

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Sir, a very serious situation has arisen in the country in view of the newspaper reports that the government has decided to take over the import of cotton and also the internal cotton trade. The cotton trade is passing through great difficulties and three lakhs of families would be dislodged by this and they are observing a country-wide 'hartal' tomorrow. Not only that, a 'satyagraha' is going to be started tomorrow at the Cotton Advisory Committee meeting to be held here at Udyog Bhavan. In view of this, I would request that the government, when the Minister is going to make a statement today at 5 o'clock, bears in mind the demands of the cotton trade.

The demands are: Firstly, not to canalise the import trade, secondly, not to take away the internal cotton trade, thirdly, it is about huge cotton trading and fourthly, about the discrimination of credit. They get only 30% whereas others are getting 100% on cotton. I would request that you kindly direct the Minister to take these facts into consideration when he makes the statement today. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Perhaps you will refer to all these points when the Minister makes the statement at 5 o'clock today. Now, the House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

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

The house reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair

RESOLUTION *RE* ALARMING DETERIORATION IN THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IN SEVERAL REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER PRESIDENT'S RULE

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This House takes a grave view of the alarming deterioration that has occurred during the past few months in the maintenance of law and order in several regions of the country, particularly in the territories under President's rule, and regrets the

failure of the Government to take effective and timely steps to curb and suppress the disruptive and subversive forces that are progressively gaining ascendancy in the country, with the result that people are fast losing faith in the security of their lives and property."

Sir, it might perhaps be argued that this Resolution pertains to law and order which is a State subject but, as the House knows, there are about 5 or 6 articles in the Constitution which throw a much greater responsibility on the Centre for the maintenance of law and order. For example under articles 365, 256 and 257 the Central Government can intervene. There are many others also but I will deal with them later when questions are put.

Sir, I have tabled this Resolution as I feel that if the lesson of both medieval and modern history is taken to heart, we may yet save the country from the disaster that threatens our security, and also our political stability.

No one can read the history of the day of Warren Hastings without realising that this agent of the East India Company justified his interference in the affairs of the Indian regime at the time by stating that it was not possible to carry on trade of the company without first assuring the maintenance of law and order. Any one can see that the conditions that existed at the time of Warren Hastings more than a century ago have recurred in Calcutta and a large part of Bengal and other States.

We have the example of Indonesia in modern times. The late President Soekarno, the idol of the people, was led up the 'garden path' by Communists in his own country, and by the flattery indulged in by Peking. Their policy was to uphold the prestige of Soekarno and decry all his colleagues. The same policy was followed in India during Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's time. The instructions to the local party were that they must uphold Nehru's position and decry all the rest of his comrades. The policy behind this was that in Indonesia, Soekarno, they recognised was the biggest opponent or enemy and therefore his position must be upheld so that his patronage may be available always and when the positions of all his comrades were decried and they lost their prestige. Soekarno, the biggest opponent, would be

the single person left, then the zero hour will come, he will be thrown out and dictatorship will be established. Soekarno brought the economy of his country to ruin and undermined its political stability by letting the foreign agents infiltrate into every part of the country's life. Indonesia was saved in time miraculously by the army which has earned the love and respect of the people for the part it had played in the movement of maintaining their sovereignty because, when the zero hour came and they were to establish their dictatorship, the army marched in and it saved the country. Immediately instruction was issued to India to go on with the policy of supporting Jawaharlal Nehru and that the zero hour would not come so long as they did not have enough influence in the army and police of India. Therefore our zero hour did not come but I am afraid there are some other tactics being used these days. The conditions in India do not yet approximate to those that brought about the final crisis in Indonesia. This is because ours is a large country and it has both good patches and bad as well but there are parts of India, where the state of lawlessness and depredations by the so-called extremists or by whatever names they are called, has created a state of anarchy. I am willing to concede that the Prime Minister and the former Home Minister and indeed the Cabinet as a whole, are keen to see this country enjoy security and political stability. I recognise the intention and also they want to promote measures to ensure economic and social justice. But we, on these Benches, have to judge the Government not by their intentions, which are publicised at large but by their actual performance and indeed, by the final product of their policies and tactics. Obviously the final product is chaos and instability which we are facing to-day. I concede that the present tribe of politicians has to resort to political manoeuvres both to attain power and to retain it. But obviously the means adopted for this purpose are not always moral. Politicians too have to observe a code of behaviour. If power politics are pursued, by all means, fair or foul, then we will have to say goodbye to the system of representative Government altogether. Let us be quite clear about one thing. Whether it is a capitalists, socialist or communist regime the first priority is the maintenance of law and order. So far as parliamentary democracy is concerned, its first postulate is law and order and competent and honest administration so that socio-economic

problems are well conceived and suitable measures for their solution are duly implemented. Socialist and communist regimes go a step further. They introduce authoritarian regimes backed by their Gestapo so that every individual works to order and becomes a part of the monolithic machine. But it is a measure which our Government cannot resort to, because it would not be popular.

I am thankful to my stars that the ballot box gave me the opportunity to head the list of Resolutions. My Resolution is intended to convey to the Government the feelings of the House on subjects that concern our masses very deeply. Perhaps I have deserved this boon because of the fifty years I have spent in the service of the people. I belong to the army of freedom fighters. But the freedom we fought for was to meant only for those who occupy Ministerial offices; it was meant for the whole society. But, unfortunately, what we see today is that our labours are lost altogether, and we feel as I had once expressed it in a couplet in Urdu :

“क्या इसलिये चुनवाए थे तकदीर ने तिनके,
कि बन जाएं नशेमन तो कोई आग लगा दे।”

This is the condition we are facing today. आज हमारी हालत यह है :

“अपने चमन में घूमता हूं मिस्ले अजनबी,
शाखों शजर वही है मगर आशियां नहीं।”
यह कैफियत हमारी हो गई है।

Sir, Gandhiji had told a prayer meeting in New Delhi on September, 1947, that “in a democracy the individual will was governed and limited by the ‘social will’ which was the State, which was governed by and for democracy. If every individual took the law into his own hands, there was no State; it became anarchy, that is, absence of social law or State.”

Now, Sir, increasing resort to ‘violent means’ for the achievement of personal ends, and mounting disregard for law and order, have caused a great anxiety and alarm, to the whole nation today. The other day, under the very nose of the Prime Minister, here in Delhi, more than a hundred officers of the Hindustan Housing Factory were nearly burnt alive by the workers of the factory, and were rescued

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only in the nick of time. They were locked up in their offices and the whole building was set on fire, and the fire brigade was prevented from putting out the fire. It was lucky that the officers were saved, but that was a mass action taken by the employees of a public sector project. This epidemic of violence, which started with 'Gheraos' in West Bengal, has spread like wild fire all over the country today. 'Gheraos' were considered by the West Bengal United Front Ministers as a legitimate means of getting the labour grievances redressed. That is what their Minister's view was. But it soon recoiled on Government and the very Ministers of the Government were 'gheraoed' by their own staff. Why did this Government not intervene? Things of that nature went on unchecked because of the weakness of the Government to stick to power. Because they are getting some direct or indirect support from those parties, they would not intervene; that is obvious. Every citizen talks about it today, and I am not moving this Resolution with a view to condemn the Government. But I want to tell the truth and I hope my colleagues on the other side—Many of them are greater patriots than I, and I know they have got a pure heart—I hope they too will appreciate the truth of the matter.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) Question.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Their partial loyalty may be there but their hearts still remain the same as they were about twenty years earlier.

Now, Sir, there was the case of looting of a special train—very lately I read about it—there was the case of looting of a special train carrying arms and ammunition in West Bengal. But no action has been taken. The Head Master of a school and two others were stabbed to death in a village in Assansol. And this is what is happening today everywhere. I have collected a few instances; it would be difficult to narrate the whole of what is happening. But unfortunately, the Government, a responsible body of Ministers, politicians, representatives of the people, is keeping quiet. 1,200 cases involving murders, arson and other serious crimes were withdrawn by the United Front Government of West Bengal because they pertained to "democratic movement". You don't intervene; you remain quiet. You only read the papers. Is the Central Government meant only to read the papers and

sit silently? Everybody knew of this but no action was taken. They declared in so many words that they were going to be released because they belonged to democratic movements. So it comes to this that indirectly the Central Government have agreed to the position that if there is any murder committed in the struggle for the so-called "democratic movement" that person, that murderer will be immune from prosecution. The Indian Penal Code stands suspended as far as such persons are concerned. If with a red flag or with some other foreign country's influence or money someone takes recourse to such actions they are immune. This is what it comes to. Is it not a matter of shame? Apart from the Government, even we, Members of Parliament, should take the blame. After all, we also share some responsibility with the Government; it is not as if the Government alone is to be criticised. Let the Government appreciate that we Members of Parliament, Members of the Opposition as well, are responsible in a way. People ask the Members of Parliament, what the hell are you doing? We have to defend the Parliament and for that purpose our hands must be strengthened. The Government should not act in such a manner that we have to move about with a guilty conscience in the country. These cases were withdrawn and the Government did not take any action. Thirty-five people were killed on March 17th alone when the CPM organised a Bandh following Ajoy Mukherjee's resignation. This incident went unheard, no one bothered. What does it matter? So long as a Minister of the Central Cabinet is not killed we do not bother. Even then also we shall express our condolence, pass a resolution and have a holiday.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) :
And adjourn the House.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Another movement started. You will be surprised to know about it. I am sorry the hon. Prime Minister is not here today; I wanted to convey to her but I hope my friend would do it.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh) : You should be happy she is not here.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : I shall be happy if she is not here but she has a claim to be here. The total number of murders

committed since the last elections, since 1st March, 1967 to 31st January 1970, is 22,922.

AN HON. MEMBER: Are they political murders?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: I do not know; many of them should have been political murders. Wherever the murderer has been released you can take it that the murder was political. This is their law today. 22,922 murders were committed in the country and still we boast that law and order is well maintained and that we are doing our best. These figures are not mine. To an unstarred question No. 934 in this very House on 13th March 1970, this was the reply given by the Government themselves. Every day we read about them in the papers. 360 people raided the police station at Raigunj and manhandled the officer; two granades were burst. On the 4th June six Congress workers were stabbed brutally in Burdwan in the court where some case was going on. On 6th June robbers decamped with Rs. 1 lakh in Asansol. On the 7th June in Jhamaj gram, Jalpaiguri District, 1,000 men armed with bows and arrows attacked a refugee village and killed 15 persons. So, mass raids of that nature are going on and killings are going on. Even then perhaps my friends on the other side might oppose my Resolution. They may say nothing is happening. It is normal. Seventeen boys in Mauj village in Madhya Pradesh with a school teacher were kidnapped. Just a gang comes and kidnaps 17 children from a school...

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA (Madhya Pradesh): It is 3.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: The teacher and four others also and twenty-two persons were kidnapped. They have not been traced. It was about fifteen days ago.

Another point is this. With the implied consent of the Central Government the land grab agitation is going on. It is fast getting recognition now. The Kisan Party is involved in it. In Punjab the SSP and CPM also are involved. The SSP has not yet started it. They are also having something up their sleeves. Why this land grab movement? It attracts a few people who are landless and for the purpose of capturing their votes and their sympathy they start this movement. Land grabbing can be followed by another type of grabbing. Suppose another political

party comes up in the field and says: Grab these houses. Those persons who have no shelter must grab the houses of others. Start another big movement and so many thousands of people can grab the houses. Then, grab the necklaces of ladies and grab their ornaments. Anything can be grabbed because it is a mass movement and it is started by politicians. Therefore, they cannot be prosecuted. They will be immune from prosecution...

The Leader of the opposition (SHRI S. N. MISHRA): And murder is body grabbing.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Yes. What is happening is this. Newspapers of various parties are preaching violence. There is one newspaper the "Deshabrati". I do not know, but my friends coming from Bengal might be knowing and some of them might also be associated with it. There is a news column in it saying: So many people we have finished and so much land we have grabbed. Openly in the paper it is given: So many persons finished today, so many landlords finished and so much of land was grabbed. Now, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, is the editor of the 'New Age'. I had a chance of peeping into the issue of July 19. There is a headline saying: 28,000 acres occupied so far in Orissa in the land-grab movement.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Fictitious.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Then, on the 12th July it is written: 50,000 acres taken in three days. Then on July 26, it is written: 1,000 acres of Nazul land occupied so far in Nagpur district. In Assam 33,000 acres of land have already been occupied. Their target is one lakh acres. These things are given out, but these papers cannot be stopped and cannot be checked. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta happens to be an old friend of the Treasury Benches. They have a weakness for him. This is the way in which it is being done. In the old Muslim days the Kazi would not spare even his own son. If his own son had committed a crime, he would be hanged immediately. The Kazi's justice was better than the justice you are giving today.

Then, foreign funds are being utilised for these agitations. There is no doubt about it. The Home Minister informed the Consultative Committee—I read it in the papers the other day—that he would introduce legislation in the winter session to prevent entry of foreign money for

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political purposes. That goes to show that the claim of those people who say that foreign money is being utilised for this purpose is true. Even the Home Minister knows it. Now perhaps nothing can be done because the Home Minister, Mr. Chavan, had so far had the Intelligence Department or other Departments with him.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : It is with the Prime Minister.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : It will not be with him now because the Ministry has been changed.

Orissa documents seized in Ganjam district indicate preparation for gerilla warfare by peasants. Then another information. Obviously everybody knows that Assam is the target of Chinese agents. Very soon they are going to declare it as an independent nation of their own separate from India. Like Queen Binh they will also be recognised because they will be representatives . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : Who is Queen Binh ?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Queen Binh who came here the other day.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam) : That is all from his own imagination.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Whether it is Queen Binh or Princes . . .

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI : Fantastic imagination.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Very soon we will see.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI : What is the source of his information that very soon the Chinese agents were going to declare Assam as an independent nation of their own separate from India.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat) : They have their own press, they have their means.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Politicians must see the writing on the wall. Even without writing, they must have vision. And now in Assam there are regular

posters. The writing on the wall need not be imagined, now you can virtually see it.

Considerable quantities of explosives bombs and firearms are stored in a village in Orissa. This is not only a small cell. This is spread over. The situation has become too serious. I do not know how my colleagues feel. I feel that in this connection even the opposition must lend its support to the Government in their efforts to suppress these things. The whole House must unanimously stand by the Government if the Government is prepared to take strong action and do the needful. After all it is in the interests of the country as a whole.

In Andhra Pradesh they are operating in Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, Krishna, Guntur, Nizamabad, Warrangal and Nalgonda districts.

In Assam circulation of posters and leaflets on Mao's ideology goes on in Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Shibsagar, Lakhimpur and Cachar districts. They are all flooded by these things. They are praising Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi's photograph is not despoiled or damaged, but the photographs of Gandhiji and Tagore are despoiled.

AN HON. MEMBER : There is a peaceful revolution in Assam.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Mao's posters are being put there.

Then this is about Bihar. There was the Secretary of your party, your Congress, you call it the Congress (R)—
रोती हुई कांग्रेस It is said here :

"Mr. Singh who returned here after a tour of Kursaila, Mansi, Khagaria, Naugachia and Bibpur told the representative"

SHRI A. D. MANI : What is that paper ?

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh) : Indian Nation.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : "... tension gripped these areas because of the land grab movement of the CPI".

CPI means Congress Party (Indira).

3 P. M.

"Kisans on the one hand and the CPI and the CPM on the other, Mr. Singh said, had made all preparations and

large-scale violence and bloodshed might occur in case the Government connived at forcible occupation of lands.

"He said that only the other day the entire maize crop in the field of a Muslim gentleman of Kursaila was forcibly harvested at night by the Naxalites.

"A similar report came from village Agwanpur in Barh P. S. Mr. Singh said.

"He said that kisans of the district of Purnea had organised a big rally on July 30 to build a strong public opinion against forcible occupation of land."

Whatever the kisans may do, this Government has not moved its little finger about it. The land grab movement may go on on a large scale in the whole country. After the land grab they may take to some other grab also. Those who have grabbed lands have not been ejected by the Government so far. This is all trespass. It is a crime under the Criminal Procedure Code. But no action is taken against them. Juggiwallas come on a large scale and occupy the land whether it is Government or private. The Doshbrati paper says that they have grabbed the lands. They boast about it. But nothing is done. Consternation was created amongst the extremists when President's rule was imposed for some time in West Bengal. For some time there was no trouble or violence and they disappeared from the streets of Calcutta. Perhaps it was a loss to the Government. I do not know why the Governor should immediately announce that the police would act with restraint and would not interfere with political activities. This is an official announcement made by our Allahabad citizen, the Governor of West Bengal. Well, I am told that he is there because of some legal qualifications and also perhaps . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Political qualifications.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : . . . because he has been a Naxalite or something. In Orissa where there was recently the Orissa Bandh, the radio station was attacked by its own employees on the Bandh day. The Director telephoned to the Inspector General. It is my personal information—and the Government

might look into it—that the Inspector General said that no he could not interfere in the matter. Do whatever you like. The best is to talk to your people. Then the Director of the Station came out. The chairs and furniture were being burnt. He asked, "What do you want?" They said, "We want the Station to be closed." He said, "All right, I am closing. Please go." It was closed on that day.

In Bhiwandi there had been killings of a communal nature, of a disgraceful nature. The Prime Minister called a conference of the representatives of the political parties. They took a decision that they would go about and preach unity. I put forward a proposal that the best thing for unity, would be a mass contact, not by means of lectures and speeches alone, because that would be a sort of source of patronising your own leader. But the best thing would be, let every household be approached by people, let their grievances be heard. After all, the Muslims are in a minority. There is no doubt that we have to look after their interests. Scheduled Caste boys are being burnt every day. There was news about it. It is a sensational and disgraceful news. Four boys were burnt. Two Scheduled Caste people were burnt. What is it. After all, those who are in a minority they are specially to be looked after. That is the commitment in the Constitution. That is what every patriot feels. As soon as the Government starts looking into their grievances, immediately they will come and they will be a party to unity. Why not establish unity in this manner? But they feel that if they do so, then the Muslim league support will go somewhere else. That is the difficulty. Your policy depends upon from which corner you are having support. If that is the way, then things will go altogether wrong. I am doing no more than echoing the voice of the people in demanding that the Government ensures the security of life and property. That is all my submission. Do whatever you like. Whether it is in the towns or in the country side anti-social elements, political adventurers, and the Naxalites have caused such a scare that the parents do not feel that their children will return home safe after they have gone to school. Men do not feel that their womenfolk are safe when they go out to fields for work or for shopping or to attend a mela. The situation calls for a searching of heart because it is only if we subordinate our personal ambitions and selfish outlook that we will see the

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problem in the proper perspective. A coloured spectacle of personal interest and a subjective view would not help the country at all.

Sir, I hope the hon'ble Members of this House who are representatives of the States would not look at my resolution with an eye on party prejudice. I appeal to their sense of patriotism to support this proposal which is the real interpretation of the feelings of our people at large.

Sir, there is only one more point which I would like to mention. When the Constitution was in the process of being made I moved a Resolution in the Party. My draft said that there must be mentioned in the Constitution that the Ministers would not interfere in the executive functioning of the Union. The debate went on. I was accustomed to have a little lobby with me. Quite a few senior friends supported me. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was opposed to it. Ultimately when he found that the House was of that trend, he whispered into the ears of Dr. Ambedkar who got up and said, "Mr. Tyagi, if you do not mind, in the Constitution a negative type of article would not look good". And he asked, "Shall I put it in a positive form?" I said, "Yes". He put down that the executive powers of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him and in accordance with the Constitution. We unanimously approved the idea. The idea was not to interfere with the working of the executive officers. Now what is happening today? In the Centre and everywhere the prospects of the officers depend only on the goodwill of the Ministers. Ministers give orders that such and such man may be released or such and such person may be released on bail. Where are the executive officers? They have lost all their sanctions. I regret to say that we have demoralised the whole machinery by calling them bureaucracy. After all, they are also Indians. They are the best selected patriots. If we repose confidence in them they would work vigorously and much better. Today what is happening is this. If anybody takes any action he will be asked to explain. If bombs are thrown on the police and the police lathi charged the unlawful assembly then an enquiry will be instituted against the police because political demands must be met. We appease the politician with the result that whole thing has come into the hands

of the politician who has made a mess of it. I suggest a drastic change in the policy towards our executive officers who are as much patriotic Indians as anybody else. They are not the servants of the British. They are in our own nation's service. These people must be trusted and I am sure they will give you a much better governance. Politicians are like clouds who come and go. But the steel-frame is the Service. If the Services are strengthened, these politicians do not matter. Their job is to lay down the policy but its implementation should be left to the executive. It is only in this way that things could be improved. The situation has to be dealt with with a stronger hand. I would appeal to my colleagues on the other side not to misunderstand me. I have spoken with a sincere heart, and I expect they will also receive my advice with a sense of sincerity. Thank you.

The question was proposed

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) :
Sir, I move :

1. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added, namely :

'and this House is of the considered opinion that the Government of the State under the President's rule run by the bureaucracy divorced from the people cannot cope with the situation and therefore recommends to the President to order fresh poll in order to facilitate the installation of popularly elected representative Government which can alone, with the popular co-operation, ensure the law and order for the people.' "

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL
(West Bengal): Sir, I move:

2. "That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely:—

'and calls for immediate mid-term election with a view to getting a responsible Government in West Bengal.' "

SHRI A. D. MANI : Sir, I move :

3. "(i) That in line 5 of the Resolution, after the words 'of the Government' the words and political parties' be inserted.

(ii) In lines 6-7 of the Resolution, for the words 'are progressively gaining ascendancy' the words 'have been encouraged to gain ascendancy' be substituted.

(iii) In lines 8-9 of the Resolution for the words 'people are fast losing faith in the security of their lives and property' the words 'it has become increasingly difficult to carry on Government in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution with due regard to Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution' be substituted."

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I move :

4. "That in line 4 of the Resolution for the word 'failure' the words 'the utter incapacity' be substituted".

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA (Mysore) : Sir, I move.

5. "That in lines 8-9 of the Resolution, for the words 'in the security of their lives and property' the words 'not only in the security of their lives and property but also in the governance of the country' be substituted".

The questions were proposed.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was under the impression that a great freedom-fighter of the country and great patriot like Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, while moving the Resolution, may perhaps think of his old dreams of independence, may take stock of the situation over the last 23 years and come before the House with some constructive approach. Unfortunately excepting the last part of his speech, I am sorry to say that his whole speech was technical and also political. Looking at the problem that exists in our country to-day, it seems that Mr. Tyagi is under the impression that it is only a law and order problem and he wants to protect the person and property of the people. The question before the country is not the protection of property but the protection of humanity. That is the main problem in the country to-day. It would have been fair on the part of Mr. Tyagi if he had looked at the problem not only as a law and order problem but also as a social and economic problem. Unfortunately this has not been taken into consideration by Mr. Tyagi. I am one with him in regard to the spirit of his Resolution, but not with this part which is absolutely political, which says "This House takes

a grave view of the alarming deterioration that has occurred during the past few months..." Is it true?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Yes.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Is it only during the past few months, or is it right from the days of independence? (*Interruptions*) Sir, I am always happy when so many Members get agitated.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: You are respected by the House for your sincerity.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Shall I take it that Tyagiji absolved the other Prime Ministers of this blame and you are trying to bring them also in to this. You talk of 20 years whereas he talked of only a few months?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): You are also in the whole process he wants to bring in you also.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: He wants to bring me into the game because I had been a Minister.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I am not here to absolve the present Prime Minister or the present Government. But when such an important resolution is being discussed in the House, I feel that we as political leaders in the country should take stock of the situation over the last 23 years and see what was wrong and what was right. It is true that our country can claim to have established democratic institutions. We can claim to have made endeavours to have planned economy in the country. We can also claim industrial, agricultural and educational progress during the last 23 years. But at the same time, how can we forget that in spite of the 23 years of independence, the social and economic disparities remain as they were, or rather have become more aggravated? How can we forget that in this country to-day the secularism for which we fought is being threatened? How can we forget that the unity and integrity of the country is facing a grave challenge from various violent forces having no faith in the Constitution and in democracy? How can we forget that the relations between one State and another, between the Centre and the different States, are strained on many occasions. All this makes us think what is

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going to happen to the unity of this country, what is going to happen to the integrity of this country. In the background of all this I am trying to examine what has happened in the country during the last twentythree years. I feel the need in the country today is for the purification of politics and Indianisation of our thinking. We have forgotten ourselves. Where is that patriotism? It is not not the Indianisation of a particular community which is going to solve the problem. No, the problem is not going to be solved that way. Are we prepared to talk in terms of our aims and objectives? What was our dream at the time of our struggle for independence? How much of it has been achieved and how much of it remains to be done? If something has not been achieved, why has it not been achieved? During the last twentythree years what was the orientation of politics? Principles were not the orientation of politics. Power was the orientation of politics. With this instrument of power we can remain in office, but we are not bothered about the politics of commitment. It is the politics of commitment which we cannot forget. It is true that my Government has assured this country the fulfilment of its commitments. I am sorry to say that that assurance remains yet to be fulfilled. Whereas commitments are made, they are not necessarily observed by our Government. We have said in our Bombay resolution that we shall not allow monopolies to grow. In spite of it this very Government has granted licences to those who have been enlisted as monopoly houses by the report of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission. Why is it being done? When this Act came into force on 1st June, 1970, it was absolutely unfair on the part of the Government to grant licences to them before allowing the matter to go before the Monopolies Commission. After the Government said that there was a *prima facie* case against the House of Birlas, we have appointed a commission of inquiry. And when a commission of inquiry has been appointed saying that there is a *prima facie* case in view of the various allegations levelled by my friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, when the whole thing is being examined, how is it fair on the part of the Government to grant licences to the Birla House. What happens if the commission of inquiry confirms the allegations levelled by Mr. Chandra Shekhar? What will be the position of this Government? I am not here to speak on behalf of the Government. I feel that when we shall be com-

pleting twentythree years of our independence on 15th August, 1970 . . .

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: What have you done against your Government?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: You were also a party to that Government.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Not after the Bombay session.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruptions please.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Anyway, my friend, Mr. Chavda's interruptions are not going to bother me much.

Sir, my submission is what happens to the politics of commitment. Are we all prepared to talk about them? It is not applicable only to my Government. It is applicable to other Governments also under the control of some other political parties. Let us take defections. Is it not a fact that particularly after 1967 we have encouraged these defections? The elected representatives of the people, who are supposed to live protection to democracy, are themselves endangering our democratic institution. They are auctioneering themselves and we, the political parties, are encouraging such auctioneering. They are auctioneering their prestige and dignity instead of maintaining the prestige and dignity of the country. Here I am not blaming my party alone. I am blaming all the parties. Is there any single party which has said, "No, under no circumstances do we allow any defection from our party to another party or we shall not accept any defector into our party, we do not want people who have crossed floors after getting elected on some other party's ticket?" Have we taken that stand? I am here to blame all the parties. I feel that my party, the ruling party, should have taken the initiative in the matter. The other day I was surprised at the reply given by the Prime Minister that she had called a conference of all the political parties but that they were not agreeing. Let them not agree. But the Government should come forward before Parliament with the necessary amendment to the law or even to the Constitution or to the Representation of the People Act, saying that when once one gets elected on a particular party's ticket, one cannot cross the floor. He can change his views and can join other parties, but cannot cross

the floor. He will have to resign from that post to which he was elected. If he does not, then it should be a disqualification at least for six years. Are we ready for that? So far as indirect elections are concerned, is it not possible for...

श्री पीताम्बर दास : एक प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। मैं यह अपील करूंगा धारिया जी से कि वह स्वयं इस बात की सोचें कि जो उन्होंने टापिक लिया है उस समय उनकी संगति इस रेजोल्यूशन से किन्नी बँटती है ?

श्री एम० एम० धारिया : बिलकुल है। मैं वहीं आ रहा हूँ।

My friend Shri Pitamber Das may take it for granted that I never make any irrelevant speech in the House.

How is it that the youngsters in this country have lost faith in political parties and commit rowdyism outside? They know and the landless labourers know that they cannot get any justice through parliamentary democracy. They know that the Parliament and Assemblies are meant for political leaders who are welcomeing defectors in their own self-interest. They know that these people are least bothered about the social welfare of the people or about removal of economic disparity in the country. If the young people join the Naxalites and cause violence, are they to be blamed or are we to be blamed? Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am not here to tolerate any sort of violence. I have expressed that on the floor of the House on many occasions. When a group of people assemble together and declare that they have no faith in our Constitution and when they flout our Constitution, I have stated on the floor of the House that the Government should come forward with a legislation, if need be, and crush such anti-national movements. At the same time we should try to find out why these youngsters join this Naxalite movement. Why should they describe Mao as their Chairman? Should we not try to analyse their philosophy and their minds and psychology? It is again a very grave problem. I feel that it is high time that all political parties change their behaviour and do some introspection so that we cure ourselves. I feel that the present situation in the country is a great challenge to our democracy. It is a challenge to our unity and integrity and it is a challenge to our sovereignty. If this challenge could be met,

it should be met with behaviour which is based on principles, which is based on politics of commitment and not on politics of convenience. We do not have that behaviour and that is the major disease and this disease has to be cured. Are we prepared to take into consideration this aspect? Are we prepared to look at this problem from a broader vision? No. That is my difficulty. That is why I feel that the speech of Shri Tyagi should have been a speech based on principles. That is at least what I expected of him. It should not have been a political speech just to criticise this government or that government...

SHRI S. N. MISHRA: Something more about licences.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I understand that the SSP and the PSP have declared their intention to launch a struggle or satyagrah for five basic demands which they have made. For want of time I will not go into details. This struggle is to start from the 9th of August...

AN HON. MEMBER: Is it a non-violent struggle?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: They have declared it will be non-violent.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): Ultimately it will turn to be violent.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: They have a programme for grabbing land also. Mr. Deputy Chairman, how can the Government submit themselves to this? Is it not the duty of this Government, wherever their party is in power—I am not talking of places where they are not in power—to undertake legislation prescribing land ceilings? Is it not possible for us to impose ceiling on lands? Why are we not doing it?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: That is like pick-pocketing by those who have no money. Suppose I pick your pocket?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Well, I have no objection. Sir,...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): Have you checked up the statement of your Chief Minister made yesterday?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: You know, Mr. Babubhai Chinai, I am not guided by anybody. I am guided by my conscience. Mr. Chinai, I was saying that

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my party should not do it. If you have not listened, what can I do? Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I feel that it is the duty of the party in power particularly to come forward with this politics of commitment—and no defections should be allowed—instead of protecting the big monopolists. I can understand protecting the individual, I can understand protecting his rights, I can understand protecting his property to the extent which is allowed by the law of ceiling, whether in urban areas or rural areas. But, so far as the big monopolists are concerned, if they are not behaving well, if they are grabbing the society as such, when their lands are grabbed I shall not blame the volunteers of the parties. Let me make it clear, Sir. It is the duty of the government to come forward. So, Sir, if this present situation is to be prevented if it is not to be allowed to deteriorate, the best course is to understand this problem not only as a law and order problem, but also as a socio-economic problem. That should not be forgotten, Sir.

At the same time, Sir, my last point is regarding character. Every country needs, this country needs, a lean and efficient administration. Devaluation of the rupee can be set right in times to come; but, devaluation of character cannot be corrected and that is the need of the day. Let us think in those terms and I have no doubt that we can meet this challenge. Thank you, Sir.

REFERENCE TO REPORTED RESIGNATION BY THE SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF ANDHRA PRADESH

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, with your permission, I want to bring to the notice of the House a very important and grave constitutional matter.

(Interruptions.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is this now?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Sir, please listen.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How can you raise a point now?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Sir, this is something which is important. Please listen . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: No, Sir. One minute please.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Is it pertaining to the resolution?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: It is something more fundamental than the resolution, than everything else.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Is it pertaining to the resolution?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Let me finish one sentence and you will know . . .

(Interruptions.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is not the question.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Sir, it is a question of the conception of parliamentary democracy and I am bringing it to your notice.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: No, Sir, this is something. . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down, please sit down. . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Please one minute, Sir. It concerns the Chair and it concerns the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You could have told me that you wanted to raise a question; if not in the House, you could have said it in the Chamber. Without any permission, you want to raise a question suddenly. . .

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, अभी हम लोग जब बाहर लाठी में गये तो मालूम हुआ, वहाँ न्यूज आयी है और उसी को वह बता रही हैं। वहाँ पर स्पीकर की रूलिंग को नेत सदन ने बोट पर रखा है, जो स्पीकर ने रूलिंग दी थी उस को। इस को जरा आप सुनिये।