The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

RESOLUTION *RE.* PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Madam, I move the following Resolution:—

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 23rd August, 1968, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Punjab."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I am very glad that you are moving this motion.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: So, let us pass it without any discussion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I wanted this to happen earlier.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: In order to support this motion I do not think I need make any lengthy speech. The history of Punjab after the fourth general election is too well known to every Member in this House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Chavan, under you the largest number of Proclamations have taken place.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him speak.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: That shows during what a difficult period I am working.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is what I am saying.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: We saw that in March, 1967, after the general election the United Front Party had a membership of nearly 48. Then we found that there were about six defections from the Congress Party and all of them were made Ministers in the United Front Government. After that two members from the United Front Government defected. Then, later on, a large number of them defected, from a minimum of 17 to a maximum of 27, and they formed themselves into the Janata Party. As a result of it the United Front Government had to resign. Then, the leader of the Janata Party, Mr. Lachman Singh Gill, was asked to form a government. The Congress Party decided to support him, though his Party was in a minority. With the support of the Congress Party he could secure a majority in the House and he formed a government. It went on. But we found that the Congress Party itself was divided. There was the pro-Lachman Singh Gill group and the anti-Lachman Singh Gill group. The administration became unstable, as a result of which Mr. Lachman Singh Gill had to resign. After that the Governor invited the Congress Party to form a government. They said they could not do it. The United Front Party also refused to form a government. When Mr. Lachman Singh Gill offered his resignation, he also advised the Governor to issue a Proclamation imposing President's Rule in Punjab. I think the Governor had no alternative but to make the recommendation which he did and the report that he has sent is self-explanatory. I do not think I need go into an explanation of the many details that he has mentioned in his letter. Well, Madam, the history of Punjab has its own lessons for Punjab, for the Congress Party and for the Opposition Parties.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): For the Congress also.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Yes, I always make very reasonable statements. What is happening in the political field in the last two years has its own significance and its own political lessons for all the political parties. Therefore, I think that what has happened was inevitable. After the minority Government was formed, everybody, including myself, felt that the whole political trend was towards such a Proclamation. Ultimately the inevitable has happened. I request the House to support the motion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One question I would like to ask.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Certainly you can ask, but Mr. Bhupesh Gupta wanted this to happen. He wanted it to happen because his Party was out of office. This was an inevitable thing. There was an inherent instability. I would like to repeat what I have said before. The main thing is that unless there are pre-election alliances on some minimum political programme, coalitions are not likely to succeed in this country. I think the political experiment of running minority governments has failed. All of us have to learn from it. I have nothing more to say except to commend this motion for the unanimous acceptance of the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He was very brief.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You should be briefer than he was.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He was not making any speech at all. Now, we have been saying the same thing. At least the minority Government in Punjab had no basis to exist, except for some kind of consideration shown by the Congress to keep them in power. We wanted this to go. We again and again requested the Government to dissolve the Assembly and issue a Proclamation for mid-term elections. Now, my question is only why there was so much delay. Is it because the Centre waited for the Congress Party and their group to try out their way of solving the problem, that is to say, they were asked to see if they could help Mr. Gill to continue? When the Centre found that the Punjab Congress was not in a position, you acted or the Governor acted on your advice. Kindly explain a little, Mr. Chavan. Only you can enlighten us on this subject.

MR. Y. B. CHAVAN: He is confussing two things. The central leadership of the Congress Party is one thing and the Central Government is another thing. If you accept this, I believe you will understand the difficulties. The Central Government has certainly a constitutional responsibility in this matter. Whatever may be the reasons, the Congress Party continued to support this Party, despite their differences with Mr. Gill. As long as there was a majority support to the Gill Government in the Legislature, the constitutional responsibility of the Governor was to see that the Government ran. The political decision of the Congress Party came later. It has its own logic, it has its own reasons. I do not want to go into it, because this is not the place where I can discuss the matter. Where is the question of delay? The moment it was clear that Mr. Gill had lost his majority, Mr. Gill himself tendered his resignation. There was no question of somebody else acting in this matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Puppet.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Let us not use such words. These are very wrong words. I can use these words in connection with many things...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: ... but I do not want to do that.

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA (Bihar): The difficulty with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is that his party does not conceive any difference between the party and the Government.

The question was proposed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are two hours allotted to this Resolution. We have ten Members who want to participate in the debate. Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय घर मंत्री जी ने पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के औचित्य पर थोड़ा सा प्रकाश डाला। मेरा प्रश्न पंजाब में उस समय राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होना चाहिये या नहीं इतने से ही संबंधित नहीं है। मै इस मौके पर यह भी जानना चाहता हूं कि आखिर इतने दिनों तक वहां पर गिल मंत्रिमंडल को चलाया किस ने? क्या 10 महीने के बाद अब यह अनुभव हुआ कि गिल मंत्रिमंडल वहां पर किस तरह से काम करता था। जब श्री भूपेश गुप्ता जी के सवाल का जवाब हुआ—मेरा श्री भूपेश गुप्ता जी से कोई संबंध नहीं है—क्योंकि मैं जानता हूं कि पार्टी, गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट ये तीनों अलग है, लेकिन

हमारे भूपेश गुप्ता सब को एक ही मानते हैं। जो डैमोक्रेसी मे यकीन करने वाले लोग हैं, वे अक्सर इसको चार कहते हैं मगर मैं पाच कहता हूं। उसके पाच अपव्यय है। वे हैं व्यक्ति, पार्टी, सरकार, देश और समाज। देश के माने राष्ट्र हुए और हम देश और समाज को मिलाकर एक मानते है और इसलिए हम चार कहते हैं।

तो मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जितने समय तक लगातार गिल मंत्रिमडल रहा, वह शुद्धत: एक पुलिस राज के रूप में कायम किया गया। जितने भी समय गिल मंत्रिमंडल का राज जाब मे रहा वह एक पुलिस राज के रूप मे रहा जिसमें जनता को तरह तरह की परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ा। इस गिल मंत्रि-मंडल के राज मे जो करीब 3 महीने रहा उसमें जनता को वहुत परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ा और मैं अपने बुजुर्ग दोस्त श्री चव्हाण साहब से जानना चाहता हूं कि इस गिल मंत्रिमंडल को वहा पर रखने का क्या औचित्य था। एक तरफ तो आप दल बदल को रोकने के लिए चर्चा चलाते हैं और दूसरी तरफ उसके विरुद्ध कर्म करते हैं। क्या यह दोनों बातें उचित हैं? श्री चव्हाण साहब तो गांधी जी के अनुयायी हैं, और उन्हे इस तरह की बात नही सोचनी चाहिये थी। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर कथनी और करनी ये दोनों एक नहीं होंगी, तो लगातार भ्रष्टाचार बढता ही चला जायेगा। बुद्ध ने कहा है कि अगर बुद्धि और आच-रण मे मेल नही होता है तो बुद्धि छलना होती है और आचरण भ्रष्ट होता है। जो सही विचारक हैं, जो समाज को बदलना चाहते हैं, जो मनुष्य मनुष्य मे भेद नही करना चाहते हैं, वे इस सिद्धान्त पर चलेंगे, बिना इस सिद्धान्त के चले मानवता प्रतिष्ठित नही हो सकती। इसलिए मैं पूरे का पूरा दोष केन्द्रीय सरकार पर आज यह लगाना चाहता हूं कि जो कुछ भी गड़बड़ी पंजाब में हुई है उसके लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार ही जुम्मेदार है।

अब देखा जाय। मैं आकड़ों पर जाना नही चाहता हूं कि किस की तरफ कितने लोग थे। 48 और 50 के आकड़ों के फेर में मैं नही फंसना चाहता हूं। गिल की पार्टी शुद्धत: अल्प-मत मे थी और अगर उसको काग्रेस पार्टी का समर्थन प्राप्त नही होता तो वह मंत्रिमंडल न चलता और न वह सरकार ही बना सकते। तो परोक्ष रूप में यह कहा जाना चाहिये कि वहा पर काग्रेस की सरकार थी। चाहे वह गिल के नाम से हो या फिर किसी दूसरे नाम से हो। वहा पर काग्रेस की सरकार थी क्योंकि वह अपना समर्थन गिल मंत्रिमंडल को दे रही थी और उसको हर तरह से समर्थन करने का आश्वासन था। इसलिए मैं इस लाजिक में नही जाना चाहता हूं, मगर मैं श्री चव्हाण साहब से चाहूंगा कि आपका जो लाजिक है वह बड़ा लचर लाजिक है और जो आपका तर्क है वह बहुत कमजोर हो गया है। मगर मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूं कि जो कमजोर सत्य है वह सबल असत्य के सामने झुक जायेगा। इसलिए सत्य को जब तक सशक्त नही बनाते तब तक वह सत्य कारगर नही होता है। मैं रोज परेशान होता हूं कि हम कमजोर क्यों हैं। हम केवल सही सही बात कहते है, मगर ये चार चार आदमी हूं, हू, चिल्लाने लगते हैं। आज सवेरे का ही वाकया है कि हमारे नियमा-वली मे लिखा हुआ है कि अगर सदन का कोई सदस्य न रहे और वह सवाल न पूछना चाहे तो सदन का कोई दूसरा सदस्य पूछ सकता है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am very much interested in his speech. I am not asking a political question. He is giving some philosophical discussion.

कमजोर सत्य और बिन कमजोर सत्य में क्या फर्क है। सत्य को मैं मानता हूं और सत्य सत्य ही रहना चाहिये।

श्री राजनारायण: मैं बहुत प्रसन्न हूं कि श्री चव्हाण साहब को यह जिज्ञासा जागी। मै उन्हें बतलाना चाहता हूं कि मनुष्य मनुष्य बराबर है और यह सत्य है। सभी मनुष्य

[श्री राजनारायण]
समान ढंग से पैदा होते हैं। जिनकी जनन-क्रिया समान है, उनकी जाति एक है। मगर यह कमजोर दुनिया है और सत्य क्या है वह नहीं जानती है और इस तरह से मनुष्य मनुष्य के बीच बिलगाव रहता है। आज जिनके पास राजकीय शक्ति है या जिनके पास आर्थिक शक्ति है, वे अपनी पाशविकता से इस सत्य को दबा देते हैं और भेद पैदा कर देते हैं। इसको थोड़ा सा और बढ़ा दिया गया है।

देखा जाय। तीन क्रान्तियां चलीं। एक क्रान्ति को छोड़ देता हूं और ब्रिटेन का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। कानून की निगाह में सब बराबर हैं। यह पोथी में लिख दिया गया है कि कानून के सामने सब बराबर है मगर कानून बराबर में नहीं आया। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि जिनके पास राजसत्ता है, जिनके पास राजनीतिक बल है, वे इस सत्य को पूरा नहीं होने देते। एक दूसरी क्रान्ति है, पोलिटिकल इक्वैलिटी की क्योंकि लीगल इक्वैलिटी तो हो गई अब पोलिटिकल इक्वैलिटी के लिए लड़ाई हुई और इसके लिए बालिग मताधिकार की बात मान ली गई जहां कि डैमोक्रेसी है। अपने देश में 21 वर्ष का मर्द और औरत चाहे वह हिन्दू हो, मुसलमान हो, चमार हो, ठाकुर हो, बनिया हो, वह वोट देने का अधिकारी है और राजकाज में समान हक लेने का अधिकारी है। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह सत्य पूरा हो रहा है? यह सत्य पूरा नहीं हो रहा है क्योंकि इकोनौमिक इन-इक्वलिटी है, आर्थिक विषमता है। जिनके पास धन ज्यादा है वे आज भले से भले आदमी को पैसे के बल पर हरा देते हैं। आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव को कांग्रेस पार्टी की ओर से एक चूर्ण बेचने वाले वैद्य ने हरा दिया था। मैं श्री चव्हाण साहब की विवशता को समझता हूं और श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की तारीफ करना चाहता हूं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : श्री राजनारायण जी किस चीज पर बोल रहे हैं।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Adhra Pradesh): We are very sorry for Narendra Dev's failure.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं घर मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूं और आप मुझे मौका देंगी जो इतनी बातचीत हो गई है।

उपसभापति : आप 10 मिनट बोल चुके है और पांच मिनट में खत्म कीजिये।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं फिर कहना चाहूंगा कि गिल मंत्रिमंडल शुरू से ही भ्रष्ट था और शुरू से ही गिल में तानाशाही की प्रवृत्ति थी। मैं श्री चव्हाण साहब से कहना चाहता हूं कि जो बात मैं कह रहा हूं वह सत्य है। मैं जानता हूं कि जब अल्प मत की सरकार को बहुमत पार्टी चलवाती है तो यह भ्रष्टा काम है। दस महीने तक, नौ महीने तक जो गिल सरकार को कांग्रेस बहुमत पार्टी का समर्थन प्राप्त था वह भ्रष्ट काम था, अनुचित काम था, जनतंत्रीय प्रथाओं और परंपराओं की हत्या करने वाला काम था, यह कुकर्म था। मगर चव्हाण साहब कहेंगे कि उस समय की स्थिति ऐसी थी कि जिस के कारण कांग्रेस पार्टी ने उस का समर्थन किया। यह जो तर्क है चव्हाण साहब का यह असत्य है, मगर हमारे शुद्ध तर्क के सामने उन का असत्य तर्क आज यहां कामयाब हो जायगा। इस लिये मैंने कहा कि निर्बल सत्य सबल असत्य के सामने हार जाता है और इस लिये मैंने तीन बातें कब दी हैं। सत्ता और सत्य अलग अलग हैं। जब तक सत्ता सत्य से पूरित नहीं होगी तब तक सत्ता पाशविक रहेगी। आज सत्ता और सत्य दो जगह हो गये हैं और इस संदर्भ में मैं गांधी जी का एक वाक्य दोहराना चाहता हूं। आखिरी दिनों में जब गांधी जी कुछ ऊब गये थे तो उन्होंने एक वाक्य कहा था कि मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि अब मैं यह साफ साफ कहूं कि सत्याग्रहियों को सत्ता में जाना ही नहीं चाहिये क्योंकि सत्याग्रही भी सत्ता में जा कर के खराब हो

जाता है। यह गांधी जी का आखिरी वाक्य है जो उन्होंने अपनी मृत्यु के कुछ पूर्व कहा था, तो मैं कहा रहा था कि पंजाब में इधर क्या क्या तूफान बरपा, किया गया यानी सुबार्डिनेट सर्विस बोर्ड बना, उस के एमालूमेंट्स को बढ़ा दिया गया यह जानते हुए कि मंत्रिमंडल जाने वाला है और कोई एक जमनादास अख्तर साहब हैं। जिन के अंदर कहा जाता है कि वह योग्यता नहीं है, किन्तु वह बोर्ड के चेयरमैन बना दिये गये। मैं चाहता हूं कि प्रेसीडेंट रूल वहां लागू हो तो वह देखे कि यह एप्वाइंटमेंट वहां पर सही हुआ है या नहीं। इसी तरह से पंजाब स्टेट इलेक्ट्रिक बोर्ड है। उस के भी भत्ते और दूसरी सहूलियतें बढ़ा दी गयी हैं। इस के बख्तावर सिंह चेयरमैन बना दिये गये हैं जोकि एक मामूली आदमी थे। इसी के साथ साथ कुलदीप सिंह विज हैं जो जूनियर डिप्टी कमिशनर थे, उन को पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन का चेयरमेन बना दिया गया। मैं चाहता हूं कि सरकार इन बातों को देखे कि श्री गिल साहब ने अपने मंत्रिमंडल काल में, जब कि उन के जाने की चर्चा बराबर चल रही थी, जो एप्वाइंटमेंट किये हैं, जो नियुक्तियां की हैं, जो प्रमोशन्स दिये हैं, जो एमालूमेंट्स बढ़ाये हैं, वे सही हैं या गलत हैं। मेरा कहना है कि वह गलत हैं और उसे ठीक करना चाहिये। माननीया, कौन बड़ा अपराध पंजाब में नहीं हुआ है इसे देखा जाय। हमारी राज्य पार्टी के चेयरमैन श्री रूपलाल साथी, चूंकि उन की गिल साहब से दुश्मनी थी, इस लिये उन पर बम वितरित करने का एक झूठा आरोप लगा कर उन को परेशान किया गया। उन के ऊपर मुकदमा चला दिया गया। इसी के साथ साथ अजायब सिंह संसोपा के सदस्य हैं। यह मुखिया हैं और इन्होंने गिल के एक उम्मीदवार का विरोध किया था। 27 मई को संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का सत्याग्रह चल रहा था, वह लीड करने वाले थे लेकिन 26 मई को श्री गिल के समर्थकों ने उन की हत्या कर दी। उन का कत्ल हो जाता है और उस की रपट तक नहीं लिखी गयी। मैं कहना चाहता हूं श्री चव्हाण साहब से कि इन घटनाओं की जानकारी करायें। यह जो केन्द्रीय सर्विस रूल्स बने हुए हैं यह कहां लागू हैं। माननीया, आप नहीं थीं। आज मैंने श्री सत्यनारायण सिंह जी को दिखाया कि यह जो सफदरजंग अस्पताल है, यानी वहां का जो एडमिनिस्ट्रटर है, जो कि वहां की कोआपरेटिव का चेयरमैन भी है, उस के ऊपर बाकायदा प्राइमाफेसी केस बना कर चार्जशीट लगाया गया। मिनिस्टर ने कह दिया कि मुकदमा चालू है लेकिन आज तक मंत्री महोदय उसको हटा नहीं रहे हैं। मैं कितनी इन बातों की चर्चा करूं। सभी राज्यों में अगर यह देखा जाय तो पंजाब उन सब से आगे हो गया है। वहां कोई सर्विस रूल्स नहीं रह गये, कोई व्यवस्था नहीं रह गयी, कोई कानून नहीं रह गया, कोई सभ्य परंपरा नहीं रह गयी। मनमानापन चल रहा है। तानाशाही शासन पुलिस राज के रूप में गिल साहब इतने दिनों तक पंजाब की जनता की छाती पर चलाते रहे अब अगर प्रेसीडेंट्स रूल हुआ तो बहुत विलम्ब से हुआ, देर से हुआ इस की सारी जिम्मेदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार पर है और प्रेसीडेंट रूल हो कर भी अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार का दिमाग नहीं बदलेगा, घर मंत्री का दिमाग और ठीक नहीं होगा तो मुझे डर है कि इस से भी कोई काम चलने वाला नहीं है क्योंकि इस डिक्लेरेशन में कहीं भी चुनाव की चर्चा नहीं है। मैं चाहता था कि जो प्रेसीडेंट का प्रोक्लेमेशन हो पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू होने के बारे में उस में भी दूसरे राज्यों की स्थिति को देख कर निश्चित रूप से वे कमिटमेंट करते, जो एक वचन हो जाता कि 6 महीने के अंदर अंदर या 3 महीने के अंदर अंदर निश्चित रूप से पंजाब की जनता अपने लिये सरकार चुनने का मौका पायेगा। मगर हमें डर है कि प्रेसीडेंट रूल वहां पर अनिश्चित काल के लिये ज्यादा समय के लिये बढ़ा कर के वहां की

[श्री राजनारायण]

जनता पर अनेक प्रकार की मुसीबतें लायी जा सकती हैं। इस लिये राष्ट्रपति शासन को मैं वरदान समझ लूं ऐसी बात नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूं कि जो स्थिति आज पैदा हो गयी है उस को मद्दनजर रखते हुए ऐसी स्थिति लायी जाय कि शीघ्रातिशीघ्र तीन महीने के अंदर या जितना समय इलेक्शन कमीशन के कानून के मुताबिक, पीपुल्स रेप्रेजेन्टेशन एक्ट के मुताबिक वोटर्स लिस्ट आदि को ठीक करने में लगे, उस से ज्यादा समय न लिया जाय। उस समय के अंदर अंदर पंजाब में निर्वाचन हो जाने चाहिये, यह मेरी मांग है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhargava. I would request that each one of you take just 10 minutes. I have got 12 names.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman, 1967 will always be remembered as an important year in the development of Indian parliamentary democracy. The elections of 1967 gave a warning to the ruling party that either you mend yourself or you will be compelled to end yourself. It also gave a warning to the opposition that if you are united you are in a position to form alternative governments in several States where the Congress has only been returned as the largest single party and not in a majority. The electors expressed their will in a definite manner in several States. Many a stalwart of the ruling party as well as the opposition failed because of the ballots being cast against them. And that is exactly how democracy should function.

Now, take the case of Punjab after the elections. What happened? The party-wise position after the elections was in a House of 104—

Congress	47
Jan Sangh	9
SSP	1
CIP	5
CIP (M)	3
Republicans	3
Other parties which include the Akali Dal.	26
Independents	10

Now, if things had run in a straightforward manner, without all kinds of alliances being formed, Punjab should have gone under the President's rule immediately after the general elections because none of the parties was in a position to form a government. But there was a feeling at that time in the country that come what may, we should try to see that the Congress does not come to power because people in some of the States were not satisfied with the rule of the ruling party and some of the persons who manned the governments in the States had a reputation which was far from satisfactory, and they were all defeated at the polls. Since there was a feeling to keep the Congress out of power, a United Front was formed in Punjab as SVD was formed in some other States. It was a strange combination, a strange alliance to rule. On the one side was the Jana Sangh and those parties who believe in rightist things like the Akali Dal and, on the other side, were the left-thinking parties like the Communist Party of India and the S.S.P. They all joined together. It was a strange combination of forces, one going to the east and the other going to the west. Yet for the sake of keeping the Congress out of power they joined and elected Shri Gurnam Singh as the leader of the party. Then the formation of the Ministry was facilitated by defection from the Congress side. And what was the price they got? All six of them became Ministers in the United Front Ministry.

Madam, I have always felt that defection, which is a curse in this country, if it is not properly controlled and checked in time, will eat away the very roots of Parliamentary democracy and, therefore, it becomes the duty of every right-thinking person and every country—loving person to see that this evil of defection is rooted out of the Indian political body, and the sooner it is done it will be better for the country as a whole.

Now, Madam, as the Government was formed by the alliances of several different parties pulling together it was but expected that that Government will not be able to function for the full term of the Legislature. If things would have taken the normal course, and the ruling party had simply waited for the events to come and not tried to interfere in the fall of the governments, the fall of the United Front Government would have come much sooner than it actually came because the people are still averse to the Congress coming to power in some of the States by the backdoor method. Therefore, it would be in the interest of the ruling party, wherever it is in the Opposition, to sit quietly, try to exploit the situation and not try to bring the downfall of the Opposition Governments. The more they try to bring about the downfall of the Opposition Governments the more they allow the Opposition Governments to survive. Madam, the Opposition Governments are bound to fail by their own doings because in principle the parties which have joined together cannot agree on anything. That has been the experience in so many States.

Now, after the fall of the United Front Government what is known as the minority Government was formed under Mr. Lachman Singh Gill. I have always felt and I have given expression to my views that a minority government is a very wrong experiment to be tried. Minority governments have no mandate of the people to govern those places where they are installed in office. And as far as the ruling party is concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that wherever they have tried the experiment of a minority government they have suffered badly, whether it was in Kerala, whether it was in Bengal, whether it was in Bihar or whether it was in the Punjab. Minority governments have been something which have been foisted on the people against their wish and by such persons who were not liked by the people or who had no mandate to govern the areas which they were placed to govern. I am sure the ruling party and the Central Government would have, by now, derived the lesson and taken a firm decision to see that they will not experiment with any minority government in any State in future. That is at least one lesson which should have been drawn.

While speaking on Punjab in March, I had supported all the actions of the Punjab Government till that day. It was in the last week of March. But I had come to the conclusion that there was no alternative before the Central Government but to dismiss the Lachman Singh Gill Ministry and to impose the President's Rule before the 31st March. The country would not have seen the sorry spectacle of the events in the Punjab if the Lachman Singh Ministry was dismissed before the 31st March.

The history of events thereafter is too well-known to be narrated here. It has been a very costly experiment, and in my opinion it should never have been tried. It was a folly to give all support to the Lachman Singh Gill Ministry and keep it in power, and I am afraid we are going to pay heavy dividends for the folly which we have committed. It should have been dismissed in March, by the 31st March. It is several months too late that the Ministry has resigned by itself and the ruling party decided to withdraw its support to the Gill Ministry. Even now it is not too late if during the President's Rule things are well managed and a clean government is given to the Punjab. I am sure the people in the Punjab will rally round and give their support to the party which, in their opinion at that time would deserve the support of the people part.

I whole-heartedly support the Proclamation of the President's Rule in the Punjab although I feel it has come several months too late. Thank you.

SHRI RATTAN LAL JAIN (Punjab) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to express my whole-hearted support to the Proclamation issued by the President on the 23rd August, 1968 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab in spite of

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the fact that it is a much belated measure, and, keeping in view the best interests of the State, should have come much earlier.

Madam, what has happened in the Punjab during the last nine months or so is an extremely sad story. After the general elections held in February 1967 in which no single party was returned in absolute majority, some political parties joined hands forming a People's United Front. This Front formed its ministry with S. Gurnam Singh (leader of the largest party in the United Front) as Chief Minister in March, 1967. Dedicated to the service of the people of the State this Ministry started its work and in spite of constant intrigues from the Opposition to undermine its strength did a useful piece of work in the State by initiating steps towards ameliorating the living conditions of the poorer and not richer sections of the society.

A wonder of the present times was achieved when complete harmony and unity was forged amongst the two main communities of the State. The bogey of communalism and communal politics hitherto raised so loudly by the erstwhile ruling party in its underhand tactics of divide and rule was exchewed so that the people of the State heaved a sigh of relief from the erstwhile despotic rule. All-out efforts were made by the Ministry to introduce the factor of honesty and non-interference in day-to-day administration. The result was people were happy, the services were happy and the strife-torn Punjab rightly marched towards peace, progress and prosperity. There was an all round appreciation of the way in which the United Front Ministry in Punjab was conducting itself, meeting the aspirations and expectations of the people of the State.

Such developments as were taking place in Punjab were, however, not in tune with the expctations of the Congress Party who had hoped for an early fall of the Ministry in view of its having been constituted of parties with varying ideologies. But to their great surprise, the Ministry worked as a well-knit team getting over all sorts of hurdles which were created in its way. The erstwhile Congress leaders had overnight gone jobless. They could not reconcile themselves to their new position as members sitting in opposition, deprived of all pomp, show and glamour of authority, unable to shower favours to attract opportunistic following from amongst the population of the State and further deprived of authority to dictate the Services to act and behave in a manner which suited them. They had further got deprived of sources which helped them and their stooges in building large fortunes. They, on the other hand, were fast losing their hold on the large mass of the population of the State. The net result was that the Congress people had become apprehensive about their political future. There was a good deal of frustration amongst the Congress ranks as it was much greater a blow than they could bear and hence their all-out efforts to oust the United Front Ministry. A no-confidence motion tabled by them failed. They, however, ultimately succeeded in making Lachman Singh Gill and a few other legislators to defect from the ruling United Front, rendering it a minority. The Congress High Command apparently fully concurred in securing these defections and in the process toppling the United Front Ministry. This group of defectors led by Lachman Singh Gill, in the words of the Punjab Governor, "were drawn together not by any ideological affinity but by a desire to gain political power." In this their not only undemocratic but unprincipled approach, they were unfortunately assured of the unconditional support of the Congress legislators of Punjab at the instance of the Congress High Command. What an irony of fate, Madam, the Congress speaking so loud in strong condemnation of defections, supporting and keeping alive a minority Government commanding a strength of only 20 members in a House of 104, and those 20 members also all defectors from one or the other party! What a political insanity and a marvellous difference between words and deeds! The Congress legislators by such intriguing tactics had hoped to rehabilitate themselves. They wanted to use

the Gill Ministry as a tool in their hands. In the words of Lachman Singh Gill himself "Some short-sighted and power-hungry Congressmen in the State were all pressing for undue benefits and recognition which were unacceptable and which caused a lot of heart-burning." The expectation of the Congress legislators that they will be able to dictate to Mr. Gill proved only to be fond hopes, and soon there was a rupture. Mr. Gill, after tendering his resignation, had come out with plain-speaking, accusing the Congress of behaving like masters instead of supporters. Those very prominent Congress legislators who were responsible for securing these defections arrayed themselves against the Ministry in a vain attempt to form a Congress Ministry. But in the meantime. Mr. Gill had already turned the tables. He had so much corrupted political life in the State that most of the Congress legislators had become puppets and stooges in his hands. In the words of the "Tribune", Madam, "Looking back on these past nine months, the wonder is that the regime lasted as long as it did—thanks chiefly to Mr. Gill's inimitable skill as a cliff-hanger and the never-to-be-sufficiently deplored squalid intrigues inside the Congress." Left to themselves, the majority of the Congress MLA's would still have favoured continuance of the Congress support to Mr. Gill. The Congress High Command had desired and were united that the initiative for withdrawing the support should come from the Congress Assembly party itself. It acted only when it became clear to it that the Congress legislators of the State were not going to oblige it to that effect.

The position thus, Madam, is crystal clear. The Congress High Command could not put up with the United Front Ministries. Its machinations toppled down three United Front Ministries in a span of 48 hours only, including that of Punjab. It is, Madam, for the people of Punjab and this country now to ponder whether this sad history of the previous nine months really helped the growth of democratic traditions in the country. Nine months ago, the plea of the outgoing Chief Minister, Shri Gurnam Singh, for dissolution of the Assembly and for holding mid-term poll to bring back political stability to the State was turned down on the ground that it would cost the tax-payer dearly. One really wonders whether the cost now after a lapse of only nine months would be any less. The real question has never been of the cost involved but mid-term poll now because the very existence of the Congress organisation in Punjab had been threatened and jeopardised by the outgoing Ministry.

Now, Madam, what happened in the Punjab State during the 271 days of the Gill regime? In the words of the Punjab Governor, "The Government machinery was used by the Ministry to raise its own following. The use of Governmental authority for political purposes affected not only the Congress Legislature party but has had a deleterious effect on the Services also." Actually, what happened in the State of Punjab was, Madam, much more. A reign of terror had been let loose. It was all a Police Raj in the State. The police and the administrative machinery were recklessly used to organise receptions for the Ministers, to implicate innocent people in false cases. Victimisation of people who would not toe the line desired by the Ministry was the order of the day. The experience of legislators being beaten up within the precincts of the Assembly chambers by plain-clothed police personnel was something novel in the history of democracy in this country. The legislature was virtually rendered defunct. There was no rule of law. It was the law of the jungle which one would experience in the State. Political victimization, corruption, favouritims, nepotism, unwarranted interference in the day-to-day administration of the State and such other evils had become rampant. Mr. Gill is boasting of some useful work having been done by his Ministry. What was it and where was it to be seen, except that a nefarious attempt was again made to create division and confusion amongst the people of the State? This, Madam, in a nut-shell was the position in which the State found itself. Now, Madam, when by

[Shri Rattan Lal Jain]

issuing this Proclamation the President has assumed to himself all the functions and powers of the Government of the said State, may we hope that the intervening period, which is desired by us to be as short as possible, will be fully utilised to restore normalcy in the State by undoing all the wrongs perpetrated by the outgoing regime on the innocent people of the State and on the Services? Will the Government seize the opportunity to hold an enquiry into the allegations of corruption and mal-administration against the Gill Ministry made by responsible people of the State? May we further hope that confidence of the Services will be restored by going into all cases of victimisation, wrongful demotions and promotions, allowing unreasonable rise in salaries and so on? May we also hope that steps will be taken to withdraw immediately all politically motivated, false, criminal cases against members of other political parties and an enquiry will be instituted into the conduct of such officials who allowed themselves to be made tools? It is a necessary prelude to holding a free and fair mid-term poll in the State.

I have also to draw the attention of the Government to the serious recession with which the engineering industry of the State is faced at present, particularly the engineering industry which is situated on the border towns for which the Government had been announcing various types of concessions for rehabilitation. Such announcements have gone unimplemented so far. Will the Government now take steps to see that announcements pertaining to concessions for the rehabilitation of the engineering industry are implemented so that the threat of closure of such industry and consequent unemployment of labour is adequately met in time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. The speech is too long; you must summarise.

SHRI RATTAN LAL JAIN: Before closing I once again welcome the Presidential Proclamation issued in respect of the State of Punjab. It is sincerely hoped, Madam, that the people of the State will be afforded an earliest opportunity to elect their representatives so that a constitutional, stable Government is once again restored in the State. Thank you.

सरदार रघुबीर सिंह पंजहजारी (पंजाब) : डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहिबा, मैं इस प्रोक्लेमेशन को वेलकम करता हूं, इसलिये कि जब कांग्रेस वहां गवर्नमेंट बना सकती थी तब कांग्रेस ने गवर्नमेंट बनाना रिफ्यूज कर दिया और आज यह प्रोक्लेमेशन हो कर आपके सामने आया है। आपके सामने मिस्टर भार्गव ने पुरानी बातें बताई हैं कि किस तरीके से युनाइटेड फ्रंट गवर्नमेंट हुई। मैं भी कुछ चीजें आपके सामने अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि किस वजह से वहां कांग्रेस पार्टी को गिल साहब को सपोर्ट करने पर मजबूर होना पड़ा।

आपको यह तो मालूम ही है कि वहां पर हर किस्म के, हर भांति की बोली बोलने वाले ग्रुपों का एक युनाइटेड फ्रंट हुआ, उसमें लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, राइट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, जनसंघ, अकाली, जो हमेशा बार बार हिन्दू-राज का शोर उठाते हैं और सिख-राज कायम करना चाहते हैं, उन सब की मिली-जुली गवर्नमेंट बनी और गवर्नमेंट बनाने के बाद वहां की गवर्नमेंट की कोऑर्डिनेशन कमेटी के सेक्रेटरी हुये सरदार हरीकिशन सिंह सुरजीत जी कि लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के वहां जेनरल सेक्रेटरी हैं, तो वह कोआर्डिनेशन कमेटी के भी जेनरल सेक्रेटरी हुये, जिनकी पार्टी का यह प्रोग्राम था कि जैसे कलकत्ता, बंगाल में नक्सलबाड़ी की तरह से खुले हथियारों से लड़ाई झगड़ा किया जाय वैसे ही उसी तरह से पंजाब के अंदर भी ऐसे हालात पैदा कर दिये जायं जिससे कि लॉ आर्डर का पंजाब के अन्दर सत्यानाश हो जाय। उनका एक प्लान था कि तमाम बार्डर स्टेट के अन्दर लॉ एंड आर्डर की सिच्युएशन इतनी खराब कर दी जाय जिससे कि चाइना को ज्यादा से ज्यादा फायदा हो, उस प्रोग्राम के मुताबिक जो कि लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट

पार्टी चलाना चाहती थी वह कोआर्डिनेशन कमेटी के पंजाब के अन्दर वहां की हुकूमत चलाने के लिये जेनरल सेक्रेटरी हुये, सेक्रेटरी हुये, बंदर रखवाला हो मक्खन का तो आप अंदाजा लगाइये कि लॉ एंड आर्डर कैसे वहा चल सकता था। दूसरी तरफ श्री सत्यपाल डांग उस गवर्नमेंट के एक बहुत भारी रुक्न थे जो कि मिनिस्टर होते हुये भी, चाहे छेहरटा हो, चाहे लुधियाना हो, वहा मजदूरों की हड़ताल कराने का प्रोगाम रखा और हर जगह खुद जा कर उनको प्रोत्साहन देते रहे और हड़तालें करवाते रहे। एक तरफ तो सरकार का एक मेम्बर हड़ताल करवाता था और दूसरी तरफ श्री बलदेव प्रकाश जी जो कि जनसंघ पार्टी के नेता थे वह हड़तालें बन्द करवाने में लगे हुये थे, वह इंडस्ट्रीज़ की मदद करते थे। तो इन हालात में पंजाब की जो हालत थी वह आपके सामने है कि किस तरह से लॉ एंड आर्डर का सत्यानाश होता था। कोई गवर्नमेंट नहीं थी, कोई गवर्नमेंट चलाने वाला नहीं था, कोई हुकूमत पूछने वाली नही थी। इन हालात को देखते हुये यह जरूरी हो गया था कि वहां के असेम्ब्ली के मेम्बरों की तरफ से ऐसी गवर्नमेंट बनाई जाय जो कि कम से कम वहा के हालात को ठीक-ठाक करे और वहां लॉ एंड आर्डर को मजबूत करे और बैरूनी हमले को रोकने के लिये एक मजबूत पंजाब बनाये, ऐसा पंजाब बनाये जो कि चाइना के या पाकिस्तान के हमले के वक्त एक मजबूत पंजाब था और एक ऊंचा पंजाब था। चुनांचे, कांग्रेस की मदद से वहां एक माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट बनाई गई लक्षमन सिंह गिल की। आपने देखा होगा कि उस सरकार के बनने के बाद, कांग्रेस की सपोर्ट होने के बाद, पंजाब में सब से ज्यादा व्हीट प्रोड्यूस हुआ और हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर सब से ज्यादा व्हीट लोगों को दिया और हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि अगर पंजाब में एक मजबूत सरकार बने और उसको एक दो साल काम करने का मौका मिले तो हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जो फूड की प्राबलम है उसको काफी हद तक अकेले पंजाब ही दूर कर सकेगा। तो यह एक तर्जुबा था माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट का। उस वक्त हमारे सामने एक चीज़ थी कि आया पंजाब के अन्दर लॉ एंड आर्डर को खत्म कर दें, वहां मर्डर्स और डकैतियां करवायें, वहां रेप केसेज़ ज्यादा करवायें या वहां माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट ला कर, एक मजबूत, एक अच्छी गवर्नमेंट बना कर एक नये पंजाब को आगे लायें। चुनांचे, कांग्रेस ने वहां की हुकमत को, युनाँइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट को, तोड़ने का सही फैसला किया और माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट रखने का, लेकिन माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट बनने के बाद यह देखा कि उन्होंने सोचा कि कांग्रेस तो हमारे ही हाथों में है, हम जिस तरीके से चाहें कांग्रेस को नचा सकते हैं और उन्होंने अपनी मनमानी शुरू की। जिस वक्त कांग्रेस ने यह देखा कि माइनारिटी सरकार जो है वह पार्टी की डिसिपलिन के मातहत नहीं है, वह पार्टी की डिसिपलिन के मातहत काम नहीं करना चाहती तो कांग्रेस पार्टी ने यह फैसला किया कि हम इसको अब सपोर्ट नही करते। भार्गव साहब यह कहते हैं कि वहां प्रेसिडेंट रूल मार्च में क्यों नही हुआ। नही हो सकता था, कैसे हो सकता था जब कि चाहे वह माइनारिटी सरकार हो या कोई और सरकार हो उसकी मेजारिटी असेम्बली के अन्दर थी, उसको किस तरीके से तोड़ कर . . .

श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव : मेजारिटी कांग्रेस के समेत थी।

सरदार रघबीर सिंह पंजहजारी : कांग्रेस ने सपोर्ट की, कांग्रेस की लीडरशिप ने फैसला किया था।

श्री महाबीर प्रसाद भार्गव : वह फैसला ही गलत था।

सरदार रघबीर सिंह पंजहजारी : इसलिये यह हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार वहां प्रेसिडेंट रूल नही कर सकती थी जब तक कि कांग्रेस की लीडरशिप यह न कह दे कि सपोर्ट को विथड्रा करना है। चुनाचे, जिस वक्त देखा कि गिल मनमानी करते हैं, वहां के उनके मिनिस्टर ज्यादा से ज्यादा करप्ट हो गये हैं उस वक्त हमने अपनी सपोर्ट विथड्रा कर ली और उसके बाद

[सरदार रघुबीरसिंह पंजहजारी]

जब कि सपोर्ट विथड्रा करने का फैसला किया तब बहुत आदमी कांग्रेस में ज्वाईन करने के लिये अपने आप ही एप्लाई करना शुरु कर दिया, यहां तक कि गिल की पार्टी के 20 में से 18 मेम्बर्स ने लिख कर दे दिया था कि कांग्रेस पार्टी को ज्वाइन करना है, उनके अलावा और दूसरे इंडेपेंडेंट मेम्बर्स थे और यहां तक कि अकाली पार्टी के कुछ मेम्बरों ने भी यह लिख कर दे दिया था कि हम कांग्रेस पार्टी को ज्वाइन करना चाहते थे। तो कांग्रेस एक स्टेबिल गवर्नमेंट पंजाब में बना सकती थी लेकिन फिर भी हमने यही फैसला किया कि इस तरह से डिफेक्शंस करा कर, कांग्रेस में लोगों को मिला कर राज्य करने के बजाय हमको एलोक्ट्रेट के सामने जाना चाहिये और एलोक्ट्रेट के सामने जा कर के उनका वर्डिक्ट लेना चाहिये कि आया वह हाचपाच की गवर्नमेंट चाहते हैं, वह प्रो-चाइनीज को चाहते हैं या उन पार्टियां को चाहते हैं जो डेमोक्रेसी के साथ सही मानों में हिन्दुस्तान की सेवा करना चाहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की सेवा कर सकते हैं और इसकी हमें पूरी उम्मीद है। राजनारायण जी ने यह फर्माया कि जल्दी से जल्दी फैसला करिये कि कब इलेक्शन होगा? मैं कहता हूं कि कभी भी इलेक्शन हो, अभी भी हो, तो पहले राजनारायण जी का एक आदमी आया था और मुझे उम्मीद है कि नेक्स्ट इलेक्शन में उनका एक आदमी भी नहीं आयेगा और मुझे पूरा यकीन है कि कांग्रेस वहां मेजारिटी में आयेगी, कांग्रेस वहां जीत कर आयेगी और वहां गवर्नमेंट बनायेगी।

इसके साथ साथ मैं होम मिनिस्टर की सेवा में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि राजनारायण जी ने दो तीन प्वाइंट उठाये और मैं समझता हूं कि हमें उस पर बहुत सोच-विचार करना चाहिये। एक यह है कि सबार्डिनेट सर्विस कमिशन जो है वह एक बहुत खर्चे का काम है, उसको एकदम तोड़ दिया जाय। दूसरे उन्होंने वहां के मिस्टर विग का जिक्र किया था जो कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन के चेयरमैन हैं। पंजाब ही एक ऐसा सूबा है जिसमें वह आदमी जो कि पी०सी०एस० सर्विस में हो, जिसका अभी भी वहां लीयन हो और वह पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन का चैयरमैन हो। जो आदमी सर्विस में हो उसे पंजाब में पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन का चेयरमैन बनाया जाय तो मुझे समझ नहीं आता है कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन किस तरह से वहां चलेगी और किस तरह के वह लोगों को सेलेक्ट करेगी क्योंकि उसकी लायलिटी तो गवर्नमेंट के साथ होगी। उसको पता है कि चूंकि मेरा लीयन अभी पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के साथ है तो पंजाब गवर्नमेंट किसी वक्त भी मुझे ट्रांस्फर कर सकती है, तो मैं नहीं समझता कि पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन का ऐसा चेयरमैन पब्लिक सर्विसेज़ का सही तरीके से कैसे सेलेक्शन कर सकता है या इंसाफ दे सकता है। इसलिये जितनी भी जल्दी से जल्दी हो सके इसकी लीगली इंक्वायरी करा के होम मिनिस्ट्री को डाइरेक्टिव देना चाहिये कि चेयरमैन को इमीडियेटली रिमूव कर दिया जाय।

इसके साथ ही में यह भी अर्ज करना चाहूंगा कि जहां गिल सरकार ने पोलिटिकल विक्टीमाइजेशन करने के लिये किसी के खिलाफ झूठे केस किये हों वहां वह इमीडियेटली विथड्रा कर दिये जाने चाहियें लेकिन इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी अर्ज करूंगा कि उन आदमियों के खिलाफ जिनके खिलाफ क्रिमिनल केस दर्ज किये गये हों गुरुद्वारों के प्रसाद के चोरी के या इसी किस्म के क्रिमिनल केसेज़ हों उनको कभी विथड्रा नहीं करना चाहियें और मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा अकाली पार्टी के नेताओं से, जो कि इस वक्त कहते हैं कि इलेक्टोरेट का सामना करना चाहते हैं, मुकाबिला करना चाहते हैं, जो यह कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस को हरायेंगे वह पहले जो चोरियों के उनके खिलाफ केजेज़ हैं उनको कोर्ट में, अदालत में फेस करें और अदालत का वर्डिक्ट लें कि आया वह गुनहगार हैं या बेगुनाह हैं। और बेगुनाह हैं तो वहां से वर्डिक्ट लेकर हमारे मुकाबले पर आएं, अगर उनका वर्डिक्ट उनके खिलाफ आता है तो जनता अपने आप फैसला

करेंगे कि जो गुरुद्वारों के कडाह प्रसाद की चोरी करते हैं, जो गुरुद्वारों के पैसे से पोलिटिकल परपज के लिये खर्च करते हैं, उनके साथ किस तरह का रास्ता अख्तियार करना है, उनको कितनी मदद करनी है। इसलिये मैं उम्मीद करूंगा कि जितने भी अरसे वहां प्रेसीडेन्ट रूल हो, बाद मे वहां एक इम्पार्शल और अच्छी गवर्नमेंट और इन्साफ पसन्द गवर्नमेंट कायम की जाय जैसा कि पंजाब का हर शहरी चाहता है कि वहां स्टेबल गवर्नमेंट हो और मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि जिस वक्त भी हम इलेक्शन के मैदान मे जायेंगे, कांग्रेस बडी शान से वहां से जीत कर आयेगी और मै फिर इस रिजोल्यूशन की ताईद करता हुआ होम मिनिस्टर को धन्यवाद देता हूं।

3 P.M.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Madam let me first invite the attention of the House to the Memorandum which was submitted by the leaders of the United Front during the existence of the Gill Ministry to the President of India The concluding words of the Memorandum are as follows

> 'We therefore conclude our memorial with a fervent prayer that you will take early action to rid the State of this evil and appoint a Commission to hold a comprehensive enquiry into the misdeeds of the Ministry"

Now we have the Gill Ministry out, it has fallen under the weight of its own misdeeds, it has gone because the Congress Party found that to support the Gill Ministry would be to completely ruin its future, if at all it contemplates having any future in the State of Punjab The two factions which had been quarrelling, one openly supporting Mr Gill another pulling in a different direction ultimately came to the conclusion that it was not at all a profitable business, hence the Gill Ministry has gone It is good that the first part of the demand of the memorialists has been fulfilled, namely, the Gill Ministry is gone But the second part of their demand, namely the appointment of a Commission, still remains to be fulfilled.

Madam Deputy Chairman, now Punjab is under the Centre There is no reason why the Government of India should not move fully in this matter. When the question came up before, in regard to this Memorandum to the President, Mr Chavan said that the Memorandum was under consideration and that he had asked for the comments of the Gill Ministry Now the Gill Ministry is no longer there and therefore their comments are absolutely out of the question I should like to know what you are going to do now. Madam my clear suggestion in this matter is that a Commission of the type of the Das Commission which went into the Kairon affair should be appointed to go into the serious allegations that have been made by Mr Gurnam Singh, former Chief Minister of Punjab and other members of his Cabinet as well as the leaders of the United Front The question now arises whether a *prima facie* case was made out. I have before me a copy of the Memorandum which runs into 37 pages foolscap pages Well, it gives facts and figures and the details of the various charges that have been levelled I am not asking the Government to immediately accept all that has been said here That would be too much to expect of this Government But if on the basis of certain allegations an enquiry could be instituted in the Kairon affair, there is every reason why a proper enquiry should be held on the basis of the Memorandum submitted by the representatives of the United Front to the President of India My friend has said so many things about Punjab, he has even discovered Naxalbari and all that there But he had nothing to say about the Memorandum which was submitted to the President and which is common knowledge now in Punjab

Madam it is not possible for me to go into all the details The Memorandum starts with charges of corruption. Item one is with regard to the molasses scandal If you look at it, it says like this

"Instead of resorting to negotiations through the Government of

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India or directly with the other agencies who supply molasses and ignoring the other suggestions referred to above, the Gill Ministry in this case saw a good opportunity of making illicit money and decided to give up the normal channels through which such purchases had been made in the past, negotiated a deal with a firm named Messrs Giri Lal Mam Chand and Co for supply of 1 50 000 quintals of molasses at the rate of Rs 175 per quintal It may be mentioned that the said molasses, purchased at the black market rate, are to be supplied by the Government to the private distilleries in the State at the control rate The Memorialists have definite information that even the highest black-market price of the molasses in areas, where it is available, is in that region Rs 50 to Rs 60 per quintal"

That shows how the molasses deal was entered into for helping a private party in preference to the earlier arrangement of buying through the Government agencies This matter should therefore certainly be looked into

Then there is an allegation about the liquor business and other things, I need not go into all that Then there is the fertiliser scandal Now there are certain charges made here about this which are very interesting It says

"So far in the Punjab the fertilisers were being exclusively sold through the co-operative societies thereby eliminating middle-man's profit to any individual The Gill Government saw in this matter another avenue for making illicit profits for themselves and instead of continuing the distribution of the fertilisers through the co-operative societies, decided to entrust distribution of fertilisers to some individuals of their own choice A firm of Ludhiana namely, Rajindar Chemicals, applied to the Chief Minister on 9th of June 1968 for a licence for distribution of free sale of fertilisers in the State The firm offered to sell fertilisers at a rate lower by Re 1/- per hundred kilograms than the prevalent rates The firm also offered to procure at least one lakh tons of fertilisers within a year The application of this firm was turned down evidently because the Chief Minister and his colleagues were not in a position to strike a deal with this firm for their personal benefit but instead they got an application from a firm M/s S S Fertilisers, Model Town Ludhiana Our enquiries reveal that there is no such firm dealing in fertilisers and it is a bogus firm"

I think surely it calls for enquiry

Madam Deputy Chairman, then the memorialists say

"Reliable reports Government Punjab intends giving tomorrow monopoly sale rights fertilisers to one bogus firm Ludhiana ignoring favourable offers stop will seriously harm peasants and co-operative interests stop "

Clearly, Madam, to deal with such matters there should be co-operatives But Mr Gill and his Government were going in for private parties They were having deals with questionable and even non-existing firms

Then a reference is made to the issue of transport permits Madam It says transport permits were given to a company which does not exist at all That thing you will find on page 11 of the Memorandum the copy that I have got all those details are given We have another scandal, called the Tyre Scandal' Gill's regime was full of scandals About 1500 used tyres were purchased at Rs 50 per tyre A very beloved friend of Mr Gill, Mr Dilbagh Singh a Congress Member, bought them at this rate and after certain repairs, he sold them to the various Departments at the Government rate of Rs 400 per tyre A lot of money was made and I believe the friends shared that money which the exchequer lost

I then come to the Fargo-Dodge chassis scandal Here again after Pratap Singh Kairon's regime, the Punjab

Government in 1965, decided that this thing should not be bought nor supplied. Mr. Gill changed the order and started buying this.

"The Gill Government for their mutual benefit, the memorialists reliably learn, have passed orders that instead of recovering a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs from this company which was an astounding claim, a sum of Rs. 3,50,000 need only be recovered. A sum of Rs. 16.50,000 has been written off. The matter does not rest here. The Gill Government, the memorialists reliably learn, has also decided to purchase about 200 new vehicles from the same company once again of the same manufacture."

Here kindly note the fact that this huge amount of outstanding dues to the Government have been written off by the Gill Ministry.

I come to the grain purchase scandal again. There again the Gill Ministry took into its hands the whole method of operation in the market disregarding the cooperatives and other marketing societies and helped his friends to make money out of the grain trade.

Then there is another interesting thing. Mr. Lachman Singh Gill tried to benefit his near relations in more ways than one by illegally using his influence as the Head of the Government as instances are given.

"A transformer worth Rs. 3,50,000 or so and an electric line over 2 miles in length have been installed at village Langenana in Tehsil Moga, District Ferozepore, to electrify the house of his sister. It is reliably learnt that so far only this house in the village has got electricity connection installed and further there was no transformer provided in the plan or approved scheme of the village. This has been got done through Shri Bakhtawar Singh, Member, Electricity Board, a close friend of Mr. Gill. This installation cannot be installed on any ground whatsoever including the economical aspect and is against the rules."

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It is a very long thing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very sorry you do not like it. I cannot even summarise it. Here the full facts are given showing that sons-in-law, nieces and others have been benefited. I need not go into it.

Then there is of course the brewery scandal. Then there is the Ludhiana cite scandal.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have so many scandals in that list.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: These are some of the scandals of the Gill Ministry. Alibaba and forty thieves—we have heard about it. I hear the Gillbaba and his forty thieves. To-day our children need not be told about Alibaba and his forty thieves. They need be told only about Gillbaba and his forty thieves. Apart from that, it is a scandalous Government. They were looting and making money. This minority Government came and they knew that they would not last long and therefore they plundered. It was a great loot for them. They plundered the Punjab exchequer to enrich their friends and relatives so that they may support them later. They involved certain officers so that nothing will come out. Therefore it was a case of heet loot and plunder which one can expect in an underworld only but not certainly under the Constitution. This is one side . The other side is the Police Raj. Mr. Gill carried on police repression, terrorism and voilence as well as hooliganism. and goondaism. Apart from the uniformed police he used to run his ununiformed private army. You know under the Congress Raj only in one case a thing happened. As a Member of Parliament I referred to a document called the Appropriation Bill which was signed by the Governor but not by the Speaker or Deputy Speaker. I referred to it in this House. Do you know what happened? Hon. Members must know. For referring the document to this House Mr. Gill sent his men from Chandigarh—a Police Inspector— to enquire into my houes and a theft case was started. Fortunately

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it was not against me but I have information that he wanted to involve me also in that. It was a case of theft of that particular Appropriation Bill which I was ready to lay on the Table. This is the mentality. Such a thing had never happened in any State. Since the Commencement of the Constitution many things had been quoted but never a Member of Parliament treated like this. . . (*Interruptions.*) I do not wish to say much on this subject because the Chairman, *suo motu* has referred it to the Privileges Committee and I leave it to the Members of the Committee to come out.

Before I sit down I would only say that Punjab has got rid of—we are happy—a regime of gangsters, thugs, violent hooligans, profiteers and black-marketeers, who, in the name of a minority Government have plundered and played havoc there, we are glad that it is gone. I hope the Congress will pay the price for allowing this crime to be committed month after month in Punjab. Gill regime is a shame and dishonour in itself and it is a shame for the Congress to have allowed it. The Opposition has been accused. The Opposition could never contemplate putting up such an ugly, vulgar show as the Gill Ministry. Therefore do not blame the Opposition. Mr. Chavan said that defections have taken place. Mr. Chavan is the man who made all of them Ministers. Mr. Chavan's Government allowed the Gill Ministry to continue, and even when the Punjab Congressmen wanted to get rid of the Gill Ministry, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Mr. Chavan advised Mr. Gill to continue flouting the wishes of the Congress leaders I am glad they have realised it. We stand vindicated by life itself. I hope everybody has learnt a lesson from it and I think Mr. Chavan and the Congress Party should learn a lesson from it but I have my doubts whether in this fag end of their political life a party which is decomposed and decrepid will every learn the lesson.

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर (पंजाब): डिप्टी चेयरमैन महोदया, यह पंजाब के मुताल्लिक जो फैसला सरकार ने किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूं। श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने जो तकरीर इस के मुताल्लिक की उस के आखिरी लफ्ज मैंने सुने। उन्होंने जोश में आकर यह कहा कि गवर्नमेंट ने जो फैसला किया है वह ठीक ही किया है। वह इस से इत्तफाक करते हैं कि पंजाब के मुताल्लिक जो सरकार ने फैसला किया है उस से उन को इत्तफाक है, उन की पार्टी को इत्तफाक है और जिस पार्टी से उन का संबंध है—यूनाइटेड फ्रंट—उस को इत्तफाक है। इस लिये जहां तक इस फैसले का ताल्लुक है इस के साथ किसी को इख्तलाफ नहीं है। बाकी रहा सवाल यह कि आज अगर गुप्त साहब यह कह सकते हैं कि गिल वजारत में जो कुछ हुआ उस के जिम्मेदार चव्हाण साहब हैं तो यह बात सरासर गलत है। किसी की तारीफ कर देना और किसी को बुरा कह देना सरकार में यह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की हमेशा से चाल रही है और इस चाल में कोइ आने वाला नहीं है। सब से पहली गवर्नमेंट जिस में गुप्ता साहब की पार्टी शामिल थी, वह तो बिल्कुल ही फल हुई यानी उस पार्टी का तो किसी सूरत में भी कोई सिद्वांत नहीं था, उन के साथ कोइ मेजारिटी नहीं थी। और मैं पूछता हूं कि कम्युनल पार्टी और नान-कम्युनल पार्टी का मेल क्या है। कम्युनिस्ट और अकाली और जनसंघ, इन की कौन सी आइडियालोजीज मिलती हैं जिन की वजह से वे वहां हुकूमत का हक रखते थे। उस हुकूमत को तोड़ने का इल्जाम खाह किसी पर लगाया जाय, लेकिन दरअसल वह खुद ही टूटी है क्योंकि उन का आपस में कोइे मेल नहीं था। कोइ चीज उन की आपस में नहीं मिलती थी। वह सरकार में तो इकट्ठे थे, सरकार में तो जनसंघ के मिनिस्टर, अकाली मिनिस्टर और कम्युनिस्ट मिनिस्टर इकट्ठे थे, दफ्तर में इकट्ठे थे, मगर बाहर जब जाते थे तो एक दूसरी पार्टियों को काले झंडे दिखाते थे। जनसंघ का कोई मिनिस्टर लुधियाना जाता था तो अकाली पार्टी वाले उन को काले झंडे दिखाते थे। तो गवर्नमेंट में तो वे इकट्ठे थे लेकिन पब्लिक में वे एक

दूसरे को काले झंडे दिखाते थे । इस तरह जो यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की सरकार थी वह तो बिल्कुल नअहिल थी और कांग्रेस पार्टी अगर गिल मिनिस्ट्री को सपोर्ट करने को मजबूर हुई तो इस वजह से कि शायद कोई अच्छा इंतजाम हो जाय क्योंकि मौजूदा हालात में ऐसी बात नहीं हो सकती थी । कांग्रेस को कभी भी लालच नहीं हुआ पंजाब में मिनिस्ट्री बनाने का । मैं हर एक बात से पूरे तौर से वाकिफ हूं । अगर कांग्रेस हाइ कमांड इजाजत देता तो उस वक्त मैं चीफ मिनिस्टर था जब पंजाब का एलेक्शन हुआ था । एलेक्शन के बाद 48 कांग्रेस वाले जीते थे और मिनिस्ट्री बनाने के लिये 5 की और जरूरत थी । मगर कांग्रेस हाई कमांड ने इजाजत नहीं दी कि किस ग्रुप के आदमी तोड़े जायें । इस तरह से वे कांग्रेस सरकार बनाने के लिये तैयार नहीं थे । उस वक्त . . .

श्री भूपेश गुप्त : यह तो डिटेल की बात है ।

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : उस वक्त मैं आप को यह सच्ची बात कहता हूं और अपनी वाकफियत की बिना पर कहता हूं कि 7, 8 अकाली और दूसरे गैर-कांग्रेसी अपना ग्रुप छोड़ कर हमारे साथ, कांग्रेस के साथ आने के लिये तयार थे और वह अनकंडीशनली मिलने, कहते थे कि आप अपनी मिनिस्ट्री बना लो . . .

(*Intrruption.*)

श्री भूपेश गुप्त : मेरी इन्फार्मेशन यह है कि 7, 8 कांग्रस वाले इधर आने को तैयार थे।

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : यह जो डाका मारने की बात करते हैं इस का इल्जाम कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी पर आ सकता है, बंगाल में यह हुआ, तैलंगाना में यह हुआ, मगर दूसरी ऐसी कोइ पार्टी नहीं है जो डाका मारने पर या इस तरह की तशद्दुप में बिलिव करती हो । जनसंघ भी नहीं है, अकाली भी नहीं है, लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों को हर जगह झगड़ा पैदा करना है । हिन्दुस्तान का इतिहास इस बात का गवाह है और अब पंजाब इस बात का गवाह है । डाका मारने की बातें कम्युनिस्ट ही करते हैं और यह इस तरह की बात है कि जैसे मेले मे कोई आदमी जा रहा हो, उस की पगड़ी तो उतार कर कोई खुद बगल में लेले और उस के बाद दूसरों को 'चोर चोर' कहते फिरें । यानी इनका तरीका यह है कि दूसरों को बुरा कहो जितना कह सकते हो तभी अपनी पार्टी बच सकती है । (*Interrupttion*) आपआप ने वक्त में बोलते रहे, मैं नहीं बोला । अब मेरे वक्त में आप क्यों बोलते हैं? आप मुझे अपनी बात कहने दें । और मेरी बात शान्ति से सुनें आप यह यकीन रखें कि ऊंचा बोलने से और जोश मे बोलने से कोई दलील सही नहीं मानी जाती । सही दलील आहिस्ता से भी दी जाय तो वह वजनदार होती है । तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि अगर गिल मिनिस्ट्री को कांग्रेस ने सपोर्ट किया तो उस की वजह थी । मै यह कहता हूं और मैं इस बात को मानता हूं कि पंजाब में जो दोनों मिनिस्ट्रीयां बनीं वह फल हुई । यूनाइटेड फ्रंट भी फेल हुआ और यह माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट भी फल हुई । मगर इस में सेंटर को लाना या चव्हाण साहब को लाना ठीक नहीं है । जब उन्हें यह यकीन हो गया कि अब माइनारिटी मिनिस्ट्री को ज्यादा देर तक कांग्रेस का सपोर्ट करना ठीक नहीं है तो काग्रेस ने यह फैसला कर दिया और होम मिनिस्टर ने इस बात को मान लिया और इस तरह से जो यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की ख्वाहिश थी यानी गुप्ता साहब की पार्टी जिस में शामिल थी, उन की वह ख्वाहिश पूरी हो गयी और अब मैं आप को बताता हूं और दावे के साथ कहता हूं कि कांग्रेस पंजाब में उस वक्त की इस पोजीशन में थी कि वह अपनी मिनिस्ट्री बना सके । उस के मेम्बर भी सब से ज्यादा थे, थोड़ा सा फर्क था और कांग्रेस के साथ लोग आने को भी तैयार थे । मगर कांग्रेस हाई कमांड ने इस बात को पसंद नहीं किया कि किसी ग्रुप से किसी को तोड़ कर लाया जाय । कांग्रेस ने एक अच्छी मिसाल कायम की है और वह आरम्भ का वक्त था । अब आखिर के वक्त भी कांग्रस ने एक बहुत अच्छी मिसाल कायम की है । अब भी मैं कहता हूं, आज भी मैं कहता हूं कि कांग्रेस आज भी पंजाब में अपनी

[श्री गुरुमुखसिंह मुसाफिर]

मिनिस्ट्री बना सकती थी, मगर कांग्रेस हाइ-कमाड ने और यह मिस्टर चव्हाण ने, जिन पर यह इल्जाम लगाते हैं, उन्होंने कहा कि हम तोड़ फोड़ पर कोई यकीन नहीं रखते..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Once bitten twice shy.

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : उन का कहना था कि किसी को तोड कर ही मिनिस्ट्री बनानी है तो उस से इस तरह की मिनिस्ट्री न बनाना ही अच्छा है। तो यह फैसला बडा अच्छा फैसला हुआ। अब गेंद मैदान में है। जिस में ताकत होगी वह उसे धकेल कर दूसरे पर गोल कर देगा। फिर एक मौका हम को मिल गया है और मैं समझता हूं कि यह ठीक है। यूनाइटेड फ्रंट ने आपस में एक समझौता किया, जनसंघ मिला, अकाली मिले, रिपब्लिकन मिले, कम्युनिस्ट मिले। और इस तरह से समझौते की बात भी अच्छी होती है। मेरा तो यकीन ही समझौते में है, मैं हमेशा उस में विलीव करता हूं। मगर जब हालात बेकाबू हो जाय, कोई इलाज ही न सूझे तो फिर मैदान में आन कर फैसला करना लाजमी हो जाता है क्योंकि हर वक्त शान्ति और समझौते के नाम पर जो पर्दा-पोशी होती है वह अच्छी नहीं होती। इस बारे में शायर ने खूब कहा है :—

"तूफां की कशमकश में कोई जिदगी तो है,
सोए हुए उदास किनारों से क्या मिला।"
फूल का कहना है—कांटे की नोक वह भी
जिगर में चुभी हुई,

अक्सर यह सोचता हूँ बहारों से क्या मिला।

तो वह बहारें जो ऊपर ऊपर से हैं, जिन में अन्दरूनी शान्ति नहीं है, जिन में से हासिल कुछ नहीं होना उस से तो बहतर यही है कि एक दफा मैदान में आकर जोर आजमाइश कर ली जाय और देख लिया जाय कि कौन जोरदार है। अब जब एलेक्शन होगा तो गुप्ता साहब को यकीन हो जायगा और वे देख लेंगे कि उन की पार्टी के कितने आदमी आते हैं, कांग्रेस पार्टी के कितने आते हैं, जनसंघ के कितने आते हैं, अकाली कितने आते हैं। यह पता लग जायगा, मगर मैं इस बात का पूरे तौर पर यहां इस हाउस में इजहार करता हूं कि इस में कांग्रेस की एक फराखदिली है, कांग्रेस हाई कमांड की फराख-दिली है, कांग्रेस सरकार जो सेंटर में बरसरेइक्ति-दार है उस की फराखदिली है कि उस ने अपनी पार्टी को इजाजत नही दी कि वह सरकार बनाये जब कि इस वक्त वह अपनी सरकार बना सकते हैं। इस वास्ते सिर्फ कोसने के लिये किसी पार्टी को कोसना यह ठीक बात नहीं है। हकीकत को देखना चाहिये, सच्चाई को देखना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूं कि इस वक्त इस फैसले पर अगर किसी को थोड़ा बहुत रंज होना चाहिये तो वह कांग्रेस पार्टी को होना चाहिये और किसी की तो शक्ति नही है, कोई ताकत नहीं है...

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी की खुद की इतनी ताकत होती तो क्या चव्हाण साहब इस को इन्कार कर सकते थे आप की सरकार बनवाने के लिये ?

श्री गुरुमुख सिह मुसाफिर : बिल्कुल न करते, मगर बात यह नहीं है। कांग्रेस पार्टी की मेजारिटी नहीं थी, बुनियादी वजह यही है। मगर जो बात में कहता हूं वह यह कहता हूं कि जिस तरह दूसरी पार्टी वालों ने यूनाइटेड फ्रंट में तोड़फोड़ किया और और जो मिनिस्ट्रियां दूसरे सूबों में बनीं और उन्होंने तोड़फोड़ किया उस तरह की तोड़फोड़ में पंजाब के अन्दर कांग्रेस शामिल नहीं हुई और यह एक तारीफ की बात है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : पहले बहुत बार हुई (*Interruptions.*)

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : कांग्रेस पार्टी ने एक बात को कबूल किया कि एक बड़ी इविल को हटाने के लिये जो ईविल छोटी है उसको मंजूर किया जाय।

श्री भूपेश गुप्त : गिल भगवान था।

श्री गुरमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : यूनाइटेड फ्रन्ट की सरकार एक बड़ी भारी इविल थी, कम्युनल और नानकम्युनल दो मुख्तालिफ आइडिआलोजीज वाली जमातों का केवल पावर के लिये मिलना एक बड़ी भारी बुराई थी और उसका तोड़ना बड़ा जरूरी था। फिर जब तजुर्बे ने यह साबित किया कि माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट नहीं चल सकती तो कांग्रेस ने अपनी सपोर्ट विदड्रा कर ली। आप भी यह कहते थे जो कांग्रेस ने काम किया और इसमें कोई बुराई की बात नहीं हुई।

(*Interruption.*)

इसलिये मैं समझता हूं कि बावजूद इसके कि इसमें मेरी पार्टी के लिये शिकायत की गुंजाइश है मगर वह शिकायत मैं इसलिये यहां नहीं लाना चाहता कि यह भलाई के लिये है, तोडफोड़ के तरीका को रोकने के लिये है, आया राम और गया राम की जो प्रथा है उसको हटाने के लिये है। इसलिये कांग्रेस ने एक मिसाल कायम की है और मैं दूसरी पार्टियों से भी कहूंगा कि वे भी ऐसी मिसाल पर चलें। वे भी तोड़फोड़ की बात को छोड़ दें, उनकी मेजारिटी कहीं आती है तो सरकार बनाएं और तोड़फोड़ और गठजोड़ में न पड़ें। "कहीं की ईंट, कहीं का रोड़ा, भानुमती ने कुनबा जोड़ा", यह जो तरीका है यह गलत है। इसकी मिसाल सरकारे हिन्द और कांग्रेस हाइ कमांड ने कायम की है। इस लिये मैं इस प्रस्ताव की जो होम मिनिस्टर ने पेश किया है मैं तहे दिल से उसकी ताईद करता हूं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Banka Behary Das, I would request you to keep to the time limit of ten minutes; otherwise I cannot call everybody.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Madam Deputy Chairman, now an argument has been advanced here that they wanted to support a lesser evil to see that the bigger evil was ousted from power. Before I go into the other aspects of the question I want to reply to this point and here I am not going to say anything from memory but I will quote from the Tribune of 27th August which publishes a report about what the Governor said. It says,

> "Yesterday the Governor of Punjab met the Prime Minister, the President and the Home Minister of this country and he is understood to have told them that in its last days the Ministry had issued a number of permits, transferred some officers, promoted some others and also raised the salaries of certain categories. Law and order also had broken down."

I would therefore ask, which is the bigger evil? I did not find anywhere in the Press any report about the Governor of Punjab going to the President or the Prime Minister or the Home Minister either yesterday or even six months back and telling them that the non-Congress Ministry there had done any of these things. I know the Governor had not the courage nor had he any scope even to write to the President at that time that the former Ministry of Mr. Gurnam Singh was doing such things. Again I am going to refer to The Tribune of 26th August which says:

> "The Governor in a Press Conference announced the decision to set up a special cell...

श्री गुरमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : इसके बारे में अभी बता दूं कि इसका कारण साफ है। गवर्नर के सामने इस वक्त वही सरकार थी जो अब नई नई हटी है। इसलिये गवर्नर इससे बाहर नहीं जा सकते थे। उनको यह कहना था कि इस सरकार के मुताल्लिक यह बात है।

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Madam, I have heard his point. It is not that the Governor is explaining his conduct. He is not explaining why he has recommended President's rule. He was going to explain why he was instituting a cell in Punjab and for what purpose. The purpose was to deal expeditiously with complaints of favouritism, political victimisation and implication in false cases during the Gill regime. He did not say that because of what happened in the eighteen

[Shri Banka Behary Das]

months during the regime of the former Ministry of Gurnam Singh he was going to institute this cell. This cell was to deal with things that happened during the period when the puppet Government of Mr Gill with the support of the Congress Party of Punjab and the blessings of the Congress High Command was ruling that State. Madam Deputy Chairman, I think this is enough; otherwise the Punjab Governor would not have been partial to the non-Congress Government and would not be going to the President of India saying that the Gill Ministry was adopting all those nefarious practices.

Madam, from the Report of the Governor also you will find that the Gill Ministry was born in sin. That is clearly evident from the Report of the Governor. The Governor in his Report to the Rashtrapathi says:

> "He (that means Mr. Gill) however, defected from the People's United Front and formed his Ministry on November 25, 1967 with a few other defectors from the Sant Akali Dal and the support of a few Independent members The Congress Legislature Party extended its support to the Gill Ministry. Such an arrangement was *ab initio* fraught with instability as the Gill Ministry consisted of and was led by legislators who were drawn together not by any ideological affinity but by a desire to gain political power."

Now the Governor says that the Gill Ministry was formed with the help of the defectors and under the leadership of the defectors and *ab initio* such an arrangement...

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): May I know from the hon. Member what the Governor wrote about the United Front Ministry formerly?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: He has not reported; you must remember that Mr Gurnam Singh, when his Ministry lost its support, immediately tendered his resignation and so there was no occasion for the Governor to send any Report to the President. I would challenge here, if the Governor has sent any Report, let that be placed on the Table of the House. Here I would accuse the Governor for having accepted such a man as the head of a Ministry which did not have the full support and which was fraught with instability from the very beginning; I accuse the Governor that he has not acted according to the Constitution of this country because here not only once but always the Home Minister has said that only that person will be called to form the Ministry who had the full support, not only support but who had the majority with him so that there is the possibility of having a stable Government. And the Governor does not stop there. He goes on to say:

> "The inevitable outcome of lack of rapport was the use of Governmental machinery to raise its own following."

What was the Governor doing all this time? If he was aware of the fact that Mr. Gill was utilising his power and political authority to add more to his following, what was he doing? I am ashamed at the Governor; he did not send any Report about this because he wanted to see the puppet Government in the Punjab ..

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : केरल मे हमारी मदद से माननीय सदस्य को पार्टी ने 14 मेम्बरो को लेकर माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट बनाई थी। अब उनको यह सब कहते हुये शर्म नही आ रही है।

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS And the Governor goes on to say:

> "The use of Governmental authority for political purposes affected not only the Congress Legislature Party but has had a deleterious effect on the services also"

This is a sad condemnation of a Government which was brought into being by the Congress Party of Punjab

and it had the blessings of the Governor of the State. If anybody is to be made responsible for whatever has happened in Punjab—and a long chargesheet was placed before us by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta who said it is the Congress Party that is responsible because of its giving moral support to the puppet Government—I would say that the Governor of the State is responsible who only after so many months has come out with the truth and told the Rashtrapathi that this person, Mr. Gill, was carrying on all these nefarious activities.

Madam, I also want to point out a few facts which have also been published in the Press. The Governor during his Press Conference two days back has said that many orders of the Gill Ministry had been stayed and information was being collected on orders regarding promotion, transfers etc. passed by the Gill Ministry during the last fortnight. The Governor also said that the decision of the Gill Ministry taken on August 7, to raise the strength of the Subordinate Services Selection Board from three to five and to increase the emoluments of the Chairman and members had not yet been implemented.

These are the things which this man did just when he was going to quit office. That is why the question was raised in the House that immediately a commission should be set up to go into all these affairs. I am sorry to say that a few days back when my friend, Mr. Chitta Basu, raised the question of the memorandum that has been submitted to the President of India, the Home Minister said that unless there was a *prima facie* case they were not prepared to refer it to any commission. But here I want to remind him now a *prima facie* case has been established, not by anybody else, but by the Governor of the State, not only in his secret and confidential report to the President of India, but at a press conference to tell the world that the Gill Ministry, not the United Front Ministry, had been adopting all those measures.

In this connection I can remind you also that, when a few months back, some of the Congress Legislators of Orissa accused the present ruling party and some of its members of adopting some corrupt practices, they came to the Prime Minister, to the President and the Home Minister and gave them a memorandum full of charges. The Home Minister immediately referred the question to the Chief Minister of Orissa. I am very glad to say here that the Chief Minister of Orissa immediately, without seeing whether there was any *prima facie* case or not, referred it to a Judge who was nominated by the Government of India. I now challenge the same thing, to do the same thing which has been done by a non-Congress Government in Orissa. Is he prepared to do what he did in the case of the Congress Legislators of Orissa? Is he prepared to do the same thing in the case of the Gill Ministry? He has no moral courage and he has no right to say here that only when a *prima facie* case is established, it will be referred to a commission. Further, when he has done so in the case of Orissa, he should immediately announce here, when he gives his reply, that at least, if not to a commission, he will refer it to a Judge to adjudge whether there is any *prima facie* case in all these allegations. Otherwise, you should know, although the Congress Party is responsible completely for what the Gill Ministry has done, the Governor and the President will be indirectly responsible for it. Therefore, I reiterate the demand for the institution of an enquiry. I think in respect of the Bengal affair, the Bihar affair and the Punjab affair, where this experiment of puppet governments has been made, it will be an eye-opener to the Congress Party and from now on they should share power if they want to have a government, but they should not buttress and sabotage a minority, puppet government, as in the case of the Gill Ministry in Punjab or as in the case of the Mandal Ministry in Bihar.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN (Madras): Madam, at the fag end of the discussion, I will make my speech fairly brief.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Only two hours have been allotted for this.

[Deputy Chairman]

That is your Party's position on this paper.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN: The hon. Home Minister was pleased to say that the situation we are in was inevitable. I do not agree. It is actually the result of a planned action of the Congress Party in the last few months, if not more, subsequent to the last general election in the Punjab which has brought us to this pass. Perhaps it was inevitable, if I may say so, in view of the steps the Congress itself took. What happened to Punjab has not been an isolated event. As we all know, the last few months, the last one year has shown us that a non-Congress Government was toppled in Bengal. A non-Congress Government was toppled in Bihar. A non-Congress Government was toppled in UP and so too in Haryana. In my own State of Tamil Nad very serious efforts are on to topple the non-Congress DMK Government, if possible. Only they are just not able to do it. Now, Punjab is only one of the series. The matters referred to by my esteemed friend, Mr. Das, reading from the Tribune and even from the report of the Governor, Mr. Pavate, show that in the days just before the Ministry laid down office or the Chief Minister offered his resignation, he made several efforts to build up his own party. He was full of hurry in issuing permits, in making transfers and promotions and his actions even went to the extent of damaging the Congress Party itself. This is in the Governor's Report too. Is all this about Mr. Gill just a discovery of the Congress Party today? Is it anything which they did not know before? All these defectors were made to defect from the Congress Party by a planned move of the Congress. After coming out, they shamelessly supported this Shikandi Ministry, which was a minority Ministry of hardly twenty Members who defected from the non-Congress coalition. Now, the Governor, appointed by this very Central Government, has the least hesitation, at a press conference, in coming out with an open report saying that this man, the man who is now dressed up to look like a criminal, Mr. Gill, used his position to build up his own party. Was it not known even they? It was known. They said a few months ago in their open conference at Hyderabad that they would topple the non-Congress Governments. The President of the Party, Mr. Nijalingappa, has been going about telling the country that they will topple the non-Congress Governments. Their line has been : either we or none else. They would rather rule through a Governor by proxy. They just are not able to adjust themselves to the fact that the people have registered a firm verdict against them. Therefore, if we are today faced with a Proclamation having been issued, whatever the crime of the Gill Ministry be—I do agree they are reprehensible and I have no hesitation in saying so—the person who has to stand in the dock is the Congress Party. It is this Government which has to answer for it. It is their line to topple the non-Congress Governments. They could not rule themselves. The people do not want them. Even then they decide to rule through a stooge. That is what they are doing in State after State That is why I say that the lesson is not going to be learnt by the Congress leaders. They themselves are the initiators and pursuers of this policy. But I was surprised when some friends inside the Congress also started flinging comments at the Opposition. I repeat that we, the Opposition Parties, are different political parties. We may have different ideologies. We may even quarrel with each other. We are clear, distinct and different Parties. The complaint of my Congress friends and particularly of Mr. Bhargava, who spoke, is that we are unable to find a common tongue. I know you people do not belong to several Parties and that you are one Party. But you are actually a bedlam let loose today, talking in twenty voices. Is it not surprising that we have quarrels and we differ, but we will be able to find common cause and take a common stand in fighting you. The people expect us to do that. We will not fail the people in that. You today are fondly hoping that you will stage a come back. If you want to win the favour, again, of the people, unless

there is a complete and fundamental change in the Congress policies, there is no future for the Congress Party. We people are just growing. We were not to the fore some twenty years ago. You started life in this country when independence came with all the goodwill of the entire nation and where are you? What is the fate of your Party? I was surpised at my esteemed friend. Mr. Bhargava, saying that these various Parties are not able to come together. I would ask him to put his own house in order and see about his own party before he offers advice, before he offers comments about us. The other friend from Punjab, Shri Panjhazari, was telling all sorts of things. He is so guilt conscious about the role of the Congress Party that he wants to have a fling or other at the opposition and takes any stick to try to beat us with. He unnecessarily dragged the name of my party which was never inside that Government. He gave the impression that my party, the Left Communist Party as he and others described it, the Communist Party (Marxist), was a component part of that Government. It was not.

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : यह बिल्कुल गलत है ।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana). Was not the Communist Party (Marxist) inside the United Front?

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN: I am a man who is particular about the words I speak. I said my party was not a constituent part of that Government. One of the leaders of my party, Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjit was the Secretary of the United Front Committee which did take part in the election campaign in seeing that the Congress was defeated, and after the election our party decided that Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjit should not be the Secretary of the United Front Committee. On our party's directive he got out. Not that it matters now. I am now saying that in a particular context, unable to sustain the role which the Congress Party plays, you just pick some fact somewhere and try to say things. Please do not do it. At least you learn a lesson. It is not a question of very nicely and quietly saying now, "We have tried minority Ministries; they do not succeed". It is not as simple as all that. There was a deliberate plan to see that non-Congress Governments elected by the people, placed there by the verdict of the people, should not function because the Congress was defeated. So, I say today in view of all that Mr. Das read out from the Tribune, with all that before us, the Congress Party has to bear the responsibility for having sustained the minority in power. They made a farce of democracy, if I may say so. If an attack on democracy comes, it comes from the Congress Party.

My friend, Mr. Musafir, went to the unnecessary extent of saying—the other friend also said—that the plan of my party was this or the plan was that. I want to refute all that. Let this discussion not be made an occasion for saying all sorts of thing in a groundless manner against this party or that. The point here was that a minority was made to defect supported by the Congress Party, and then now you say it did all these bad things. It was done with eyes open by the Congress Party, if I may say so, and the point is not that they failed, but they must understand the fiasco of their own policies. Unless there is a break from that, there is no future for the Congress Party. It is true you continue to have the majority of this House, and the Proclamation will go on with that majority. But there has also been the demand for some months that this Proclamation must have come earlier once the United Front Government was weakened by the defection. Now I earnestly say that this question of ending this Governor's rule also as early as possible should receive attention. We must not merely say that we will have elections. An early date must be fixed for that. Let not the people be punished for the sins of the Congress Party by continuing the Governor's rule longer than absolutely necessary.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I can only accommodate one more speaker, and that is Mr. Jagat Narain.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): I would like to speak on this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two hours have been allotted. I cannot help it. I must call the Minister after Mr. Jagat Narain.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Can we not extend it by half an hour?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have to be very strict now.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I have withdrawn my Half-an-hour Discussion for the sake of this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I want to tell the House that two hours have been allotted. So many names come to me, and I try to accommodate in regular turn. If they do not come within that time limit, I am very sorry. There has to be some system here.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I have withdrawn my Half-an-hour Discussion for this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am going to abide by the Business Advisory Committee's decision.

श्री गुरमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपकी वसातत से सिर्फ इस वक्त एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि माननीय मेम्बर ने कहा है कि युनाइटेड फ्रंट में लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट शामिल नहीं थे तो यह बात गलत है, लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट उसकी कोआर्डिनेशन बाडी के कनवीनर थे ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They were not a constituent of the United Front Government. That is what he said. Mr. Jagat Narain.

श्री जगत नारायण (हरियाणा) : माननीया मैं आपका बहुत मशकूर हूं, आपको बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूं कि आपने मुझे बतौर पंजाबी होने के अपने ख्यालात को इज़हार करने का मौका दिया है चूंकि मेरा वहां से ताल्लुक है। हमारे श्री गुरमुख सिंह मुसाफिर बुजुर्ग हैं वह इस बात को मानेंगे, पंजाब के लोग जो हैं वह इस बात में फक्र हासिल करते हैं कि पंजाब हर बात में लीड करता है, पंजाब पैदावार में लीड करता है, पंजाब फार्सेज में ज्यादा आदमी देता है पंजाब ने मुल्क के डिफेंस के लिये ज्यादा तादाद में अपने आदमी मरवाये हैं, पंजाब इसमें लीड करता है तो पंजाब प्रेसिडेंट रूल लगवाने में भी सब से ज्यादा आगे है, सब से आगे है, यह तीसरी दफा पंजाब में प्रेसिडेंट रूल लग रहा है। तो इसकी क्या वजह है इसकी वजह को देखना चाहिये। मैं होम मिनिस्टर की खिदमत में अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि पहली दफा जब पंजाब में प्रेसिडेंट रूल लगा तो इसलिये कि भीमसेन सच्चर और भार्गव साहब में यह झगड़ा था कि उनमें से कौन लीडर बने और दूसरी दफा जब लगा तो इसलिये कि सरकार दरबारा सिंह और ज्ञान सिंह में, उनके दर्मियान में, यह झगड़ा था कि वहां कौन लीडर बने। आज तीसरी दफा भी जो प्रेसीडेंट रूल लगा वह इसलिये कि अगर राड़ेवाला और प्रबोध चन्द्र मे यह झगड़ा न होता, यह मिल जाते और यह गिल को सपोर्ट करते तो पंजाब में प्रेसिडेंट रूल नहीं होना था। ये तमाम बातें तो पंजाब के गवर्नर ने लिखी हैं कि वहां बुरी हालत है, ला एंड आर्डर फेल हो गया है, अफसर तंग हो गये हैं, वह बातें तो हैं लेकिन यह भी बात है। मुझे अफसोस है, वह हमारे बुजुर्ग हैं मैं उनका एहतराम करता हूं उन्होंने कहा कि जब 1967 में जनरल इलेक्शन हुआ तो कांग्रेस ने बड़ा त्याग किया और उन्होंने कहा कि उसने मिनिस्ट्री नहीं फार्म की, लेकिन मेरी अर्ज है कि त्याग नहीं किया बल्कि मुसाफिर साहब भी लीडर बनने के, वृषभान भी और दरबारा सिंह भी लीडर बनने के उम्मीद मे थे और राड़ेवाला भी उम्मीदवार थे और ये आपस में लड़ते रहे फैसला नहीं कर सके।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव : जगत नारायण जी, आप असेम्बली में नहीं पहुंचे थे नहीं तो इनमे शायद आप भी होते।

श्री जगत नारायण : तो वहां हालत यह हुई कि यह आपस में लड़ते रहे और अपोजीशन वालों ने वहां पर अपनी मेजारिटी बना कर वहां वजारत बना ली। मेरे भाई भार्गव साहब ने कहा कि मैं वहां नहीं था, मैं तो यहां था, यहा बैठा था।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव : असेम्बली मे होते तो आप भी इनमें होते।

4 P. M.

श्री जगत नारायण : अब सवाल पैदा होता है और मैं भार्गव साहब की तारीफ करना चाहता हूं जो उन्होने बड़ी जुराअत से यह बात कही कि जिस वक्त सरदार गुरुनाम सिंह ने अपना इस्तीफा दिया उसी वक्त गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये था कि यहां पर राष्ट्रपति राज लागू कर दे क्योंकि हालात उस वक्त ऐसे थे और गवर्नर ने अपनी इस चिट्ठी में जो उन्होंने प्रेसिडेंट को दी है बडा साफ लिखा है :—

> "The Congress Legislature Party extended its support to the Gill Ministry. Such an arrangement was *ab initio* fraught with instability as the Gill Ministry consisted of and was led by legislators who were drawn together not by any ideological affinity but by a desire to gain political power."

इसका बडा सीधा मतलब यह है कि गवर्नर ने कांग्रेस को कंडम किया है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने एक माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट को सिर्फ पोलिटिकल पावर हासिल कर ने के लिये वहां इंस्टाल किया गद्दी पर। तो भार्गव साहब ने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा कि यह जो आज राष्ट्रपति राज लागू किया जा रहा है यह 9 महीने पहले लागू किया जाना चाहिये था। तो मैं समझता हूं कि जो कुछ अब किया गया है यह नौ महीने पहले किया जाना चाहिये था लेकिन जो अब आपने राष्ट्रपति राज लागू किया है मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूं मगर स्वागत करने के साथ साथ मैं बड़े अदब के साथ होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूं कि गिल मिनिस्ट्री ने जो बातें वहां पर की है, जिस तरीके से उन्होंने अफसरों का तबादला किया है, जिस तरीके से लोगों पर मुकदमे बनाए हैं, जिस तरह से रूट परमिट्स दिये है, उनकी पूरी तहकीकात होनी चाहिये। मैं उनके नोटिस में लाना चाहता हूं कि जाते जाते इन्हीं दिनों जब कि फैसले हो रहे थे कि गिल मिनिस्ट्री को अपनी अपनी सपोर्ट वापस ले ले मगर सरकार ने अभी अनाउन्स नहीं किया था। तो उन्होंने शिमला पठानकोट रूट, पठानकोट जम्मू रूट, सब मिलाकर जो 13 रूट थे, जो कि पोलिटिकल सफरर्स को मिले हुए थे, उनको काटकर उन्होंने अपने उन एम० एल० ए० लोगो को दे दिये जिन्होंने मिनिस्ट्री को सपोर्ट दी थी और उन रूटों मे लाखों रुपये की आमदनी है हर महीने में। मैं ट्रान्सपोर्ट मिनिस्टर रहा हूं पंजाब मे, मैं अन्डरस्टैन्ड करता हूं...

(*Interruptions.*) यह किस ढंग से सारा काम किया गया है। मैं बड़े अदब से कहूंगा कि इसकी पूरी इन्क्वायरी होनी चाहिये। मैंने तो सारा नेशनलाइज किया था, मुझे आप क्या कहते हैं :

I was the only Minister who tried to nationalise transport in India first.

इसलिये मुझे आप क्या कह रहे हैं। तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि इस बात की इन्क्वायरी कराइये कि जो रूट लाइसेन्स दिये गए कुछ नहीं तो करीब 25 के दिये, इसके अलावा भी जो उन्होंने जाते जाते बहुत से डिप्टी कमिश्नर्स का एस० पीज का व बडे आफिसरों का तबादला कर दिया, मुकदमें कर दिये लोगों पर और अभी हमारे भाई पंजहजारी जी कह रहे थे कि जो मुकदमें किये सच्चे किये है और अगर सच्चे किये है तो सजा दीजिए मगर झूठे मुकदमें क्यों न वापस

[श्री जगत नारायण]

लिय जाये और गवर्नर महोदय सब गलत कामों को सही करे। अब गवर्नर महोदय यह कहते है, और बडी सीधी तौर पर उन्होने कहा है :

"The Punjab Governor, Dr. D. C. Pavate, told the Centre today that the State administration was faced with the heavy task of undoing the wrongs which the Gill Ministry has done during its last days"

यह लास्ट डेज वाली बात है, मेरा खयाल है ट्रिब्यून मे से मैंने इस खबर को लिया है। मै समझता हू जो नुकसान गिल मिनिस्ट्री ने पहुचाया है काग्रेस को, और मुझे पता है इस बात को काग्रस तसलीम करती है कि गिल मिनिस्ट्री ने पजाब मे काग्रेस को बहुत नुकसान पहुचाया और मेरी यह राय है कि आपको वहा पजाब मे इलेक्शन कम से कम एक साल के बाद करवाना चाहिये क्योंकि यह जितना नुकसान अब तक करवाया गया है जितने लोगो को वहा पर धमकाया गया है, डराया गया है, उनको कैद मे डाला गया है उनकी फसले जला दी गई है, मकान जला दिये है, आपको उन तमाम बातो को 'अन्डू' करके इलेक्शन कराना चाहिये और कम से कम एक साल बाद इलेक्शन कराना चाहिये ताकि पजाब मे एक स्टेब्ल मिनिस्ट्री बने, जब तक पजाब मे स्टेब्ल मिनिस्ट्री नही बनेगी, याद रखिये, सारे हिन्दुस्तान को अनाज नही मिल सकेगा। फौज के लिये रोल नही मिल सकेगा, पजाब आपके आर्मी की सोल है, पजाब आपकी ग्रेनरी है, इसलिये निहायत जरूरी है कि पजाब मे आप स्टेबल गवर्नमेंट कायम कीजिए, यह नही कि छः छः महीने मे राष्ट्रपति राज लागू हो जाय। आज इतनी बुरी हालत हो गई है पजाब मे कि लोग त्राहिमाम त्राहिमाम कर उठे हैं, लोग याद करते थे काग्रेस के राज मे यह हो रहा है, काग्रस इस गवर्नमेंट को सपोर्ट कर रही है ऐसी मिनिस्ट्री को सपोर्ट कर रही है जो इतना अत्याचार कर रही है। एक एक शहर में एक एक महीने मे बारह बारह कत्ल हो रहे थे। इस वक्त आपके गवर्नर पर बडा बोझ आन पडा है। इसलिये मै बडे अदब से होम मिनिस्टर से कहूगा कि आप सब हालत ठीक कीजिए, गवर्नर को इजाजत दीजिये और अच्छा एड्वाइजर वहा भेजिए, ऐसे मत भेजिय बिहार की तरह कि वहा जाकर और ऊधम मचा दें। इसलिये आप मजबूत एड्वाइजर भेजिए और उनसे मदद लीजिए। बाकी रहा यह कि आपका मौजूदा गवर्मेंट सब कुछ छोड रहो है। तो मै आपको बतलाना चाहता हू कि मौजूदा गवर्मेंट के जमाने मे ही यह तमाम बाते हुई। अगर आपने एक मजबूत गवर्नर राज वहा पर नही रखा तो आप पजाब की हालत को ठीक नही कर सकेगे। इन खयालात के साथ मे इस रिजोल्यशन को सपोर्ट करता हू और यह अर्ज करता हू कि मैंने तमाम जितनी बाते कही है उनको दूर करने की कोशिश करे।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, most of the Members who spoke, I should say, without any exception have supported the present motion before the House Of course, everyone has his own reason for it and if we just try to see the arguments advanced by all of them, there may be some contradictions also But the sum total is that everybody wants to support this motion So, I think, as a matter of fact, for me there is nothing more to answer or reply to I am very glad indeed, and I welcome this unanimous support to the motion

Some interesting points were raised by some Members. But before I enter into them, I want to make one point very clear that I am not holding any brief for the Gill administration I am not holding any brief for what were the omissions and commissions of the Gill administration. Some Members said—the hon. Shri Bhupesh Gupta said—that there is a memorandum submitted against the Gill Government. We had sent that memorandum for the

comments of the Gill Government and Mr. Gill himself. But before Mr. Gill resigned, he has sent the answer to all the points and that answer is under examination by the Home Ministry. As I said, the question of appointing an Inquiry Commission arises only when there is a *prima facie* case made out on the basis of the memorandum. That is a different matter. One just cannot decide to start an inquiry only because some Members want it to be started.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): When such a memorandum was submitted by some Members from Orissa against some people in the ruling party, was there any *prima facie* case—you sent it back—for appointing a Judge for conducting the inquiry?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I handed over to the Chief Minister to find out whether there was any *prima facie* case. I was not in a position to do that, I wanted him to find out.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: It was not from your side.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: He is not understanding what I am saying. I sent it back to him—I had not suggested—so that if he wanted he could find out if there was a *prima facie* case. That is all. Now, in this case, it will be my duty to see whether there is any *prima facie* case or not before going into this matter.

Some Members have tried to go into whether the Congress or the Opposition was right. I do not want to go into that thing. I think, let us leave the whole matter for judgment of history because, I have said, I was not partisan when I moved this motion. There were political lessons to be learnt both by the Congress and the Opposition in this history of Punjab for the last 16 or 18 months because we saw immediately after the general elections that it was the Opposition parties which introduced an element of instability. I do not want to be partisan and argue the case. They started the game of defection, defected six Congress members, asked them to join the United Front Government offering them Ministerships, and all the six members who defected from the Congress were made Ministers. So, Madam, these things started with them.

SHRI JAGAT NARAIN: That was after the formation of the Ministry.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: What does it mean? Whether you form a Ministry and then defect or allow people to defect and then form a Ministry, it does not mean much, once you start this game of defection—Defection itself is a very dangerous thing—it cannot be expected that only the Opposition should do that and the Congress should not do that. Therefore, the basic position is that what has happened in Punjab during the last 16 or 18 months is something which we have to sit back and think about and draw our own lessons from it. I have come to this conclusion to which I have made a reference that these minority Governments have proved to be some sort of misfortunes. Everybody started a political game and what was considered to be a reasonable game ultimately proved disastrous to the Punjab administration itself. There is no doubt about it.

Some hon'ble Members have mentioned that the Gill Administration has either done this or they have not done that. Whatever it is, now that the President's Rule has been introduced it will be the duty, I think, of the Punjab Administration to undo if there are any wrongs done and remove any demoralisation among the services if it is there and try to make their best to give a clean administration to the Punjab. Because it is the President's Rule. I do not think that it should merely keep things going. I have no doubt about it that not only should they keep things going but they should also try to do some positive good to the administration. They will have to undertake some good programmes also. But, Madam, these are matters for the future. Whatever suggestions some hon'ble Members have made in this connection will be taken note of and we will see what we can do.

[Shri Y. B Chavan]

I have nothing more to say I think the House for the unanimous support that they have given to this Resolution

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The question is.—

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 23rd August, 1968 under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Punjab."

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Then we go on to the Bihar Budget and the Bihar Appropriation Bill, 1968 to be taken up together The time allotted is two hours But if the House wants to extend the time they may extend it beyond 6 o'clock.

AN HON MEMBER· It should be more.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN We are going to take up the two things together

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I THE BIHAR BUDGET, 1968-69

II THE BIHAR APPROPRIATION BILL, 1968

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA) Madam, I beg to move.—

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Bihar for the services of the financial year 1968-69, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration"

The question was proposed.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार): आदरणीय उपसभापति महोदया, बिहार का यह बजट बड़ा ही यूनीक है सर्वप्रथम जो संविद की सरकार थी उसने इस बजट को बनाया था और शोषित सरकार ने विधान सभा के सामने उसको प्रस्तुत किया था। शोषित शासन के गिर जाने के बाद फिर द्वितीय संविद की सरकार ने इसको प्रस्तुत किया और दुर्दैव से वह भी पारित नहीं हो सका और बाध्य होकर आज केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा पारित होने के लिए यहां आया है। पता नहीं जो गतिविधियां कांग्रेस में चल रही हैं ऐसा न हो कि इस बिल को पारित करते करते केन्द्रीय सरकार का भी पतन हो जाय।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : स्वप्न में देखिये।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : आप जैसे मददगार जिन्दा रहें।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : कम से कम जब से यह विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है तब से कांग्रेस सरकार का एक मंत्री जरूर निकल गया है और इस तरह से इस विधेयक ने कुछ गड़बड़ी तो शुरू कर ही दी है। सुनने में आया है कि इस बिल के प्रभाव में कुछ लोग जल्दी ग्रसित होने वाले हैं और पता नहीं वे कौन कौन हैं।

मैं जब इस बजट का अध्ययन कर रहा था तो एक चीज मेरे सामने आई और वह यह थी कि संविद सरकार में जो कृषि मंत्री थे श्री मिश्रा जी, उन्होंने अपने समय में वहां पर एक कृषि विश्वविद्यालय बनाने का प्रयास किया था और उसी व्यवस्था को केन्द्रीय सरकार कायम रखने जा रही है। जब मैं बजट का दूसरा रूप देखता हूं तो मुझे श्री मोरारजी की करामात नजर आती है। बजट में जो घाटा दिखलाया गया था उसको उन्होंने पिछले सालों और इस साल के राजस्व में जो बकाया था उसको वसूल करके पूरा करना चाहा। मैं नहीं समझता हूं कि जहां पर आप कृषि के लिए मदद करना चाहते थे और अनुदान दिया करते थे, सुविधाएं देते थे, सबसिडी देते थे 25 प्रतिशत की, लघु सिंचाई और विद्युत में भी