

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The result* of the division is: Ayes 17; Noes 171.

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, I will put amendments 33 and 37 to vote.

Amendments Nos. 35 and 37 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, the question is:

"That clause 7, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 7, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 8 was added to the Bill.

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

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill, as amended be passed."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the Bill, as amended be passed"

The motion was adopted.

15.23 hrs

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE. CONTINUANCE OF PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF GUJARAT—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, we take up the further consideration of the Statutory Resolution in respect of the State of Gujarat.

Shri Natwarlal Patel to continue his speech... (*Interruptions*)

Hon. Members who want to go out, may please do so quietly. Please go with a whimper and not with a bang.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL (Mehsana): Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by the Home Minister for the extension of President's rule in Gujarat.

Sir, before President's rule was imposed in Gujarat, the Janata Front Ministry was ruling. Yesterday I had given some reference to what the Janata Front Ministry did. I do not know why my friend, Shri Mavalankar feels hurt. According to me, Mr. Mavalankar claims to be an Independent Member of this House. I pity for him. I know very well that he was elected to this House with the support of the Opposition Parties of the Gujarat State. That is why he feels his obligation by showing some sympathy here like this.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): On a point of order, Sir.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: I am not yielding.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is on a point of order.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: My point of order is this. I am going to speak later on, with your permission, in this debate. Therefore, I do not want to reply to any hon. Member about any points. My point of order is this: can any hon. Member of the House refer to any other hon. Member's election, irrespective of facts? Has he got the liberty to speak irrespective of facts? Because he is bringing in individual considerations, my point of order is .

*Shri Appalanaidu also recorded his vote for NOES.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): It is a point of propriety.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: All right, it is a point of propriety. Is it right for him to refer like this?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not a point of order. The order is all right. As long as the member does not make defamatory statement and you are here to reply, order is there.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: Yesterday the CPI(M) Member while speaking here was shedding crocodile tears for the people of Gujarat by saying that the President's rule is not desirable and that popular government should be given to the people of Gujarat. I have been trying to understand the ideologies of so many political parties in the country and it is a great misfortune on my part that uptill now I have not understood the ideology of CPI(M). One of my friends told me this that this is a party with no ideology at all. They have got only one programme and it is this. Where there is fire, they rush and add fuel to the fire. So far as CPI(M) is concerned, for the last few months they are concentrating over the State of Gujarat. If hon. Members of the House might recall, during the movement of nav nirman samithi some friends from the CPI(M) rushed to Gujarat State. What they did at that time is very well-known to the Members. This party is completely ousted so far as politics is concerned from West Bengal. Their business of politics is completely stopped in West Bengal. So they want to find some room in some other States. Gujarat is certainly not a place for them to start their business. As a matter of fact, they can be tolerated in some other States, but so far as Gujarat is concerned, the Gujarat people will not tolerate them. This I say to them with due respect.

श्री जयशंकर शेट्टी : (सावपुर) : बिना व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। सी पी एम के बारे में माननीय सदस्य कुछ बोल रहे हैं, कुछ उसके ऊपर आरोप लगा रहे हैं। उसको बह डिफेंस करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। आप देख ही रहे हैं कि सी पी एम के लोग आज सदन में हाजिर नहीं हैं। जो सदस्य आज हाजिर नहीं हैं, उनकी पार्टी के बारे में या उनके बारे में ऐसा क्या बोला जा सकता है ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: In the first place it is a political charge; there is no defamation; nothing prevents the Member to be here and come and defend himself. Please continue.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: During the Janata Front Government what happened? We know that very well. Law and order was paralysed. That was completely broken. There was no law and order. Not only that. The Government had a short life. During that short life, it was not working for the welfare of the people, but it was working at the behest of Jan Sangh people and such other fascist elements in the State. I know this very well. They did not bother to implement the 20-point programme. They did not bother to implement the development works of the State. As a matter of fact, that Government miserably failed because of its own weight.

15.29 hrs

[SHRI VASANT SATHE in the Chair]

After that, there was no other alternative except President's rule. So, President's rule was imposed in the State of Gujarat.

Sir, it is well known under what circumstances President's rule was imposed in the State of Gujarat; at that time what was the situation there? After this rule was imposed in the State of Gujarat, everything

is working absolutely satisfactorily. The Government have tried its level best to implement the 20-Point Economic Programme and the Government have kept up the priceline of essential commodities in the State and thereby the Government have rendered valuable services to the weaker sections of the society in Gujarat State especially.

So far as President's Rule is concerned, some friends here may ask: why we should extend it. I anticipate at least that Mr. Mavalankar, in his speech, would ask about it. We also want a popular Government. I want to make it clear here that we are not opposed to a popular Government. About this the people of my State are very clear in their minds. My friend Mr. Mavalankar may say then why not there a Government be formed under Art. 301 or 304. So far as my leaders are concerned, they are not power oriented people; they are always looking after the welfare of the people of my State. We would like to form a Government in the State of Gujarat. We certainly want to have a stable and clean government for the people of this State. So far as this is concerned, Shri Mavalankar and others are opposed to President's Rule. They should not also feel that we are opposed to a popular Government there. People of Gujarat want to have a popular government there; they want a stable and clean government there. The moment my party knows that the situation there is all right. (Interruptions) Sir, I am not yielding to my friend. Let him take his seat.

श्री मावलंकर बोटे : 1971 का चुनाव संसद का माननीय सदस्य ने किस दल ने लड़ा ?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Well said.

MR CHAIRMAN: Address the Chair. Don't address amongst yourselves.

SHRI NATWARLAL PATEL: Sir, I am very clear about one thing. I would like to assure the hon. Members here that as soon as the proper time comes, my party will come forward to form a stable and clean Government for the people of Gujarat.

At present, President's Rule is being extended. Before I conclude, with your permission, Sir, I would like to utter only two sentences. I congratulate both Shri Brahma-nanda Reddy, our Home Minister and Shri Om Mehta, Minister of State for Home Affairs who made frequent visits to my State. Anyway, by their frequent visits, Gujarat Administration is going on well there. I congratulate him on my behalf and on behalf of the people of Gujarat State.

With these words, I welcome the resolution for extension of President's Rule in the State of Gujarat.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: (Jainagar): Sir, this extension of President's Rule for another six months at a time when people were expecting some sort of democratic rule is not good. This has not happened. I do not say that the Congress Party has not got the majority. It has secured the majority by engineering defection on a large scale. That can form a stable government and effectively run it.

I have some idea of it. I know that once the Government has thought that there is slight relaxation of the emergency, again defections will restart.

Here the defection, as engineered in the State of Gujarat, is engineered in a planned manner and it is on a very wide scale through their own Members. Not only it is so in Gujarat but it is so throughout the country. The people had been compelled to forget that defection was an offence. The Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament is sitting to consider the official Bill to put a ban

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on defections. People have forgotten now that there are defections everywhere. They have also begun in Kashmir. Not only the local leaders but also the members of the ruling party here at the Centre has begun raising a hue and cry. How do they feel that people will welcome them when they are accepting Jan Sanghis, RSS men, Congo men and Swatantrites who have been demanding the dissolution of parliamentary system, end of democratic structure and the head of the Prime Minister itself. Sir, I do not think the ruling party should expect that the people of India should be so ignorant as not to make a comparison of it when these people are being welcomed and functions are being held in their honour.

Sir, I dare say that there is no rule of the Congress party in Gujarat. In practice there is the rule of the old combination of Congo and Jan Sangha. The AICC decided and the Prime Minister declared that popular participation in the implementation of the 20-point programme is necessary. The AICC has issued circulars to this effect. But, Sir, in many States such committees have been formed but not in Gujarat. The Congress is not allowed to be a party in the implementation committee either at the district or State level. There are implementation committees consisting of those persons who became the zila panchayat heads or district heads during the previous rule. So, I do not know how they are cheating themselves and their own party and why they are trying to mislead the people in the country by making them believe as if there is rule of the President or for that matter of the Central Government through the administration over there in Gujarat.

Sir, this problem was raised by me in the meeting of the consultative committee for Gujarat and after repeated queries made by me in that meeting the Minister of State for

Home Affairs, Shri Om Mehta, said that the popular participation of like-minded political parties will be applied in Gujarat also as is elsewhere in the country. I have got the minutes of that meeting with me but there is no mention about this.

Thereafter when the Secretary of the Gujarat State branch of the Communist Party wrote to the Governor a reply has been received. This reply has been given by Shri Dave on behalf of the Governor. It is dated 17th June, that is, more than one month after the meeting of the consultative committee. I quote from the reply:

"I am directed to refer to your representation to the Governor... the appointments of the members on the committees constituted by the Government are not made on the basis of party affiliation."

This is a formal letter. Shri Om Mehta had said that this will apply in Gujarat and here in this letter it is being openly violated and defied. No party considerations will apply there. So the State Congress leadership is not associated as Congress leaders and the whole system of the past is continuing. What is the result? The Prime Minister herself had openly stated that the whole nation was shocked when some people demanded minimum wages for which they were tortured, Harijans or other poor people. In the case of Gujarat, the Prime Minister herself bemoans the situation—I call it bemoaning. No steps have been taken to correct the situation. These are the realities in the State. In the Minutes of the meeting of 15th May of the Consultative Committee, it is stated:

"Shri Bhogendra Jha mentioned that he had covered 30 miles on foot and found that not a single circular had been sent to Panchayats or Sarpanch how to implement the provisions about minimum wages or bonded labour etc.

The old setup was continuing. He specifically referred to the problem of bonded labour which, he alleged, still existed in Gujarat. According to him, in Mehsana district the bonded labour continues".

Here I would again mention that it is still continuing. These bonded labourers are called 'sathis'. I can give some instances for the information of the Minister. Even now he can see if he can get anything done. The panchayat people there are abusing Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They say: 'How can this law apply? We are here to implement it'. The village heads respected me. They cared for me because I was an MP. But they asked me: 'Will your father allow it' 'Will your father permit bonded labour being freed?' I am talking of Mehsana district, Surat district, Bijapur taluk. I had visited more than half a dozen villages; village Rampur, village Tintadan, village Harnahoda, village Techava, village Deria, village Kot and many other villages. Here the system is this. Bonded labourers cannot give one single naya paisa out of their labour's reward to their wives. I have some names also here.

One Khemabhai, village Tintadan, had been working as a bonded labourer for 7 years. Even the annual charge was fixed at Rs. 200. The money he had taken for a marriage would be set off against this. It was not paid for 7 years. He left. Then the camel cart of a third person who stood surety for him was forfeited. No officer intervened. Only after my writing did they intervene.

Similarly there is the case of Shri Keshubhai Thakore of village Harnahoda. He was also a bonded labourer of that category. Then Vechatji Bhikaji Thakore, again of Harnahoda, then Rupsinhji Parmar of village Techava, then Thakarda Hiraji Mohanji and 19 others in village Deria. I have given all the names.

There was a meeting. The village head was also there. The panchayat

heads were also there. Then there is the case of Savanji Ranaji Chauhan of Village Rampur. There are scores of other instances. These instances of bonded labour are still continuing. If Government deny this, I can accompany them and we can verify whether there is bonded labour there or not. I am prepared to go with them.

Similar is the condition of sharecroppers. They are called 'Bhagiyas'. For a year's bonded labour, they are given 1/6th of the produce. This is a total violation of the Central Government's rules, directives and tenancy laws in the whole country. They have to put in 1/6th of the labour for cultivation. After working for a whole year, they do not get a single naya paisa in any form, direct or indirect. This system is prevailing in various forms in village after village. This was a revelation to us, how it is happening in Gujarat. But that very machinery is now asked to implement the twenty-point programme. That very old machinery, the panchayats and other institutions, to which elections were held under the previous government, which was against the 20 point programme and the policies of the Prime Minister, they are there. There can be no denying the fact that that government was against the Prime Minister, the Jan Sanghis, the Congress(O) people, and such people were there; and that is why they had to go. That same old setup is continuing. If the central government feel otherwise they are misleading themselves and the country. I know what is happening there; I saw what was happening in Surat, in Adivasi areas and other areas also. I have got full facts with me. What is to be done? Again organise defections? Congress leaders go. They are bargaining and only after the bargain is over, they are defecting. RSS people are garlanding leaders; I can give photos published in Gujarat papers. The RSS people are bargaining that they should

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be allowed to come in... (Interruptions) I think Congressmen in the lower rungs, at least a part of those Congressmen who had suffered under the erstwhile government, I do not know how they are tolerating this; they must be groaning. If you have more defections, do you think that you can make the government more stable? That is impossible. The same type of usurers and money lenders are there. In the villages the rate of interest goes up from 36 per cent to 300 per cent per year. The law in the country says that the maximum rate should be 12 per cent per annum. But the situation in Gujarat is like that, in Surat, in Mehsana even in Ahmedabad proper, not to speak of surrounding villages. The 20 point programme is not implemented even though they claim that it is implemented. Through defections you cannot have a stable government. Then what are you waiting for? Why not dissolve the assembly and have fresh elections so that people can freely decide? The elections which were held were not fair elections; the Prime Minister was assaulted and the agriculture minister Shri Jagjivan Ram was assaulted. In that condition the power of the kulaks, usurers and money lenders was brought to bear on the elections. Through defections the party position may change but the social setup and the economic interests and the method and manner of exploitation cannot change. You are trying to build up your party in such a situation in this way and you are simply, step by step, slowly but steadily, ensuring that people's faith in you disappears. People hoped for a better future. Poor people who have stood by you and by the 20 point programme and by the policies of the Prime Minister are being cheated again. Those who were against the policies of the Prime Minister are there. They say openly, in my presence: you are an hon-

Member of Parliament; you may come and go; the Prime Minister is in Delhi and she can broadcast anything she likes but it is we who are here that manage the things and it is we who matter in this place; people here cannot go against me. In the village meetings, in the presence of 200 or 300 local people, they say so and that is the crux of the matter. I do not know why you are seeking extension. What is the hope you are having—more defections and a more stable government? A time has come when the government should take courage and dissolve the assembly and hold new election in a suitable condition, in a freer atmosphere. But before that, it is very necessary that the Congress Party, the CPI and other democratic elements who are committed to the 20 point programme should be associated with its implementation at the State, district, taluk and village levels, so that better conditions may be created. Without that, in the present condition, there cannot be free elections. So, instead of bringing this resolution, the government should pick up the courage to dissolve the Assembly and order fresh elections and in the meanwhile ensure that the national guidelines are followed and the 20 point programme is implemented there through proper cooperation of the people and the concerned political parties.

श्री हरी सिंह (खुर्जा) : माननीय सभापति जी, गुजरात राज्य में यह तीसरी बार राष्ट्रपति का शासन है जो चल रहा है। राष्ट्रपति जी का शासन वहाँ पर क्यों लागू करना पड़ा—मैं उसकी ओर आपका व्यक्तिगत ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। जब वहाँ पर कोई शासन व्यवस्था, कोई प्रशासन नहीं रह गया था, वहाँ पर जो जनता फ्रंट की सरकार थी, वह अपनी कुनदा-परतर्फी में लगी हुई थी, 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की तरफ, जिसके द्वारा देश का नवनिर्माण हो रहा था, उस सरकार की

खरबजह नहीं थी, फूड-फंड की तरफ भी उस सरकार का ध्यान नहीं था, यहाँ तक कि धीरे धीरे वह मोर्चा टूटने लगा। उस सूरत में जब कि गुजरात राज्य का उत्थान होना, निर्माण होना, रचना होना, उन्नति और तरक्की होना सम्भव हो गया था, तब केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास कोई विकल्प नहीं रह गया और उसे बाध्य होकर वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पड़ा।

अब यह सवाल उठता है कि गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन को क्यों बढ़ाया जा रहा है? मैं इनके सम्बन्ध में कुछ ठोस आर्ग्यूमेंट्स आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। आपको मालूम होगा कि जनता फ्रंट ने अपने दोस्तों और सहियों के न जाने कितने पैनलज वहाँ पर बना दिये थे, जिससे उनको पैसा मिलता था, जिनकी वजह से वहाँ का शासन अष्ट हो गया था। एक तरह से लूट भ्रष्ट हो गई थी। लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी का शासन लागू होने के बाद वहाँ एक खरबदस्त परिवर्तन आया। अनेकों पीपुलर कमेटियाँ बनाई गईं, मुखतलिफ़ शोर्बाँ और राज्य के विभिन्न हिस्सों से जनता का इन्वाल्वमेंट उनमें किया गया, वहाँ तक कि मुहल्ला और गाँव के लोगों का इन्वाल्वमेंट वहाँ के प्रशासन में किया गया।

इतना ही नहीं—आप गुजरात की 1976-77 की योजना को देखिए—सरकार दो-तिहाई खर्च बीम सूत्री कार्यक्रम को पूरा करने के लिये किया जा रहा है, जिसके सहारे आप देश का उत्थान होना है। जिस तरह के व्यवस्थापन ने व्यवस्थापन खास कामकाज कर दिया था, उसी तरह से इन बीम सूत्री आर्थिक कार्यक्रमों के द्वारा हमारे देश का आर्थिक ढाँचा बदलने का प्रयास चल रहा है। हमारे मौजूदा बजट में दो-तिहाई भाग इस पर खर्च किया जा रहा है, जिस से गुजरात की काया-यत्न हो जायगी। आप देखिये—केन्द्रीय सरकार कृषि सीलिंग का कानून लाई, जिस के

उरिये देश में भूमि सुधार के कानून लागू किये गये, लेकिन गुजरात की जनता फ्रंट सरकार ने उस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया। हमारे भूमिहीन लोग, हमारे गरीब मजदूर सरकार की तरफ निगाह उठा कर देख रहे थे कि सरकार उन को भी जमीन देगी, दूसरे सुबों में लोगो को जमीनों के पट्टे दिये जा रहे थे, लेकिन इस राज्य में उस सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया। लेकिन राष्ट्रपति शासन के लागू होने के बाद गुजरात के अन्दर 57000 कन्सील टैनेन्सीज को डिटेक्ट किया गया और उन गरीब मजदूरों को, गरीब भूमिहीन लोगों को टैनेन्सी राइट्स दिये गये।

यही नहीं, लैण्ड मीलिंग एक्ट के लागू होने से चालीस हजार हेक्टेयर सरप्लस लैण्ड निकली। यह लैण्ड उनको दी गई जिन के पास लैण्ड नहीं थी, जिन के पास रोजगार नहीं था, जिन के पास मजदूरी नहीं थी। उनको दी गई जो भूतपूर्व बड़े बड़े जमींदारों और सरमायेदारों के यहाँ दिन रात खेती किया करते थे।

सारे गुजरात में आज टेशन है बड़े बड़े जमींदारों और खेतीहर मजदूरों के बीच में। मैं एक किस्से की ओर मन्त्री महोदय का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। हम घटना में दो मजदूर मारे गए हैं। 16 अगस्त की यह घटना है। इन मजदूरों का कसूर यही था कि वे मिनिमम वैजिज की मांग कर रहे थे, उस की मांग कर रहे थे जो खेतीहर मजदूरों के लिए कानून में मजदूरी तय की गई है। हम कारण से सारे गुजरात में आज टेशन है, सरमायेदारों और छोटे छोटे बाम करने वालों के बीच में। इस ओर मन्त्री महोदय का ध्यान जाना चाहिये और इन छोटे लोगों के हितों की रक्षा होनी चाहिये।

गुजरात में आर्थिक संकट कुछ समय पहले था। अन्न का संकट था। ऐसा मालूम पड़ता था कि अकाल गुजरात के लिए एक परमानेंट

[कृषि हरी मिह]

की चीख हो गई है। सरकार ने मेहमत की, किसानों को सुविधायें दी, किसान ने उत्पादन करके दिखाया और इनका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहां पचास हजार टन प्रोक्वीर करने का लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया गया था वहां 1 लाख 36 हजार टन इकट्ठा किया गया। वहीं नहीं बालीस हजार टन चावल भी प्रोक्वीर वहां पर किया गया। लोगों को भूमि दी गई लेकिन भूमि देने के साथ साथ बैंकों ने वहां लोगों को कर्ज देने की व्यवस्था भी की। भूमि मुधारों के साथ साथ जो कर्ज देने की सुविधायें उपलब्ध करने का केन्द्रीय सरकार ने क्रमला किया है, वे सुविधायें भी वहा दी जा रही हैं और इसके बहुत अच्छे परिणाम निकलें हैं।

वहा की अपोजीशन डिवाइडिड है। उसके पास शक्ति और सामर्थ्य नहीं है कि वह सरकार को चला सके। पापुलर सरकार स्थापित करने की वहा मान की गई है। मैं कहना चाहता हू कि पापुलर सरकार ने जनता का इंटरैस्ट वहा नहीं है। उमका इंटरैस्ट इसमें है कि उसको रोजगार मिले, खेती के लिए पानी मिले, समय पर बीज खाद आदि उपलब्ध हों और घर में बैठ कर शान्ति और धमन के साथ, सुरक्षा के साथ अपना जीवन यापन कर सके। कुछ लोग में होठ होंती है कि उनको बराबर शासन करने का वक्त मिलना चाहिये। वहा पर एक के बाद एक सरकारें बनीं लेकिन वे टिक नहीं सकी, स्टैबिल सरकार वहा बन नहीं सकी। डिफ़िकल्टी का वहा बोल वाला रहा। उत्तर प्रदेश में सब से पहले डिफ़िकल्टी की सरकार बनी थी जिस के नेता श्री० चरण मिह थे जो आज बी०एस०डी० के सभापति भी है। डिफ़िकल्टी के पार्लिटिवस पर एक किताब भी लिखी गई है जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि वे जो एस०बी० डी० की, वे जो मोर्चे की सरकारें थी वे चल नहीं सकी। एक के बाद एक गिरती चली गई। किसी भी सुबे में

किसी जुनी सरकार, शक्ति का सरकार, मोर्चे की सरकार चल नहीं पाई। ऐसे मोर्चों के हाथ में शासन की बाखडोर देना कभी मुनासिब नहीं है। कांग्रेस जनता का बैकक्रोवर चाहती है। वह शासन की बखी नहीं है। जो कहते हैं कि चुनाव कराइये उमको मैं नेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इंदिरा गांधी जी ने चुनाव करा दिए तो अपोजीशन के प्राधे लोग साफ हो जायेंगे और जो संख्या दिख ई भी दे रही है वह भी दिखई नहीं देगी।

वहा की जनता मकून चाहती है, शान्ति और व्यवस्था चाहती है। इस वास्ते यह जो प्रस्ताव है इसका मैं समर्थन करता हू।

16 hrs.

श्री आम्बुबेल बाटे (नागपुर) गुराठ मे राष्ट्रपति का शासन जारी रखने का प्रस्ताव संसद में पेश है। देश के गृह मन्त्री श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी ने इस प्रस्ताव को पेश किया है। इस को पेश करने हुए उनको ब्रह्म भ्रानन्द हुभा होगा। उन्होंने अपने वक्तव्य में कहा है कि सारा गुजरात भ्रान्द ही भ्रान्द है, सारा गुजरात चमन बना हुआ है, सुजाय सुफनाम बना हुआ है गुजरात बडा गान्त है, बहुत सुन्दर बना हुआ है गुजरात और वहा की जनता बडी खुश और खुशहाल है। और यह कहने वक्त ब्रह्मानन्द जी ने यह भी बनाया कि गुजरात में 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम पर धमन बहुत जोर के साथ चल रहा है। यदि गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन रहने की वजह से 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम पर धमन अच्छे ढंग में हो रहा है तो मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि फिर राष्ट्रपति शासन सारे देश में क्यों नहीं लागू करते? गुजरात सरकार नाकामयाब साबित हुई गुजरात की सरकार तोडने की कोशिश शासनकर्त्ताओं ने नहीं की, लेकिन टूटी। गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन लगा सकते हो, तमिलनाडु की सरकार अहा चुनाव दो महीने में हीने वाला था, वहा की सरकार बर्खास्त कर सके हो, और यह दोनों सरकारें बर्खास्त

करते वक्त आप को बहुत खूब हुआ। उसी वक्त उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार जहाँ कि तकदीरियां जारी हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश का माहौल भी जाहिर है, बहा के आपसी झगडों को निपटाने के लिए राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाया गया, दूसरे व्यक्ति को मुख्य मन्त्री बनाते हो। बिहार में वातावरण तंग रहा चलना फिरना मशिकल हुआ उम वक्त यह मन्त्री और शासन को ऐसा नहीं लगा कि बिहार में राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत जारी करे। वहा इस की उरुरत महसूस नहीं हुई। और स्वयं ब्रह्मानन्द जी जिस वक्त आन्ध्र प्रदेश के मुख्य मन्त्री थे वहा का माहौल भी सब को जाहिर है कि सेपरेट लेखगाना का जनआन्दोलन चल रहा था, जो पूर्णतः जनता का आन्दोलन था, जैम सेपरेट बिदर्भ का आन्दोलन जनता का है। लेखगाना का आन्दोलन जनता का आन्दोलन था, वहा का माहौल बिगड गया था, बहा आप ने राष्ट्रपति शासन क्यों नहीं लगाया? वहा क्यों सकोच लगा आप को यह में जानना चाहता हं?

मान्यवर, राज्यकर्ताओं को कितना भी कह्यामन्द हो, लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि जब कोई व्यक्ति बहुत बड़ा हो जाता है, वह शक्तिशाली हो जाता है, सत्ताधारी दल का नेता बहुत शक्तिशाली होता है और उस का दल उतना ही शक्तिशाली हो जाता है। उम वक्त उम शक्तिशाली व्यक्ति को, नेतृत्व की और उस दल को हिलाने की ताकत विरोधी दलों में नहीं होती विरोधी दल उस शक्तिशाली व्यक्ति को हिला नहीं सकते, तोड़ नहीं सकते उस वक्त सत्ताधारी व्यक्ति उम सत्ताधारी दल का महान नेता और वह सत्ताधारी दल खुद को तोड़ने की कोशिश में लगता है। मेरे ख्याल से सत्ताधारी व्यक्ति इस देश की महान नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी अपने को तोड़ने की कोशिश कर रही है। और जिस दल को विरोधी दल के लोग घबका नहीं लगा सकते उस दल का टूटने का प्रोसेस शुरू हो

गया है। प्रक्रिया में से एक महान नेतृत्व जो इन्दिरा गांधी के रूप में बना जिस पर हमारा और हमारे दल को भी विश्वास है वही नेतृत्व जिस को विरोधी दल नहीं लुका सकते, वह नेतृत्व और दल खुद को बिगाडने की कोशिश कर रहा है। ऐसा होता ही है। लेकिन यह हमारे देश के हित में नहीं है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि ऐसी सलाह इन्दिरा जी को कौन देना है? मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जो इन्दिरा जी को यह सलाह देने है कि मरगारों को गिराओ वह नेक दिल के नहीं है। वह चाहते है कि इन्दिरा गांधी जी टूट जाये उन का नेतृत्व टूट जाय।

इस के अन्दर क्या प्रश्न है? मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता ह कि अपनी मारी ताकत गुजरात में क्यों लगा रहे हो? राष्ट्रपति का शासन नीकरशाही का शासन होना है। वहा राष्ट्रपति या उप-राष्ट्रपति खुद हुकूमत करने नहीं जाते। राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत का अर्थ है नीकरशाही इंग्लैण्ड की हुकूमत आई०ए०एस० और आई०पी०एम० की हुकूमत। क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार गुजरात की जनता के भाग्य को आई०ए०एस० और आई०पी०एम० के हवाले कर देना चाहती है?

संसदीय प्रजातंत्र को ठीक ढंग से चलाने का दायित्व सत्ताधारी दल और उसके नेतृत्व पर है। लेकिन बदकिस्मती में आज यह नहीं हो रहा है। अगर ऐसी स्थिति जारी रहती है, तो शहर भडक उठेगा। जब शक्ति के ऊपर राख आ जाती है, तो ऐसा लगता है कि अब उममें श्रम नहीं रही है, लेकिन जब उस पर कोई फूक मारता है, या कोई दूकान आता है, या हवा का झोंका आता है, तो वह शोला बड़क उठता है और अपना प्रखर रूप धारण कर लेता है।

आज सत्ताधारी दल का जो नेतृत्व है, बीसा नेतृत्व कई सप्ताह के बाद इस देश को मिला है। वह एक प्रखर नेतृत्व है। आज

[श्री जयबुद्धन बोटे]

उस दल के लोगों, और उस नेतृत्व के लिए आत्मसंशोधन करने का वक्त है। लेकिन आज दृष्टिकोण यह है कि जितनी देर चलता है, ऐसे ही चला लो; सब लोग तालियां बजाते हैं और तारीफ करते हैं, तो खुश हो जाओ। जब आदमी बड़ा हो जाता है, उसके हाथ में हुकूमत होती है, उसका नाम रोशन होता है, तब उसके साथी उस से दूर हो जाते हैं। उसके सही हिममती और सही दोस्त उससे दूर चले जाते हैं और उसके आम-पात्र खुशामदी लोग इकट्ठे हो जाते हैं। कई राजा-महाराजाओं की यही स्थिति हुई। जो राजा-महाराजा खुशामदियों के चक्कर में पड़े, वे नष्ट हो गये।

बदकिस्मती से आज देश का नेतृत्व खुशामदियों के चक्कर में है। लोग खुशामद करते हैं। कोई भगवती कहता है, कोई महा-देवी कहता है, कोई सामने जा कर शेर कहते हैं। यह सब कुछ उनको खुश करने के लिये किया जाता है। लोग उनकी मेहरबानी पाने के लिये सब बातें करते हैं, दिल से नहीं। लाबी और सेंट्रल हाल में, प्राइवेट मीटिंगों में सत्ताधारी दल के लोग इन्दिरा जी, नेतृत्व और विषय के घटना-क्रम के बारे में क्या कहते हैं, इस बारे में कुछ कहना मैं मुनासिब नहीं समझता हूँ।

श्री नटवर लाल पटेल : कहेंगे, तो भी हम नहीं मानेंगे। इसलिये जो कहना हो कह दीजिये।

श्री जयबुद्धन बोटे : समापति महोदय, मैं इनके बारे में क्या कहूँ? यह 1971 के चुनाव में विरोधी दल से चुनकर आये, लेकिन फिर कांग्रेस पार्टी में चले गये।

श्री नटवर लाल पटेल : हम इन जैसे ही हैं। यह श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को नेता स्वीकार करते हैं, लेकिन वास्तव में उनका विरोध करते हैं। सेंट्रल हाल में जो कुछ कहा जाता है, वह बता दें।

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are also not following him. There is no reason for you to interrupt him. I do not understand why you are unnecessarily provoking him. You address the Chair; don't interrupt him like this.

श्री जयबुद्धन बोटे : यदि केवल सत्ता के लिये, केवल कैबिनेट रैंक, राज्य मंत्री का स्तर या डिप्युटी किनिस्ट्री पाने के लिये ये सारी बातें होती हैं, तो तारीख और तारीखदा उसको क्षमा नहीं करेंगे। इस माहौल में स्थिति बहुत बिगड़ जाती है। इसलिये ऐसे वक्त पर सत्ताधारी दल, और खान तौर पर उसके नेताओं, और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, पर विशेष दायित्व है।

गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत कितने समय तक जारी रखनी है, यह एक अलग सवाल है, लेकिन अगर राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत लाद कर गुजरात और तमिलनाडु में कार्य अच्छी तरह से हो रहा है, तो मेरी दरखास्त है कि सरकार राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत को पूरे देश में लागू कर दे।

आज आपको मालूम है कि देश के बहुत सारे राज्यों में ऐडहाक चीफ मिनिस्टर्स हैं, बहुत सारे राज्यों में ऐडहाक कांग्रेस कमेटीया हैं। वो इन सारे ऐडहाक चीफ मिनिस्टर्स और ऐडहाक कांग्रेस कमेटीयों को हटा कर राष्ट्रपति हुकूमत बहा लाई जाती है और 20 सूची कार्यक्रम का ईमानदारी से अदल होता है जिसमें डाउन ट्राउन को उठाने का सर्वहारा जनता, शोषित जनता को नीचे से ऊपर उठाने का कार्यक्रम है, उसको इम्प्लीमेंट करने की ताकत यदि राष्ट्रपति हुकूमत में है तो देश के सारे राज्यों में राष्ट्रपति हुकूमत

कोरी की जाय। नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस ने भी कहा था कि यदि देश में सही आने में सर्वहारा जनता का राज्य हो, यदि देश में वैश्वभक्ति राष्ट्रभक्ति और उसी के साथ साथ समुदायन रहे तो उसके लिये कम से कम सब सालों तक डिप्टेटरशिप रखनी चाहिये। यदि इन्दिरा जी के स्वरूप में गरीबों के लिये, सर्वहारा जनता के लिये, सामान्य लोगों के लिये, राष्ट्र के उत्थान के लिए और 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत लिये राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा डिप्टेटरशिप जाती है तो उस का भी नेरा दल, नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस का दल, फ़ारवर्ड ब्लाक समर्थन करता है।

जी अरविन्द एन० एलेस (राजकोट):
समाप्ति महीनय, गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि बढ़ाने का जो निर्णय सरकार ने किया है उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ और इस संकल्प का समर्थन करता हूँ। इसके लिये मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। गुजरात की राजकीय स्थिति दूसरे प्रान्तों से कुछ विशिष्ट है। विरोधी दलों ने अपने राजनतिक स्वार्थों के लिये गुजरात को कई बार राजकीय प्रयोगभूमि बनाया। उन शक्तियों के कारण गुजरात की जनता को कितना नुकसान हुआ है वह इन लोगों ने नहीं सोचा। गुजरात में बार बार अव्यवस्था और अस्थिरता का सृजन इन लोगों ने किया है। कुख्यात नव-निर्माण आन्दोलन का सर्जन इन लोगों के दिमाग की पैदाइश है जिसके कुप्रभाव से आज भी गुजरात मुक्त नहीं हो सका है। सभी विरोधी दलों की मिलीजुली सरकार, मोर्चा सरकार ने बड़ा आठ महीने अपना शासन चलाया था और उस आठ महीने के शासन में सरकार के प्रशासनतंत्र का भरसक दुस्प्रयोग कर के इन लोगों ने गुजरात को बड़ा नुकसान पहुँचाया। उनके शासन की बजह से प्रधान मंत्री के 20 सूत्री आर्थिक कार्यक्रम का कोई लाभ गुजरात को नहीं मिल सका है जो लाभ अब राष्ट्रपति

के शासन में मिलना शुरू हुआ है। सरकार के प्रशासन-तंत्र को पहले मोर्चा सरकार के अस्त-व्यस्त और छिन्न-भिन्न कर दिया था। अपने दलों के हितार्थ मोर्चा सरकार ने प्रशासन-तंत्र का पूरा फायदा उठाया है। उस शासन के दौरान मार्च के कई ऊँचारी नेता और सारे देश के असामाजिक तत्व गुजरात में पनाह पाकर पनप रहे थे जिनमें जार्ज फरनान्डोज भी थे जो कि अब कलकत्ता में पकड़े गये हैं। यही धर्मों में उन दिनों गुजरात असामाजिक तत्वों का अड्डा बन गया था। शुक है भगवान का कि मोर्चा सरकार अपने धाप ही टूट गई। मोर्चा सरकार के पतन के बाद बड़ा राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया और गुजरात सीधे केन्द्र की हुकूमत में आने के बाद आज प्रशासकीय तन्त्र में बड़े पैमाने पर सुधार शुरू हो गया है और बोस सूत्री आर्थिक कार्यक्रम का पूरा लाभ जनता को मिलने लगा है। फिर भी विरोधी दलों ने अव्यवस्था और अस्थिरता लाने का भूगर्भीय प्रयत्न बहा जारी रखा है। आज केन्द्रीय सरकार उनकी सफाई करने के काम में लगी हुई है। केन्द्रीय सरकार अफसरो पर भी कड़ी निगरानी रख रही है। गृह मंत्री तथा गृह राज्य मंत्री को पिछली मुलाकात के बाद प्रशासकीय तन्त्र को ठीक से काम में लगाया गया है। गृह राज्य मंत्री, श्री श्रीम मेहता को पिछली मुलाकात के बाद तो स्टेट में काफी सुधार हुआ है। गुजरात के प्रशासकीय तन्त्र पर संघे निगरानी रखने के लिये मैं गृह राज्य मंत्री, श्री श्रीम मेहता को गुजरात की जनता की ओर से धन्यवाद देना हूँ। विरोधी दलों के सदस्यगण गुजरात में कांग्रेस को प्रजा सरकार बनाने को राह देख रहे हैं ताकि फिर से बहा पर गड़बड़ी पैदा कर सकें और अस्थिरता लायें। वे लोग केन्द्रीय शासन की बजह से आज दब गये हैं लेकिन उनका हृद्य परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है। कांग्रेस की प्रजा सरकार बनने के बाद उनके मन्त्रकारण उसका पतन कराकर वह

[श्री अरविन्द एम० पटेल]

विरोधी दल फिर से अपने निजी स्वार्थों के लिये अपनी सरकार वहाँ स्थापित करना चाहते हैं ताकि सारे देश के राष्ट्रविरोधी लोग फिर से वहाँ पर पनप सकें। गुजरात में आज भी अस्थिरता और अशान्ति लाने वाले तत्व मौजूद हैं पर वे अभी राह देख रहे हैं। ऐसी हालत में मैं सरकार से दर-खास्त करता हूँ कि अभी भी इन तत्वों के साथ कड़ई से काम लिया जाये। आज गुजरात का मामला सिर्फ गुजरात प्रान्त के सन्दर्भ में ही नहीं बल्कि पूरे राष्ट्र के सन्दर्भ में देखना चाहिये ताकि इन लोगों का गुजरात में गड़बड़ी और अस्थिरता फैलाने का प्रयोग सारे देश में विफल हो जाये। जब वक्त आयेगा तब गुजरात में हम एक स्थायी, मजबूत और प्रभावशाली सरकार बनायेंगे, जनता को दिये हुये इस वचन से हमने कभी मुँह मोड़ने की कल्पना भी नहीं की है लेकिन प्रजातन्त्रीय सरकार बनाने के नाम पर या लोकतंत्र के नाम पर राष्ट्र-विरोधी तत्वों को हम कभी पनपने नहीं देंगे। हम जल्दबाजी करके गुजरात में दोबारा विरोधी दलों को सफल होने नहीं देना चाहते जिससे कि न केवल गुजरात बल्कि सारे देश को धक्का लगे।

मैं दोबारा सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूँ और राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि बढ़ाने के इस संकल्प का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the resolution moved by the Home Minister asking this House to extend the President's rule in Gujarat for six more months. I am sorry the Home Minister is not here at the moment but I am sure he will reply to some of the points which I propose to raise in my speech.

I must say first of all that Mr. Brahmananda Reddy in his opening speech failed to explain why President's rule is being extended in Gujarat. He had given a catalogue

of some of the things done in Gujarat. But I do not think that this is the occasion to give a catalogue of what happened under President's rule in the last six months. He brought the resolution for extension so that he can justify why extension is sought for. He argued for stability. He said, political situation had not yet stabilised in Gujarat and therefore, he was asking for President's rule to be extended. I don't understand this question of political stability not being achieved. Is stability to be equated with permanent Congress party rule in this country? If that is the idea of stability, then I ask Mr. Brahmananda Reddy and his colleagues as to who have been ruling in Gujarat since 1st May, 1960. Except for the Janata Front Government of some months, maybe, 8 months or 9 months maximum, in 1975-76, throughout the period, from 1960 till date, if you exclude President's rule periods, Gujarat had been continuously ruled by congress party, first by the undivided congress, then by the congress divided, and then by Congress(R) which means of course, by the congress under Mrs. Indira Gandhi's leadership. It is unfortunate for the people of Gujarat—I also say people of India because Gujarat is a part of India—that they have been suffering from political instability even during congress party rule, first, the undivided congress, then, congress(O), and later Congress (R). It is no use saying that this has happened suddenly. Shri Arvind [M. Patel] was giving a catalogue of misdeeds of the opposition parties. He may be right; he may not be right; I don't have facts as Government have. But my point is this. What was your party doing, because you had been in the saddle of power from the beginning of 1st May, 1960 until almost today? What have you done? Who is responsible for instability then? Over a period of years, especially, for the last 5 or 6 years, a good number of congress party men in Gujarat are

getting increasingly concerned about the problem of power rather than the interests of the people. It is these considerations of power which concern them more rather than considerations of people's welfare. If consideration of people's welfare is there, then there will not be any power politics. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I tell you this that the congress party would have been able to form a government during the six month President's rule period. But why is it not so? How is it that they are not able to form a government? The Home Minister may say, the political situation is not stabilised. It is a more euphemistic way of saying that we have not settled our own quarrels in the party as to who will lead the party, who will become chief minister, who will become ministers, what should be the size of the cabinet and so on and so forth. These are problems which are ticklish and devilish, which no doubt cause constant headache to them. Therefore they are not able to decide and that is why they use this constitutional provision of President's rule to continue.

My friend Shri Natawarlal Patel said something. I love him. I don't accept his views. But I still love him. Now, I don't know why he started his speech by referring to my election. I don't know why. If at all he wanted to refer to my election I would have liked him to refer to my election in terms of facts and not in terms of facts which he would like one to believe as facts!

MR. CHAIRMAN: Both of you remain fair in love and in war!

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: My point is this. What is the point of his referring to my election? It was in October 1972 and nearly four years have elapsed. For example, if I were to say that my dear friend Shri Natawarlal Patel was elected in 1971—if my memory does not fail me—

he was elected on the Congress(O) ticket.

SHRI NATAWARLAL PATEL: That is known to everybody.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I am glad that my memory has not failed if I say that Mr. Patel had later left Congress(O) and he has now defected to Congress(R). How does it help my argument?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): It is admitted.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Summarily, if he says about me and my election, how can this help him, by referring to the fact that I was supported by the Opposition parties?

The fact of the matter is that in a bye-election that was held in my home city and Constituency, Ahmedabad, I filed my nomination paper on October 4, 1972 and since then and during the campaign, and thereafter, until this moment of my speaking, I have remained genuinely, truly and completely independent. I may tell my hon. friend, Shri Patel, that many Opposition Parties supported me in the election. But, they supported me unconditionally. For his benefit, I may even say that some Congress men too supported me. That is not the point here. How does this help him? Let us not go into these things. I am not a Member of the Janta Morcha. Otherwise, I would not find myself sitting here. As you know, Sir, some of these people have been abstaining from proceedings for some time.

My point is this. The Government is a prisoner of indecision. They are not able to decide whether Shri Madhavsingh Solanki, the present leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in Gujarat will become the Chief Minister or Shri Hitendra Desai will become the Chief Minister. (Interruptions).

SHRI M. C. DAGA (Pali): How do you know about it?

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Mr. Daga is right when he said how would I know about it? I would not know about it except through the newspaper reports of the *Indian Express* and other newspapers. Mr. Daga's own Congress Partymen have also told me these things, times without number. Their difficulty is that they are not able to decide which Captain to follow—Shri Solanki or Shri Hitendra Desai? Shri Madhav-singh Solanki is a sitting M.L.A. and leader of the Congress Parli-amentary Party of the Gujarat As-sembly. Shri Hitendra Desai joined the Congress Party during the emer-gency. I believe it was on Septem-ber 11, if I mistake not. On Septem-ber 12, or so he joined. And there-fore they are not yet sure who will become the Chief Minister. In all fairness, however, I ask, why should people of Gujarat suffer in terms of not having a popular government be-cause the Congress Party is not able to solve the internal quarrel? But this why, they want to impose once more the President's Rule.

Sir, the Congress party has now a big majority in Gujarat Assembly, then, who is responsible for the ex-tension of President's Rule in my State? It is not an absence of some politically stabilised forces, as my friend, the Home Minister, Shri Reddy, would like me and the House to believe and the country to believe. It is a strange and a sad spectacle that in spite of the emergency, in spite of the press being censored, in spite of the fact that everything is in favour of the Congress Party, and the Congress Party even under the President's Rule is having all free-dom—it is the others who are suffer-ing from want of this freedom—it is a sad commentary, then, that they cannot form a stable Government or

even form any kind of Government, in spite of all this favourable situa-tion.

Now, Sir, what is the situation in the Gujarat Assembly? The Assembly had 182 seats. I am very sorry that three Congress M.L.As. passed away. Of course, there is the Speaker. If you exclude these four, you have only 178 MLAs in the Assembly which is now in an animated suspen-sion. Shri Hitendra Desai, only a few days ago, told the reporters of the press—whatever he says to the press reporters is printed and what we may say outside is never bother-ed to be printed by the reporters—that the Congress has now got 106 MLAs, many of them have joined the party recently and we welcome them with enthusiasm into our fold. Some of them are of course Jan Sangh people, and there were some other people also. They have all been taken, apart from some Congress(O) MLAs.—and workers, I ask: If 106 or 105 approximately is the present strength of the Congress Party in Gujarat As-sembly, why can they not form the Government? On the other hand the important point is this.

On the other hand the Opposition is further cut and weakened—not merely by further intimidation and terror of MISA, but by large scale MISA arrests already done! My informa-tion is that about 20 to 24 Opposition MLAs are under detention in vari-ous prisons in Gujarat under MISA including the former Chief Minister, Shri Babubhai Jasubhai Patel and most of his cabinet colleagues. So, on the one hand you have got 106 MLAs with you, on the other, 20 to 24 MLAs have been made function-less by putting them under MISA, and in addition, two Congress(O) and Front MPs from Rajya Sabha and about 700 political workers, dis-senters, teachers, students, writers, doc-tors, lawyers, etc. have been put behind

the bars. Further the Press is obedient and the All India Radio is jubilant. Even then why can't they form the Government? Sir, what greater proof can there be of political bankruptcy?

Then, Sir, I ask one simple question and I hope the Home Minister, Shri Brahmananda Reddy will reply to it. On 12th March 1968 the Morcha government was toppled, and it could not be toppled by the Congress party's strength of 75, which was reduced to 72 a little later. Seventy two cannot topple the government of eighty-six. It was toppled because a considerable or let us say sufficient number of Independents and Opposition MLAs were either brought in—I don't say, brought in—somehow and with that help the Government was toppled. My friends of the Congress party—not only from Gujarat but from other parts of India—are saying—that there are right reactionaries, kulaks, etc. in the country who must be dealt with. I ask them: Did you not take the crutches of right reaction and power hungry people in Gujarat for toppling the Morcha Government? You cannot say the Opposition is and did all bad. You cannot have the cake and eat it too! When therefore, the Morcha Government was toppled, were you merely interested in toppling the Government or did you also consider having your party rule within six months in Gujarat? Sir, seventy two Congress MLAs of Gujarat have today become one hundred and six! How did it happen? Certainly, not by election! The additional strength is through defections. So, Sir, it is a terrible commentary on the state of affairs of the Congress Party in Gujarat particularly so far as defections are concerned.

Then, Sir, they complain and make statements when ten rebel congressmen of the J&K assembly join the National Conference Party of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah. What moral authority have the Congressmen to complain when they themselves indulge in this kind of

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thing? Sir, the Constitution has been used and twisted for party ends and gains. They are using this provision of extension of President's rule purely as a procedural measure so that when they are in an advantageous position they will form the Government. This does not speak well of my friends in the Congress Party.

Now that we are going to have another six months of President's rule may I request the hon. Minister that at least let there be more meetings of the Consultative Committee of Members of Parliament on Gujarat legislation. During the last six months there has been only one meeting, and no more meetings were held. The interests of Gujarat are endangered, may destroyed. Unfortunately, Gujarat has no stability. I am not saying that President's rule is always bad. It can be a good medicine if it is administered occasionally, but if it becomes daily bread, then it becomes vicious and bad. I have, of course, no words except of praise for Governor K. K. Vishwanathan, his Adviser, Shri A. N. Banerjee and the other administrators in the State Government in Gandhinagar and other parts. For example, I would even compliment Shri Vishwanathan for his imaginative policy on the English question, the study of English from the sixth standard. Some good things have been done. And, I am not criticising these individuals higher up on the ladder. But I am saying that President's rule, however good, cannot be a substitute for self-rule

Gujarat State was formed on 1st May 1960. Since then we had six Chief Ministers, Dr. Jivrajbhai Mehta, our esteemed colleague here, late Shri Balwantray Mehta, Shri Hitendrabhai Desai, Shri Ghyanshyambhai Oza, Shri Chimanbhai Patel and Shri Babubhai Jashbhai Patel. Shri Babubhai Jashbhai Patel was also in the Opposition in the last couple of years. Before, that, he was also a Congressman, belonging to your party. With all these 6 Chief Ministers, what sins

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

did the people of Gujarat commit that they should not have a good, stable, sensible, balanced, people-oriented, not power-oriented, Government for a period of five years and at a stretch, continuously? That is the question I would address to the Home Minister and I hope he will give an answer to it.

I do not want to become passionate, I do not want to be emotional, but I tell you that the people of Gujarat, as indeed the people of the whole country, are gifted people, a people with a sense of courage, people with a tradition, a background and also a spirit of adventure and a spirit of service, talented people. We have got resources, we are resourceful; we also have backwardness; the Adivasis are there, Harijans are there, people in the villages of Gujarat, rural Gujarat, are very much backward. Gujarat is not all rich. Therefore, if Gujarat has got all these good points in favour, why should it not have a good, stable, sensible, strong Government for a period of five years so that power ideas are shed and people's welfare ideas are established.

श्री मूलचन्द्र डागा (पाली): सभापति, महोदय, मैं इस विषय पर बोलना नहीं चाहता था, लेकिन श्री छोटे का भाषण सुन कर मुझे भी इस चर्चा में भाग लेने की प्रेरणा हुई, ताकि मैं उनके प्रश्नों का उत्तर दे सकूँ।

कहा गया है कि हम प्रजातंत्र के मूल्यों को खत्म करना चाहते हैं। मैं श्री मावलंकर से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि गुजरात में जनता मोर्चा की सरकार बनी और नौ महीने तक चली, तो उसके बाद वह किस कारण से टूटी। लेकिन मुझे श्री छोटे की यह बात अच्छी लगी कि जब लोगों के चरित्र गिर जाते हैं और वे मूल्यों को भूल जाते हैं, तो वे दूसरों को दोष देते हैं। श्री मावलंकर यह बतायें कि जब जनता मोर्चा की सरकार और उसके सदस्य ईमानदार और सेवा-भावी थे, तो क्या

कारण था कि वे जो इतने अच्छे आदमी थे जो जनता के नुमाइन्दे थे उन्होंने अपने कर्तव्य छोड़ कर उम सरकार को अपने आप गिरा लिया? सरकार जब अपने आप गिर गई तो आर्टिकल 356 के अन्दर गवर्नर साहब जिनकी बड़ी तारीफ मावलंकर साहब कर रहे थे कि बड़े काबिल गवर्नर हैं उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रेसीडेंट साहब के पास भेजी कि गुजरात की सरकार चल नहीं पा रही है, काम चल नहीं सकता है। तो मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ कि उस समय हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार के सामने और क्या रास्ता था? जब सरकार चल नहीं सकती और आर्टिकल 356 के अन्दर रिपोर्ट आती है, तो केन्द्रीय सरकार और क्या करती? जनता सरकार को मौका दिया गया। जनता सरकार के किनी काम में हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया गया और मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि नौ महीने के शासन में इनके लिये बड़ा अच्छा मौका था लेकिन जैसा आपने बताया कि 72 के बजाय इधर तो 106 हो गये और उधर और कम हो गये। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि जनता मोर्चे की सरकार का कार्यक्रम या तो अच्छी नहीं था (व्यवधान)

देखिए शमीम साहब, धीरे साहब के कथन को सुनिये। उनका कहना है कि कौन गिरगता है? गिराता कोई नहीं है, अपने पापों में अपने आप गिरते हैं। यह छोटे साहब विद्वान के हैं और हमारे सभापति महोदय भी विद्वान के बैठे हुये हैं, बड़े संजीवा व्यक्ति हैं, इनकी हर एक बात में बड़ा गहरापन होता है। इन्होंने बड़े अच्छे ढंग से एक बात यह कही कि लोग अपने आप अपने पापों के गिर जाते हैं और चरित्रहीन लोग जो होते हैं वे काम नहीं कर पाते। तो अब कौन चरित्रहीन हुये—वहाँ बाबूभाई की सरकार चल रही थी। उस समय आपातकालीन स्थिति लागू होने के बाद गुजरात में जो घटनाएँ हुई वह आप से छिपी हुई नहीं

हैं, बड़ीया की घटना और और घटनायें जो हुईं उनमें देश की शोभा नहीं बढ़ती। लेकिन भारत सरकार ने कभी यह कदम नहीं उठाया कि उस सरकार को गिराया जाय और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार का एक ही यह स्टेटमेंट था . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

तामिलनाडु की सरकार के गिरने के बाद सारे देश ने उसका स्वागत किया। . . . (व्यवधान) . . . एक बात मैं यह कहूंगा कि यह जो हमको बंध देने हैं कि 6 महीने की मियाद बढ़ा रहे हैं, मैं कहता हूँ कि मान लीजिये आज भी सरकार बनाना चाहते हैं और हुकूमत करना चाहते हैं तो यह आपकी अधिकार है कि जो सेवा करने वाले गुजरात के मेम्बर हैं, जनता मोर्चे के मेम्बर हैं वे फिर ताकत इकट्ठी कर लें छः महीने में और अपनी ताकत गवर्नर के सामने बनला दें . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री एस० ए० क्षत्रोत्तम वे तो मीमांसक बन्द हैं, वे कैसे करेंगे ?

श्री मूल शब्द डागा मीमांसक आदमी का शरीर बन्द रहता है, मन और हृदय तो बन्द नहीं रहता है। उसकी नाकन कही ज्यादा होती है। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

मैं एक बात आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार की कोई गलती नहीं है प्रजातन्त्रीय हुकूमत में अन्दर हम कोई हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना चाहते हैं। हमने क्या किया है ? छः महीने बढ़ाया है। कल भी सरकार बना सकते हैं, परसों भी बना सकते हैं। हमने एक साल नहीं बढ़ाया, बस 6 महीने बढ़ाया है। यह इसलिये किया है कि अगर जल्दी से जल्दी स्टेबिलिटी मालूम हो जाय तो सरकार बन सकती है। इसलिये यह 6 महीने का समय बहुत कम बढ़ाया गया है और इसमें कोई घबडाने की बात नहीं है। प्रजातंत्र के मूल्यों का बराबर आदर किया गया है।

SHRI POPATLAL M. JOSHI (Banskantha): Sir, I was just watching while Shri Mavalankar was speaking today. For the first time I found that he was a little excited, he is usually not excited. But today I felt that he was a bit excited. He alleged that in the old times the new Congress people were power hungry. He cites history and says that in Gujarat in the last couple of years one after another the government failed because of power hungriness. My only submission is that if the present lot were power hungry as alleged by him, they would have formed the government. We are 106 strong. There is nothing which can prevent or stop the congress party from forming the government. But there are certain fundamental things in Gujarat and they have to be looked into.—Welfare of the people and the stability of the Government. We know that it was the Cong.(O) leader, Shri Morarji Desai, who went on a fast and forced the elections in Gujarat even though there was tenible scarcity. We got a majority of votes, but unfortunately we got only 73 seats. The janta morcha sarkar which came into power was a mixture of so many forces—Jan Sangh, Cong (O), Swatantrites and KIMLOKS. KIMLOKS fought against us and Janta Front on their manifesto and joined with them to form Government. At the time of the very formation of the government, there were basic contradictions in its roots and because of that, the janta morcha sarkar fell miserably. Mr Mavalankar alleges that we managed it. If the Congress Party had to manage, we would not have allowed the janta morcha to form the government, because the KIMLOKS were there to join with our party as well. But we were not impatient to form an unstable government with the help of the KIMLOKS or any other reactionary people

After the janta morcha sarkar came to power, it went in for elections to Panchayats in the whole of Gujarat in the hope of sweeping at the poles but in almost all the districts, except one

[Shri Popatlal M. Joshi]

or two, the Congress Party won Today these basic democratic institutions, namely, the zila panchayats in the whole of Gujarat are in the hands of the Congress and they are implementing the 20 point programme. Everybody knows that in Maharashtra and Gujarat, the zila panchayats have very wide powers and they are carrying on admirably the implementations of the 20 point programme.

During the Governor's raj, already about 3 lakhs plots have been given to the smaller people who had no houses. Already a programme has been drawn up and the Governor declared only a few days ago that the houses will be built for them within a few years. These are the outcome of the Governor's Raj. However, I am not against popular rule. After all we know that self-government is no substitute for good government. If we were power hungry, nobody could have stopped us from coming to power. After the friends of the hon member over there formed the janta morcha sarkar all the anti-social elements in India wanted for violence sabotage, etc went to Gujarat. We now know about the Baroda dynamite case. It has come in the newspapers that they wanted to blow up the communication system and other vital installations all over India. All these are open charges put up before the court. Now the fear of my friend Shri Mavalankar and others of the janta morcha people there is that the sand is fast getting away from under their feet. That is why they want a popular government there for usual mischief. They have seen the results of the elections held during the morcha rule and they have seen the mind of the people also. But we are not there to oblige them. If during the Governor's Raj all the 24 Programmes are carried out, if everything is going on smoothly, if the so many hurdles which are there are taken out, if gains of emergency are consolidated, what is wrong if the Governor's Raj is extended by another six months? But their frustrations is reaching the saturation point. After

all, they are worried about the elections, they are worried about so many things—the developments. Slowly, the sand under their feet is getting away and soon they will be swept away from where they are sitting. That is their fear. There is nothing wrong if the Governor's Raj is extended by another six months. So, I am here to support the Resolution.

श्री इत्तहाक सम्बली (भरमरोहा)

चेयरमैन साहब मैं होम मिनिस्ट्री को और खाम तौर मे श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को इस बात के लिये मुबारकबाद देना चाहना हू कि उन्होंने गजरात मे गवर्नमेट फोर्म नही की और इस तरह उन डिफेक्टर्स को जिनमे बडे और छोटे सभी शामिल हैं, उनको मायम कर दिया। अगर कही वहा इन डिफेक्टर्स की गवर्नमेट बना दी गई होती चाहे हिनेन्द्र देमाई हो या कोई और हों तो, चैयरमैन साहब वह गवर्नमेट स्टैबिल तो होती ही नही, नेम्बिन साथ ही उन अन्दर जो बदतरीन किम्म का अन्तर घुमा हुआ है, एम० एम० और जनमध का आज उनकी हुकूमत वहा पर होती। एक तरह से वहा पर रवि शंकर महागज की हुकूमत होती, जो सर्वोदय का लवादा ओडे हुए क्या कर रहे हैं, आप मुझ मे ज्यादा जानने है।

चेयरमैन साहब मेरी मसझ म नही आना—ग्रामिण मरारर का क्या परेशानी है। एक तरह तो एन्टीडिफेक्शन बिल आया हुआ है कोशिश की जा रही कि उसको जन्द से जल्द पाम किया जाय, दूसरी तरफ वहा पर डिफेक्टर्स को बेलकम किया जा रहा है। जैसा मेरे दोस्त श्री भोगेन्द्र झा ने कहा है—आखिर सरकार के सामने क्या दुश्बारी है, वहा की असेम्बली को डिजाइब क्यो नही किया जाता है ऐसे डिफेक्टर्स को पब्लिक मनी क्यो दी जा रही है? हमको शर्म आनी चाहिये—इस चीज पर कि जिस डिफेक्शन को इस मुल्क मे रोकने की कोशिश हो रही है, वहा गुजरात मे डिफेक्टर्स को रिसेशन दिया जा रहा है, उनका बेलकम

किन्ना था रहा है। मैं तो, चेन्नई साहब, ईसकी एक ही बजह समझता हूँ—गुजरात व्हू स्टेट है जिस पर कुछ सरमायेंदारों का कब्जा है। वहा के सरमायेंदार, बडे-डे पूजोपति, कस्तूरभाई लाल भाई, मफत लाज और दूसरे पूजोपति वहा की इकानमी ही नही वहा की पोलिटिक्स को भी कंट्रोल करो हैं और यह शायद उन्ही की कोशिशों का नतीजा है, वे चाहते थे कि वहा पर ऐसे डिफेन्सर्स की जल्द से जल्द सरकार बने ताकि उनको फिर से अपनी मनमानी करी का मौका मिले।

चेन्नई साहब, आप देख रहे है - यू तो आज पूरे हिन्दुस्तान की बदकिस्मती है, इस सरकार का निष्क्रियता है, कि गहगाई की लहर पूरे देश में फिर से भाई हुई है। बीजो की कीमते कही में कही पहुंच रही हैं, लेकिन गुजरात शायद हममें सबसे आगे है। आपको अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि इस साल गुजरात में मूंगफली की बहुत बडे पैमाने पर पैदावार हुई है, लेकिन वहा 4 स्ट्राकिट्स और हांडेस ने मूंगफली के तेल को दबा लिया और कहा गया कि महाराष्ट्र का तेल नहीं भेजा जा सकता, इस लिये कि तेल की कमी है। नतीजा यह हुआ कि तेल का दाम बहुत तेजी से बढ़ते गये। काफी कहने-सुनने के बाद महाराष्ट्र का मूंगफली का तेल भेजा गया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ जिस बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम का बारबार जिक्र किया जाता है और हम भी चाहते हैं कि वह पूरी तरह से कामयाब हो— उसका पहला ही प्वाइन्ट यह है कि कीमतों में स्टेबिलिटी लाई जायगी, बढ़ती हुई कीमतों का निराया जायगा, आज जब कि वहा पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू है, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वहा इस पर कितना धमल हुआ है ?

गुजरात में कीमतों के बारे में आप क्या कर रहे हैं यह मैं आप से मालूम करना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति शासन के जमाने में आपने कितने होर्जेर्य को, कितने ब्लैक मार्किटर्स को,

कितने इनकम टैक्स भांगेने वालों को, कितने मेन्ड टैक्स मारने वाली को, कितने थार० एम० एम० के लोगों को मोता में बन्द किया है, यह आप हमें बतायें। मोर्चे जमाने की बदनाम तरी हकूमत के जमाने में गुजरात रिपब्लिकन का गठ बन गया था। नारे भारत से थार० एम० एम० के बकर मारे हिन्दुस्तान में रिपब्लिकनरी लोग, तोड-फोड करने वाले लोग वहा पहुंच गये थे और वहा जा कर उन्होंने अपना झण्डा जमा लिया था। शायद उसी का नतीजा यह है कि राइनामाइंट के गुजरात में टूटा। किमी प्रोर स्टेट में हम तरह की कार्रवाई करने की उनकी जुरंत नहीं हुई, गुजरात में ही हई ठनी गहा बगाल और वहा गुजरात। लेकिन आप थार० एम० एम० अमर मारे तखरीबी कार्रवाई करने वाले लोग जो गुजरात में जमा हो चके थे वही पर उनमें इस तरह की कार्रवाई करने की हिम्मत हो सकती थी और उनसे आप और उम्मीद भी क्या कर सकते थे।

जनता मोर्चे के जमाने में जिन लोगों को प्राप्तिशाल मशीनरी में लगया गया था और जिनका हक नहीं था और उनको प्रमोशंस दी गई उनके बारे में भी क्या सरकार ने जाच-पटताल करने की कोशिश की ? क्या सरकार को इल्म है कि सर्वेन लैंड सीरियस को वहा किस तरह से नाकाम बनाया जा रहा है। इस तरह की जो चीजे हैं उनके पीछे कस्तूर भाई लाल भाई का हाथ है। जो जमीने सीरियस में आ जानी चाहिए, उनको मामूली तौर पर खबर करके हमसे बचाया जा रहा है। अहमदाबाद म्यूनिसिपल कारपोरेशन पर जो लोग कब्जा किये हुए हैं सरकार ने उसके बारे में क्या कार्रवाई की है ? मोर्चे सरकार के जमाने में जिन बेकसुर और बेगुनाह लोगों को मीसा में, डी०आई०थार० में बन्द किया गया था और जिनका कसूर केवल वह था कि उन्होंने सिर्फ कांग्रेस या कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के उम्मीदवारों का साथ दिया था उनको रिहा करने के बारे में सरकार ने क्या किया है ?

[बी इत्याक सम्बन्धी]

भाषित में मैं यहो कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई डिफेंडर वाहे किना भी बड़ा क्यों न हो सायद जनता उसको अब बरबात करने वाली नहीं है। यू एन में जरूरत मात्र इस बात की है कि बड़े रिमाने पर ब्लैक मार्किटिंग को, होर्डिंग को, एम०एम०एम० वालों को बन्द किया जाये, उनका यकाम किया जाये। कुछ अखबार हैं खाम गौर पर जन संघ के अखबार और जिन में नाम लेना नहीं चाहता हूँ और जो जहरीला प्रचार कर रहे हैं, हमारी डेमोक्रेटिक मूवमेंट क खिलाफ कर रहे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान को प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के खिलाफ कर रहे हैं, उन अखबारों के खिलाफ सरकार ने क्या कार्रवाई की है, यह भी हम को बताया जाना चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन बोजों पर ध्यान गौर करें। बेहतर यह होना कि आप असेम्बली को डिस्मिस करते और उसको यहां पर इतिला हम को देने। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि डिफेंडिंग को वहां पर पनाने नहीं दिया जाएगा और गुजरात असेम्बली को जल्द से जल्द डिस्मिस किया जायेगा।

[श्री अस्तासु सल्लेही (अमरोहे):

चेयरमैन! صاحب - मैं हम मल्लो को और खास तौर से श्रीमती इन्द्रा गान्धी को मारकाम देना चाहता हूँ कि उनहों ने कचरत में कुरन्मेल्ट फोरम नहीं की - और अस तरह इन टिन्किंग का जन में भूरे और चहोते सेही शामिल हूँ उन को माहिस कर दिया - अकर कहेँ वहाँ उन टिन्किंग की कुरन्मे बान दो कूँ हूँ - चाहे होकलर टिसार हूँ या कूँ और हूँ - तो चेयरमैन صاحب वे कुरन्मे कम्बल तो हूँ

है नहीं - लेकिन सल्लेही की लंदर जो इतरिनी कस का एल्लर कसा हरा है - अर अस अस और जन सल्लेही का, अज अन की कुरन्मे वहाँ पर हूँ - अहक तरह से वहाँ पर रूसी शल्लेही म्हाराज की कुरन्मे हूँ - जो सरुदिया का लहादे अरुहे हूँ कसा कर रहे हूँ - आप सल्लेही से लहादे जानते हूँ -

चेयरमैन साहब मेरी सल्लेही में नहीं आता - अकर सरकार को कसा प्रिभेन्टी है - अहक तरह तो लहती टिन्किंग बल आया हरा है - कुरन्मे की जा रही है अस को जल्द से जल्द भास कसा जाँ - दूसरी तरह वहाँ पर टिन्किंग को विलकम कसा जा रहा है - जेसा मेरे दूसरे श्रीमती होकलर जहा ने कसा है अकर सरकार के सामले कसा शूलारी है - वहाँ की असली को तीरुलो कहेँ नहीं कसा जाता है - असे टिन्किंग को प्रिभेन्टी कहेँ दी जा रही है - हम को शर्म आनी चाहते - अस चहो पर के जस टिन्किंग को अस मल्ल में रुकले की कुरन्मे हो रही है वहाँ कचरत में टिन्किंग को रिसेप्शन दिया जा रहा है - अन का विलकम कसा जा रहा है - मैं तो चेयरमैन साहब अस की अहक ही उजे सल्लेही हूँ कचरत वे सल्लेही है जस पर कुरन्मे सरुदिया कारों का लहादे है - वहाँ के सरुदिया

دار ہرے ہرے ہونچی پتی - کستور
 پھٹی لال پھٹی - ہمت لال اور
 دوسرے ہونچی پتی وہاں کی اکانوسی
 ہی نہیں وہاں کی پالٹیکس کو
 یہی کلرول کرتے ہوں اور وہ شاید
 انہی کی کوششوں کا نتیجہ ہے - وہ
 چاہتے ہیں کہ وہاں پر ایسے قہقہے
 کی جلد سے جلد سرکار بلے اور تاکہ
 ان کو پھر سے اپنی من مانی کرنے
 کا موقع ملے -

سواری کاریہ کوم کا بار بار ذکر کیا
 جاتا ہے۔ اور ہم بھی چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ
 پوری طرح سے کاماب ہو اس کا پہلا
 ہی پولیٹک یہ ہے کہ قیمتوں میں
 سٹیبلٹی لائی جائے - بڑھتی ہوئی
 قیمتوں کو گرایا جائے گا۔ آج جب کہ
 وہاں پر ریشر پتی ساشن لاکھ میں
 جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہاں اس پر
 کتنا عمل ہوا ہے -

چند مہینوں صاحب آپ دیکھ رہے
 میں یں تو آج پورے ہندوستان کی
 بد قسمتی ہے اس سرکار کا تکلیف
 ہے - کہ مہنگائی کی لہر پورے دیہی
 میں پھر سے آئی ہے کہ چھڑوں کی
 قیمتیں کہیں سے کہیں پہنچ رہی
 ہیں -- لیکن گجرات شاید اس میں
 سب سے آگے ہے - آپ کو اچھی طرح
 سے معلوم ہے کہ اس سال گجرات
 میں مونگ پھلی کی بہت بڑے
 پیمانے پر پیداوار ہوئی ہے - لیکن
 وہاں کے سٹاکسٹ اور ہورٹرز نے
 مونگ پھلی کے تیل کو دبا لیا ہے
 اور کہا گیا کہ مہاراشٹر کو تیل نہیں
 بھیجا جا سکتا اس لئے کہ تیل
 کی کمی ہے - نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ تیل
 کے دام بہت تیزی سے بڑھتے گئے -
 کالی کہنے سلسلے کے بعد مہاراشٹر کو
 مونگ پھلی کا تیل بھیجا گیا -
 میں جانتا چاہتا ہوں کہ جس ۲۰

گجرات میں قیمتوں کے بارے میں
 آپ کیا کر رہے ہیں یہ میں آپ سے
 معلوم کرنا چاہتا ہوں - ریشر پتی
 ساشن کے زمانے میں آپ نے کتنے
 ہورٹرز کو کتنے بلہک مارکٹرز کو -
 کتنے انکم ٹیکس مارنے والوں کو کتنے
 سٹیل ٹیکس مارنے والوں کو کتنے اور
 ایسے ایسے لوگوں کو مہسا میں بند کیا
 ہے آپ ہمیں بتائیں - مورچے زمانے کی
 بدنام ترین حکومت کے زمانے میں
 گجرات ری ایکشنریز کا گروہ بن گیا
 تھا - سارے بھارت سے اور ایسے
 ایسے ورکرز - سارے ہندوستان کے
 دی ایکشنریز لوگ توڑ پھوڑ کرنے والے
 لوگ وہاں پہنچ گئے تھے اور وہاں
 جا کر انہوں نے اپنا اڈا جما لیا تھا -
 شاید اسی کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ آئیٹا
 ساٹھت کھس گجرات میں ہوا -
 کسی اور سٹیٹ میں اس طرح کی
 کارروائی کرنے کی ان کی جوت نہیں
 ہوئی؟ گجرات میں ہی ہوئی - ورنہ

[ہی استقامت سہمی (سزوتہ)]
 گناہاں بلال اور کہی گھوات لہتی
 سارے آر - اٹس - اٹس کے صلے -
 سارے تھریلی کاروائیاں کرنے والے لوگ
 جو گھوات میں جمع ہو چکے تھے
 وہاں پر ان میں اس طرح کی کاروائی
 کرنے کی ہمت ہو سکتی تھی - اور
 ان سے آپ امید بھی کیا کر
 سکتے تھے -

جلتا مورچے کے زمانے میں جن
 لوگوں کو آفیشل مشینری میں لیا
 گیا تھا اور جن کا حق نہیں تھا اور
 ان کو پروموشنز دی گئیں ان کے بارے
 میں بھی کہا سرکار نے جانچ پڑتال
 کرنے کی کوشش کی - کہا سرکار کو
 علم ہے کہ ان لہڈ سولنگ کو
 وہاں کس طرح سے ناکام بلایا جا رہا
 ہے - اس طرح کی جو چیزیں ہیں -
 ان کے پھوسے کستور بھائی لہ بھائی
 کا ہاتھ ہے - جو زمین سولنگ
 میں آ جانی چاہتے ان کو معمولی
 طور پر کو کر کے اس سے بچایا جا رہا
 ہے - احمد آباد میں سہیل کارپوریشن
 نے جو لوگ قبضہ کئے ہوئے ہیں سرکار
 نے اس کے بارے میں کیا کاروائی کی
 ہے - مورچہ سرکار کے زمانے میں جن
 بے تصور اور بے گناہ لوگوں کو مہسا میں
 تھی - آئی - آو میں بلد گیا تھا
 اور جن کا قصور کھول ہے تھا کہ انہوں نے
 صرف لانگرس یا کھوتہ مت ہوتی کے

انہوں کو کا ساتھ کیا تھا تو رہا کرتے
 گئے ہارے میں سرکار نے گناہاں ہے -

آگے میں میں بھی کہا چاہتا
 ہوں کہ کوئی تھریلی چاہے لگنا ہی
 ہوا کہوں نہ ہو چلتا شاید اس کو
 اب ہر وقت کرنے والی نہیں ہے -
 گھوات میں ضرورت آج اس بات کی ہے
 کہ ہرے ہمارے پر بلنگ مارکیٹرز کو
 مورچہ کو اور آر - اٹس - اٹس والوں
 کو بلد کہا جائے ان کا سدیا کہا جائے -
 کچھ اخبار خاص طور پر جن سنگھ
 کے اخبار اور جن کا نام میں نہیں
 لہتا چاہتا ہوں اور جو زہریلے پرچار کر
 رہے ہیں ہمارے تھریلینگ سولنگ
 کے خلاف کر رہے ہیں - ہندوستان
 کی پرمیٹری شریستی اندرا گاندھی
 کے خلاف کر رہے ہیں - ان اخباروں
 کے خلاف سرکار نے کیا کاروائی کی ہے -
 یہ بھی ہم کو بتایا جانا چاہئے - میں
 چاہتا ہوں کہ ان چیزوں پر آپ فور
 کریں - بہتر یہ ہوتا کہ آپ اسمبلی
 کو تھریلی کرتے اور اس کی اطلاع ہم
 کو یہاں دیتے - میں آشا کرتا ہوں کہ
 تھریلیز کو وہاں پر ہلنے نہیں دیا
 جائے گا اور گھوات اسمبلی کو جلد سے
 جلد تھریلیز کیا جائے گا -]

SHRI B V NAIK (Kanara) I cannot add more to what has been already said. We do hope that the evension period will also be a period for consolidation of the gains of this emergency.

I think that the unfortunate and frequent developments in respect of the State of Gujarat were embedded in the very process in which the Gujarat State went to the polls, as put ably by our learned colleague, Shri P. M. Joshi. That too at a time when the issue was wrested out of the Government at the height of the drought in the State. I think, those who precipitated a poll in Gujarat and many of our friends on the other side who were the votaries for a poll in Gujarat in the midst of one of the most severe droughts should learn a lesson. Now that the results of the poll have not given the desired results, we have to blame ourselves and those who were responsible for precipitating not only the dissolution of the previous Government but for precipitating a poll at the most unpropitious time.

17 hrs.

Gujarat should be a lesson to us in regard to overusing or abusing the democratic processes in our country. From all reports, even in spite of the good indications that the ruling party can form a Government, it has been desisting from having it. It shows that the ruling party would like to have, if and when it forms the Government, a stable Government and a Government which will be in a position to deliver the goods. Therefore, agreeing with all the remarks made by our learned party colleagues, I welcome the Resolution moved by the Home Minister and support it.

17.01 hrs.

[*SHRI ISHAQUE SAMBHALI in the Chair*]

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Dindigul): Mr. Chairman, Sir in the ordinary course or in the normal course, we do not support the President's rule not only in Gujarat but also in Tamil Nadu or any where else. But under the extra-ordinary circumstances and the peculiar circumstances in which the State is suffering under drought conditions, I support the extension of the President's rule in Gujarat.

The Cabinets in Gujarat are appearing and disappearing with a dramatic suddenness. The people, the students and the masses are changing the Cabinets in Gujarat as often as shirts. This is a proverb which is applicable to the French Government, the French Cabinet which appears and disappears with a dramatic suddenness. The people of France are changing the Cabinets as often as shirts. That is what is happening in Gujarat also. Therefore, I would request the hon. Prime Minister and the efficient and able Home Minister to find out, what is the permanent remedy for this and what are the reasons behind this instability.

Now, under the President's rule, the officials are having a strong hand in administration. In Tamil Nadu as well as in Gujarat, because no MLAs are there, no elected representatives are there, they think that they are the monarchs. There is a misuse of powers by the administration and the officials, starting from police constable to I.G. Almost all the administrative officials are misusing their powers. Therefore, it is the duty of the Governor and the administration there to look after the welfare of the people under the President's rule because they do not have elected representatives of a popular Government to look after the welfare of the people there.

There should be some limit for the extension of the President's rule in the States of India. As many hon. Members have pointed out, although the ruling party can have a majority, still they are unable to form a Government there. Why a democratic Government is not allowed to function constitutionally? The reason must be found out. I do not know what is the reasons behind that. The reason should be found out, the remedy should be found out and all the defects both inside and outside the State should be rectified. Then only we can have stable Governments. Changing of Government very often or introducing President's rule very often in any State is not a healthy practice in a

[Shri K. Mayathevar]

democratic set-up, because, it does more harm than an elected Government. That is why we are not happy to welcome President's rule. But, under these circumstances, we welcome President's rule in the State of Tamil Nadu and Gujarat and in any other State, if necessary.

I understand that groundnut oil is not available in Tamil Nadu as well as in Gujarat. I do not think that this is actually not available in the market. An artificial scarcity is being created by certain black-marketeers and profiteers. Under President's rule, you must put down not only smugglers, not only the anti-social elements, not only the anti-national elements, but also those who are cheating the public, cheating the poor man, the downtrodden community and the backward classes and also the democratic governments in the State as well as at the Centre. It is necessary that all these duties have to be discharged to the satisfaction of the people of Gujarat. It is better to have early elections there, so that the elected government can look after the welfare of the people of Gujarat.

I know, the hon. Home Minister, Shri Brahmananda Reddy, and the Prime Minister are very able Ministers, they visit Gujarat and Tamil Nadu very often. They look after the police administration and Home Affairs directly. Still, certain mischievous officials are working against the implementation of the 20-point Programme, they belong to certain political groups which are opposed to the 20-point Programme, they should be plugged out of the government machinery and they should be punished in the interest of the people—not in our interest, not in the interest of the government, but in the interest of the people.

With these words, I support the statutory Resolution extending President's rule in Gujarat for a further period of six months.

डा० छद्म प्रताप सिंह (बाराबंकी)
सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी

हूँ कि गुजरात की विधान सभा के निरन्तर की अवधि को धीरे-धीरे बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध में गृह मंत्री महोदय ने जो संकल्प रखा है, आप ने मुझे उस पर अपने विचारों को प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया है। मैं उस संकल्प का समर्थन करने के लिए बड़ा दुःखा हूँ।

माननीय सदन को ज्ञात है कि इस देश में सोवतंत्र, सभ्यजवाद, धर्म-निरपेक्षता, हमारे आदर्शों और हमारे मूल्यों को जो चुनौती दी गई थी, वह गुजरात में प्रतिक्रियावादी, दक्षिण पंथी, यथास्थितिवादी और साम्प्रदायिक शक्तियों के द्वारा दी गई थी। यह कहना अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगा कि जिन परिस्थितियों के कारण देश में आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा करनी पड़ी थी, उनका प्रारम्भ गुजरात में हो हुआ था। माननीय सदन को इस बात का भी ज्ञान है कि जिस समय देश में सभाजवादी नीतियों के कार्यान्वयन और देश में नव-निर्माण का कार्य हो रहा था, तो उस समय दुर्भाग्यवश गुजरात में अनावृष्टि की स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई। उस स्थिति का वहाँ की पूँजीवादी, दक्षिणपंथी और साम्प्रदायिकता में विश्वास रखने वाली शक्तियों ने अनुचित लाभ उठाया। उन्होंने वहाँ पर एक ऐसी राजनैतिक स्थिति पैदा की, जिसका दुष्परिणाम सारे देश को भुगटना पड़ा।

प्रतिक्रियावाद, हिंसा और अराजकता की लपटें गुजरात से बाहर पहुंचीं और वे धीरे-धीरे पूरे देश को निगल जाना चाहती थीं। यदि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने देश में आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा करके उस पर नियंत्रण न किया होता, तो आज यह कहना कठिन है कि हम यहाँ पर सुरक्षित बैठे होते। मैं इस संदर्भ में कहना चाहता था कि गुजरात की विधान सभा के निर्माण के कार्यकाल के संबंध में हम लोग यहाँ पर विचार करने जा रहे हैं तो हमें इस बात को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए कि जो स्थिति गुजरात में उत्पन्न हुई

थी, जो वहाँ पर अग्रगण्यता थी, हिंसा की परिस्थितियाँ उत्पन्न हुई थीं उनके लिए आज भी यह कहना कि वे समाप्त हो गयी हैं, कठिन है। आज भी गुजरात में, बिहार में और पूरे देश में काश्मीर से कन्याकुमारी तक और असम में लेकर गुजरात तक ब्रेक दब गई है लेकिन समाप्त नहीं हुई हैं। इसलिए यह बड़ा आवश्यक है कि गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति शासन के कार्यकाल को 6 महीने और बढ़ा दिया जाय और इसके लिए जो प्रस्ताव लाया गया है वह बहुत ही सम्यक है, बहुत ही उचित है और न्यायसंगत है।

इसके साथ-साथ जो विधायक लोग वहाँ के कांग्रेस में सम्मिलित हो रहे हैं उनको हमारे दल को और देश को देखने का अवसर मिलना चाहिए। इस बात को समझने का अवसर मिलना चाहिए कि वे कितनी निष्ठा के साथ कांग्रेस में आ रहे हैं। आने वाले जो विधायक गण हैं उनको हमारे नेतृत्व पर और हमारे दल की नीतियों पर, देश में लोकसंघ, समाजवाद और धर्मनिरपेक्षता की नीति पर यदि विश्वास, आस्था और निष्ठा होगी तो इस बात से हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार संतुष्ट होगी कि अब वह इस स्थिति में है कि वहाँ पर एक स्थायी सरकार बन सकती है और मैं समझता हूँ कि तभी उचित अवसर होगा वहाँ पर सरकार बनाये जाने का। व्यक्तिगत रूप से मेरा यह विचार है कि अभी गुजरात में वह स्थिति नहीं उत्पन्न हुई है कि वहाँ पर कोई स्थायी सरकार बन सके। अभी तक कांग्रेस पार्टी ने गुजरात में सरकार न बना कर यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी को अभी भी सत्ता की चाह नहीं रही है। कांग्रेस पार्टी तो चाहती है कि देश के अंदर स्थायी सरकार बने चाहे केन्द्र में हो चाहे प्रदेश में जिससे जनता की उचित तरीके से सेवा हो सके।

यह एक अच्छी बात है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन के होने से गुजरात में 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का कार्यान्वयन हो रहा है, पांच सूत्री कार्यक्रम का कार्यान्वयन हो रहा है। इसलिए मुझे

बिलकुल उचित लगता है कि वह जो कार्यकाल राष्ट्रपति शासन का बढ़ाया जा रहा है उसे बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए और अब उचित परिस्थितियाँ वहाँ पर पैदा हो गयीं तभी वहाँ निर्वाचन कराया जाना चाहिए। अगर छः महीने में भी उचित परिस्थितियाँ न पैदा हों तो हमें और छः महीने बढ़ाने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए क्योंकि हमारे सामने निर्वाचन की बहुत चिन्ता नहीं होनी चाहिए, हमारा चिन्ता होनी चाहिए कि गुजरात की जनता का कल्याण किस प्रकार से हो। गुजरात के निर्माण, गुजरात को प्रगति और गुजरात के विकास में हमारा विश्वास होना चाहिए। वहाँ को जो अनुभूत जनता है, वहाँ का जो सर्वद्वारा समर्थन है, जो शोषित जन हैं उनके निर्माण में हमारा रुचि होना चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस संकल्प का समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to all the hon. Members who have participated in the Debate on this Resolution and have given their wide support and if I may say so their unanimous support to this Resolution. We may recall to our memory under what circumstances the janta morcha government fell. The Government fell obviously because of internal contradictions and because of a defeat on the floor of the House and naturally as the congress party was reluctant or was not eager to form government, President's rule had to be imposed.

During the discussion of a like resolution in March there was a discussion on the type of administration that Gujarat had under morcha government. It was felt by many in this House and in the other House that there were several abuses in the administration in the State, that the administration had deteriorated, that it

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was party oriented, that there was no sincerity in the implementation of the 20 point programme, that many people operating against the emergency were operating there from the soil of Gujarat, indulging in clandestine literature, indulging in certain other violent activities and so on.

Now, Sir, I claim today, after six months of President's rule, that several steps had been taken to tone up the administration, to improve efficiency, weed out corrupt people, and sincerely and effectively undertake implementation of 20 point economic programme to cater to the needs of the smaller, poorer sections of people, maybe, small farmers, marginal farmers, harijans, tribals and other poorer people

While moving this Resolution I had occasion to tell you about the several steps taken, how a qualitative change in the administration had been brought about, bringing in efficiency, and generally, bringing in certain amount of satisfaction to the people of Gujarat, certain amount of confidence in the people of Gujarat in the administration of the State. Therefore it is not necessary for me again to go into those very aspects

I have already said how land reform laws are being tackled, how sites are being distributed to small farmers, how minimum wages Act is being implemented and how in the implementation of several other programmes speed is brought to bear on the administration as a whole.

We had a meeting of the Consultative Committee of Parliament in Gujarat itself where several hon. Members belonging to several parties took part, there was discussion for more than four hours, hon. Members had their own observations to make, some critical reference were also made as that of Mr. Bhogendra Jha who came fresh from his padyatra.

Therefore, he makes certain comments which he made even to-day. I

am only trying to submit in this House that in several activities, the State Administration has taken several steps to bring as much relief as possible to the people. Unfortunately, as all of you are aware, in June last, there was a very big cyclone, there was a huge loss of life, there was loss of property as well as loss of cattle etc., etc. I had the privilege to go there, to see certain areas somewhere and talk to the people concerned and afforded the necessary relief to the cyclone-affected people.

I must congratulate the State Administration for taking very speedy and effective and even preventive action so far as cyclone affected people were concerned. I need not go into details on the amount of relief afforded in several directions and on how gratuitous relief was given and how other relief was given. I need not trouble the hon. Members just now about it. You all know that one of the most important items in the 20-Point Economic Programme is of holding the priceline which is very essential for the common people of India. In fact, they have taken several steps to see to it that the priceline is kept under check. But, unfortunately, in July, because it was a big groundnut centre, the price of groundnut had risen and it showed an upward trend. In July, 1976, Government took a very action against the traders and oil millers—9 traders and oil millers were detained under MISA (*Interruptions*). I do not know but this may be with regard to the groundnut. With regard to the other things, I had mentioned yesterday in my speech that about 43 people or so were taken into custody and the holding of the groundnut and oil stock was reduced drastically so that the groundnut and groundnut oil stocks with the agriculturists get dehoarded.

My submission, therefore, to the House is that to the maximum extent possible, the State Administration is taking sufficient steps to not only implement the other aspects of the 20-Point Programme but also afford relief

to the common people by seeing to it that the prices of essential commodities did not shoot up.

Sir, there was an allegation made yesterday namely that the minimum wages had not been paid and even today my friend, Shri Bhogendra Jha has mentioned about the areas where he went and where he came across some bonded labour. These various allegations and remarks were made in the Consultative Committee meeting at Ahmedabad when it last met on the 15th May. It is not as if the Administration slept over what Mr. Bhogendra had said. The District Magistrate, Mehsana had enquired into the remarks made by him. He conducted the inquiry personally and as per his report.

"There is no system of bonded labour as such though cases of non-payment of minimum wages came to notice whereupon necessary action was taken".

It is not as if they are not alive ...

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA. I have come to know that a person, for the sake of marriage, took some money in some cases it is Rs. 700, 800 or 500 and then he ceased to work with the landowners at his place and he was not even permitted to visit his family and not relieved, by what we may call, from bonded labour. His camel and the cart were forfeited. What else is called bonded labour?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Let me tell Mr. Bhogendra Jha even now though an enquiry has been made by a District Magistrate on the remarks made by him at the Consultative Committee meeting yet if he is dissatisfied with the reply that I have given he may write to me all the details and I will see to it that an officer of requisite standing goes on the spot and sends me a report. After all we are all interested in seeing to it that this bonded labour system is abolished. We are clear in our minds and I do not think there is any party difference in

that regard. It should go and it must go and if there are any bonded labourers in any area or something akin to it it is certainly a matter to be gone into and speedy action taken.

Yesterday, Mr. Halder who opened the debate made a remark about the tribal area sub-plans. Sir, Gujarat has prepared a Tribal area Sub-Plan covering 32 talukas in Surat, Valsad, Bharuch, Vadodra, Panch Mahals, Sabarkantha and Dangs districts. The Sub-plan envisages an outlay of Rs. 154.89 crores with Rs. 84.06 crores from the State sector. The area of the Sub-plan has been demarcated into 8 projects, each in charge of a senior officer of the rank of the Collector. For the current year, an amount of Rs. 15 crores has been provided for the Sub-plan from the State sectors of development supplemented by Rs. 3.55 crores of special Central subsidy. 219 schemes are included in the current year's programme for the Sub-plan.

In addition to this—I would like to inform the House—a Bill has been drafted to ensure that tribal land holders are protected against alienation of land in favour of non-tribals and to restore land alienated in the past. Further Sir, in a recent decision of the Government, tribal tenants who have been made owners of land under the Tenancy Act are to get loans at 4 per cent interest as against the interest rate of 11 per cent charged by the Gujarat State Cooperative Land Development Bank so far. The Bank will be granted subsidy to the extent of interest differential.

So these are various measures being taken in regard to tribal development areas and I would like to say that the State has been taking active steps in this direction.

"Sir another point of great importance was made and that has also been agitating the minds of the people of Kutch. Kutch was formerly a part 'C' State and later on after reorganisa-

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tion when it came under Gujarat the people of Kutch had been claiming—particularly my friend, Dr. Mahipatray Mehta—that a separate development board has to be established for Kutch. Sir, in this respect I must also thank the Prime Minister for having taken keen interest in this matter. She has been to the Kutch area. I have also been there recently. Previously the erstwhile government of Bombay and the Government of Gujarat were taking a stand which was not very helpful. However, the present administration has taken a helpful attitude and has recommended to the Government that a development board under Article 371(2) be established so that the development in that backward area can be accelerated.

This is a very good thing so far as the million or so people of the Kutch area are concerned. I hope several steps will be taken after the Development Board is constituted, sufficient funds will be earmarked and development schemes taken up in right earnest to alleviate the sufferings of these people who have been suffering for a long time.

Honourable friends, particularly Shri Mavalankar and others, asked: 'when you have a majority, when you have got 105 people or so, why not form a Government?' It is not as if we in the Congress Party are against any popular government. We want popular government. As I have said even previously, it is not the anxiety to form a government which is important, but what is important is how it helps the people of that State, whether it helps and adds to the welfare of the State, of the people of the State and also whether you can give a stable government to the people of Gujarat which for quite some years was having unstable administration leading to many troubles, either political or otherwise. Therefore, if you form a government early, you are accused; if you do not form a govern-

ment, then also you are accused. This is a strange situation.

My only submission to the House is that certainly the situation is under watch. If Government feel that a stable government which can cater effectively to the needs of the people of the State, which can effectively administer it, can be formed, certainly it is a case for Government to consider.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Why are you keeping the Assembly in suspension, in suspended animation, if you have no hopes of forming a government? Dissolve the Assembly and have new elections.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I have not said we have no hopes. Did I say that? Do not try to quote to me something I have not said.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: How many more defectors do you want?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: We are anxious to see that the State is administered effectively and properly.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: That I accept.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: We are anxious to see that a stable government is formed so that it can also function effectively. When Government feel that a situation has arisen when a stable government, which can effectively deliver the goods to the people is possible, certainly they will do so. But I do not think what Shri Bhogendra Jha had said is possible, namely, why not dissolve the Assembly? I can say straightway that dissolution is not under Government's consideration.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: It may happen. You will be compelled to do so by the number of defectors.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: It is not as if we are unaware of what

is happening there. We are aware of it. We are aware of the circumstances that are obtaining in the State of Gujarat politically, economically and administratively. Therefore, my submission to the House is that when circumstances are propitious for forming a government, certainly active steps will be taken to do so. But what counts most, in my opinion, is the welfare of the people of Gujarat, a stable government for the people of Gujarat.

Shri Mayathevar asked the question: Why don't you find some permanent remedy for these unstable governments? So far as I can see, a permanent remedy can be found if all parties in India play the rules of the game; then certainly stable governments can be formed. There can be no difficulty. But when there is the anxiety for all types of people to come together, irrespective of their ideals, ideas, programmes etc. and to try to run a government, certainly difficulties crop up after the government is formed. We have seen it in 1967; it is not as if it is a fresh experience. Therefore, if democracy has to be run effectively and properly, all of us, the government, the opposition, all parties who want to take part in democracy, must be able to play the rules of the game. If they want to have shortcuts to power, difficulties arise, leading to distortions in society. Therefore, the continuation of President's rule in Gujarat for another period of six months is necessary in the interest of the State of Gujarat and I commend the resolution for acceptance by the House.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: What is the hurdle in forming non-official implementation committees for 20 point programme, consisting of the Congress party, Communist party and like minded forces? Secondly in groundnut prices the peasants were looted; the price fell and then it rose. I want to know whether administration failed or connived at? What is the cause?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: At the last session of the consultative committee Members had urged that in the implementation of the 20 point programme people's participation should be there. Government of Gujarat have taken necessary action for constituting committees at the district level to secure the most purposeful implementation of the 20-point programme. The president of the district panchayat, all the M.Ps, M.L.As, etc of the district and five non-officials representing (1) the fields of agricultural production, marketing (2) cooperation (3) industry (4) labour and (5) education are members of this committee.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Is it a partyless democracy?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Why do you say that? The panchayats are elected panchayats. In addition you have got five non-officials representing the fields I mentioned. Certainly the people concerned, the various denominations should have found a place. I have not been able to check up all the details. But five non-official members are there.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: One last question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, please. The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 12th March, 1976, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the state of Gujarat, for a further period of six months with effect from the 24th September, 1976."

The Lok Sabha divided.

Division No. 7] **AYES** [17.45 hrs.

Aga, Shri Syed Ahmed
Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram

Ambesh, Shri
 Austin, Dr. Henry
 Awdhesh Chandra Singh, Shri
 Aziz Imam, Shri
 Babunath Singh, Shri
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar
 Banerji, Shrimati Mukul
 Barman, Shri R. N.
 Basumatari, Shri D.
 Bhaura, Shri B. S.
 Bhuvarahan, Shri G.
 Bist, Shri Narendra Singh
 Chandrappan, Shri C. K.
 Chandr ishekarappa Veerabasappa,
 Shri T. V.
 Chaturvedi, Shri Rohan Lal
 Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh
 Chikkalingaiah, Shri K.
 Dalbir Singh, Shri
 Damani, Shri S. R.
 Dandavate, Prof. Madhu
 Darbara Singh, Shri
 Das, Shri Dharnidhar
 Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas
 Deshmukh, Shri K. G.
 Dhamankar, Shri
 Dumada, Shri L. K.
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar
 Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
 Ganga Devi, Shrimati
 Gavit, Shri T. H.
 Godara, Shri Mani Ram
 Gowda, Shri Pampan
 Hari Singh, Shri
 Ishaque, Shri A. K. M.
 Jaffer Sharief, Shri C. K.
 Jamilurrahman, Shri Md.
 Jha, Shri Phogendra
 Jharkhande Rai, Shri
 Kadam, Shri Dattajirao
 Kadam, Shri J. G.
 Kader, Shri S. A.
 Kamble, Shri T. D.

Kaul, Shrimati Shella
 Kavde, Shri B. R.
 Khan, Shri I. H.
 Kinder Lal, Shri
 Kisku, Shri A. K.
 Krishnan, Shri G. Y.
 Lakkappa, Shri K.
 Lutfal Haque, Shri
 Mahajan, Shri Vikram
 Maharaj Singh, Shri
 Majhi, Shri Gajadhar
 Majhi, Shri Kumar
 Mandal, Shri Jagdish Narain
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
 Manhar, Shri Bhagatram
 Manjhi, Shri Bhola
 Maurya, Shri B. P.
 Mayathevar, Shri K.
 Mishra, Shri Jagannath
 Mohammad Yusuf, Shri
 Mohapatra, Shri Shyam Sunder
 Mohsin, Shri F. H.
 Murmu, Shri Yogesh Chandra
 Naik, Shri B. V.
 Nayak, Shri Baksi
 Negi, Shri Pratap Singh
 Nimbalkar, Shri
 Oraon, Shri Kartik
 Painuli, Shri Paripoornanand
 Palodkar, Shri Manikrao
 Pandey, Shri Krishna Chandra
 Pandey, Shri Narsingh Narain
 Pandey, Shri R. S.
 Pandit, Shri S. T.
 Paokai Haokip, Shri
 Paswan, Shri Ram Bhagat
 Patel, Shri Arvind M.
 Patel, Shri Natwarlal
 Patil, Shri Krishnarao
 Patil, Shri S. B.
 Patil, Shri T. A.
 Peje, Shri S. L.
 Pradhan, Shri Dhan Shah

Pradhaani, Shri K.
Purty, Shri M. S.
Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shafi
Raghu Ramaiah, Shri K.
Ram Swarup, Shri
Ramji Ram, Shri
Rao, Shrimati B. Radhabai A.
Rao, Shri P. Ankineedu Prasada
Rao, Shri Pattabhi Rama
Rathia, Shri Umed Singh
Ray, Shrimati Maya
Reddy, Shri Sidram
Richhariya, Dr. Govind Das
Roy, Shri Bishwanath
Rudra Pratap Singh, Dr.
Saini, Shri Mulki Raj
Sayeed, Shri P. M.
Shahnawaz Khan, Shri
Shailani, Shri Chandra
Shambhu Nath, Shri
Shankar Dev, Shri
Shankaranand, Shri B.
Sharma, Shri R. N.
Sharma, Dr. Shanker Dayal
Shashi Bhushan Shri
Shastri, Shri Ramavatar
Shastri, Shri Sheopujan
Shivappa, Shri N
Shukla, Shri B. R.
Siddayya, Shri S. M.
Sinha, Shri Dharam Bir
Sokhi, Sardar Swaran Singh
Swaran Singh, Shri
Tayyab Hussain, Shri
Tiwari, Shri R. G.
Tiwary, Shri D. N.
Tulsiram, Shri V.
Ulkey, Shri M. G.
Zulquar Ali Khan, Shri

NOES

Dhote, Shri Jambuwant
Mavalankar, Shri P. G.
†Oraon, Shri Tuna
Ram Hedao, Shri

MR. CHAIRMAN: The result* of
the division is: Ayes 125; Noes 4.

The motion was adopted.

17.47 hrs.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE:
GUARANTEE BY TAMIL NADU
GOVERNMENT IN RESPECT OF
DEBENTURES OF TAMIL NADU
CO-OPERATIVE STATE LAND
DEVELOPMENT BANK LTD.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN
THE MINISTRY OF AGRICUL-
TURE AND IRRIGATION (SHRI
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN): I beg to
move:

"That this House concurs with
the proposal of the Government of
Tamil Nadu to increase, under
sub-section (2) of section 6 of the
Tamil Nadu Co-operative Land
Development Banks Act, 1934
(Tamil Nadu Act X of 1934), the
maximum amount of the guarantee
given by that Government in res-
pect of the debentures issued by
the Tamil Nadu Co-operative State
Land Development Bank Limited,
upto a total value of Rs. 250 crores
(Rupees two hundred and fifty
crores only) exclusive of such
debentures as the Bank may, from
time to time, redeem, such de-
bentures being issued for periods
not exceeding in any case, 25

†Wrongly voted for Ayes.

*The following Members also recorded their votes for AYES:
Sarvashri Mohammad Tahir and Tuna Oraon.