed that there will not be a static government, that progress will be achieved and development works will be continued and that the development will be at a very rapid pace. Sir, it is very heartening to hear all that and I will therefore confine myself to a few points indicating how this period can be utilised for greater progress in the State of Gujarat.

Sir, there are a few problems that a period like this can easily solve, problems it is difficult to solve by a political approach. Certain practical problems and social problems can best be solved by non-political approach to problems. The first amongst them will be the problem, that will have to be solved very soon, problem regarding the location of the Agricultural University for Gujarat. I am referring to this because such problems in the past were about to be used to topple this very Government. I am referring to what happened in 1967 when they tried to locate the Saurashtra University in one place and even though the Congress had won the election only a little earlier those very members of the Congress were about to topple their own Government. Why? Because somebody wanted its location in Rajkot and somebody else wanted that it should be located in Bhavnagar. Now these are the things that may again happen. Therefore, a very dispassionate and non-political approach should be adopted in solving this

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problem in the interval. Unless proper facilities are provided and if decisions are made merely on political grounds or on North Gujarat and South Gujarat basis and members go on threatening Governments with defections, I am afraid the World Bank will not give loan or other assistance. Questions like this have to be solved dispassionately.

The second problem that I would refer to the location of the atomic power station. Two years back we had decided upon this scheme: that an atomic power station must be included in the present Plan of the Gujarat State. Now I am here speaking with some knowledge, experience and expertise. When the decision was made regarding first atomic power station, Tarapore, the first atomic power station of India, I had something to do with that decision. Then with Dr. Bhabha, the Chairman of the Central Water & Power Commission and myself as Chairman of the Bombay State Electricity Board, it was decided in principle—only in principle—that the atomic power station there should be established in Bombay State and the State Electricity Board should adopt that scheme. This was under certain conditions. Sir, I submit that within four months of this decision, the site of Tarapore was selected and a Project Officer started preparing the detailed project estimates. But no progress has been made until today though more than a year has passed since the decision was made, though we have a Committee for this purpose, with the same Project Officer as the Chairman of this Committee. I mean Mr. Chakravarty of the Atomic Power Commission. We do not even now know where the power station will be located. I had emphasized earlier that a decision regarding the location is very necessary because only after this can be done the work of providing *infra structure*. This is provided by the State Government, and unless the location is known, it will not be possible for the State Government to provide this *infra structure*—roads, bridges, etc. Therefore, I appeal to the Central authorities that they may expedite decision, brush up their officers and see that a decision is soon made so that Gujarat may not continue to be starved of electric power.

The next problem is Narbada—somebody

referred to earlier; so I will not go into the details about the Narbada Project. Now, the Gujarat Governor has been coming here, consulting the Central authorities and telling us that the Centre and the Prime Minister will do everything to expedite the decision on this. Sir, the matter is before the Tribunal, and we know what little can be done. But there is a fundamental issue involved and that is this: unless you use some political pressure, some persuasion, it is going to be impossible to solve this problem, by a mere reference to the Tribunal. Look at the progress that has been made since 1969. Madhya Pradesh is putting obstacles. Madhya Pradesh has a government of the same political party as at the Centre. Cannot the Centre or the Prime Minister at least persuade the Madhya Pradesh Government not to be obstructive in this matter? It is up to the Centre, within the six months available, to take steps to expedite the decision. This much can be done even though the matter is before the Tribunal. You are promising that this decision will be coming in 1972. All right, Sir. But then even after the decisions of the Tribunal are available, it is the Centre, and the Centre alone, that will have to take up the matter in its hand and implement the decision. Sir, I submit that the powers of implementation are lacking today, and I appeal to the Constitutional pundits here to examine this, otherwise all your Tribunals may be rendered ineffective for lack of constitutional provisions that can permit the Central Government to implement the decision. The provision enabling implementation is sadly lacking. The Minister of Irrigation & Power three years ago made a statement—a very definite statement—in this House that our laws regarding such disputes are defective; they are not good. He wanted that they should be improved. Two and a half years have passed. Are we to work under the same defective laws and continue with the tribunals that can only function under the very defective laws? Sir, we are misleading the people; we are not giving them the facts. It is not a question that Gujarat alone has to face. It is a question other States will have to face also, and the Narmada dispute is as much a dispute or trouble to Madhya Pradesh as to Gujarat, and I appeal that before the next General Elections something positive is done. A decision on this matter is very likely to affect the course of the elections. The

Centre should do all that is in its power, should see that the different processes are expedited either at the tribunal level or under some other provisions that are helpful to some extent and are available in the existing Constitution.

Lastly, Sir, I will say though very hesitatingly the one, single problem that is agitating the minds of the people of Gujarat as a whole. An excellent recital of the achievements of Gujarat State has been made earlier. I am one of those who agree that good progress has been made. I do not think commendable progress has been made but good progress has certainly been made. Now, Sir, certain disadvantages have also been encountered by the new developing State, and an important one is the establishment of the new capital at Gandhinagar. The decision to have a new capital was taken one day, decision that a new capital be established. I make bold to say, Sir, that the decision was a subjective decision, and it has been implemented, I am afraid, —for want of another better word I would say—under duress. And what is the result? The bifurcation of Bombay State allowed an expenditure only to the extent of Rs. 10 crores for the rehabilitation of the Government of the new State of Gujarat, for housing the administrative machinery. Bifurcation was all right, but where was the need for the establishment of a new capital for Gujarat? What was shifted from Bombay on the eve of the bifurcation? A small wing of Government, the Ministry, a section of the Secretariat and other administrative personnel, the Legislature and the High Court. Does this require the establishment of a new city as capital? This question has not been faced and decisions have been taken without any consideration of the financial burdens involved. Rs. 10 crores only were thought sufficient. That was the provision made in the bifurcation arrangement. But the estimates of the new capital, I am told, are exceeding Rs. 50 crores, Rs. 60 crores. I have further heard it mentioned in responsible quarters in Government that the estimates may go up to Rs. 100 crores. Apart from this financial burden of a capital nature, the recurring cost of the maintenance of the services is going to be colossal. And what is the condition today? I had, in preparing the earlier report, which the very Government implemented to a large extent, pointed out the difficulties of having a separate town,

a town distant from Ahmedabad. All those precautions were ignored, and each one of the difficulties pointed out is being experienced in the Gandhinagar area where the Government have started shifting. Under this arrangement, right from the Chief Secretary to the *chaprasi* none is happy. And what have the rulers done? Who have shifted? All the Ministers have continued staying in Ahmedabad. They all have double residences, may be with the exception of one or two. All the administrative officers, the Secretaries to Government, the Heads of Departments, they, even after one year, continue to remain at Ahmedabad, and they travel, clubbing together alternately using one officer's car for their transport. This is all right for the Ministers, all right for the higher-ups. What about the poor people? Every man, that has some business to do with Government, does not come merely to dance attendance on Ministers. He has many things to do. He has many things to do in the city (Ahmedabad) and he has to waste his time in this day-to-day travel to the new capital. And these conditions are going to increase.

With the present-day needs of the frequent and close contact between ministers, administrative personnel, leaders of public opinion, social workers and the people as a whole, location of the seat of Government has a great influence on the social and economic life of the people. As the need of travel of the public to the seat of Government must continue to increase at a rapid pace, in a democratic society, governed by a Welfare State and having a controlled economy, distance becomes an important element of overall social costs.

Viewing from a different angle, I would also stress that a State Capital cannot be developed or redeveloped in this case as a mere scheme for official accommodation or a housing scheme for Government and administrative personnel. A capital has an integral role to play in the life of the State and cannot exist solely as a campus for the Government. To fulfil its legitimate role, arrangements must aim at providing a balanced development reflecting the correct cross-section of the population of the State. There has to be a good social and economic balance; a representative mixture of social groups should be aimed at and facilities for

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intermingling provided. Any permanent over-segregation should be scrupulously avoided. Unless this is achieved, not only would the inmates of the capital be condemned to an isolated and insular existence — unthinkable for any administration in a democracy—but the general population subjected to innumerable hardships and privations.

At this stage, what is the solution? That may be a relevant question. Are we here, am I here, to condemn what has been done? I submit that we may examine the question as to why the location was shifted to Gandhinagar.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu): What is the distance between Gandhinagar and Ahmedabad?

SHRI U. N. MAHIDA: May be 16-18 miles, depending where you start. It is neither a "distant" town nor a nearby development; it is a cross. What then is the remedy? Is the decision irrevocable? These are the questions that the present administration can take up. If revoked, will it involve large losses and waste of assets? The answer is 'No' emphatically. Solution can be found in utilising the capital assets without much loss, if any—and as an engineer I am weighing my words and I am careful of my figures. I have information to warrant an assumption that we can retrace the process and yet avoid losses. Central co-operation will be necessary. Almost full and purposeful utilisation of assets created is practicable.

The Governor has wisely stopped all new constructions. The interregnum provided by the President's rule affords an opportunity to review the situation and reconsider the whole matter. I appeal to the Central and State administrations to afford all facilities for reviewing the situation in a dispassionate manner. And on no account free expression of public opinion should be stifled. The question is of such vital importance as would qualify as one of the issues to be thrashed out during the next Assembly elections in Gujarat and if this is done the people of Gujarat—the poor people of Gujarat—will bless those who can bring out a reasonable and stable solution.

SHRIMATI PUSHPABEN JANARDAN-RAI MEHTA: Before he replies, he may clarify certain points. Who had selected the site? Who was the Minister at that time? Who was the P. W. D. Minister?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am grateful to the Members who have participated in this debate for their contributions. Not all the speeches have been confined to the strict limits of this debate but we have had some interesting discourses and dialogues, for instance, the dialogue between Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Rajnarain, and it is perhaps not a strictly relevant dialogue, which enlivened the debate in this House. My friend, Shri Mahida spoke with an engineer's precision about the main subject. It was interesting and I am grateful to him for his contribution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Whatever may have the dialogue or monologue, we have now the epilogue of Shri Rajnarain.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am particularly grateful to my hon. friend Shri Manubhai Shah, for his contribution. I found some Opposition Members were objecting to the manner in which he spoke. He spoke frankly and even they will agree that he spoke with knowledge of both the sides.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: It was a confession.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He spoke with knowledge.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is obvious.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He spoke after knowing fully well what the company of my friends meant and he spoke with inside knowledge. Therefore his words carried greater weight even though they may cause greater irritation. . .

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: His words did not carry great weight.

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवसकर : गंगा गये तो गंगादास और जमुना गये तो जमुनादास, वही हिसाब है उनका ।

SHRI K. C. PANT: Shrimati Mehta spoke with great feelings. I think all sections of the House will agree that so far as the people of Gujarat go, all of us have great admiration for them. We have admiration for their magnificent contribution to the freedom struggle, for their patriotism, for the hard work they have put in and for whatever they have achieved in the years since freedom. The criticism was not of the people but of the Government and therefore, if she had listened very carefully to what I said, then she would have been saved of the obvious sense of pain and regret in which she spoke. The people of Gujarat have certainly made some contribution of which I spoke but when she says why was it necessary to remove the Government, she was implying as though something was done which caused a Government to go. The fact of the matter is. Mr. Hitendra Desai resigned first, as I said, on the 31st March, 1971. But when he came to the Governor and said that he could not form a Government it is not as though the Governor acted in a hurry and either dissolved the Assembly or called someone else to form the Government. That did not happen. The Governor waited and gave him a chance. When he came back he claimed that he had a majority and a very unusual thing happened. The same Chief Minister formed the Government again. This was on the 7th April when he again formed the Government. There was a gap of seven days in between. My hon. friends have talked so much of horse trading and other things. I would like to remind them that Shri Hitendra Desai resigned on 31st March and mustered enough majority to come back and again form the Government on 7th April. Are they accusing him of horse trading? Are they accusing him of having used money in order to win over the MLAs? Is this the way they talk of their own Chief Minister?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Who practised horse trading?

SHRI K. C. PANT: My hon. friends talked of horse trading; that means that Shri Hitendra Desai indulged in horse trading.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: There was horse trading on your part.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Facts speak for themselves.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Yes; facts speak for themselves. You know it very well.

SHRI K. C. PANT: This is very unusual, as I said, for the same Chief Minister to form the Government again. My hon. friend, Shri Manubhai Shah has spoken.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Why do you quote Mr. Manubhai Shah?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Why are you so irritated?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am not irritated.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You had your say.

SHRI K. C. PANT: In bits and pieces he has had his say throughout.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: No, no. I did not speak.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Shri Manubhai Shah spoke of the size of the Government and he explained how at no time in the history of Gujarat had Gujarat had so many Ministers; at no time had it had the device of panels in which more people could be accommodated. I think in his powerful speech he demonstrated beyond doubt and question that the temptation of office was used liberally in Gujarat during those last days before the Ministry fell to keep the Ministry together. These are facts which speak for themselves and I need not embellish them.

Sir, my hon. friend, Shri Shejwalkar, also spoke of the use of money and he seemed to suggest that just because some congressman was going round at 12 o'clock or 1 o'clock he succeeded in luring away opposition members with money. Sir, I have far greater respect for Opposition members than he himself seems to have. He seems to think that his own partymen and those who are his supporters get lured away by money. I do not share that feeling. I may say that I have greater respect for people who have been elected by the people of our country and I expect those MLAs to observe certain standards. My hon. friend, Shri Shejwalkar,

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does not seem to share this feeling. He cast very serious doubts and aspersions on people who are supporting him because when he says that money was used the implication is that the people who are supporting him are prey to this weakness and if money is offered they could be made to change over. I do not think so. I have respect for him and his colleagues. And, Sir, to top it all, as I think, Shri Bhupesh Gupta mentioned, we have seen instances in this House where some hon. friends have come to us. Is it suggested that here also money was offered?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Who knows?

SHRI K. C. PANT: That is precisely the point. This is the respect in which they hold their own colleagues.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am only questioning your methods.

SHRI K. C. PANT: After all till yesterday they were with them; till yesterday they were paragons of virtue. Today because they have come over to this side they have fallen so low as to be capable of being tempted by money and greed. He asked me: एक रात में क्या फर्क हो गया ।

May I offer an explanation which is the obvious explanation but which many hon. friends have tried to evade and avoid? The plain fact of the matter is that the policies and programmes of the Congress Party and the Prime Minister won overwhelming support in the elections to the Lok Sabha and these have changed the political temper of the country, and the M.L.As. who are political beings have certainly responded to this change. They look ahead to their own election in the next elections, and it is commonsense that many of them who share our ideology and who have no personal animus against the Prime Minister or any of us naturally prefer at this stage in Indian politics to get on the right side of the right party. This is so obvious that I did not think that this would need any explanation, and this is the reason why we are seeing in so many States examples of persons coming and joining the Congress Party. At no stage have we offered them Ministerships. We have not made them

Minister wherever they have come over. Let my hon. friends cite one instance where we have after the elections made any one Minister who has crossed over, any defector, any single instance. They will find no instance where the lure of office has drawn anybody. Therefore, we have not broken those standards or reduced those standards which we think ought to inform the political life of this country. But does that mean that when politicians, MLAs, in their judgment and out of faith and conviction decide to come over and help today the Prime Minister and our party in reconstructing this country, in developing it, in a manner which answers the aspirations of the large mass of the people of this country in accordance with our policies and programmes which they have accepted—is that anything to sneer at? I think it is the duty of our friends and any friends still of the opposition who believe in these things, who believe that our way is right, who believe that democracy and socialism should survive in this country and that we should work to ameliorate the condition of the large masses of the people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not a question of belief that socialism and democracy will survive, that is all bogus. It is the faith and belief that they can survive.

SHRI K. C. PANT: My hon. friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, has chosen to interrupt me. I wish he had not, because I am now reminded of his speech; when he called both the Congresses in Gujarat reactionary, when he tried to minimise the importance of the Congress Party in Gujarat, I thought that he was perhaps gratuitously running down our party and I began to think about it, because this is not his normal way, and so it seemed to me that this was an expression of his disappointment and regret that his party does not have a major base there. But why work out that disappointment on us? I did not expect him to support us in these circumstances. Instead of trying to run down the progressive elements now in our party who after an uphill task have today established themselves in Gujarat a word of encouragement from him was expected at this stage.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You should bear with me. I think there are individuals. I should like to know the individuals' names.

That is my difficulty. As you know my response to progressive elements within the Congress is very great.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I was only reminding him that there were many people in the Congress Party who fought an uphill battle, political battle, inside the Congress Party in Gujarat over a period of months and ultimately they have succeeded there in establishing themselves. At this moment for him to come out with this statement I do not think, if I may say with great respect, even politically wise.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They have succeeded only after the mid-term election results.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: Election results were also the success, the first success.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right, the great Congressmen of Gujarat did not show their mettle till the nation, despite them, had routed the reactionaries in the election. After that, well, many things happened. They are *en masse* shifting to you. Would they have done it before the election?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, Shri Rajnarain—I am sorry he is not here. . .

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I ask one question? Does he survive under your mercy or not?

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE (Uttar Pradesh): He does.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I have nothing really to say to my friend Shri Rajnarain except that when he rejects our Government as being anti-socialistic, that is quite a big certificate because we have seen the kind of socialistic Government which he supports. It was a socialistic Government in UP with Mr. T.N. Singh as the Chief Minister and with the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party as the constituents. If this is his concept of a socialistic Government, I am glad he does not think that our Government is socialistic.

He made certain very irresponsible statements about some gentleman, Shri Kapoor, who has gone to Bihar, and so on. He has made very irresponsible statements about him.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल (बिहार) : यह ठीक है । आप दरिपास्त कर सकते हैं ।

SHRI K. C. PANT: The statements, were utterly baseless and I repudiate them.

Now, Sir, the trouble with my friend, Shri Mandal, is that when he cannot keep his MLAs in line, he must find a scape-goat.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : या कपूर आजकल पटना में हैं या नहीं, इस बात को दरिपास्त कीजिये ।

SHRI K. C. PANT: He is welcome. Is it suggested that all these months that his Government is kept together, it is kept together with the lure of office and money? It is obvious. The political climate has changed and this is the logical response. The change in the political climate ushered in by the Lok Sabha elections is now being played out to its logical conclusion in the States. That is all that is happening and how can they resist it?

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : वह बात नहीं है । श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र की जो जांच हुई है वही श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र रुपये दे कर सबको फोड़ रहे हैं ।

SHRI K. C. PANT: I do not know how Mr. Mishra could do it. He was not even in India, he was outside somewhere when all this was happening. I am amazed at their capacity for self-deception. They want to escape into a world of fantasy. The reality is that they are losing their MLAs. Can we help it? We are not enticing them but if they lose their MLAs, if they cannot keep them together, why blame us? Why not turn the search-light inwards? That is all my request to Shri Mandal would be.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can certainly help them by putting the CRP around them and the SSP MLAs.

SHRI K. C. PANT: At least a good word for the CRP from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

My hon. friend, Shri Subramania Menon, also talked of monolithic control, State power and so on. Sir, he also cannot understand the

[Shri K. C. Pant]

simple processes of democracy and the fact that the people of this country like our policies and programmes and have supported us in the Lok Sabha elections, and that we have come to the Lok Sabha with a strength of 350. They support the Prime Minister and her policies. In order to explain this simple fact, he had to go into a very long discourse in very dialectical terms. So, if he saw the obvious, the people are with us. And in this situation if he wants to comfort himself by logic, well, he is free to do so, and that he seems to have done. Sir, there was a reference by Shri Menon and some others to the fact that the outgoing Government had made Higher Secondary education free and then later on this was changed. This point has already been touched by my hon'ble friend, Shri Manubhai Shah. Sir, the point is simple. Even now education for girls up to the Secondary level and for boys up to the Primary level is free. The question, therefore, is of education for boys above the Primary stage and up to the Secondary stage. My friend, Shri Manubhai Shah, said that there had been demand to make this free from time to time. But what happened was that at the last minute practically, Shri Hitendra Desai, the outgoing Chief Minister, announced that Secondary Education for boys would be free. Later on it was found that he had announced this even without the authority of the State Cabinet. He had not even gone to the State Cabinet with this and the State Cabinet did not approve of this proposal. Rather the State Cabinet had always opposed it on the ground that they did not have the resources to push through this reform which was desirable in itself but for which the State would have to find the resources. So what the Governor has now done, as he explained, is to make full freeship to students whose parents or guardians, from all sources, have an income which does not exceed Rs. 3,600 per year and half freeship where it does not exceed Rs. 4,800 per year. That is, those who can afford, even by ordinary standards, to pay for the Secondary Education of their sons should be asked to do so, and the poorer people should all be given free education. This is roughly what he has done, and this seems to me to be a more rational arrangement. Of course, it would be desirable to make Secondary Education completely free. And that is always possible for any popular Government which comes through in Guja-

rat. Just now for the Governor or the President to accept a liability on behalf of the State which would cast continuing burden on the people of the State how far that would be correct is a question that all of us have to consider.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can make it up out of the educational cess on the very rich. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You are making a supplementary speech. What was the time lag between the passing of this legislation and the announcement?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I would not be able to say precisely. Shri Manubhai Shah said 24 hours.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: If the measure is good, why do you not accept it?

SHRI K. C. PANT: This is a question of propriety also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Accept this measure. Issue an ordinance or a Presidential Order to tax the rich in Ahmedabad or Gujarat and make them pay. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You are making another supplementary speech.

SHRI K. C. PANT: My friend would have carried greater conviction with me if during the U. F. regime in Bengal he had done something similar. Unfortunately, even primary education is not completely free everywhere.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: It is free in Kerala.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am very glad it is free in Kerala. Many other good things have happened in the past but no single Government can claim credit for all of them.

My hon'ble friend, Shrimati Mehta, asked me whether the President's Rule would be fair and whether it would see to the development of the State. As I said earlier, Sir, we want to restore elected, popular Government.

to the State as soon as possible. We have to wait for the end of the Monsoons and for the end of the process for correcting the electoral rolls.

SHRIBHUPESH GUPTA: Do you want to say that politics would be pure after showers?

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SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, we would like to have the elections as early as possible after that. In the meantime, as I said in the opening statement, the Government will certainly try with the help of the people of the State and public opinion in the State, leaders of public opinion and Members of Parliament from the State and others who would be in the Consultative Committee here, to provide an administration which would take an active interest in the development of the State and in its needs and requirements and particularly in ameliorating the condition of a large section of the population which is backward, which consists of tribals and Harijans and for which a lot more needs to be done. We shall do our best, although in the short time available to President's rule, we cannot work miracles. But I do hope that the Administration there will acquit itself creditably in this task.

Sir, in the end, I would like to endorse what Mr. Manubhai Shah said, that our party

in Gujarat will function in tune with the ideas, programmes and policies of our party in Delhi led by the Prime Minister, and it will try to see that the next elected Government of Gujarat will be a progressive Government and will bring in policies and programmes which we hold dear and that it will redeem its pledges to the people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One question, Sir. Now that Gujarat is under them, will they consider the advisability of starting a small ashram there where Mr. Morarji Desai can retire?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 13th May, 1971, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Gujarat."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 1st June, 1971.