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WHY EMERGENCY?



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Government of India
Ministry of Home Affairs

WHY EMERGENCY ?

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABVP	—	Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad
AILRSA	—	All India Loco Running Staff Association
BJS	—	Bhartiya Jan Sangh
*BLD	—	Bharatiya Lok Dal
BRMS	—	Bharatiya Railway Mazdoor Sangh
BSF	—	Border Security Force
CPI	—	Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	—	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CP(M)		
CP(ML)	—	Communist Party (Marxist—Leninist)
CRP	—	Central Reserve Police
CSS	—	Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti
DMK	—	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
JSS	—	Janta Sangharsh Samiti
MLA	—	Member of the Legislative Assembly
NCCRS	—	National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle
PAC	—	Provincial Armed Constabulary
PSP	—	Praja Socialist Party
RSP	—	Revolutionary Socialist Party
RSSS	—	Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh
RSS		
S.A.DAL	—	Sant Akali Dal
SP	—	Socialist Party
SSP	—	Samayukta Socialist Party
SUCI	—	Socialist Unity Centre of India
SYJS	—	Samajvadi Yuva Jan Sabha

* Bharatiya Lok Dal was formed on 29-8-1974 by the merger of Bharatiya Kranti Dal, Swatantra Party, Utkal Congress, Rashtriya Loktantrik Dal, Punjab Khetibari Zamindara Union, Samayukta Socialist Party and Haryana Kisan Sangharsh Samiti.

PREFACE

The declaration of Emergency and the various actions taken by the Government to restore discipline, order and stability in the country have been welcomed by people from various strata of Indian society. The Prime Minister has said that the attempt of the Government is to put democracy "back on the rails" and to ensure that the activities of an organised anti-democratic minority did not lead to the end of the very institutions of representative Government which the nation had evolved over the years. Some political parties with fascist leanings had combined with a set of frustrated politicians to destroy the country's self-confidence and to challenge the very basis of democratic functioning. They campaigned in the name of democracy to launch violent agitations, to paralyse the country's economic life, to divert the nation's attention from its social and economic tasks and to create anarchy and chaos in order to overthrow elected representatives of the people. The democratic rights of the people can only be safeguarded if political order is ensured; lack of order is often taken advantage of by anti-democratic and fascist elements to rise to power and put an end to all political and economic rights of the people. In the last two years time and again the Prime Minister and other leaders of the country had warned the nation against the consequences of the activities of miscreants of misdirected politicians and of the well-organised fascist groups in the country. It is only when such activities had crossed all permissible limits that the Government was constrained to declare the Emergency. An attempt has been made in these pages to review the scope and nature of the challenge that had been thrown up and to describe the conditions that impelled the Government to invoke Article 352 of the Constitution of India to withstand the calculated onslaught on the country's political institutions and economic progress.

This review brings together a number of facts, whether derived from official records or otherwise. Most of the facts presented in the review are already within the knowledge of public. The review does not purport to disclose all the information in the possession of the Government as it would not be desirable in the public interest to publish it at present.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

India has been aptly described as "the world's largest democracy". Starting with an electorate of a little over 173 million in 1952, when the country's first general elections on the basis of adult suffrage were held, the number today has risen to the colossal figure of about 300 million. The founding fathers of our Constitution opted for adult franchise as an act of faith inspired by the firm belief that for the successful functioning of the democratic process, the will of the people was paramount. The five successive general elections held in 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967 and 1971 to the Lok Sabha and the successive elections to the State Legislative Assemblies have demonstrated the strength and vitality of our political system. These elections have evoked the admiration of countries all over the world for their fairness, impartiality and orderliness. Each general election has also been a reaffirmation of our country's adherence to the parliamentary system of democracy and the people's faith in that system as the most durable means of achieving their cherished goals.

Ever since the commencement of our Constitution over 25 years ago, the Government of India, under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, has directed its policy towards securing social, economic and political justice to all the citizens alike as enjoined by the Preamble and the Directive Principles enshrined in the Constitution. Indeed, this is the mandate of the people to successive governments.

Political parties and groups opposed to the Indian National Congress have from time to time made attempts to displace the Congress Government. As a result of the 1967 elections to the State Assemblies, a unique situation was created whereby political power came to be distributed among a large number of parties and groups. But this, as it was soon found, led to instability of government necessitating mid-term polls in several States.

The Indian National Congress split towards the end of 1969, and the Government led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi at the Centre, while continuing to enjoy majority support in Parliament, no longer had the backing of a parliamentary majority. In order to be able effectively to implement its socialist and economic programmes and policies, the Prime Minister considered it necessary that Government should be backed by a decisive majority in Parliament. She therefore decided to seek a fresh mandate from the people and

advised the President on December 27, 1970 to dissolve the Lok Sabha—even though it had one more year to complete its normal term. The President accepted the advice and dissolved the Lok Sabha.

Fresh elections to the new Lok Sabha in 1971 saw the spectacle of certain Opposition parties and groups opposed to the Congress Party led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi combining, *not* on the basis of a common programme or principles, but mainly with the avowed object of dislodging her from power. Their appeal to the electorate was based on the slogan '*Indira hatao*'. The results of the elections went totally against them and the Congress Party was voted back to power with 352 seats against 166* seats obtained by all the other parties and independents put together.

The '*Grand Alliance*' of Opposition parties which had hoped to capture power taking advantage of the Congress split had suffered a decisive defeat. This defeat must have made them realise that individually each of them lacked a country-wide mass base and it would not be possible for them to capture power through the normal democratic process. Having thus failed to achieve their objective through the ballot-box, these Opposition parties gradually turned their attention to extra-constitutional methods.

The subsequent chapters unfold their own story of the events that followed, driving the country to the brink of chaos and anarchy.

*Congress (O) 16, Swatantra 8, BJS 22, SSP 3, PSP 2, CPI 23, CPI(M) 25 and others and Independents 67 (including 24 DMK).

CHAPTER II

THE INSPIRATION—Gujarat

"For years, I was groping to find a way out. In fact while my objectives have not changed, I have all along been searching for the right way to achieve it. I wasted two years trying to bring about a politics of consensus. It came to nothing.... Then I saw students in Gujarat bring about a big political change with the backing of the people... and I knew that this was the way out."

*—Shri Jayaprakash Narayan in EVERYMAN'S
Weekly of August 3, 1974*

There was a perceptible deterioration in the food situation in Gujarat from about the beginning of December 1973 on account of the insufficient food production during the Kharif season, coming on top of the crippling effects of the earlier droughts in Gujarat and several other parts of the country. Prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities registered a marked increase, particularly in the case of wheat, rice, jowar and bajra. A calculated and organised opposition was whipped up to the Land Ceilings Bill and procurement levy of foodgrains. Separately, the student community was getting agitated over their rising food-bill. The resultant restiveness was exploited by some of the Opposition parties, particularly, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and the Congress (O).

From January 1, 1974 the BJS and the Congress (O) embarked on an agitational offensive. The BJS organised a bandh in Rajkot on January 2. A procession taken out in this connection turned violent and the Police had to open fire to disperse it as tear-gas and lathi charge proved of no avail. In Junagadh also there were instances of arson and setting fire to godowns on the same day. On January 5, 1974, the BJS organised a bandh at Dhrangadhra (Surendra Nagar) and took out a procession which also turned violent compelling the police to resort to use of force. On January 4, 5 and 6, the BJS and the Congress (O) organised propaganda meetings in Ahmedabad city criticising the government for failure to hold the price line and ensure adequate supplies of foodgrains.

Meanwhile the student community was also drawn into the agitation. Earlier, on December 19 and 20, 1973, students of L. D.

Engineering College, Ahmedabad had indulged in violence and vandalism protesting over high mess charges. On December 29, 1973, students of L. D. Engineering College, Morvi (Rajkot) emulated their counterparts in Ahmedabad. On January 3, 1974, the engineering students of Ahmedabad once again turned violent and police had to resort to use of force. In protest against police action, the students of Ahmedabad went on strike on January 4. On January 7, a meeting of students' representatives reiterated their demand *inter alia* for reduction in the monthly mess fees and college terminal fees and arrest of hoarders and black-marketeers. Students organised demonstrations indulging in violence on the following days which ended in the *Ahmedabad Bandh* on January 10. Simultaneously, the BJS backed by the militant cadres in the RSSS and the ABVP gave a call for *Bandhs* at Baroda, Palanpur and several towns in Mehsana on January 10. In all these places there was large-scale violence, and in Baroda the situation deteriorated to such an extent that the army was asked to stand-by and curfew was imposed. On the same day, student violence in Modassa took a communal turn and members of rival communities started arson and looting of each other's property, which resulted in loss of life and property of both the communities.

The Opposition parties found the circumstance ideal and none of them was reluctant to jump into the fray. The BJS, Congress (O), CPI(M), SP etc., gave *bandh* calls, organised processions and staged *dharnas* at several places. At the same time, they voiced their protest against alleged police atrocities and started demanding resignation of the Congress Ministry. The students of Ahmedabad formed the 'Nav Nirman Yuvak Samiti' which came to the forefront to spearhead the agitation. This ultimately culminated in the *Gujarat bandh* on January 25. The spate of violence particularly in big cities like Ahmedabad, Surat, Rajkot and Baroda, continued unabated. Dissatisfaction and violence spread to small towns and rural areas. While the Opposition parties favoured the demand for dissolution of the State Assembly and fresh elections, the leaders of the agitation made the Congress Ministry, particularly the Chief Minister, their main target of attack. The determined resolve of the Opposition parties to bring about the fall of Chimanbhai Patel Ministry led to his resignation and imposition of President's Rule on February 9, 1974. The Presidential proclamation kept the State Assembly under suspension. Violence did not abate even at this stage. The Opposition parties hastened to remind that the struggle would be carried on till the 'ultimate' objective of dissolution of the Assembly was achieved; and they decided to continue the agitation. Incidents of looting and arson, stone-throwing on buses and buildings, blocking of roads, attacks on banks and other acts of vandalism continued to take place.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan visited Ahmedabad on February 11, 1974 and complimented the students and the youth on the role they played in the removal of the Patel Ministry. He asked the students, teachers and Sarvodaya workers to involve the people in the agitation for the dissolution of the Assembly. After his visit, the Sarvodaya workers also got directly involved in the agitation.

The leaders of the Opposition parties and groups now directed their attention towards the demand for the dissolution of the Assembly in which the Congress Party enjoyed a massive majority of 140 seats in a House of 168. The students took out processions to the houses of Congress MLAs to demand their resignation. A number of Congressmen were *gheraoed* and subjected to systematic harassment and humiliation for securing their resignations. The Nav Nirman Samiti gave a call to observe *Ahmedabad Bandh* on February 19, 1974. The *bandh* led to extensive violence in Ahmedabad on February 19 and 20. The students persisted with their intimidatory tactics to force the Congress MLAs to resign from the Assembly and they were actively encouraged by Opposition parties and other disgruntled elements.

Among the political parties, the Congress (O) took the first step to intensify the agitation for the dissolution of the State Assembly by asking all its 16 MLAs to resign. Subsequently, 3 BJS MLAs also submitted their resignations. A number of Congress MLAs had been coerced into submitting their resignations. By March 12, the Speaker of the Assembly had to accept the resignations of 78 MLAs in all.

To intensify pressure on the Central Government to dissolve the State Assembly, Shri Morarji Desai undertook on March 11, 1974, an **indefinite fast**. This added a new dimension to the agitation. On March 12, a threat was held out by a section of students for giving a call for an '*Indira hatao*' programme throughout the country if the State Assembly was not dissolved within 48 hours. At about the same time, a number of Gujarat students had moved over to Delhi to mobilise opinion in support of their demands. On March 11, they took out a procession and attempted to defy prohibitory orders around Parliament House. They also contacted a number of Opposition leaders such as Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee (BJS), Shri Piloo Mody (Swatantra), Shri Madhu Limaye (SP), Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu (CPM) and others. On March 15, the Assembly was dissolved and Shri Morarji Desai broke his fast. The Gujarat agitation resulted in great loss of life and injury to a large number of innocent people, including some policemen (95 dead and 933 injured). There were 896 cases of looting and arson resulting in loss to public and private property worth over Rs. 2.5 crores.

The events in Gujarat leading to the dissolution of the Assembly had undoubtedly their own lessons. The Opposition parties who participated actively derived satisfaction that violence by exploitation of the youth could be productive of results which they could not achieve through normal constitutional means.

Here, then, was the INSPIRATION!

CHAPTER III

THE PLUNGE—Bihar

The agitation in Bihar was primarily planned by the student community with the object of ventilating their grievances in regard to the soaring prices of essential commodities, inadequate supply of foodgrains to their messes, the growing problem of unemployment etc. The initiative in articulating the feelings of the student community and organising a wider agitation for redressal of their grievances was taken by the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), which is an allied organisation of BJS and draws inspiration from RSS. Under the aegis of the ABVP, a conference of representatives of the various student organisations was held at Patna on February 17 and 18, 1974 for giving shape to the proposed agitation. Efforts to unite all the student organisations under a single umbrella for the limited purpose of achieving the objectives of the agitation failed as the leftist student front did not agree to the inclusion of some non-students. The ABVP, the Samajwadi Yuva Jan Sabha (SYJS) owing allegiance to the SP, and the Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti (CSS) then formed the 'Bihar Rajya Sangharsh Samiti' to provide the requisite leadership for the conduct of the agitation.

A delegation of students had met the Chief Minister on the eve of the budget session of Bihar Legislature in March 1974 in regard to their grievances. The Chief Minister listened to their grievances and noted that the students did have some difficulty in getting wheat, rice and other essential commodities for their hostels and messes. The students had demanded that the number of scholarships for meritorious and poor students should be increased. They also demanded that the restriction of minimum marks for those who wanted to sit for the medical entrance competitive examination should be removed. The Chief Minister conceded these demands. He assured regular supply of essential commodities to the hostels and messes of the students. The Chief Minister also informed the students that in regard to their demand for general improvement in the educational system a Committee would look into the various complex problems involved. With regard to the high prices of foodgrains and the problem of unemployment, the Chief Minister pointed out that these phenomena were not confined to Bihar alone.

He sought the cooperation of the students in apprehending black-marketeers, profiteers and hoarders. In regard to corruption, the Chief Minister told the delegation that he was alive to the problem and, since his assumption of office, had taken action against corrupt elements. He told them that he would like the pace of anti-corruption measures being accelerated and would welcome the cooperation of the students. The students assured the Chief Minister of their cooperation.

The assurances given to the students had apparently satisfied them. But inebriated by the success they had in Gujarat, Opposition parties like the BJS and the militant cadres in the RSS and ABVP, the Congress (O) and SP, in collusion with the Naxalites and Anand Margis, master-minded a demonstration at Patna on March 18, 1974 placing the students in the forefront. The proclaimed objective of the demonstration was to prevent the Governor from proceeding to the Assembly chamber to deliver his annual Address to the joint session of the Legislature. The protestations that the demonstration would be peaceful were belied by the subsequent orgy of widespread violence and arson. The disturbances from March 18 to 20, 1974 resulted in the death of 27 persons and loss of considerable property. They spread to several other urban areas of Bihar and continued until March 27, 1974. The political parties had cashed in on the difficulties of the students, instead of cooperating with the Government in trying to solve their problems. They considered it a heaven-sent opportunity to be utilised to serve their own selfish political ends.

They were in search of new issues and new leadership. They approached Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and requested him to assume the leadership of the movement, and in early April 1974, they succeeded in persuading him to agree. Immediately, fresh demands for dissolution of the Assembly and removal of the Ministry were made. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was presumably assured by the political parties that their MLAs would resign from the Assembly. Possibly, they had made him believe that a number of legislators from the Congress Party too would also resign, thereby creating a climate for the Assembly's dissolution. However, it soon became obvious that the legislators were in no mood to oblige. When the call for resignation came, not one of the Opposition parties in the movement could persuade all its members to resign from the Assembly. *Only 42 MLAs out of a total of 318 resigned.* Indeed, every sponsoring party was split on this issue. The Jan Sangh, with all its claims of solidarity and discipline, found to its chagrin

that out of its 24 members in the Assembly, as many as 11 chose to resign from the party instead of resigning from the Assembly. Out of the 17 members belonging to the SSP, only 11 chose to resign; the 6 others stayed on and elected a new leader Shri B. P. Mandal, a former Chief Minister of Bihar. Shri Mandal strongly condemned the JP-led movement in the course of his speech in the Assembly during the budget debate. The Socialist Party had 13 members in the Assembly; and out of these, 9 resigned and 4 stayed on. In the Congress (O), out of 23 of its members, despite the pressure and personal persuasion of Shri Morarji Desai who especially visited Bihar for the purpose, only 6 members resigned. The Jharkhand, Hul-jharkhand and other Opposition parties altogether ignored the call for resignation. The sponsors of the move for the dissolution of the Assembly evidently failed to carry conviction with the members of the Legislature that they had lost the mandate of the people who had elected them.

In the movement for the resignation of the members of the Legislature methods of coercion and force were freely used. A large number of MLAs belonging to the Congress and other parties were threatened and some of them were insulted and even assaulted. Some poor Harijan and Adivasi MLAs were forced to put their signatures on letters of resignation under threat of physical violence; but they repudiated their resignations as soon as they were set free. Suffice it to say that, between April 20 and June 9, 1974, there were 39 reported incidents of such coercion accompanied by use of abusive and filthy language and other acts of humiliation, including physical injury. All these facts disprove the claims of the sponsors that these were only peaceful methods of persuasion, or that the members of the Legislature were being persuaded by their own constituents to resign because they had lost faith in them.

Having failed to secure their objective, attention was once again diverted to the students. A call was given to them to boycott examinations, and for one year boycott all colleges. The call for the boycott of examinations was largely ignored, though it is true that in the first few days of the examinations attendance was thin because of large scale coercion and intimidation. There were assaults and stone and bomb throwing incidents. One examinee was even shot dead to **create terror** among the other examinees. On the first day of the examination the Government did not interfere, but when it was found that thousands of students were being prevented by a handful of rowdies from entering the examination hall, the Government provided necessary protection to the willing students. As a result, a very large number of examinees appeared.

In the Intermediate Examination, 80 per cent of the students on an average appeared. Despite 88 incidents of violence and attacks through bombs and bullets and other forms of violence, the call for boycott of examinations was defied by a great majority of students.

There are some typical examples of this coercion and intimidation. In the Commerce College which is affiliated to Magadh University, less than one dozen students out of a total of 1,400 could appear at the Intermediate Examination on the first two days due to intimidation. But when the Centre for these examinees was changed to other places, the attendance swelled to more than 900. In the Anugraha Narain College, Patna, no examinee appeared on the first day of the examination due to intimidation, but on the second day when several intimidators had been arrested about 400 examinees appeared at the examination and subsequently as many as 1,200 out of a total of 1,444 appeared.

The call for the boycott of Colleges for one year had also been largely ignored, but attempts at coercion and intimidation in this field continued.

In his efforts to accelerate the tempo of the movement, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan ushered in a new phase from August 1, with a programme of paralysing the work in Government offices, launching of 'no-tax' campaigns and social boycott of MLAs.

Keeping in view the organisational weaknesses and realising that widespread floods had caused a setback to the agitation, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan called for a period of consolidation and preparation towards the end of August and announced that the whole of September would be utilised for *widening the mass base*, completing the formation of Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti and Jan Sangharsh Samiti units, recruitment of volunteers, raising of funds, etc. In order to bring farm workers, landless labourers and poorer sections within the orbit of the movement and to broaden its mass base, it was decided to voice demands among other things, for land to the landless, rationalisation of land revenue, fair wages to agricultural workers, etc. Shri Narayan also tried to draw into the movement trade unions and non-gazetted government employees. He also arrived at an understanding with the CPI(M) whereby the latter promised to extend support to the movement by launching supplementary and convergent agitations.

With a view to reactivising the agitation, which was otherwise showing signs of fatigue and drift, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan gave

a call for observance of *Bihar Bandh* from October 3 to 5, 1974 at a public meeting in Patna on September 8, 1974. He called for complete paralysation of train, postal and bus services and all work in government offices. The *bandh* was accompanied by considerable violence and railways and tele-communications were the main targets of the agitators. During the *bandh* there were 98 cases of disruption of rail traffic and damage to rail property, 24 of disruption of tele-communications, 9 of attack on the police, 21 instances relating to government offices, 10 of attacks on individuals and private property, 8 instances of obstruction to road traffic, etc. During the three days of the *bandh* many violent incidents occurred. The police were constrained to open fire on 16 occasions resulting in 16 deaths. In this phase of the agitation, picketing of community development block offices acquired significance. The agitationists then programmed relay fasting in front of the Secretariat. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan himself sat on a 24-hour relay fast on October 8.

Despite the fact that the *Bihar Bandh* had unleashed widespread violence and disruption, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan gave a call for a massive demonstration for November 4 and the mobilisation of a large number of people from all over the State for a *gherao* of the Assembly and residences of MLAs. A procession led by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan went to the Secretariat and staged *dharna*. The agitators launched *dharna* at the residences of some Congress leaders.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan followed up the November 4 demonstration with a call for *Patna and Bihar Bandhs* on November 5 and 6 respectively which was carried into effect. The supporters of the movement utilised the whole of the month in disrupting public meetings organised by the Congress, occasionally resorting even to physical assault of Congress leaders. They carried on their programme of mobilising people and also to continue to bring pressure on Opposition MLAs who had not resigned from the Assembly by doing *gherao* of their residences, passing of no-confidence motions against them in their respective constituencies, and ultimately by subjecting them to social boycott.

Since December 1974, the leaders of the movement directed their attention to organisational work such as setting up of Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti/Jan Sangharsh Samiti units in the villages and formation of *Janata Sarkars* and *Janata Adalats* as parallel governments and parallel courts. On January 26, 1975 CSS and JS workers organised parallel Republic Day celebrations at vario

places. Sporadic incidents of violence occurred in several places. In Bihar-sharif, 50 CSS workers extracted under duress an undertaking from a Congress MLA to resign from the Assembly.

On February 19, 1975 a rally was organised at Patna which was addressed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and was followed by a "march to the All India Radio Station". Towards the end of March 1975, he gave a call to students to revive the 'no-tax campaign'. On March 18, 1975, he led a procession to the Assembly to mark the Anniversary of the stir in Bihar. Calls for 'periodical interruption of normal life by way of *bandhs* continued to be given. *Bandhs* were observed at Arrah (April 3) and Muzaffarpur (April 4). On April 6, a call for *Bihar Bandh* was given. Towards the beginning of May, a three-month programme was announced which was aimed at speeding up the formation of *Janata Sarkars*, strengthening of 'Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini', a new non-party student force, which again was dominated by ABVP and RSSS cadres. It needs to be noted that the Chhatra Sangharsh Samitis were non-party forums only in name, but were dominated by the militant cadres of the RSSS and Naxalites apart from the cadres of the Congress (O), BJS and BLD. During the protracted agitation in Bihar, there have been 544 cases of violence, and police had to resort to firing 54 times. These violent incidents resulted in injury to over 500 persons and death of 70 persons. A large number of policemen also suffered injuries.

It will be seen that at various stages in the course of the agitation in Bihar, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's programme included:—

1. Boycott of schools and colleges and examinations for one year.
2. *Gherao* of MLAs to force them to resign their membership of the Assembly.
3. Social boycott of MLAs.
4. Formation of parallel Assembly.
5. Paralyzing of work in Government offices.
6. 'No-tax' campaign.
7. Boycott of courts.
8. Establishment of parallel governments and parallel courts—*Janata Sarkars* and *Janata Adalats*.
9. Incitement of Armed Forces, Police and Government servants.

The wider overtones of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's movement in Bihar had become clear from some of his utterances. Addressing a big gathering at the Gandhi Sarovar in Patna while giving a call for *Bihar Bandh* from October 3 to 5 (Statesman, New Delhi—9.9.1974), he said:

"From this date there would be no trains running through Bihar, buses would be off the road, work in Government offices, including the Secretariat would be paralysed and shops would remain closed.... A week's paralysis would be enough to end the Government in Bihar."

He then went on to declare:

"it is now an open confrontation with the Centre and not merely with the Bihar Government. The State Government has neither status nor stamina."

Earlier, addressing a meeting of Opposition political workers at Patna on August 13, 1974 (Searchlight, Patna—31-8-1974), Shri Jayaprakash Narayan declared that he was ready to undertake an *indefinite fast* to force the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly and resignation of the Ministry "if the people demanded it".

In an interview with Shri Dalip Ganguly (Amrit Bazar Patrika, Calcutta—20-12-1974), Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, referred to the talks he had with the Prime Minister. He told Shri Ganguly:

"I had given several proposals for reforms; otherwise I was apprehensive that the situation would lead to devastation, but I was disappointed and came back with two firm convictions:

the movement was decisive in my life, and that

the people would have to rise in revolt against the establishment and nothing less than a total revolution will bring succour to the people."

Through the Bihar agitation, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan further nurtured the plan—the seeds of which were sown in Gujarat—of a conscious programme to distort democratic functioning at all levels and disrupt duly constituted instruments of constitutional authority.

CHAPTER IV

PLAN TO DISRUPT ECONOMY—the Railway Strike

The Railway Strike of May 1974 was essentially a part of the movement for national disruption. The Railways employ nearly 20 lakh persons and, with their dependents, almost one among every 50 Indians had a stake in the functioning of the Railways. A strike in the Railways would not only achieve the object of creating chaos and confusion in the country by disrupting movement of essential goods, industrial inputs, etc., but would also create economic distress among large sections of the population. Shri George Fernandes of the Socialist Party had compared the railway worker (in an address to the National Railwaymen's Union Workers in October 1973) to a 'sleeping giant' and said :

"that railwaymen should not be a sleeping giant now but should organise themselves into one indivisible unit and if they succeed in this, they can change the whole history of India and bring down Indira Gandhi Government at any time by paralysing the railway transport to a dead stop.

At Madras on March 29, 1974, he reiterated this concept and exhorted railwaymen :

"Realise the strength which you possess. 'Seven days' strike of the Indian Railways—every thermal station in the country would close down. 'A ten days' strike of the Indian Railways—every steel mill in India would close down and the industries in the country will come to a halt for the next 12 months. If once the steel mill furnace is switched off, it takes nine months to re-fire. A 15 days' strike in the Indian Railway—the country will starve".

In order to broad-base his plans and to involve like-minded parties, he formed the National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle (NCCRS) in which all trade unions except the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen were represented. He toured the country extensively to create a tempo for the strike and proclaimed that "railwaymen could unseat the present Central Government through a general strike."

With the active support of the CPI(M) and the Bharatiya Railway Mazdoor Sangh (BJS), Shri Geogre Fernandes and his supporters got a free hand in the NCCRS in carrying out their designs. To effect a complete breakdown of the administrative machinery, the CPI(M) also organised a sympathetic strike by Central Government employees to coincide with the railway strike. The CPI(M) took an active and militant part and asked its ranks to lend unqualified support to Shri George Fernandes. It also initiated steps to mobilise its cadres with a view to prolong the strike and most of the cases of sabotage during the strike were organised by the CPI(M)'s militant cadres. In the preparatory stages, the CPI(M) deputed its active workers to 56 main Railway Stations all over the country. The pro-CPI(M) AILRSA had also played a significant role during the strike. Leaders of the BRMS toured the various railway zones extensively canvassing support for the strike.

The loyalty of the majority of the railway employees and the prompt and firm measures taken by the Government saved the country from what might well have been a major disaster.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, while addressing a public meeting at Varanasi on December 26, 1974, criticised the action taken by the Government against the erring railwaymen and described it as a "strange behaviour of a Government swearing by Socialism". He gave to the railwaymen a programme for their involvement in the "people's struggle". Later, addressing a convention of the All India Railwaymen's Federation at Jodhpur in May 1975, he explained his concept of "total revolution" and urged the railwaymen to usher in "democracy in railways". He advised them to participate in the demonstrations, processions, etc., and **adopt resolution for total revolution.**

In a letter addressed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung in December 1974, Shri George Fernandes complained of the—

"ruthless repression at the hands of the Government of India of the Indian railwaymen when they fought a glorious struggle to secure justice that has been denied to them for several years now."

Substantial amounts of money were received in May-June, 1974 by Shri George Fernandes from abroad through a foreign bank. If money transfers took place through banks, more money must have flown through other channels, to him and to others.

CHAPTER V

SEARCH FOR A WIDER BASE

Realising that an isolated agitation in Bihar would have little impact on the attitude of the Central Government over the demand for dissolution of the Bihar Assembly, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan decided to secure for his agitation a wider base and an all-India character, with the help of parties like the BJS, BLD, SP, Congress (O) etc., which were then elms intent on stirring up Bihar-type agitations in various States and were anxious to exploit his image for this purpose.

The approach of these parties to wreck the Constitution through these struggles was evident in the stand already taken by them. The BJS had raised the slogan of having a prolonged confrontation with the ruling party in all fields and spheres. The National Executive Committee of the BLD at its very first meeting (September 5, 1974) had adopted a resolution, calling upon its followers to accord top priority to the launching of people's struggles. The Socialist Party held that the experience in Bihar had shown that 'given a platform wider than the united front of some parties and a radical programme, the people could launch a mass upsurge of tremendous dimensions'. It called upon the leftist parties not to let the 'opportunity of the mass upsurge' slip by their 'touch-me-notism'. The CPI(M) had also declared that it would strive its best to work with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and visualised that it would be possible to arrive at a common understanding not only in Bihar but on an all-India scale.

In Orissa, a section of Sarvodaya leaders, closely aligned with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, had been making efforts to organise Bihar-type agitations in the State. This section attempted to woo the students and youth as also anti-Congress organisations like the BLD, SP, SUCI, Congress (O) etc., with the same objective. At a meeting (October 5, 1974) of 50 MLAs belonging to the BLD, SP, CPI(M) and Jharkhand, Shri Biju Patnaik had threatened that in case something was not done immediately in respect of the memorandum submitted by them to the Governor demanding immediate convening of the State Assembly, relief to the drought-affected people in the State, etc., large-scale lawlessness and bloodshed were likely.

In Madhya Pradesh, the BJS, SP, BLD etc., had joined hands to support a Bihar-type agitation. Shri J. P. Shashtri, MLA (SP) had voiced the demand for dissolution of the State Assembly in June-July 1974 and threatened to re-enact Gujarat and Bihar in Madhya Pradesh. Madhu Limaye, M.P. (SP) had toured the State to propagate in favour of such an agitation and assess its prospects. Shri Kailash Joshi, Organising Secretary of the Madhya Pradesh BJS, had threatened that Opposition parties would launch an agitation which might include seizure of private and government foodgrains. 'Bihar day' was observed on October 2 in various towns of the State by organising processions. A State-level *ad hoc* Committee styled as Madhya Pradesh Yuva Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti was also formed.

In Karnataka, student fronts of BJS, SP, Congress (O) and others had organised a convention (August 9-10, 1974) at Bangalore at which it was decided to form a Karnataka Nav Nirman Samiti with *ad hoc* Committees in various districts.

In Punjab, the BJS and the Akali Dal had been striving to organise a Bihar-type agitation. They jointly organised a rally at Ludhiana on October 29, 1974 which was addressed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. Subsequently at a meeting of the Opposition parties attended by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, it was decided to form Jan Sangharsh Samitis to mobilise people for a struggle to oust the Congress Government in the State.

In Delhi, the impetus for the movement was mainly provided by the BJS and its youth fronts, namely, the ABVP and Bhartiya Yuva Sangha. The BJS had formed the Delhi Rajya Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti. The Samiti's call for 'Delhi Bandh' on November 4 was supported by the BLD, SP and its youth front, the SYJS, and Congress (O).

In Uttar Pradesh, a Statewide 4-week programme (September 1974) had been drawn up at a students' conference (Lucknow, August 25-26) as a prelude to the organising of Bihar-type agitation in the State. The student bodies also gave a call for a Statewide *bandh* on October 11 which, however, did not evoke much response. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan visited U.P. in December 1974 and was instrumental in the formation of Jan Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Samities. A comprehensive plan for agitation was drawn up and volunteers courted arrest in April/May 1975 over their various demands including opposition to the levy system of procurement.

In Rajasthan, Opposition parties particularly the BLD, BJS, Congress (O) and the SP tried to launch a Bihar-type agitation. At a

conference of students and youth at Jaipur on September 29 organised by the SYJS—dominated Rashtriya Lok Tantrik Morcha, a resolution for launching an agitation to bring about a total revolution was adopted. During his visit to the State in October 1974, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan advised leaders of the Opposition parties to study the problems in the State and decide about the desirability of launching an agitation. A 7-member Student Action Committee (pro-ABVP) was formed in Jaipur on October 26 for agitation over various demands.

In Haryana, the BLD took the initiative in forming Haryana Jan Sangharsh Samiti. A Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti was also formed on October 30. During his visit to Kurukshetra (Haryana) on November 27, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan announced that conditions were ripe for starting an agitation in the State. He declared that a movement had started from Kurukshetra from that day itself.

In this background, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan convened in Delhi on November 25 and 26, 1974 a conference of Opposition parties comprising of BJS, BLD, Congress (O), S.A. Dal, SP, DMK, Arya Sabha (Haryana) and some others. The conference decided to organise a “*gherao* of Parliament by one million people during the current session”. The demonstrators would “make the functioning of AIR impossible”. The conference also decided to set up a National Coordination Committee to spread Shri Jayaprakash Narayan’s movement to other States (Statesman, New Delhi 26-11-1974).

Subsequently the idea of *gherao* of Parliament was given up, and it was decided to organise a massive demonstration outside the Parliament on March 6, 1975, to form Coordination Committees in various States, and to organise State-wise demonstrations and agitations.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan undertook tours of various States including Maharashtra, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Delhi to mobilise support for his “total revolution” and to chalk out plans in furtherance of the movement.

In his bid to rally various anti-government elements for sustaining his movement based on the concept of ‘total revolution’, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had been wooing subversive and anti-national extremists. He made direct contacts with some of the extremist leaders for achieving a personal rapport with them. To strike a sympathetic chord among the extremists for his own movement, he eulogised China and Mao Tse-tung.

During his visit to West Bengal (May 18-19, 1975), he met some extremist elements, including Saibal Mitra (who had secretly gone to London in 1968 to seek Chinese advice on the issue of formation of the CP/ML). He lent his whole-hearted support to the demands for the release of the Naxalite prisoners and exhorted the extremist leaders to undertake such programmes as *gherao* of jails, State Secretariat, Assembly, High Court, etc. During his subsequent visit to West Bengal (June 3-9), he renewed his efforts to woo the extremists and solicited their association with the proposed Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Samitis in the State for launching a movement immediately.

The effort evidently has been to give to the so called '*total revolution*' a wider base and thereby bring the entire country within the compass of the scheme to unleash chaos and anarchy!

CHAPTER VI

CALL FOR CHANGE IN POLITY

—Undermining of Democratic Institutions

'Of all the experiments in government which have been attempted since the beginning of time, I believe that this Indian venture into parliamentary government is the most exciting. A vast sub-continent is attempting to apply to its tens and hundreds of millions a system of free democracy which has been slowly evolved over the centuries in this small island.'

—Memoirs of Anthony Eden

In an open letter on December 9, 1973 Shri Jayaprakash Narayan called upon the youth of the country to launch a "Youth for Democracy" movement. In the letter, he expressed the view that—

"since Independence, elections have been growing more and more irrelevant to the people and to the democratic process."

He then went on to ask:

"Will our youth continue to look on idly at this strangulation of the democratic process at its very birth? Surely there cannot be a more important issue which should move the youth to action."

Speaking at Varanasi on January 8, 1974, he said that the people were "psychologically ready for a change in polity". They had seen all major parties in power and were sick of the *party democracy* in vogue at present. He would like the country's youth to seize this favourable opportunity and "play the revolutionary role that the present age demands of them". In this context, he agreed with the kind of drastic steps that Chairman Mao Tse-tung had taken in China in closing the Universities for some time. He said, in politics, the situation had become so bad that "it is no longer possible to tinker with the existing system of party democracy" (Times of India, New Delhi—9-1-1974). Later, at a meeting in Gandhi Maidan at Patna on April 9, 1974, he spoke approvingly of Mao's theory that "power comes out of the barrel of a gun". This power which came out of the gun ruled the masses once again through the gun, he

added. He believed that Mao was one of the greatest men and said: "I have great respect for him (Mao Tse-tung) and if I am asked to choose between Russia and China I would certainly prefer the latter." (Statesman, New Delhi—10-4-1974).

Addressing a meeting of students in Kanpur on February 3, 1974 (National Herald, New Delhi—4-2-1974) Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said:

"The country is fast heading towards a new revolution.... There is another 1942-movement in sight to change the course of history."

He was further reported to have said that—

"a grave situation had been created in the country as the masses have lost faith in the parties and their leaders who only exploited them to capture power."

In a statement in Poona on March 30, 1974 (Statesman, New Delhi—31-3-1974) he referred to the possibility of "a violent explosion".

On April 4, 1974, he announced at Patna (Nagpur Times, Nagpur—11-3-1974) that he had "taken a vow" to change the present situation "as it is now beyond my tolerance", and that a stage had come when a "flare-up" was a must. The present social and political structure, he said, "must be changed". He also said that the students had taken up the challenge of the situation and it was the responsibility of the people to come forward and support their movement.

Addressing a meeting in Patna on June 5, 1974 (Everyman's Weekly of 22-6-1974), Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said—

"This is a rebellion, a total rebellion. This is a movement, not merely for the dissolution of the Assembly. Ever since I first gave the call of 'Youth for Democracy', I have been telling the youth that they should be their own leaders. I will only advise. But friends insisted that I should accept the burden of leadership. I hesitated, but before going from Patna, I accepted the task in all humility, realising my own great limitations. However, I would humbly submit that I won't agree to be a leader only in name. I will take the advice of all, of the students, the people, the Jan Sangharsh Samities. **But the decisions**

will be mine and you will have to accept them. Then alone will my leadership have meaning, and this revolution may be successful."

Inaugurating an all-India Youth Conference at Allahabad on June 22, 1974, (Times of India, New Delhi—23-6-1974) Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said:

"Though he himself would not take part in any armed insurrection or rebellion, **he could not restrain revolutionaries from taking to the gun.**"

According to a report in the "Pioneer" of June 25, 1974, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, while strongly pressing for the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly, stated that "this should be achieved either by non-violent or violent means". The report in the "Pioneer" further said:

"Though he (JP) himself believed in non-violent methods, **he would follow the violent method** if any Opposition party was capable of toppling the Government violently."

According to a UNI report from Patna in the "Motherland" of August 31, 1974, Shri Narayan pointed out that—

"he had neither taken up arms against the Government, nor did he want violence, but if the people wanted it from him, he would do that at an appropriate time."

According to a report in "Everyman's" Weekly of October 26, 1974 Shri Jayaprakash Narayan told a meeting in Patna on October 10:

"A violent people's revolution can be successful only if the Army and the Police rebel, as happened during the Russian Revolution. But this is not the situation here as yet."

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan repeatedly referred to his attempts to draw the Opposition parties to his way of thinking. In "Everyman's" Weekly of June 29, 1974, he wrote:

"For quite some time I tried to persuade the Opposition parties to do something. I do not wish to injure their feelings but their sight also is confined to elections and the capture of power. They had an opportunity in 1967 but missed it. Ultimately I concluded that the people have to become their own saviours.

"The people now have only one right left, the right to vote. If that also is denied or falsified what remains? In countries where democracy has developed infrastructure, there are many checks on those in power: the Press, the academic institutions, the intellectuals. There is strong public opinion. We have no such structure and it will take time to develop. I wish to give to the people's movement a revolutionary direction so that the people develop their own power to become the guardians of democracy. My interest is not in the capture of power but in the control of power by the people."

He concluded this article with the following observations:

"None of the parties believing in violence are in a position to bring about a revolution at present, although a very revolutionary situation exists in the country."

In "Everyman's" Weekly of August 3, 1974, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan referred to his search for "the right way" to achieve his objectives:

"For years I was groping to find a way out. In fact while my objectives have not changed I have all along been searching for the right way to achieve it. I wasted two years trying to bring about a politics of consensus. It came to nothing. I also spent quite some time with the Opposition parties to prevent the splitting of votes. However, I do not know what is wrong with them but Opposition parties go on splitting into smaller and smaller groups. I came to the conclusion that the people must become their own saviours. But how to bring that about? How to activate the people was the problem. **Then I saw students in Gujarat bring about a big political change** with the backing of the people and the moral support of Ravishankar Maharaj and I knew that this was the way out."

That Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is no respecter of the Constitution and the democratic institutions functioning under it would be evident from many of his utterances and writings.

In a statement issued by him at Vellore on May 22, 1974 (Hindustan Times, New Delhi—23-5-74) he said that the mass upsurge in Gujarat and Bihar was "unconstitutional but not undemocratic."

Addressing students of the Delhi University (Statesman, New Delhi—1-11-1974), Shri Jayaprakash Narayan asked the people to fight for themselves. He said: "Society could not be changed from

Parliament House; people would have to bring about a change themselves."

Addressing a public meeting at Badratu, near Nawadah, Bihar, on January 12, 1975, (Statesman, New Delhi—13-1-1975), Shri Jayaprakash Narayan urged the people to celebrate the Republic Day separately and asked them not to join the official functions. He said:

"A revolution will not come either through elections or from Parliament or Assembly, but a revolution, peaceful or bloody, will always be of the people and by the people."

He cited the instance of the Russian Revolution "where even Army officials joined hands with Lenin".

On February 15, 1975, he said in Delhi:

"Demanding the dissolution of an Assembly or the resignation of the legislators is not weakening, but instead strengthening of the foundations of democracy".

Speaking in Rohtak on February 26, he called upon the people to 'gherao' the Legislative Assemblies in the various State capitals.

Speaking at Vijayawada on May 4, 1975, he carried further his campaign for "total revolution" with a fiery speech in which he exhorted the people to remove the Government "even by using force". On the previous day, addressing a public meeting in Visakhapatnam, he called upon the students of Andhra Pradesh (Hindustan Times, May 5, 1975) to

"start a Bihar-type movement with dharnas before the State Secretariats, gherao before Assembly, Satyagraha before courts and defiance of prohibitory orders".

Talking to the students and youth of Karnataka at Bangalore on May 16, 1975, he pursued his theme of total revolution:

"If you want a revolution you must, by your agitation or satyagraha, compel the Government to do what has not been done for years. Take the people along with you, make the functioning of the Government impossible."

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, it is well-known, has never accepted the Constitution. He has no faith in it and, therefore, the democratic procedures enshrined in it are of no consequence to him. It is interesting to recall here an observation he made some time in 1949:

"The Constitution that is being framed is totally at variance with my ideals and my conception of a free nation's Constitution. As soon as there will be a proper atmosphere for it we shall take a referendum of valid votes of the people and shall frame a new Constitution, which will be fully socialistic and truly democratic in spirit and will be like a testament for all the progressive nations of the world."

1949 to 1975 is a far cry. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is still in search of a polity to suit his ideals!

CHAPTER VII

INCITEMENT TO POLICEMEN, ARMED FORCES AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

**"A violent peoples' revolution can be successful only if the
Army and the Police rebel**

—*Shri Jayaprakash Narayan in EVERYMAN'S
Weekly of October 26, 1974*

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan did not confine his activities within the limits of a political movement. Indeed, his very concept of a '*total revolution*' had much wider implications. Though he directed his main thrust on involvement of the youth, he directly and indirectly exhorted the Policemen and the Armed Forces to be participants in the revolution. He claimed that the Bihar movement was "not only a people's struggle but also a policemen's struggle". It was his thesis that the Army and the Police could not remain aloof from the '*total revolution*'.

The following gives a brief chronological account of some of the several instances of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's incitement to the Policemen, Armed Forces and Government employees:

1. On 18th April, 1974 at Patna:

Beginning with a low key-note, he made an appeal to policemen particularly constables and officers of the lower ranks not to indulge in physical violence while discharging their duties as they themselves were victims of high prices. He urged them to deal with this movement and its participants with sympathy.

2. On 5th June, 1974 at Patna:

He urged policemen "*to revolt and disobey orders given by their superiors in connection with the current agitation*". (Indian Express—6-6-1974). He called upon Shri Ramanand Tiwari (SP leader) to visit every police barrack and ask policemen to refuse to open fire on peaceful demonstrators.

3. On 1st August, 1974 at Patna:

Denying that he had ever incited policemen to revolt, he stated that he had advised policemen to disobey wrong orders of their superiors. He stated that a time would come when the policemen would themselves surrender their arms and join the movement. He called upon the policemen not to use their fire arms against innocent persons.

4. On 2nd August, 1974 at Muzaffarpur:

He urged the policemen not to obey illegal orders of their superiors.

5. On 23rd August, 1974 at Patna:

He reiterated his appeal to policemen to act according to the dictates of their conscience and look upon the satyagrahis as their brethren.

6. On 26th August, 1974 at Lucknow (U.P.)

He claimed that a sizeable section of the policemen had sympathy with the aims of the agitation.

7. On 5th September, 1974 at Samastipur:

Speaking about policemen he stated that he was sure that the constables were sympathetic towards the movement and the day was not far when they would turn their guns on their superiors.

8. On 18th October, 1974 at Dhanbad:

He reiterated his earlier call to policemen to perform their duties according to their conscience and not to obey orders of their superiors.

9. On 18th November, 1974 at Patna:

He warned Government servants that blacklists were being maintained in respect of those Government servants who were indulging in undue repression of peaceful satyagrahis.

10. On 15th December, 1974 at Seethamarhi:

He appealed to policemen including the CRP and BSF not to go beyond their duties as they were essentially the servants of the people.

11. On 2nd February, 1975 at Gorakhpur (U.P.):

Referring to the Bihar movement, he remarked that the Police in Bihar was indirectly in favour of the movement. He expressed the hope that the U.P. Police too would be sympathetic to the movement.

12. On 15th February, 1975 at Delhi:

Addressing a meeting of Central Government employees, he stated that democratic institutions were weakening in the country and asked the Government employees to resist all measures which could weaken democracy. He advised the Government employees to remain faithful to the Constitution and nation, and not to a particular party or person.

13. On 23rd February, 1975 at Meerut (U.P.):

He urged policemen not to obey orders which were illegal or against their conscience.

14. On 26th February, 1975 at Karnal (Haryana):

He condemned the alleged repression let loose by the police on the students of Kurukshetra University and disclosed that they had prepared a list of officers who did not act judiciously or obeyed illegal orders of their superiors. He added that the time would come when they would be brought to book. He appealed to the policemen not to obey illegal orders.

15. On 27th February, 1975 at Agra (U.P.):

He called upon the police personnel not to obey illegal orders of their superiors but to work according to their conscience.

16. On 28th February, 1975 at Gwalior (M.P.):

He stated that in Bihar policemen were aggrieved because of economic distress but were unable to give vent to their feelings. He urged policemen not to obey unlawful orders of their senior officers and to remain loyal to the country only.

17. On 6th March, 1975 at Delhi:

Pointing out that he was being accused of instigating the Police and the Army to revolt, he stated that the fact remained that the Police and Army had been as much affected by price rise and corruption as any other section of the people.

18. On 31st March, 1975 at Utkal University, Bhubaneswar:

While addressing the open session of the students convention, he stated that **he would not hesitate to give a call to the Army and Police to rise in revolt at an appropriate time, unless he was in prison or out of this world.**

19. On 1st April, 1975 at Bhubaneswar (Orissa):

He claimed that the police in Bihar had moral sympathy with his movement, and they being the kith and kin of the students, could not carry out repressive measures on a peaceful movement indefinitely. He added that **he would ask the Army and the Police to rise in revolt if necessary at the appropriate time.**

20. On 2nd April, 1975 at Calcutta:

During his discussions with the Nav Nirman Samiti leaders, when he was asked about his utterances regarding the Army and the Police to rise in revolt, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan explained that if any illegal or unjust orders were given to the police or the military personnel, they would be within their competence to defy them. He asserted it had always happened in the history of revolutions and opined that the future leader of India should exhort the Army and the Police to join the revolution side by side with the public.

21. On 2nd May, 1975 at Hyderabad (A.P.):

Replying to a question after addressing a workers' rally, he stated that just as the Army was bound to safeguard the security of the country and honour of the national flag, in the same way it was bound by law to safeguard and defend the Constitution against threats from totalitarian trends. He added that in the face of such threats the Army would be doing its duty if it **refused** to cooperate

with the powers that be in the defence of the Constitution. He stated that there was nothing illegal or immoral about what he had said and that constitutional experts had advised him that such a call to the armed forces did not amount to treason.

22. On 3rd May, 1975 at Hyderabad (A.P.):

Replying to a question at a press conference, he stated that the duty of the Armed forces was to see that the democratic Constitution of India was not violated.

23. On 12th May, 1975 at Cochin (Kerala):

He denied that he had given a call to the Army and Police to rebel. He stated that he had only urged them to protect democratic principles and the Constitution of India as it was their duty, even if these were violated by the Prime Minister. He asserted that the police had been asked only to disobey immoral and illegal orders. He declared that the Army and the Police could not remain aloof from the 'total revolution'.

24. On 18th May, 1975 at Bangalore (Karnataka):

Replying to a question at a press conference, he stated that the fundamental duty of the Armed Forces under the Supreme Commander (President) was to defend democracy and social welfare irrespective of the party which comes into power. He added that the Army should rise to the occasion in defending the constitutional rights of the people without being the servants of the ruling party. He declared that if the army serves the interests of the ruling party, contrary to the interests of the constitutional rights of the people, it would amount to a criminal offence.

25. On 12th-13th June, 1975 at Bhojpur (Bihar):

He criticised the police action against so-called extremists and reiterated his call to policemen to disobey illegal orders. He stated that if policemen persisted in the suppression of the downtrodden masses, they would become the target of the people's wrath.

26. On 21st June, 1975 at Suri near Calcutta:

He called upon the armed forces personnel to go by their 'own training' to judge which order of the Government

was good. He further said that the struggle should be "considered by the armed forces as their struggle".

27. On 25th June, 1975 at Delhi:

Addressing a rally organised by the Delhi Janta Morcha at Ramlila Maidan, he called upon the army, police and Government employees not to obey any orders they considered illegal. The Army Act lays down that the armed forces must protect the democratic constitution. If the Constitution is changed legally it does not matter. But the army must oppose any unconstitutional changes.

He said "the Police will get orders to suppress the people. There was a policemen's strike in Delhi. I am not trying to incite the police. The Khosla Commission was set up to investigate the grievances and examine the demands of the police. The Commission had reported in 1968, but till today no action has been taken by the Prime Minister or the Government. Friends, *the time to which I have repeatedly been referring is now coming.*"

The meaning of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's call of June 25, 1975, to the police is unmistakable. At Bhubaneswar, he had said on March 31/April 1, 1975 that he would ask the Army and the Police to rise in revolt at an "appropriate time". **Was he not hinting that that time had now come?**

This account shows that, though Shri Jayaprakash Narayan at times tried to explain away that what he says does not amount to incitement of the police and the army, his utterances taken in their proper perspective could lead to only one conclusion, namely, that the object was deliberately to spread disaffection among these forces whose primary duty it is to assist in the maintenance of law and order and safeguard the security of the nation.

The leaders of other political parties have not lagged behind in creating discontent and inciting policemen from time to time. Earlier, in May 1973, the covert and overt support provided by some of the Opposition parties like CPI (M), SP, CP (ML), SSP to the P.A.C. revolt in U.P. is too well-known. The Socialist Party had supported the P.A.C. during its confrontation with the Government. Shri George Fernandes and Shri Surender Mohan, National Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Socialist Party, and Shri Madhu Limaye, M.P. extended full support to the policemen. Shri George

Fernandes had strongly advocated the cause of policemen and in a public meeting at Rewa threatened to launch a **joint police-student revolt against the Government**. He appealed to the Army not to misuse their arms against their own brethren. He approvingly looked forward to Police/PAC movement being organised on an all-India level.

Efforts at instigating policemen in various States like Orissa, Maharashtra and Bihar by some of the Opposition parties had repeatedly come to notice.

It is thus abundantly clear that these Opposition parties have been making systematic efforts to subvert the loyalty of the Armed Forces, Police and Government employees!

CHAPTER VIII

WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?

Early in 1953, after attending a convention of the 'Socialists of Asia', which was held in Rangoon, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan met Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in Delhi. The latter was anxious to secure Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's cooperation. Subsequently, Shri Narayan wrote to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on March 4, 1953 indicating a 14-point programme as a basis for mutual cooperation. This programme included :

1. Amendments to the Constitution :
 - (a) to remove obstacles in the way of social change;
 - (b) to abolish guarantees to princes, and civil servants, etc;
 - (c) to abolish second chambers.
2. (a) Administrative reforms at all levels, including decentralization of political power and administrative authority;
 - (b) reform of law and legal procedure;
 - (c) summary and effective machinery to deal with corruption.
3. (a) Redrawing the administrative map of India on the basis of linguistic, economic and administrative considerations. Appointment of a commission by the Parliament to work out the details on the basis of the above mentioned principles;
 - (b) reduction of administrative costs by having regional (multi-State) governors, High Courts, and other top-level tribunals and public service commissions.
4. (a) Redistribution of land to remove economic inequality and exploitation; preference to be given in all such schemes to landless labour and poor peasants;
 - (b) immediate stoppage of all evictions;
 - (c) suitable legislation to prevent fragmentation and bring about consolidation of holdings;
 - (d) abolition of the remaining forms of landlordism;

- (e) rural economy to be transformed into a cooperative economy through compulsory multipurpose societies;
 - (f) State assistance in providing credit and other facilities to agriculture; such assistance to be given through multipurpose societies;
 - (g) the State, as far as possible, to deal not with individual peasants but through a group of them organized in a cooperative or panchayat. This should include collection of land revenue, a part of which to remain with the village as organized in the multi-purpose society or panchayat.
5. Reclamation of waste lands and settlement of landless labour on them through village collectives. No wastelands to be allotted for capitalist farming.
 6. Nationalisation of banks and insurance companies.
 7. Progressive development of State trading.
 8. Selected number of plants in different industries to be owned and run by the State cooperatives or autonomous corporations or workers' councils. Fostering organizations of technicians and managers to provide expert advice and administrative personnel for State enterprises.
 9. Unified trade union movement organized on the basis of the union shop. This will enable the unions to become socially responsible agencies.
 10. Nationalization of coal and other mines producing important minerals.
 11. Association of workers in the management of State enterprises.
 12. Demarcation of spheres of large and small-scale industries, and establishing, encouraging and protecting small-scale industries.
 13. As a first step towards achieving economic equality in the Country, higher salaries and emoluments in government services shall be scaled down.
 14. The spirit of *swadeshi* to be promoted and made to pervade all walks of life.

This 14-point programme, it will be seen, is substantially the same as the programme which successive Congress Governments have

adopted and implemented since the Constitution came into force. In fact, this programme has been considerably widened. In a country with a population as large as we have, the programme of social progress and economic regeneration has to be a continuous and continuing process. Amendment to the Constitution to remove obstacles in the way of social change, amendments for the abolition of privy purses and abolition of guarantees to the Princess and Civil Servants, a radical land reform policy, its major objective being to benefit the landless labour and poor peasants and to remove economic inequality and exploitation, nationalisation of banks, insurance companies, coal mines, etc., were some of the positive steps taken. It was during the Prime Ministership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi that a number of these important measures were undertaken with a view to bringing about rapid social change and removing economic inequalities. It is also during this period that the backward classes, more especially the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, have received special attention for rapid emancipation towards a better and fuller life.

If one were to dispassionately examine the frequent utterances and writings of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan after he started the present movement, it would be seen that his emphasis has now shifted. He now concentrated his movement mainly on "removal of corruption"—a slogan which apparently he found easy to put across. He also injected into his movement the question of "electoral reform". The problems of corruption and electoral reform cannot be solved by agitations, *dharnas* and *bandhs*. They have to be tackled by creating suitable institutional arrangements through discussion and debate.

Electoral reform has been a continuing exercise since the first general elections in India. The law has been amended from time to time in the light of experience gained during each general election. Even the Experts Committee on Electoral Reform appointed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan with so much fan-fare had only suggested some peripheral changes and was not able to propose an alternative system to replace the existing electoral system. They, however, referred to the need for a consensus. As the Prime Minister pointed out in the Parliament on February 27, 1975, the present electoral system, evolved by the eminent men of the Constituent Assembly, itself represented a consensus. "Are the present agitators wiser, abler, more dedicated, more far-seeing, better endowed with legal, constitutional and political insight and experience than the remarkable group of men and women who drew up our Constitution?" Expressing her readiness to have a dialogue on the subject, the Prime Minister said.

"No engine works if it is not kept in constant repair. No system will work without vigilance. As I have said time and again, even the best of houses cannot avoid decay if dirt and cobwebs are not removed. We know there are shortcomings in the administrative system and, perhaps, in the electoral system. But I do not think these shortcomings are in the principles; they are only in the way of working. These, we are anxious to correct. We are ready to consider every constructive suggestion, take counsel with an individual or group who is interested. We can, in fact, perhaps have a sort of round table discussion on electoral reforms as one of the subjects."

In fact, a series of meetings on electoral reform have been held by the Prime Minister with leaders of Opposition parties and groups during the last budget session of Parliament.

Writing in "Everyman's" Weekly of December 12, 1974, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan spoke of the need for a radical change in the society:

"None of the evils against which the movement is aimed can be removed without radical change in the whole society. The objective may appear to be limited in character, but they may not be achieved without an all round revolution—political, economic, social, educational, moral and cultural."

How does Shri Jayaprakash Narayan propose to remedy the 'evils' he is trying to project? How is the "radical change" in the society to be brought about?—By spreading indiscipline among the Youth? By breaking up duly elected legislatures, obtaining resignation of members under coercion and duress? By *gherao* of Parliament and paralysing administration? By creating a climate of hatred and violence in the country? By attempting to spread disaffection among the services, including the police and the Armed forces? By throttling the democratic process and subverting Parliamentary institutions through the launching of a nation-wide agitation? By all this and more, by asking people to resort to civil disobedience, by not paying taxes and forming themselves into '*Janata Sarkars*', is he not spreading anarchy, as indeed some national dailies in the country have pointed out?

He has been associating himself with such known disruptive forces in the country as the RSS, the Naxalites, the Anand Margis and other similar extremist organisations in aid of his movement. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan in his earlier years had strongly condemned communal organisations. Soon after Gandhiji's assassination early

in 1948, he had strongly denounced the RSSS and appealed to the Youth to stamp out the "poison of communalism" from the country. He had said:

"The RSS Organisation is like an ice-berg; a part of it is visible, the greater part invisible. **It is a secret or semi-secret organisation, certainly not a cultural organisation.** I am sure there are other less known groups spreading the same kind of poison. This propaganda is like stocking dry powder in the community, and when a match is struck, there is an explosion."

More recently in 1968 (December 28-29), addressing the Second National Convention against Communalism, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan made this observation regarding the RSSS:

"When, following Gandhiji's murder the Sangh was under a shadow, there were many protestations made about its being entirely a cultural organisation. But apparently emboldened by the timidity of the secular forces, it has thrown its veil away and has emerged as **the real power behind, and controller of, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.** The secular protestations of the Jana Sangh will never be taken seriously unless it cuts the bonds that tie it so firmly to the RSS machine. Nor can the RSS be treated as a cultural organization as long as it remains the mentor and effective manipulator of a political party."

That was then, and now we have the spectacle of the RSSS cadres being utilised by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan in manning important positions in his movement. In his new-found love for Bharatiya Jana Sangh (with the militant cadres of RSSS and ABVP at its disposal), Shri Jayaprakash Narayan went to the extent of declaring in his Address to the Twentieth Annual Conference of that party (Motherland, New Delhi—6-3-1975) that:

"If you are a fascist, then, I too am a fascist."

It is worth remembering in this context the following observation of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:

"Communalism bears a striking resemblance to the various forms of fascism that we have seen in other countries. It is in fact the Indian version of fascism. We know the evils that have flown from fascism. In India we have known also the evils and disasters that have resulted from communal conflict. A combination of these two is thus

something that can only bring grave perils and disasters in its train. It is degrading and vulgarizing, it plays upon the basest instincts of man. If India were to listen to its pernicious cry, then indeed India would not only have continuous trouble within her own borders, but would be isolated from the rest of the world which would look down upon her."

The Anand Marg, **which is an organisation admittedly of certain desperate characters**, is also in the camp of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. Gruesome details of the activities of this organisation are now being unfolded in court proceedings currently appearing in the press. The leader of Anand Marg—Ananda Murti—was met by some of the leading Opposition personalities, such as Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, Shri Samar Guha, Shri Prasanna Vadan Mehta etc., in Patna Jail.

A study of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's political career would show how after having been at one time a votary of Marxism and Communism, then a Socialist and a staunch critic of Communalism before moving to Sarvodaya—from which also he seems to have strayed away, he is now finding himself leading a coterie of disparate and divergent elements. The sole concern of these elements, it appears, is disruption, distortion and ultimate destruction of a well-established political system which has given the country stability, unity and integrity. *Individually he has never led any cause to fruition. His regular changes of friends, ideas and idealistic approach unrelated to realities has caused in him frustration which has left him a bitter man.* Does he have a concept of alternate polity which he could offer and would be practical for a country of our dimensions? When he talks of change in polity it is doubtful if he knows the solution, at least he has not spelt it out!

CHAPTER IX

AS OTHERS SEE IT

Commenting on the Bihar agitation the Hindu of Madras in an editorial in its issue of June 11, 1974 observed :

".... the real question now is whether a duly elected legislature should be dissolved just because a students agitation, however eminently led, demands it. Mr. Narayan, who had so far chosen to remain outside the mainstream of politics and thus shirked his responsibility to shape it and the country's affairs on what he deems to be sound lines, now seeks to enter the house by the wrong door and even bring it down on the heads of everybody. That a similar agitation got away with it in Gujarat and got the Assembly dissolved is no justification for another such attempt in Bihar. In Gujarat too, fight against high prices and war on corruption in high places were the most prominent slogans. It is doubtful if either battle has been won since the dissolution, though the Ministers are no longer there to be charged with responsibility for them. Is it Mr. Nanayan's "democratic" aim that popular Ministries should be replaced by President's Rule until such time the national character undergoes a seachange and produces a new set of highly ethical and able legislators? If corruption and maladministration are what he is up against, one would expect him to lead his followers to unearth hoarded grain and expose corrupt and incompetent men in office through the appropriate or established forums. He may well ask where such forums are that will help him achieve his objective. That might be a tough question to answer. But by bringing down the present elected legislature through demonstrations in the streets, does he expect that a successor legislature elected in due course, would be free of the ills he wants to eliminate?

"Bihar has had perhaps more mid-term elections than any other State in India and governments too of various kinds, both led by the Congress and united fronts of the Opposition parties and all of them have been notorious for the same ills, because the people of Bihar by and large vote

on the basis of caste and manage to return more or less the same set of caste-minded legislators, many of whom do not think twice about crossing the floor or plotting against their elected party leaders, for personal benefit. A repetition of the mixture as before can hardly be ruled out in yet another election.

"It is being said in defence of Mr. Narayan's unhappy adventure that one of his aims in launching the agitation is to educate the people politically so that they will learn to beware of the self-seeking and the corrupt, when they go to the polls next time. What seems more likely is that he may be educating the Biharis in anarchy. His call to the people not to pay taxes and the police to disobey official orders amounts to nothing less. What kind of democracy, of the partyless variety or any other, can he hope to usher in when the people and the officials are taught or asked to run berserk. If Mr. Narayan's objective is to show the powers that be that he is still a political force to reckon with, he may have demonstrated it by the one lakh crowd that he was able to mobilise for his recent Patna procession. But if he is keen about rescuing Bihar's or the country's politics from its depths and re-shape it to meet the country's needs, the public would expect him to fight the elections, get the people's mandate for whatever constructive programme he has to offer and show that the State and the country could be governed better.

"From the following that counter-demonstrations to his own could muster, it is clear that even the bulk of the Biharis is not entirely behind his toppling move. It is also clear that what inhibits the Government's firmer handling of the situation created by him is Mr. Narayan's undoubted stature as a Gandhian and an upright man. Should he virtually exploit such public standing to usher in what are disorder and disrespect for law and order and the democratic set-up as a whole".

The "Pioneer" of Lucknow, in an editorial in its issue of June 6, 1974, said :

"Good intentions are no substitutes for rational behaviour. Sarvodaya leader Jayaprakash Narayan is really playing with explosives. The movement that he is spearheading to oust the ministry, gherao the legislators, to spread disaffection in the ranks of the police forces against the Government and to plunge the State into a tumultuous "no-tax"

campaign may trigger off violence on an epochal scale much earlier than apprehended. Ostensibly he is aiming at purging the government of all that is evil. But the methods he is advocating are frankly coercive and undemocratic."

The "Free Press Journal" of Bombay, writing in an editorial in its issue of June 4, 1974, said:

"Politics, it is said, is the art of the possible. If politicians set out to achieve what is not feasible in a given situation, the result can be disastrous. One has every reason to fear that the movement in Bihar led by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan to get the State Assembly dissolved may well turn out to be a negative exercise of this kind."

Writing earlier in another editorial on February 16, 1974, the same paper had observed:

"However, to call for a youth revolution, as JP did on the highly explosive Ahmedabad grounds, is tantamount to open incitement of a most volatile section of society. Taking to the streets by students is no answer to the problems confronting the country. It is easy to rouse the passions of the youth, but most difficult to contain them. It is unfortunate that a balanced well-meaning man like JP thought it fit to issue such an appeal."

In another editorial on June 8, 1974, the "Free Press Journal" wrote:

"JP's idea of a partyless democracy may be very attractive to some idealistic individuals in the country, but in practical terms what does it imply? Will it not open the floodgates of a more insidious corruption at the individual level since there will be no organisation to instil any discipline or socio-economic programme? What guarantee is there that in partyless democracy national character, which perhaps has reached its lowest point, will automatically flower out? There is also an inherent contradiction in Mr. Narayan's thesis when he assumes that only educated people with high moral integrity will find a place in the power structure under his system. Does he deny the right to every individual in the country, irrespective of his caste, education and social status, to have an equal right to stand for elections? In fact, what Mr. Narayan has been expounding for some years now has the seeds of an autocratic rule of a set of individuals. The logical corollary

would be a kind of totalitarian rule, having seeds of its own perpetration, by whatever name one may like to call it. Is this the scenario Mr. Narayan has in view?"

The "Deccan Herald" of Bangalore, writing in an editorial of June 12, 1974, observed:

It is puzzling that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, who has so far stood and fought for moralising politics, has apparently chosen to ignore the dangerous implications as some of his directives to his own followers and exhortations to the services. He has called for a no-tax campaign, prevention of members from attending the legislature knowing full well that such an effort must needs call for a species of violence, and above all appealed to the police to disobey their superiors' orders. It is a call for organised law-breaking as well as one for indulgence in indiscipline by the services; in other words, a call for chaos, not only in Bihar but throughout the country. Obviously, Mr. Narayan's remedy will only kill and not cure the patient. If a student agitation succeeded in Gujarat, it does not mean a similar movement will succeed in another State where the situation is qualitatively different, a difference which Mr. Narayan has intriguingly chosen to ignore. The public is now forced to suspect that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has unwittingly allowed himself to be the front man of interest and influences cunningly playing upon what stands out as his own ferocious sense of egotism. At any rate, even the moral basis of his revolt such as is claimed for it, has been knocked out by the supreme Sarvodaya leader Acharya Bhavé's repudiation of what the distinguished disciple Mr. Narayan is now doing, which not only legally but, even more than that, morally fortifies the Government in all it does to ensure the total defeat of Mr. Narayan's agitation and revolt."

The "National Herald" of New Delhi, in an editorial on June 24, 1974 wrote:

"In the course of the last few weeks Jayaprakash Narayan has hardly behaved like a believer in democracy of any kind. His seven-day ultimatum to Bihar legislators to quit the assembly, which has largely been ignored, was surely not a democratic move. He is engaged in organising coercion in a bid to undermine democratic institutions and values and the identity of his most prominent backers, including a section of the big business press, creates serious delude

about the aim of his "movement". He has condemned all parties as power-oriented, and is sore with those Opposition MLAs who did not carry out his peremptory order to resign. He has said in Allahabad that he does not find any political party in the country capable of leading a revolution. He sees himself as the only one capable of it, although he does talk of the 'movement' throwing up its own leadership.....His 'invitation' is to chaos."

The following are excerpts from an article under the title "The National Scene" written by Shri Sham Lal in the "Times of India", New Delhi of May 29, 1975:

"It all began with a demand for the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly. But neither J.P. nor the opposition parties could develop sufficient sanction to back it up. In fact the parties could not persuade their own members to vacate their seats in the assembly. Taking courage from what had happened earlier in Gujarat, J.P. thought that students would be the best people to lead the "total revolution". So he implored them to leave their schools and colleges for one year. Some of them did so, but they got bored in a few weeks and went back to their classrooms. In any case they were more interested in passing examinations without doing their homework than in overhauling the system. The sponsors of the revolution then launched a no-tax campaign to deprive the government of its revenues. But few among the tax-paying gentry were keen to court arrest—and the government went on merrily collecting its dues.

"The opposition parties have a vested interest in keeping the balloons of bloated rhetoric afloat. They will go on talking of a "total revolution" so long as it serves their ends."

According to a report (by its Staff Reporter) published in the "Amrit Bazar Patrika", Calcutta of April 27, 1975:

"Artists, intellectuals and literateurs, who met in the University Institute Hall on Saturday, expressed concern at the call of "total revolution" given by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and asked the people of the State to realize the real nature and significance of the JP-led movement and to fight it to a finish.

"The meeting, which was presided over by Dr. S.N. Sen, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, was addressed, among

others, by Mr. Premendra Mitra, Prof. Hiren Mukherji, MP, Mr. Amiya Das Gupta, Mr. Saugata Rau and Mr. Satindranath Chakravorty.

"A resolution adopted at the meeting stated that Mr. Narayan had been giving leadership to the forces of extreme left and right to introduce the politics of destabilization in the country at a time when imperialism was fighting a battle for its very existence in Asia. Capitalising on the present discontent among the people, the reactionary forces are now out to seize power with the ultimate objective of introducing neofascism in the country, the resolution said."

According to a report in the "Indian Express", New Delhi of April 28, 1975:

"Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, former Chief Justice of India hit out at Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan for making an appeal to the members of the armed forces and constabulary to refuse to obey orders which they felt were either immoral or inspired by partisan motives.

"This would lead to 'chaos' if each member of the armed forces and constabulary was called upon to decide whether he should obey a particular order or not, he said, in a speech highly critical of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, at the concluding session of the All-India Lawyers' Conference on freedom, democracy and socialism here.

"The former Chief Justice said that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, it appeared, was very angry with the overall position in the country as he saw it and was impatient and determined to bring about what he (Mr. Narayan) called a total revolution in a non-violent and democratic manner.

"But, with respect, may I point out that, according to Bhagwat Gita, uncontrolled anger and impatience are sometimes apt to part company with reason and may in the result lead to confusion and chaos and thereby defeat the very purpose which the movement of dissent has in view? Let us all remember that Gandhiji was profoundly right when he insisted that means are as important as the ends." he said."

CHAPTER X

GRAND DESIGN AND THE CLIMAX

The debacle of the Opposition parties in the 1971 General Elections had made them lie low for some time. The General Elections to sixteen State Legislative Assemblies held in the following year also did not help to improve their morale to any extent. While they confined their activities largely to work in Parliament and the State Legislatures, some of the parties had set in motion proposals or ideas for coming together as a combined opposition to the Congress. In this process inevitably they were also in search of a leader around whom they could rally.

Early in February 1973, Shri Biju Patnaik, then leader of the Utkal Congress, had proposed the formation of a nationwide non-Congress front and requested Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to lead it. The latter, while declining to lead the front, agreed to lend his "moral support" and be available for consultation and advice. In a statement (Indian Express, New Delhi—13th February, 1973), he said, "consistent with my stand, I am interested, for the sake of the country, in the promotion of a viable Opposition, if it is at all possible". He also made it "abundantly clear" that he could not agree to lead the proposed front because of his 1954 decision to **withdraw** from "party and power politics". He added: "I have no desire to change that position now or later". He did not see "much of a chance" in such a front being formed. He said:

"Looking at the picture, as it is, it seems impossible that the scattered political fragments of the Opposition, with their fierce controversies, their widely differing and often contradictory ideologies, the personal ambitions and interests of its leaders, can be bound together in any viable manner".

Stating that he did not want to come in the way of other people who were making attempts in this direction, he laid down four propositions for their guidance. These propositions were:

- (1) Even though there is room for forces of conservation and slow non-revolutionary change in every society, in the

present situation an effective Opposition must necessarily represent forces of radical, even revolutionary change, and if democracy has to be preserved, as it must be, the Opposition must at the same time adhere strictly to peaceful and democratic means.

- (2) The consolidation of Opposition forces must be principled and non-opportunistic, and it must inspire confidence of being able to provide a clean administration.
- (3) The sad spectacle of the coalition governments of 1967 and 1969, that proved so unstable and the constituents of which openly carried on bitter and abusive campaigns against one another, and in one case at least did not stop even from physical liquidation of one another, should never be repeated.
- (4) **The proposed Opposition must not be consumed by mere negative aims, such as Indira 'hatao'** but place before the people a positive policy and programme and give assurance of being able to carry them out within a stated time-period.

Commenting on Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's statement, Shri Biju Patnaik expressed satisfaction and said:

"I believe despite declining to lead such an Opposition alliance, Mr. Narayan will actively help in its formation."

This presumably was the beginning of a fresh move publicly expressed to consolidate different parties opposed to the Indian National Congress into forming a combined opposition front.

The agitation in Gujarat at the beginning of 1974, followed by the agitation in Bihar, provided the next stage for some of the Opposition parties, notably the Congress (O), the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the Socialist Party and the Bharatiya Lok Dal, for forming a base for getting together. In Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who had assumed the leadership of the agitation in Bihar—which followed the pattern of Gujarat—they saw the unifying force they were desperately looking for, a kind of umbrella under whose shade they could jointly work towards achieving their objectives.

In a paper circulated at an all-India Study Camp during a conference of select cadres of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh in

Hyderabad in September, 1974, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee talked of "a mass resistance movement" leading to the emergence of "a mass party". In a Press Release by the Bharatiya Jan Sangh Central Office, Shri Vajpayee explained:

"The Ruling Congress' failure has proved that any election-oriented, aggregative party cannot deliver the goods. If the Opposition also imitates the Congress, it is doomed to meet a similar fate. Jan Sangh cadres understand this, and have drawn up a multi-pronged strategy of action: on the legislative front, electoral front, agitational front and the constructive activity front."

Addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi on October 15, 1974, Shri George Fernandes, Chairman, Socialist Party, said:

"The party has proposed to all Opposition parties, except the CPI, to immediately sit together and chalk out a programme to intensify the agitation all over the country."

A Resolution released to the Press on December 29, 1974, by the Socialist Party on the occasion of its Calicut Conference contained the following passage:

"The removal of the Congress Government from the Centre, the breaking up of the stranglehold of the money-power over the electoral process, and a purge of the administrative machinery alone can restore the disturbed balance within the Executive branch, and between it and the Legislature and the Judiciary. Since the capacity of the parliamentary system to achieve reform and renewal from within is getting severely limited, **extra-constitutional action** and popular initiative become absolutely necessary. This is not subversion but replenishment of the springs of democracy.

"It is against this background that the building up of a nationwide popular movement has acquired a new urgency It is the duty of the Socialist Party members to throw themselves heart and soul into the struggle. It is precisely such a struggle which can take us beyond the conventional framework of power politics....."

In a statement issued on December 1, 1974 Shri Raj Narain (BLD, formerly of SSP) appealed to all Opposition parties believing

in democracy to merge into a single party without delay to provide an alternative to the Congress. At a public meeting held at Jamshedpur, on June 1, 1974, Shri Karpoori Thakur (BLD, formerly of SSP) declared that the ultimate aim of the agitation in Bihar was the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and the removal of the Prime Minister.

Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, writing in "People's Democracy" of January 12, 1975 said:

"Though different forms of struggle and organisations might take shape in each State, the content of all of them is the same—the creation of a country-wide mass upsurge against Congress rule.

"The CPI(M) and other Left parties are conscious that the problems facing the country cannot be solved through elections and work in the parliamentary forum alone. Precisely because of this, they do not accept the position that every issue must be solved only through constitutional means."

During his visits to various States, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan deplored the division among Opposition parties and the weak opposition to the Congress. He advised Opposition party leaders to give up their narrow partisan attitudes in the larger interests of the country's welfare. He declared that he could guide them only when they were fully united.

As noted earlier, in the last week of November 1974, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had convened a conference of Opposition parties in New Delhi (November 25 and 26). At the conference, the BLD leader Shri Charan Singh, who was in the chair, invited Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to lead "a national alternative for a period of two years". Shri Jayaprakash Narayan expressed disappointment that while political leaders had promised him their support, they had not come forward with any specific outline as to how they proposed to help the Bihar Movement and its spread to other States. At this stage, Shri L. K. Advani suggested the setting up of a National Coordination Committee to thrash out details. A Committee was accordingly set up consisting of: S/Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee and Nanaji Deshmukh (BJS); Shri Ashoka Mehta and Shri S. N. Mishra (Congress-O); Shri George Fernandes and Shri Surendra Mohan (SP); Shri Piloo Mody and Shri Raj Narain (BLD); Shri Tridib Chaudhary and Shri Jatin Chakravarty (RSP); two members to be nominated by DMK; Shri Siddhraj Dhadha and Shri Narayan

Desai (Sarvodaya); Shri Prakash Singh Badal and Shri Balwant Singh (Akali Dal), and Shri S. M. Joshi, Shri J. B. Kripalani, Shri Karpoori Thakur, Sri P. G. Mavlankar, Shrimati Sarla Bhadoria and Shri Radhakrishna, all nominated by the Chairman.

In December 1974, Shri Balasahab Deoras, Chief of RSSS described Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's Movement as "a force for the good of the society" and appealed to the people to lend support to it.

The efforts of the leaders of different Opposition parties to forge ahead a unified party as an alternative to the Congress would have been **entirely unexceptionable** if the motive was to provide a responsible Parliamentary Opposition. But, this certainly was *not* their true intention as is evident from their several statements and actions.

Reference has already been made to a paper prepared by Shri Vajpayee for the Bharatiya Jan Sangh Conference at Hyderabad in September, 1974. Following are some excerpts from the paper which would indicate broadly the Jan Sangh's approach to certain aspects of what is referred to as the "Indian revolution" in the paper:

"The Indian revolution is arrested by the political elite organised by the Congress, and the masses are at their mercy. There is a dangerous polarization of Indian politics today. The composition of the establishment consists of anti-social forces, anti-national political elements and political thugs. The people's interests are thrown to these wolves and there is a feeling of political helplessness throughout the country.

"The need of the hour is to organise a national platform for revolutionary democratic politics, to evolve the revolutionary ideology and a phased nationwide comprehensive programme of socio-economic revolution, a revolution-oriented political and social leadership at national and regional levels, organisation of a dedicated cadre and the mobilisation of masses for a Total Revolution.

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"The continuous economic crisis will help in accelerating the revolutionary process and may alienate the party in power from the people. But chaos may lead to political dictatorship either of one individual or of interest groups. These groups may align themselves with the military power and reap the political harvest. *The only way open*

*to India is an open confrontation between the Government and the people. The situation demands two immediate steps— to **blow up** the entrenched deceptive political power structure and a well-defined programme of this **confrontation** leading towards a Total Revolution."*

Posing the question, "What should be the core programme of Jan Sangh for mobilisation for a confrontation of the people with the Establishment", Shri Vajpayee's paper has this to say:

"We must bear in mind that this confrontation will be in all regions, in all sections of the population and on all platforms. In the matter of purity of democratic means, a one way traffic is just not possible. The established leadership has been using parliamentary method only as a cover for protecting their evil designs. The response cannot be confined to the parliamentary level. **This war has to be fought in the streets**, in the chambers and legislatures, in the corridors of power, in all sensitive power centres of the establishment."

These Opposition parties had by now decided upon their programme for a confrontation with the Government. Their plans began to unfold themselves through their conduct both within the Parliament and outside. They persistently obstructed the Parliament from performing its normal functioning, held up its proceedings frequently by bringing up frivolous points of order or alleged breaches of privilege, and at times by constant shouts and abuses even sought to bring the Speaker's authority into contempt. They concentrated their energy on denigrating the Prime Minister and her colleagues. A deliberate campaign of vilification and hatred had been let loose on the floor of Parliament.

The Samastipur tragedy resulting in the death of Shri L. N. Mishra, Union Railway Minister, came in the wake of this atmosphere of personal calumny. Then came the dastardly attempt on the life of the Chief Justice of India. **These were portents of grave consequence.**

In accordance with their earlier decision, a '*march to Parliament*' was organised by these Opposition parties on March 6, 1975, with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan at the head, to present what was described as a People's Charter, to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

Shri Morarji Desai had given notice on December 3, 1974, during the winter session of the Parliament of his intention to do *dharna* inside the Lok Sabha Chamber and thereby prevent the House from conducting its business. He undertook on April 7, 1975, when Parliament was in its Budget Session, an **indefinite fast** to force the Government to hold general elections to the Gujarat Legislative Assembly. To Shri Morarji Desai, apparently, coercion is a legitimate weapon to achieve his political ends. The Budget Session of Parliament witnessed more scenes of commotion and disorder, and Parliament's image as the supreme body to reflect truly the will of the people was sought to be tarnished and eroded.

It is relevant to observe in this connection that when Shri Morarji Desai resorted to fast to force the Gujarat elections, the State was just then recovering from two types of calamities: one, man-made, namely the atmosphere of violence, lawlessness and insecurity which preceded the imposition of President's rule in February 1974, and the other caused by vicissitudes of nature resulting in extreme human suffering on account of unprecedented drought and scarcity conditions over succeeding years. During the period between February 1974 and June 1975, the Gujarat Government, under the direction of the Central Government, had taken a series of measures to bring the State back to normalcy. These measures had helped a great deal in bringing about a measure of confidence among the people of Gujarat that the State was well on the way to recovery and progress.

The National Coordination Committee (page 48) at a meeting held in New Delhi on April 14, 1975 under the chairmanship of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan considered a Socialist Party proposal for launching a massive civil disobedience movement in different parts of the country (Statesman, New Delhi, 15th April, 1975). Its aim, according to the proposal, was **"to see that the attention of the political parties was focussed on struggle rather than on electoral preparations"**. According to a spokesman of the Committee, the matter was discussed at length and the parties were asked to consult their executive committees so that a decision could be taken at its next meeting. The Committee generally endorsed the view that the parties should commit themselves to struggle and develop a federal approach to the movement so that simultaneously all-India issues as well as local issues specific to different States were taken up. The Committee also decided on a "unified thrust" wherever there were "election compulsions" in the country such as in Gujarat at that time.

The meeting considered reports from various States about the formation of Sangharsha Samitis and the possibilities of struggle being undertaken in States like Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The Committee also considered a plan for holding an all-India convention on civil liberties to be held **towards the end of June**. Those who attended the meeting included Shri Asoka Mehta and Shri S. N. Mishra (Congress-O), Shri Piloo Mody and Shri Karpoori Thakur (BLD), Shri Samar Guha, Shri Madhu Dandavate and Shri George Fernandes (Socialist Party), Shri Tridib Chaudhuri (RSP), Shri Prakash Singh Badal (Akali), Shri Era Sezhiyan (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam), Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee and Shri Nanaji Deshmukh (Jan Sangh).

The details of the plan referred to in the meeting were contained in a communication earlier sent by Shri George Fernandes and Shri Surendra Mohan of the Socialist Party to Shri J. Radhakrishna of the Gandhi Peace Foundation and Convener of the National Coordination Committee. It had urged that the National Coordination Committee should give a call for "a nation-wide Civil Disobedience Movement to start **in not more than six weeks time** on the issues framed under the People's Charter." It further said:

"During the intervening period, national leaders of various parties and other eminent **public men** will have to undertake extensive tours **for preparing the people for this great battle**. These leaders will also have to initiate the struggle by open arrest. One reason why the Civil Disobedience Movement is urgently called for is **that as time passes, the attention of political parties is shifting away from struggle on to the election preparation**. This indeed is a piquant situation that while there is no certainty of the holding of elections we are busy preparing for them even though one does not know whether they will be free and fair, if held. We earnestly hope that you will take all the factors into serious consideration and agree to our proposal. This, in our view, would alter the present situation basically in favour of the peoples' power."

This was the precursor to what was to follow on June 21—25, 1975 at Delhi. These Opposition parties could not have been unaware of the grave consequences of a civil disobedience movement of this magnitude. The events in Gujarat and Bihar had unmistakably demonstrated that any movement of this kind was bound to result in widespread violence, loss of life, destruction of public property and disruption of normal life and economy.

In this atmosphere of political animus and disruptive activities came the Allahabad High Court judgement on June 12, 1975 in the matter of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's election to the Lok Sabha in 1971. To Shri Raj Narain, the author of the slogan '*Indira hatao*', it was the fulfilment of a mission. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri Morarji Desai and other Opposition leaders now **lost no time** in mounting a campaign—both open and concealed—to force Shrimati Indira Gandhi to resign from the office of Prime Minister. The stay order given by the High Court, and the subsequent order of the Supreme Court, which categorically upheld Shrimati Indira Gandhi's right to continue as the Prime Minister, were of no consequence in their view. While they hailed one verdict of the Allahabad High Court Judge, they had no regard for the order of the same Judge staying his own judgement and order.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, as soon as the judgement came, took the earliest opportunity to file an appeal in the Supreme Court, as she was entitled to under the law, and make a special request for its expeditious disposal. The political parties opposed to her, however, were in no mood to wait for the Supreme Court's decision in the case. Their aim was singular, namely, that the opportunity provided by the Allahabad High Court judgement was to be exploited without any loss of time for the furtherance of their grand design to dislodge Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government from the position they occupied by virtue of the overwhelming mandate given to them by the electorate.

The national executives of the BJS, BLD, Congress(O), SP and two prominent representatives of the S.A. Dal held meetings at New Delhi at the residences of important Opposition leaders from June 21—25 to evolve a strategy for forging unity and forcing the resignation of the Prime Minister. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan attended the meetings on June 23—25. A 10-member National Programme Committee comprising two representatives each from the BLD, BJS, Congress(O), SP and Akali Dal was constituted for drafting a programme of action. A programme drafted by Shri Nanaji Deshmukh (BJS) suggested:

- (i) an immediate programme for awakening the people, educating them and organising them on proper lines;
- (ii) holding of all-India as well as State-level, district level and local level conferences of youth, women, labour, kisans, Harijans, small businessmen, intellectuals etc.;
- (iii) setting up of agitational committees at various levels in order to launch an agitation;

- (iv) preparation of a list of all-India leaders of Opposition parties and tours of various States by groups of leaders;
- (v) convening of joint meetings of Opposition parties and organising massive programmes in all States;
- (vi) setting up an office of the People's Struggle Committee in Delhi and initiating steps for collecting funds;
- (vii) bringing out propaganda literature in the shape of booklets, posters, handbills, articles in newspapers and journals in various languages;
- (viii) suggesting that if the Supreme Court gave a conditional stay, the Opposition parties should organise a *Delhi Bandh* to demand the resignation of the Prime Minister;
- (ix) meeting the Prime Minister by 21 MPs of Opposition parties to demand her resignation and in case she refused to comply to start an indefinite *dharna* outside her residence;
- (x) processions and demonstrations by students and youth, in various areas of Delhi, *gherao* of industrialists and businessmen supporting the Prime Minister, gate-meetings outside mills and factories in and around Delhi, lunch-hour meetings of Central Govt. employees, demonstrations outside the Prime Minister's residence by various sections of the people including teachers, doctors, lawyers, students, Jhuggi-Jhonpuri dwellers, businessmen, women, scooter and taxi drivers, construction workers, *thelewalas* etc., beating of *Thalis* from roof-tops in the night and bringing out handbills against the Prime Minister.

This plan, which formed the basis of discussion, was intended to prepare the ground for the wider confrontation, namely, the country-wide movement for civil disobedience, disruption of democratic functioning and spreading chaos. The following gives a brief account of some of the discussions held and decisions reported to have been taken.

At a meeting on June 21, 1975, Shri Biju Patnaik, (BLD) said that he considered the present moment **opportune** and called for **swift** action to ensure victory.

On June 22, 1975 the discussions mainly centred on the issue of the Federal Party and whether there should be an outright merger or an arrangement on the lines of Janata Morcha set up on the eve of the Gujarat elections.

On June 23, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said that a programme of action should be decided upon and put into effect by the political parties participating in the proceedings. He also suggested that other parties like CPM, DMK, RSP etc., should be associated in due course. He emphasised that the demand for the Prime Minister's resignation was an issue on which the Opposition could effectively mobilise public opinion and **tilt the scale** against the Congress Party.

On June 24, in a meeting held at Shri Morarji Desai's residence, a resolution was adopted on behalf of the Joint Executive Committees of the five Opposition parties, namely, Congress (O), BJS, BLD, Socialist Party and S.A. Dal welcoming the Supreme Court's order on Shrimati Indira Gandhi's stay application. The resolution reiterated that Shrimati Indira Gandhi should step down from the office of Prime Minister and went on to say that if she failed to resign, they (the Opposition parties) would undertake a country-wide movement, including *satyagraha*, demanding her resignation. It also announced that Opposition parties should organise a mass rally on June 25 at 6 P.M. at Ramlila Grounds. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan who was to have left Delhi on the morning of June 24, 1975 agreed to extend his stay for this purpose.

On the morning of June 25, a meeting of the Programme Committee of the Opposition parties was held at U.P. Niwas, where Shri Charan Singh, Chairman of the BLD, was staying. Besides the top leaders of the Congress(O), BJS, BLD, SP and S.A. Dal, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu CPI(M) and Shri Era Sezhiyan (DMK) attended the meeting. **The Committee decided to form a body named "Lok Sangharsh Samiti" with Shri Morarji Desai as Chairman, Shri Nanaji Deshmukh as Secretary and Shri Asoka Mehta as Treasurer.** It was further decided to observe "Lok Shikshan Week" from June 29 to July 5, 1975, by organising meetings and demonstrations all over the country up to district level to educate the people over the implications of the Allahabad verdict and to organise propaganda demanding the Prime Minister to quit office. For this purpose, all national leaders of the Opposition parties would tour the States during the week. In the Capital, apart from rallies and meetings, batches of *satyagrahis* would be mobilised for organising demonstrations outside the Prime Minister's residence every day. Agitations were also planned outside the AIR offices.

On June 25, 1975, in the evening, a rally was held at Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, under the auspices of Janata Morcha and was presided over by Shri Morarji Desai. In his address to the rally, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said that a "grave situation" had arisen. He

referred to the programme outlined by Shri Nanaji Deshmukh and said:

"Nanaji has given a call on behalf of the five parties. It has my support and I am also a party to it. This movement is to be on the biggest scale. I have travelled throughout the country in search of the struggle. Now that the struggle has presented itself, how can I keep out of it? My regret is that except in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, there is no struggle taking place anywhere else."

Continuing he said:

"Friends, this civil disobedience will be of varied types. A time may come, when, if these people do not listen, it may be necessary to **de-recognise the government**. They have no moral, legal or constitutional right to govern; therefore, we would de-recognise them; we would not cooperate with them; not a paisa of tax shall be given to them."

He warned the country against the "threat of fascism posed by Shrimati Gandhi's actions".

He called upon the army, the police and government employees not to obey any order which they considered wrong:

"आप रोटी के टुकड़ों पर बिके नहीं है ।

आपने ईमान नहीं बेच दिया है ।"

"You have not sold your conscience and honour for the sake of your bread". Challenging the Home Minister to try him for treason, he said, "I am prepared for a treason trial".

He urged upon Chief Justice Shri Ray not to sit on the Bench to hear the Prime Minister's election appeal as he was "obliged to the Prime Minister for appointing him", thereby holding the entire judiciary into contempt.

The Congress(O) leader, Shri Morarji Desai who presided, moved an oral resolution at the end of the rally, seeking the approval of the audience to the agitational programme.

And thus, these Opposition parties had irrevocably embarked upon the path of chaos and anarchy and were soon to set about executing their **grand design** without regard to the incalculable harm it will do to the country at a vulnerable moment of economic difficulties!

Under all forms of government, forcible resistance to the legitimately constituted authorities is a criminal act, and may properly be met with ordinary police action. However, the degree and extent of resistance is often such that normal police measures are inadequate to ensure the prompt restoration of public order. Under these circumstances, the propriety of emergency action is universally recognised in modern Constitutions including those which are federal in character. The true justification for the present Proclamation of Emergency under article 352 of the Constitution is the preservation of the social interest in peace and order and the promotion of the public good.

EPILOGUE

The Constitution of India has embodied in it a parliamentary system. The most abiding characteristic of this system is responsible government through an elected Parliament. Parliamentary government, as is well-known, works by the inter-action of four essential factors: the principle of majority rule; the willingness of the minority for the time being to accept the decisions of the majority; the existence of great political parties divided by broad issues of policy rather than by sectional interests; and finally the existence of a mobile body of political opinion, owing no permanent allegiance to any party and, therefore, able, by its instinctive reaction against extravagant movements on one side or the other, to keep the vessel on an even keel. (*—Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform*) It is through our firm adherence to this system that India has gained political stability, and her unity and integrity not only safeguarded but strengthened.

The events in Gujarat of early 1974, the Bihar agitation which followed Gujarat, the concerted efforts by certain Opposition parties under the inspiration and leadership of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to spread the movement to other parts of the country, the plans and programmes of the National Coordination Committee of Peoples' Struggle culminating in the decisions taken by them in their Delhi meetings of June 1975, were all deliberately aimed at undermining the Constitution and destroying the very institutions through whose instrumentality a democracy can flourish. They expose in all their nakedness the deep and widespread conspiracy which has been brewing against the Prime Minister and the Government led by her. In the name of democracy, it had been sought to negate the very functioning of democracy. Duly chosen governments were not allowed to function, and force was used to compel members to resign in order to dissolve duly elected Legislative Assemblies. A systematic campaign of hatred, vilification and calumny had been let loose by these Opposition parties to spread disaffection among the people and disrupt law and order throughout the country on a wide scale. **The actions of a few were endangering the rights of a vast majority.**

It has been well said:

"A democratic set up presumes more boldly than any other the good faith of those who work it. The understandings

and habits by which the Constitution functions are bound up with the growth of mutual confidence between the great parties in the State, transcending the political differences of the people.

"One should not forget that it is the basic democratic principle that the appeal of the respective parties to the electorate determines the composition of the Legislature, and the party composition of the Legislature determines the formation of the Government. The Government rests upon its party support in the Legislature, and the party strength lies in the fact that it has successfully appealed to the electorate. A democratic government demands not only a parliamentary majority but also a parliamentary minority.

"The parliamentary system would become unworkable if the opposition were not to accept the majority rule. Government is by consent and opposition is by agreement. Mutual forbearance and fair play in public life are essential to the working of a democratic system. But it has to be accepted that all parties have to accept the necessary conditions of democracy. They have to accept the principle that majority may govern. Government and opposition alike have to assume the honesty of the other."

A situation has arisen where these basic precepts of democratic functioning have been forgotten by these Opposition parties. If they are allowed to go on, the result will be sapping the confidence of the nation in its cherished institutions; and instead of "democracy" we will have chaos and anarchy. **No Government worth the name could stand by all this and allow the country's security, stability and economy to be imperilled. The nation's interests demanded firm and decisive action.**

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