

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

departed from the practice and you want me to make a further departure.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : A slight further departure will be helpful.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It will not look nice.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : One question.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No. You have to amend the rules.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : You digressed from the procedure for the sake of the Minister. Why not allow a slight digression to us also?

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad) : Then from this side also.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Then I cannot allow it.

# GENERAL BUDGET, 1974-75—GENERAL DISCUSSION AND GUJARAT STATE LEGISLATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS) BILL—Contd

कुमारी मणिबेन पटेल (साबरकण्ठा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हम गुजरात के बजट पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। जब गुजरात में राष्ट्रपति-शासन लागू कर दिया गया है तब गुजरात की सारी जिम्मेदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार पर आती है। गुजरात में यह सारी बीमारी अन्न के संकट के कारण शुरू हुई। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के दिमाग में क्या भरा है कि वह नर्बन्दा के बारे में कोई फैसला नहीं लेनी है जिस के कारण गुजरात को अन्न की परेशानी बर्दाश्त करना पड़ती है। सरकार से मेरी विनती है कि उस को न महाराष्ट्र के दबाव के कारण इस फैसले को रोकना चाहिए और न मध्य प्रदेश के दबाव से जहाँ उस के ही चीफ मिनिस्टर श्री मेठी आपका ही भेजा हुआ है। जब तक इस का फैसला न हो तब तक गुजरात में अन्न के बारे में परेशानी होने ही वाली है। लेकिन सरकार एक गलत ढ़ढ के बन्ना हो रही है।

17.13 hrs.

[DR. HENRY AUSTIN in the Chair]

मैं गृह मंत्री से पूछती हूँ कि जब उन के बारे में यह कहा गया कि उन्होंने इतना पैसा लिया तो वह नागरिक क्यों होते हैं। पाँच रुपये लिये या पचास रुपये लिये यह प्रश्न नहीं है। लेकिन गुजरात में जो कुछ हुआ वह हम ने गृह मंत्री की पार्टी के चीफ मिनिस्टर और डिप्टी चीफ मिनिस्टर से ही सुना कि गृह मंत्री ने इतना पैसा लिया है। उन्नी से तो हमें पता चला बर्बाद हमें पता लगाने को क्या खर्च हो? भूलभूत चीफ मिनिस्टर बिमनभाई ने अन्नबारे में साफ़, स्टैन्ड-मेन्ट दिया है कि मेरे बारे में जांच होने दो कोई हर्ज नहीं है मैंने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को हिमायत दे दिया है कि उन को उत्तर प्रदेश के चुनाव के लिए कितना पैसा जमा कर के दिया गया है, और साबरकण्ठा में जा मेरी कास्टीयुगम्भी है कितना खर्च किया गया। इस लिए गृह मंत्री का इस बात पर नाराज नहीं होना चाहिए। उन्होंने पैसा लिया है यह बात सही है।

गुजरात की सब स्पेसिफिकेशन सुपरसीड हो गई है और पचायतों की अवधि भी समाप्त होने वाली है। पचायतों के बारे में कोई कानून नहीं है कि उन की अवधि समाप्त होने पर क्या किया जा सकता है। क्या सरकार ने उन के चुनाव के बारे में कुछ सोचा है? अब गुजरात में जा कुछ भी जाना है उस की जिम्मेदारी राष्ट्रपति शासन पर यानी गृह मंत्री पर है। मैं यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि वह पचायतों के बारे में क्या करना चाहते हैं।

लोग अन्नबारे में पढ़ने हैं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने गुजरात का इतना अनाज भेजा है और एक आधमी का इतना अनाज दिया जाता है। मैं आज ही बड़ा मे आई हूँ। जब बड़ा मारा कामेशन चल रहा था सब नडबड हा रही थी नो दम पड्रह दिन मैं बड़ा ही थी। गृह मंत्री को जो रिपोर्ट मिली है वह तो उस के मुताबिक बात ही कहेंगे। लेकिन मैं अपनी आँख के देख कर आई हूँ। जो

बेचारे निर्दोश लोग अपने घरों में बैठे थे पुलिस ने घरों में जा-जा कर उन को मारा। सूरन में एक बंदीबूढ़ बहूत को जो अस्सी साल की है और जो एक पब्लिक वर्कर है पुलिस ने उस के घर में जा कर मारा।

मैं समझती हूँ कि जब गुजरात सरकार ने कहा होगा कि किसी न किसी तरह लोगों को दबाया जाये, तभी पुलिस ने जो कुछ मोचा बह किया। गृह मंत्री को इन बातों की जांच करनी चाहिए।

वहाँ जो अण्टाबार हुआ है, उस में तो कोई शक नहीं है। गृह मंत्री की पार्टी के मिनिस्ट्रो न कहा है कि उन्होंने इतना पैसा लिया। इन सब बातों की जांच की जानी चाहिए। मैं यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि यह जांच कब होने वाली है।

मरी कास्टोडियन्सी से एक तार आया है कि वहा मड़को वा ठीक प्रबन्ध नहीं है। साबर-कटा सब में पिछडा हुआ क्षेत्र है। वहा घनमुग और बायड क्षेत्र में मड़के नहीं है। उस सारे क्षेत्र में मड़का का विकास करना चाहिए। और इस के लिए ज्यादा पैसा खर्च कर के इस काम को बढ़ाना चाहिए वहा उद्योग लगाए जा सकने है, लेकिन व नभी चले सकने है, अगर वहा काम्यनिकेशन वा ठीक प्रबन्ध है।

गुजरात में एक नहीं, अनेक मरहारी डेयरिया चल रही है। सरकार ने किसी भी प्राईवेट धादमी, किसी भी इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट को दूध वा पाउडर बनाने में मना किया है। लेकिन मैं पक्का जानती हूँ कि इस के बावजूद सरकार के पक्ष का एक पैसा व्यर्थ है, जो कानून का भंग कर के दूध वा पाउडर बनाता है और उस का एकमाइज इयूटी भी देता है। इस से प्रकट होता है कि एकमाइज वाले पुलिस के साथ मिले हुए हैं। अगर इतना अण्डेर और गड़बड़ चलती हो, तब अगर कोई गृह मंत्री को कुछ कहता है, तो वह गुमगा क्यों करते हैं?

जब गुजरात में सरकार के पक्ष के लोग आपस में झगडा करते रहने हैं, और कोई विकास नहीं

होता है, तो फिर बेचारे लोगों का क्या दोष है? लोग तग आ गये, इसीलिए उन्होंने यह रास्ता अपनाया। यह रास्ता अपनाना उनको कोई पसन्द थोडे ही था। जब उन्होंने यह रास्ता अपनाया, तो गलत पॉलिज ने उसका लाभ उठा लिया, यह सच बात है। लेकिन सरकार की पुलिस क्या करती थी? हर प्रांत में पुलिस के पास ऐसे गुडा तत्वों की एक सूची रहती है। पहले जब कोई गड़बड़ होती थी, तो पुलिस ऐसे लोगों को तुरन्त ग्राउंड अप करती थी और उन का पकड़ कर उन का जेल में डाल देती थी। गुजरात में यह सब कुछ दो महीने तक चला, लेकिन हमने कभी नहीं सुना कि ऐसे लोगों को ग्राउंड अप किया गया है। इसका मतलब यह है सरकार चाहती थी कि लोग तग और परेशान हों, और उसमें पुलिस का पूरी सलाह दे दी थी कि जहा चाहें सब को मारो। इसका परिणाम क्या हुआ? इसका परिणाम तो यही हुआ कि लोग ज्यादा तग आ गए, ज्यादा रोष में आ गए। आखिर आपको विधान सभा बरखास्त करनी पड़ी। पर किन्हीं निर्दोष जाने ली उस के बाद आप ने यह किया? अब जितने दिन आपका राष्ट्रपति शासन है उनमें दिन स्टैप-मदरली मीटिंग उनके साथ मत कीजिए जो आज तक बराबर गुजरात के साथ आप करते रहे हैं। जितना इस तरह का भेदभाव करेगे उसमें हमारा नुकसान नहीं होता है क्योंकि कठिनाइयों में जब धादमी का विकास होता है तो वह ज्यादा मजबूत होता है, अगर उसमें आप का न्याय-भाव नहीं है।

यहां बैठे-बैठे आपन एन धादमी को भेजा, दूसरे का भेजा, मरीन का भेजा। मरीन के बारे में क्या बात हुई? कहा गया कि आन्ध्र उन्होंने ठीक किया इस लिए उनको वहा भेजा गया। मरीन ने कहा आन्ध्र को ठीक कर दिया तो गुजरात क्या है? एक महीने में ठीक कर दूंगा। 25 लाख धादमी मर गए तो भी क्या है?

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद)  
ऐसा नहीं है।

क० अधिवेशन कलेस : आप को क्या मालूम है ? आप तो सरीन को अब से जानते हैं, मैं बहुत पहले से जानती हूँ। बल्देव सिंह के जमाने से मैं उन को जानती हूँ। मगर कोई भी धावबी अच्छा हो या बुरा हो उस के ऊपर का धावबी जैसा होता है और जैसा वह उस से कराता है वैसा वह करता है। कर्मचारी और आई० सी० एस० अफसर तो सब ऐसे ही होते हैं कि ऊपर का धावबी जैसा हुक्म करे वैसा ही करते हैं। यही कर्मचारी जवाहर लाल जी के जमाने में थे, जब इतना अष्टाचार नहीं था, क्योंकि ऊपर वाले साफ थे। अब जब आप ही लोग गड़बड़ करते हैं ऊपर में ही अष्टाचार है, तरह-तरह के बन्दा जमा करने हैं तो ये क्यों नहीं ऐसा करेंगे ? रेल वाले तो साफ कहते हैं कि अब हमारे ऊपर के अफसर लेने हैं तो हम क्यों न लें ? तो आज जो गड़बड़ी चारा तरफ है उसका कारण क्या है कि ऊपर सब गड़बड़ है। इस को ठीक करने के लिए आप का अपनी ही गड़बड़ ठीक करनी पड़ेगी।

मेरे पास आज ही राजवाड़ में तार आया है कि बहा कोयला नहीं है इसलिए मोराष्ट्र में अनेक कारखाने बन्द हो रहे हैं और कुछ तो बन्द हो गए हैं। तो कृपा करके इस को आप देखिए। एक तरफ तो आप उद्योग वा विकास करना चाहते हैं और जो चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं उस का घटाना चाहते हैं वह कैसे पड़ेगी ? जब तक उत्पादन ज्यादा कर के वह देगे नहीं और लोगों को काफी मात्रा में माल जायगा नहीं तब यह कैसे हो सकता है ? इन सब चीजों को आप कृपा कर के देखिए और नागरिक न होइए। जहाँ में देखिए और न्याय जो गुजरान के साथ होना चाहिए वह करिए। नर्मदा के बारे में जल्दी में फैसला कीजिए, यही मेरी विनय है।

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur):** It has been accepted by tradition and convention that when the Budget is

discussed, sky is the upper limit. Generally in these discussions I do not try to reach the upper limit, but in a debate of this type, some reference to the situation in Gujarat will become inevitable. Very often it is argued that what happened in Gujarat is not a democratic process. I should like to recall what happened in Soviet Russia. Because to those who described the happenings in Gujarat as something indulged in by right reaction it is better I quote Russian history to justify what happened in Gujarat. During the Russian Revolution of 1917 there was no question of who were the people who were going to vote in favour of the Czar or against the Czar. No formal ballot was taken, but when the Revolution began and when Lenin gave the call, those in the Army of the Czar left the battle field and joined the Armies of rebellion and then Comrade Lenin said that the Army had voted for the revolution by defection. Permit me to conclude that no ballot box was utilised in the struggle in Gujarat, but the manner in which thousands aligned themselves with the student organisers who struggled against corruption and who struggled for justice, about them it should be said that the people and the Legislators of Gujarat have voted for this recent revolution and struggle. Sir, a feeling of surprise has been expressed as to how such a militant struggle could take place in Gandhiji's Gujarat. All these critics have forgotten that Gandhiji's Gujarat was militant Gujarat. It was Gujarat that led the Dandi March and it was Gujarat again, where the Battle of Bardoli was fought. Dandi and Bardoli did not remain only as the regional struggles of Gujarat. But, these were mighty struggles, from where emanated the inspiration and the source of strength for the national struggle, throughout the country. I am glad that the people of Gujarat, once again lived up to the traditions of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahatma Gandhi. Again, Gujarat has risen to the call of youth organisations to fight against corruption. This is a new history that is being made. All those who had the fortune to participate in the national struggle,

should look at this from the point of view of the glorious heritage of Gandhiji and Sardar and welcome the new development that has taken place.

Sir, unfortunately, in our Constitution, there is no provision for referendum on any issue. There is no provision for right of recall, to call back the representatives of the people, when they fail to reflect the rights and the aspirations of the people. Many who indulge in corruption believe that when they get a massive mandate, it is a licence and permit for massive corruption. They carry on the malpractices for 5 years and go to the polls after 5 years. But, those who have a living faith in democracy, and a clean political and public life, are not going to treat the five years tenure as a licence and permit for corruption. They will even intercept and intervene before the completion of five years and they will exercise the right of recall in a more direct way with the help of the weapon of Satyagraha, which was wielded by Mahatma Gandhi. Here was the glorious right of recall exercised by the people of Gujarat, particularly, by the youth of Gujarat, who told the legislators that they cannot continue as Members of the Assembly which has become a seat of corruption. That is how, many of them tendered their resignations. Ultimately, I am glad, the Centre also respected their wishes. Unfortunately, the Centre is in the habit of not doing things in time and with grace. Ultimately, they succumbed to the pressures of the people, but, in the process, they lost all the grace. Ultimately, the Assembly was dissolved. I am glad that ultimately, the will and vision of the people reigned supreme.

There are various problems. But, at the very outset, I would like to refer to one particular feature, which is a very dangerous feature, in the life of Gujarat. I was really shocked and pained to find that when Army came to Gujarat, when Army came to Ahmedabad, youngsters garlanded the army men. I know that they did it

with the noblest of intentions. But, if people go on garlanding army men, when the Army replaces the democratic institutions and the democratic foundations, this will become a dangerous precedent. Whenever there is a calamity, whenever a dam collapses and whenever there are floods, army men are sent. Whenever there is a railway strike, the Territorial Army is sent. Again, when there are civil disturbances and political movements, Army is sent. I want to warn the House that if these army men go on intervening in every aspect of life, one day a feeling might come into their minds that 'if we have to go to salvage the famine-stricken people, if we have to go to salvage the flood-affected areas, if we have to go to areas affected by communalism and if we have to go to States in times of political crisis and President's Rule, then, why should we go through indirect channels; why not we take over the entire administration'. This sort of feeling will enter into the minds of these army men. This will be a dangerous precedent. I am not very happy with youngsters garlanding the army men. I think it would be a blot on our democratic life, if the youngsters have a feeling that it is not the Civil Administration that will be able to deliver the goods, but, it is the Army that will be able to deliver the goods. As a democrat, I would never welcome that idea.

Sir, at Ahmedabad, on the 18th of this month, I had the opportunity to lead a deputation of my partmen to the Governor. We submitted a memorandum to him. That memorandum lays down certain measures and policies which should really be the concern of this Parliament and the Central Government, since there is President's Rule in Gujarat. You will be shocked to know as to what was the reply given by the Governor. We told the Governor that there was so much of corruption and hoarding. A number of students demanded that there should be raids on the shops and houses of big businessmen who had actually indulged in hoarding. Sir, the

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

Governor told us that when the students demanded that there should be raids, he asked the Administration to send police and he also directed that even students may accompany the policemen when they go on raids. But, when the policemen went to those houses, to those shops and firms, they found that nothing was available to be taken over.

That is because before the raids were conducted, somehow or other the information leaked out to them. I do not want to cast aspersions on any authority or individual. But this is a fact that even in the case of those about whom everybody was saying that they were indulging in hoarding, blackmarketing, etc., by the time the police went, nothing was found. Already there is some sort of collusion between the officials and those who are indulging in corruption. Basically it was struggle against corruption and rising prices and unemployment and the budget will have to take note of it.

There is no adequate development of Gujarat. If you compare the present allocations with the past, the development activity in Gujarat will not be stepped up. The rate of growth will not be stepped up. If production is not stepped up and at the same time, expenditure is increasing, there is bound to be a gap between expenditure and production and the position will become more dangerous. The entire political development of Gujarat arises out of the fact that there was no feeding back by the administration of Gujarat. They did not introduce the requisite economic discipline in their life. Kisans, small shopkeepers, educated unemployed, teachers—everybody was dissatisfied and their voluminous anger in a cumulative form was expressed in the agitation which they launched.

We have made a certain request to the Governor and he has promised to forward it to the Centre. We have said that the families of those who have been killed during the struggle—I do not call them

riots—must be given a minimum compensation of Rs. 50,000. In case of families where precious lives have been lost, some nearest family members must be given pension so that they can rehabilitate their life. During the Maha Gujarat movement, for those who were killed, there was a glorious memorial erected, but that too after an intensive struggle. We demanded that in this case also a martyrs' memorial should be erected, because the Gujarat movement is going giving a new lead to the democratic movement. Those who were killed were not mercenaries, hooligans or antisocial elements. Sometimes on both sides of the House there are dogmas and doctrinaire concepts used. Some say, they were right reactionaries. Others say, they were left adventurists. But the young men who fought do not know either right reaction or left adventurism. They only know that whenever there is corruption, nepotism and rising prices, they must react to the situation. They have reacted for a right cause. If the Home Minister and others on the treasury benches describe them as right reactionaries in the sense that they have reacted in the right manner and led the agitation, I am prepared to agree with them.

There is procurement problem. There is distribution problem. Merely by taking over all these commodities and not tackling the problem of distribution, the problem of Gujarat is not going to be solved. On the 18th when we met the Governor, he himself admitted, "Though our administration has tightened up the machinery, yesterday I found oil prices have gone up. I do not know how it has happened". Therefore, there is no middle path. The distribution system has to be tightened. I do not want to raise doctrinaire controversies whether there should be socialisation of wholesale trade or not. I am one of those Socialists who feel that to protect the vulnerable section of our community, it is very necessary that effective socialisation of wholesale trade is undertaken and you must create the requisite machinery for it. On the one hand we have nationalisation of wholesale trade and on the other we try to

make a fine distinction between marketable surplus and marketed surplus while taking over the foodgrains. You cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hound. That kind of policy will not help. You will have to take certain unpalatable steps, unpopular steps. From the rich landlords you will have to take the entire marketable surplus. Then only your procurement policy will succeed and then only your distribution system will work. It is here that we, the socialists, and the communists are in hundred per cent agreement. We are not very happy with the delay in the nationalisation of the wholesale trade. We want it to be there. We do not want to throw the baby with the bath water. If there is merciless and ruthless implementation of the procurement policy, if there is take over of the entire marketable surplus, if there is an effective public distribution system, then it will be possible for the Gujarat administration, which is under President's Rule, to distribute food and ensure adequate food is available to the people.

The students have demanded that there must be more allocation from the Centre to the educational institutions. They have demanded a radical reorientation of the entire educational system; they have demanded a radical—education of the examination system. They have said that the present system of examination is only memorisation test and that if a student gets a first class, it does not mean that he is intelligent and that he has a proper understanding; it only means that he exercises his memory faculty properly. The present examinations system is not desirable and there is discontent among the students as well as the teachers with the present examination system. It is not as if they do not want any examinations at all; even serious-minded students are demanding a reformation in the examination system. The semester system has to be intro-

duced and expanded. For that larger allocation of funds by the Centre to the educational institutions has to be there, so that the educational system can be improved.

The entire budget will have to be completely re-organised. Since this budget gives no indication that the planners of our country comprehend the turmoil in the life of the people of Gujarat, I am afraid I cannot support these budget proposals at all. Therefore, I totally oppose the Gujarat budget that has been presented by the hon. Minister.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN. (Muvattupuzha) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I felt provoked to take part in this discussion by the speech of my learned friend, Professor Dandavate. A democrat and a socialist that he claims to be, the speech he made was the least I had expected of him. For Gujarat and for the rest of India, according to me, this is a sad event because by a process which no democracy can accept to be creditable a Legislative Assembly which was elected had to be dissolved and the entire legislative process had to be taken over by Parliament, and now this is sought to be delegated to the President of India. My hon. friend, Professor Dandavate, said that this is the beginning of a new era, a glorious era in the history of India, and he went to the extent of quoting the episode in Soviet Russia to say that this was a revolution under the feet. Unfortunately, the other important fact in the whole picture is being forgotten, and I want to pose it.

In Soviet Russia when the revolution took place, it was a real revolution, according to them, because they did not approve of the system. They did not approve of the system and they wanted to establish, what they called, the proletarian dictatorship. So, the revolution was launched and the existing system was subverted. The question here is this : is it the stand of the persons who went to the streets of Ahmedabad and indulged in violence that the present system is unacceptable to them and so it must

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

be subverted and a new system and a new machinery has got to be installed? If that is the contention, then, of course there is a revolution. But if that is not the contention, if on the other hand the contention is that democracy must continue, the present system must continue, only the misgovernment must go, then a very vital question arises whether this is the method to get that change. Mention was made about the Bardoli struggle and the Dandi March. No patriotic Indian will remember Gujarat except in veneration for the great tradition the people of Gujarat had set in the historic struggle for independent India. Bardoli was not marred by violence; Dandi March was not marred by violence; there was no bloodshed, no loot, no arson; there was no demonstration of incendiarism and violence. It is in that Gujarat, the Gujarat of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhai Patel, that we find a new episode, a new method! And here are the democratic socialists, Prof. Madhu Dandavate and his friends who say, 'Here is a great revolution taking place, a new chapter being opened, a new way being shown'. Let us think over the whole situation once again. He says that this machinery is not sufficient for the purpose of bringing in socialist transformation; they can resort to whatever measures they choose to subvert the whole thing. There, I am certainly against them, I am in confrontation with them. For those persons who swear by democratic set-up, who believe that this democratic set-up is dynamic enough to bring about socio-economic transformation, the question arises straight whether this is the method to get the desires implemented. Price-rise, there was; price-rise there is in Kerala; price-rise there is in different parts of the country. Price-rise is there and is going to be there for some time more, considering the economic situation in this country; considering the international situation and the domestic situation, it is certainly on the cards that you will have to live with these extraordinary, abnormal, economic conditions in this country. But is answer to this

going to be violence? Is answer to misgovernment going to be violence and incendiarism? And what was it that we found there? The straight question before all political parties is this: do you or do you not approve of the method? I can understand demands being raised, agitation being kicked up, the State being rocked by popular agitation, non-violent popular agitation, mass movements taking place. I can understand that. But is this the mass movement that you approve of? Would you approve of a situation where MLAs after MLAs are taken out, their heads are shaven off and they are paraded in the streets and are tortured? Is this the position you approve of? In an agitation against the Union Government, would you approve of a situation in which Members of Parliament are taken out and beaten and a situation is created where, out of humanitarian consideration that the Members of Parliament may survive, Government may take some action? Is that the method of political transformation and economic transformation? Is that the revolution that you want? There is a particular section in this country which does not believe in democracy; they want to subvert it, may be right or left; I do not want to identify anybody. If those people resort to this sort of thing, then I can understand. The danger of the whole situation is, that, pretending to lose their faith in democracy, they have set up a pattern which will sound dangerous for the future of this country. It will sound dangerous because, if democracy is going to be subverted, the power is going to be passed on not to the progressive forces; but,—let it be remembered, the dark forces in this country will have their free play.

It is they who are trying to subvert the whole thing. They experimented it and they found that it paid to a certain extent. Encouraged by this experiment, it is likely, they may carry on this campaign elsewhere also. That is the danger. Therefore, when you think about Soviet revolution,

when you think about other revolutions, I put the question again. If what you demand is substitution of the whole system, alright, I can understand; but if what you want is continuation of the system, if you pin your faith in democracy, if you pin your faith in that that democracy alone can bring about an effective socio-economic transformation in this country

Those friends who indulged in violence in that State have done the biggest dis-service to the cause of democracy. Dark forces are operating behind and I feel what happened in Gujarat would make every socialist democrat in this country bow his head in sorrow and shame. Sir, not that a new era has opened, but an agonising chapter has been written into the history of democratic India. I feel there be an effort to erase that agonising chapter. Violence can be no answer at all and violence will also abet violence and democracy will be finally butchered and that butchery must not take place. Although, for the time being, the agitators got what they wanted, the way they got it is not a victory for them because momentarily they might have the advice that they have got something, but the next day it will be proved that what they got is at the cost of a great cause on which the nation is built and on which the morrow is built and if that great cause is not safeguarded, the socio-economic transformation and the democratic transformation which we all cherish will be crucified and not the dark forces which are behind it.

With these words I support the Bill and the Demands.

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR** (Ahmedabad): Mr. Chairman, before I begin to comment on and criticise some of the proposals that are placed in the form of a Budget for Gujarat, may I say a word or two by way of reply to some of the points raised by the hon. Members from the ruling side.

I wish there was no occasion to repeat the arguments and the points which were already made, I thought, with legitimate

details about what happened in Gujarat. I do not know whether my esteemed friend, Shri Stephen has been to Gujarat in recent months and if he has been there and then if he says what he has said, I may perhaps consider them at least as his views based on first-hand reports gathered by himself. But the trouble is that most of these hon. members depend on what they hear from somebody or what they read cursorily in the newspapers. I do not of course, blame them because the Government of India themselves are so terribly uninformed about many things that are happening in our State. They sent then representatives to Ahmedabad who collect all kinds of information and come back to Delhi and submit their reports to the Home Minister or to the Prime Minister. On that basis the Home Minister or the Prime Minister acts and we find that because the report is uninformed and the action is misdirected and the consequences are still more grave.

Earlier this month, on the 11th, when I pleaded with all the earnestness and sincerity at my command to the Home Minister and the Prime Minister and the entire Government, 'Please act in time, please act with grace and time and grace are not much left in their possession', they did not do it. They said, 'Nothing will happen until normalcy is restored. Normalcy first and dissolution afterwards.' But in the same week, five days later, they were forced to do what we were telling them to do not only on the 11th but even days weeks ahead of that dissolution. In the preceding time and some of us had met the Prime Minister and I had also met the Home Minister and other Ministers and had tried to give them the picture as I observed. I can say on my own behalf, with all humility, that I was trying to give them a picture from an objective and independent angle. I have no party to care for nor any interests to look after. I look at the problem from the national angle and from the point of view of democracy and parliamentary democracy in particular.



My friends from the Congress Party have referred to the many questions. To consider that all these happenings are a mere violence is to mis-judge the issue entirely and to deliberately be blind to the wholly spontaneous and popular upsurge in my State.

Was it all nonviolent in 1942? Was it all non-violent now? Let us not talk of non-violence in Gandhiji's time. It was non-violent by and large and it was a popular upsurge by and large. Shri Dikshitji will agree with me also that by and large it was spontaneous. And many people were fishing in troubled waters. The opposition parties were fishing in troubled water. But the fact remains that these forces and political parties would not have been able to exploit this situation had the Government not reviewed this situation too late. Nobody should fish in troubled water. And no body would have succeeded either in fishing in troubled water. So, let us not go into the niceties of violence and non-violence. Let me repeat for the benefit of Shri Dhamankar the same question as to how many times this Government, in the last twentyseven years of Independence of India have yielded to such non-violent movements? And how many times have they been made to yield to the coercion of all sorts? Let us, therefore, not go into this question. I am ashamed at the fact that some violence took place. I plead guilty to the charge that the revolt in Gujarat was not hundred per cent non-violent. That does not take to my line of argument. By and large, it was a popular movement; it was a spontaneous movement—movement of students and youths who were in the forefront. And all sections of the people were backing that movement.

Mr. Chairman, what is very significant is that the political parties from extreme left to extreme right were there and they had to play and were playing the normal role. It was not something which the

political parties were inspiring or instigating somebody like the students and youths to play.

I know, for instance, how shamelessly, in the name of starting a dialogue, the student leaders of Nav Nirman Samiti were called here and how shamelessly and in how corrupt a manner some of the members of the ruling Congress tried to misbehave with my young friends who came from Ahmedabad to Delhi. First, I had hoped that students would have some dialogue with the Home Minister or they would have some dialogue with the hon. Prime Minister. I would have liked if such a dialogue had taken place. If the dialogue had taken place after the simultaneously announcement of the dissolution of the Assembly and the announcement of the reopening of colleges and universities, that would have been wonderful. But, Sir, the students were brought here under the pretext that they could have a dialogue. But, then, all kinds of corrupt things were practised on them. I salute those young students and youths of my State and my city for not yielding to such tactics. By and large all of them...

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT) :  
Sir, I want to . . .

SHRI P. G. MAVAIANKAR : I do not yield to you. Let me complete my sentence. After completing my sentence, you may clarify that.

SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT: Sir, he tried to give the impression as if we invited them here; or that they came here and they were misled or they were received or something wrong was done to them. This is totally incorrect. They came of their own accord and they went away. They went away after meeting the Prime Minister. Earlier they had never said to me that they wanted to meet me. I never said 'no' to them.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** He said that they came on their own accord. This is a distortion.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** The hon. Minister would like to place before the House the real state of affairs.

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR :** I would also say as I understand it. I was telling you that these young friends and students did not yield to those sweetly coercive and corrupting tactics of some of the ruling Congress Members. If the Home Minister really challenges, I am prepared to give the names of the hon. Members of the Congress Party who did practise all kinds of pressure tactics on the students. Sir, the fact remains however much the Home Minister may say that they are not facts but facts are facts. He may not agree with me that not only the Members of Congress Party belonging to both Houses of Parliament but even some Ministers were wanting the students to come to Delhi for a dialogue. They said that the students might come for a dialogue; let them talk to the Home Minister or let them talk to the Prime Minister. Ultimately and understandably Government were wanting to have some kind of excuses to get out of the difficulty because they knew that they had to dissolve the Assembly. If nothing happened, at least two kinds of pressure were being put continuously. One was the pressure of popular upsurge was mounting day by day, almost hour by hour, during the last few days before the dissolution actually took place. Actually, the Home Minister and the Prime Minister knew jolly well that the Members of Legislative Assembly of Gujarat belonging to their own party were coming out with resignations. Not all of them were submitting resignations under coercion. I share the concern expressed by Mr. Stephen about coercion on MLAs. But let me remind the hon. Members of this House that the former Chief Minister of Gujarat, Shri Ghanshyam Oza was never coerced once. He lived in the heart of the city and near the place of continuous conflict. Morchas were taken by Nav Nirman Samiti people all over the

places. Some students went to the residence of Shri Ghanshyam Oza but they did not touch his hair. They gave him the most courteous treatment because Shri Ghanshyam Oza gave the students very courteous treatment and so they had a good dialogue. It was only on the 15th of March when the former Chief Minister, Shri Ghanshyam Oza and several of his colleagues and the other members of the Congress Party resigned and the number jumped up to 95—there was an ugly competition between the victims of police firing and the resignations of MLAs 95 resigned 95 dead; 96 resigned 96 dead!—that the Government here realised that this was going to happen and that they had to dissolve the Assembly. But they wanted an excuse and so these students were asked to sign half a dozen of different humiliating documents. I can, if necessary show these statements. Thank God while some students signed the others did not sign. The Congress Government wanted to give an impression that since the students were now behaving and had understood and were yielding to Government therefore, as a supreme act of charity they were going to dissolve the Assembly.

Now, Sir, why did the Presidential Proclamation not take place and why was the Governor of Gujarat asked to announce the decision in the city of Ahmedabad on Friday 15th March just before 11 O'Clock? If my information is correct—the Home Minister may correct me if I am wrong—the information to Gujarat Governor reaches somewhere between 9 P.M. and 9.15 P.M. Earlier, the same evening the P.A.C. of the Cabinet and the Cabinet themselves had perhaps taken the decision. I want to ask could not the President of the Republic be kept informed of what was happening. No doubt, the President cannot act without the aid and advice of the Council of Ministers but the point is the supreme head of the State, the man who mattered most in this—I dare say the hon. man who had given advice to the Government, I believe, more than once that Government should dissolve the Assembly as early as possible—yet the tragedy

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

and the comedy of the situation is that the President was kept completely in the dark of the whole thing and the excuse given was that the President was sleeping. I do not know whether the President sleeps at 9.0' clock. I can understand if it was past mid-night....

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member will continue his speech.

18. hrs.

### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

#### SHORTAGE OF DALDA

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA (Tellicherry) : In the recent period, if we take the last seven years, we find that the prices of Dalda and vanaspati have been steadily increasing and there is a big shortage of both in the market. When a question was asked in this House, Government gave a very routine answer that there was shortage and they were trying to ensure the flow of oil so that the shortage of Dalda would be overcome.

The shortage of oil is cited as one of the reasons by the Dalda as well as vanaspati manufacturers for the shortage of Dalda and vanaspati in the market. I would request that this should not be viewed in isolation, because there is absolutely no justifiable reason for any one to claim that there can be a shortage of edible oil in our country. Some facts perhaps will throw light on this matter.

According to estimates, the production of groundnut in the current season is between 55 to 60 lakh tonnes, whereas in 1972-73, it was only 39 lakhs tonnes. So, there is more than one-third increase in the production of groundnut in our country. But at the same time you will see that the shortage of Dalda and vanaspati is fantastic in the market, and the prices of these items are going up disproportionately high. According to the news paper reports, a 16.5

k.g. tin is selling at Rs. 170 in Delhi, whereas the controlled price is only Rs. 126.79. I would like to bring to the notice of the House that there is a relation between the so-called shortage of oil and the fall in production and the spiralling prices. These are all interconnected. The fall in production and the fall in the availability of oil are man-made. The entire responsibility has to be squarely placed on the shoulders of the speculators, the hoarders and the blackmarketeers in our country who are speculating on oil and making enormous profit out of it. They do not sell oil and they do not allow us to see oil in the normal way. They only keep it in the underworld. They do not make use of the oil allotted to them for the production of Dalda. I would like to bring a specific case to the notice of the hon. Minister in this connection. The company which is producing Dalda, as is known to the hon. Minister more than to me, is a foreign-owned monopoly company. Dalda is manufactured and marketed by Hindustan Lever Ltd., a subsidiary of the Unilever Ltd. London, and this company is having 85 per cent of the shares from abroad. They are the producers and the people who manufacture dalda in the country. This company has a capacity of 460 tonnes in Ghaziabad and it is producing only 200 tonnes. There is a terrible shortage of dalda in the country and the foreign company is producing only 200 tonnes against 460—tonne capacity. It is only 40 per cent of installed capacity. They say they do not get enough oil. That is also not the reason. I hope you know about it because they are supplied with a certain quantity of oil. But they have a business. After all, their primary motive, perhaps the single driving force, is to loot the people, amass profit and transport it to their own country. That is the only concern of these people. So the oil allotted for the production of dalda is diverted to the production of refined oil, for the production of golden seal margarine, for the production of margo. On these items there is no price control whereas if they produce dalda, there is price control on it and the profit margin is less.