Parliamentary Democracy provides for channels through which the grievances of the people are ventilated by their representatives in the legislature. The day to day administration of the government might cause certain disturbances and inconveniences to the people. As a responsible body, the democratically elected government has to take a serious note of such happenings and has to avoid their recurrence. To ventilate the grievances of the people the members have recourse to: (a) Adjournment Motions; (b) Discussions; (c) Resolutions; (d) Calling Attention Motions; and (e) Half-an-Hour Discussions.

(a) Adjournment Motions

Nature

Adjournment motion is one of the substantive motions before the legislature. According to Erskine May, it leads to the discussion relating to the matters of emergent nature. It is a kind of censure motion. In case the motion is carried, it exposes that government has been conniving or connived at some important public matter. This might lead to a disclosure of government's not commanding a majority in the House.
Conditions for Admitting Adjournment Motions

A brief notice containing the subject matter is served to the Speaker, Minister concerned and the Secretary. The notice has to fulfil the following conditions:

(a) The matter in the motion should relate to a definite and specific matter of public importance.

(b) It should not relate to a disputable matter.

(c) It should be simple.

(d) The subject in the motion should be confined to the recent matters.

(e) The matter of the motion must have a concern with those subjects which come under the purview of the State Government.

(f) Issue should relate to the general grievances of the people and not to an individual's grievances.

(g) Matters relating to the usual exercise of statutory powers or refusal to use such powers cannot be treated as matter of public importance.

(h) If any legal matter is involved and the courts can be resorted to, then such matter is disallowed.

(i) The motion should not repeat the subject which is already discussed in the House.

(j) It should relate to one subject only.

(k) The subject matter which is being discussed in the Select Committee should not be raised through such motion.

(l) The matters waiting for the court-decisions cannot constitute the subject of the adjournment motion.

(m) The subjects before the Commissions and Tribunals also cannot be raised.
The adjournment motions in the Bombay/Maharashtra Legislature were never so serious as to endanger the position of the government. They however served the purpose of ventilating the grievances of the people.

**Unilingual State and Adjournment Motions**

The adjournment motions moved during the period between the second general election and the reorganization of the State of Bombay had a vital importance. The government followed the bilingual principles; to oppose it, the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement was launched by the Opposition. The people responded favourably to the movement.

Public opinion moved against the government. On this background, the frequent police firings on the participants in the movement worsened the position of the government. Particularly, the firing at Ahmedabad in connection with the removal of Shahid Smarak gave the final fatal blow to government prestige. Shri Kotawala who was appointed to conduct an inquiry into the Ahmedabad firing in his report said: "It is clear from the evidence which I have discussed above that one of the principal causes for the unrest which prevailed in Ahmedabad from August 1956 till the event which happened in August 1958 was the formation of the present bilingual State of Bombay. People's demand for non-removal of the Shahid-Smarak was reasonable. Emotional attachment was involved in the matter. All these firings led to the
proposals of adjournment motions and rendered the Opposition opportunity to criticise the Government.

During 1956 the government succeeded in softening the political situation with the gesture of a liberal attitude. The silence on the part of the people made the government think that the people had accepted the bilingual formula. Since then the government followed a stern policy and did not hesitate to open firing on many occasions. In fact, the movement for the unilingual state in Western Maharashtra and Gujarat was not extinguished. The frequent firings and the proposed adjournment motions lowered the government prestige and indirectly strengthened the position of the Opposition, whose principal demand was the formation of the two unilingual states.

Maintenance of Law and Order and Adjournment Motions

A number of proposed adjournment motions were relating to the firing incidents. The Opposition members used to call the government as 'trigger-happy'. They caught the government in a fix, because the government had to shield its administrative officers and the Congress Members had to toe the line of the government. The government could only ramble about its stock argument that it had to maintain law and order in the State.

The explanations on the adjournment motions bore a serious political rivalry. The members of the Opposition suspected political motivation behind these firings.
The firings and adjournment motions indicated the unhappy relationship between the officers and the people. The police firing at Ulhasnagar was termed as a struggle between democracy and bureaucracy.

Lathi-Charges

All adjournment motions relating to the lathi charges were directed towards the party interests. The Congress Party and the Opposition were in keen competition with each other. Instead of focussing attention on the ventilation of grievances the members of the Legislature and Government continued accusing each other.

Many times the government held the leaders of the Opposition responsible for the firings. The firings and lathi-charges were so frequent that it was the duty of the government to hold meetings with the Opposition leaders and to discuss this serious matter. Government should have taken into confidence the Opposition leaders. The Government on the contrary was engaged in merely retaliating the charges. Every time government as well as the Opposition members gave party colouring to the matter. It would have been far better, had the majority and Opposition parties considered the problems on an impartial basis.

The ruling party as well the Opposition gave political colouring to the several adjournment motions. The political circumstances in Maharashtra were responsible to this
particular tendency. The Opposition members knew the fact that the adjournment motions on firing were important elements that caused the unilingual State into being. Therefore the Opposition tried to use this measure for lowering the prestige of the government even after the realisation of the Maharashtra State. The firings got an emotional background. The untimely ambition of defeating the government made the Opposition search for political motivation of the government in every incident of firing. Since then the seriousness in the discussions of adjournment motions diminished. This tendency resulted in the retaliation by the Congress Party.

The government refused to accept the charges and almost everytime, during these motions, argued that for maintaining law and order it had to open fire. It also assured the legislators of not undermining the ways of the people for getting their justiciable demands satisfied. However, the Opposition did not believe in the information supplied by the government and remained hypercritical of government in this behalf.

The ideological clashes between the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party were observed. When demonstrations were made to express resentment over the murder of the Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba the police resorted to lathi-charge. The Communist participants were large in number in the demonstration. It was criticised by the
Communist members that excessive police force was used to control the demonstrators. Shri S. R. Joshi did not agree with the Communist members. This incident displayed the attitude of the Congress Party towards the Communists. Shri Y. B. Chavan, the then Chief Minister, taunted the Communist members that when China endangered the existence of India, they did nothing. The same incident as argued by one member of the Assembly Shri B. D. Jagtap (Communist, Byculla) indicated unfair relationship between the police officers and the Assembly members. He stated that the police officers deliberately censured the Assembly members.

The regionalism was also observed in the adjournment motions. The police officer ordered a lathi-charge, when the Nag-Vidarbha Andolan was initiated. Shri Dandekar (MLC) moved an adjournment motion on the subject. Though the motion was disallowed the member succeeded in seeking permission of raising two hours' discussion on the same subject.

By raising some adjournment motions the legislators tried to point out the failure of government policies pertaining to the Adivasis. The government reiterated its policy of improving the economic conditions of the Adivasis and landless farmers. A march of Adivasis and landless farmers was organized in Khed (Poonag District). It demanded food and land. The Opposition meant that the government did not succeed in implementing its policies. However, government made a statement and tried to convince the Council that, no
serious matter was involved in this behalf. The mover of this motion Shri B. N. Rajhans (Praja Socialist Party, elected by Assembly) did not seem to be satisfied with the government reply.

**Foodgrains**

The Opposition members availed themselves of the opportunity of discussing the subject of foodgrains through adjournment motions. The problem was very difficult and closely concerned with the vulnerable sections of the landless labourers and the urban poor. The Opposition members focussed their attention on the subject of holding the price-line. They knew that the holding of the price-line could not be an emergent matter, still they raised the issue of the holding of the price-line, now and then. To win the support of farmers they staged walk-outs on that issue.

The adjournment motions were effective upto the re-organization of the State of Bombay into the State of Maharashtra. But afterwards, when Congress regained its popularity the adjournment motions were ineffective, and they were utilized by the government and Opposition for the purpose of accusing each other.

In few instances when the members tried to ventilate their grievances, the government took a sincere note. When Servashri K. N. Dhulup (PMP, Kalyan), D. R. Patil (PMP, Panvel), Y. R. Madur (Communist, Sholapur) etc. gave notice
for an adjournment motion on account of the deaths due to the foodgrains shortages, government promised to conduct an enquiry.8

**Freedom Fighters**

Dr. V. K. Pandit (BJS, Bombay Graduates) tried to ventilate the grievances of the freedom fighters. The members of the Opposition criticised the government. The government was compelled to give an explanation and a promise to inquire into the matter. The mover was satisfied with the government explanation.9

It was again one of the few instances when the mover was satisfied with government reply. On other occasions the explanation of the government could not silence the Opposition members and it resulted in walk-outs.

**Workers' Grievances**

Some adjournment motions were related to the problems of the workers. Closures of factories and mills, dismissals, satyagraha, and unemployment were the main problems which were referred to.

As regards the shortage of foodgrains, sometimes the members perhaps knew that the subjects raised by them could not justify the moving of adjournment motions. But they wanted to register their discontent only. Shri P. D. Rehargade (Praja Socialist Party, Goregaon) moved an adjournment motion on the government's failure to fulfil the
basic demands of agriculturists and to hold the price-line.\textsuperscript{10} As stated by the Speaker the matter was not emergent and nothing happened to prove government's administrative inefficiency and inability. On the decision given by the Speaker, the Opposition members staged a walk-out.

The Opposition members belonging to the Peasants and Workers Party, the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party held identical views on the foodgrains situation. Sarvashri K. N. Dhulup (Kalyan), S. A. Deshmukh (Sangola), Dhondge (Kandhar) (all Peasants and Workers Party), D. B. Patil (Praja Socialist Party, Panvel), Y. R. Madur (Communist, Sholapur) gave a notice of adjournment motion on the death in Ambajogai due to the shortage of foodgrains and starvation. Since no statutory rationing was declared in the area the motion was disallowed. The subject did not reveal administrative inability or inefficiency. However, government took sympathetic attitude and promised to conduct an inquiry in this matter. But this assurance did not satisfy the movers and they staged walk-outs.\textsuperscript{11} In fact the members of the opposition parties displayed their interest in the matters relating to shortage of foodgrains. They directly charged that the government was not attaching importance to this subject.

The members of the Bombay/Maharashtra Legislature ventilated the grievances of the freedom fighters, workers, detenus, the people residing in border areas of Mysore and
Maharashtra, and the housemen and internees of the government hospitals. The members belonging to the Jana Sangh did not show much interest in the problems of the workers and farmers. However they ventilated the grievances of the freedom fighters.

The members of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh were not so much interested in the problems of the workers but Dr. V.R. Pandit (Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Bombay Graduates) gave a notice of adjournment motion regarding the dismissal of the technicians in the Irrigation Department.

Sometimes the members moved the adjournment motions on such matters which were already discussed on the floor of the House. When the adjournment motion on the closure of the Daga Mill, Sawara Mill and Vadarbha Mill was moved, Shri Tidke (Minister of Labour) brought to the notice of the Opposition that a discussion on the same topic had been held earlier, and therefore no permission was granted to the discussion on that matter.

The constituency interests and party interests were sought to be advanced simultaneously by the members. Shri Y. R. Madur (Communist) raised the issue of the creation of a serious situation because of the Satyagraha in the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving mills in his own constituency Sholapur. The Speaker disallowed the motion on the following grounds:

(i) Urgency did not involve in the matter;

(ii) The matter of the government's omissions
and commissions were not referred to;
and

(iii) The matter related to hunger strike had been disallowed in the Lok Sabha.

Detenues

The recourse to the adjournment motion by the members did not affect the government's attitude towards the detenues. The Members had to content themselves with eliciting statements from the government. A notice of adjournment motion was given when Shri Parulekar, Ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly, died.

But the Speaker disallowed the motion and asked the government to make a statement thereon.15

Grievances of the People Residing in Border Areas of Maharashtra and Mysore

The question was raised frequently. But the Maharashtra Government failed to evoke a response from the Mysore Government on that count. Sarvashri Karkhanis (FNP, Kalyan) and Dhondge (FNP, Kandher) raised the problem of the border issue. The members of the Opposition demanded resignation of the government, because very cruel treatment was given to the Marathi-speaking people in border areas.16

The position of the government in this behalf was very awkward. Government was also anxious to solve this problem. But it could not do anything.
Grievances of the People because of the
Strikes of Housemen and Internees

The Housemen and interns in government hospitals went on a strike. The strike caused inconvenience to public and endangered public health.\(^{17}\)

The members could elicit a mere statement and no promise was given by the government.

Reference to Weak Administration

Indirectly the matters of the adjournment motions related to the weak administration, but sometimes the members criticised the administration directly. The members manipulated the matter in such a way that they could criticise the government administration.

Shri L. N. Mankar (DF, Amgaon) gave a notice of adjournment motion about the damage to the foodgrains collected in Vidarbha under monopoly procurement system by storm and rains. Indirectly the members tried to criticise the government that it was incompetent to manage the monopoly procurement system.\(^{18}\)

Government's administration came under the heavy criticism when a notice regarding the suicide by a primary teacher in Dhulia was given.\(^{19}\) Shri Gogate (HMG, Maharashtra Graduates) remarked that the incident threw light on the administration of the Dhulia Zilla Parishad.

There were few instances of the ventilated grievances, when government took a sympathetic attitude.
Most of the times the Government, instead of giving explanations, took recourse to retaliations.

Members of the legislature adhered to the party lines during the discussions on the adjournment motions. Shri S. M. Joshi (PSP, Poona) was the only member who was not prejudiced by party politics.

The adjournment motions on firings and lathi charges served to spoil the image of the Congress Government and shortened the period of the reorganisation of the Bombay State on unilingual basis.

On other matters the government gave assurances of conducting inquiry. Shri D. S. Desai (Minister for Revenue) combined firm and elastic attitudes while giving replies to the subjects raised by the Opposition members. Shri Gawandi (BJS, Maharashtra Graduates) started a fast because of the alleged autocratic attitude of the government. Shri D. S. Desai (Minister for Revenue) replied that if the government were autocratic the people would cause its downfall. At the same time he disowned the charges and explained the matter. The legislators were satisfied with the explanation and the promise of an investigation.

(b) Discussions

Discussion of important subjects or problems is a more significant mode of the business of the legislature than the adjournment motion, because it enables a larger
number of members to participate in the deliberations of the legislature. During these discussions the government is liberal and the Opposition members get a wider scope to ventilate the sectional grievances.

Bombay/Maharashtra Legislature made a good use of this device and ventilated the grievances of the various classes and sections of the population in the State. The important discussions in Bombay/Maharashtra Legislature can be categorised as follows: Discussions on (1) Food Shortages, (ii) Firinga, (iii) Working Class, (iv) Farmers, (v) Riots, (vi) Problems of Vidarbha, and (vii) Miscellaneous.

(1) Food Shortages

The members of the legislature took advantage of the problem of food shortages to criticise the entire foodgrain policy of the government. The government also used to seek an opportunity when it could explain its policy and measures to combat the food shortages. But the Opposition exploited the opportunities more skilfully. The government no doubt employed measures to solve this chronic problem. But the Opposition members had some grievances regarding the government measures. In respect of every measure, sub-problems were created and government could not deal with them efficiently. The Opposition treated Monopoly Procurement Scheme as one cause of the food shortages. Some cases of deaths owing to starvation were referred to by the Opposition. The
government requested the Opposition not to indulge in such arguments which might lower the morale of the people.

**Constructive Contribution of the Members**

The attitude of the members of the legislature towards this problem was very sincere. They made very constructive suggestions to remove the food shortages.

Shri D. S. Khandekar (PWP, Radhanagari) suggested that (i) the cultivators should be provided manures and other inputs at cheaper rates; (ii) good quality seeds should be provided to the cultivators; (iii) the prices of the foodgrains should be fixed in favour of the farmers; (iv) the traders should be barred from taking loans from the banks.

Other Opposition members recommended that the food zones should be abolished and the state trading should be introduced.

It was difficult to exactly gauge how far the government implemented the above constructive suggestions from the members. The government gave a list of measures adopted to tide over the food shortage, but it could not show how far these fructified.

Among the different opposition parties, members of the Peasants and Workers Party participated in the discussions on the foodgrains problem most effectively.

The question of food distribution both in rural and
urban areas was raised. Some members stressed the grievances of the people residing in rural areas.\textsuperscript{25}

It appeared that government did not respond to the demands of the members regarding this problem in semi-urban areas; the situation there became so precarious that it led to lootings.\textsuperscript{26}

The members of all opposition parties irrespective of their ideological affiliation criticised the government on this issue. However, it cannot be denied that the government was sincere in executing its foodgrains policy. Government's case was efficiently pleaded by Shri V. P. Naik (Minister for Agriculture). He pointed the measures adopted to remove food shortages.\textsuperscript{27} In fact the issue of food shortage was very difficult. Though lootings started at some places, the opposition, while criticising the government, neglected the goonda-element which was mainly responsible for such lootings. The government was not adamant on this issue. It accepted that food shortages existed. But the government took several measures to remove them. It also accepted that black-marketing had cropped up. But it argued that the black-marketing was not on a large scale as criticised by the opposition parties.

(ii) Firings

The discussions on firings were lent political colour. The Congress Party members and the Opposition members accused each other.\textsuperscript{28} The problem was not given serious
consideration either by the government or by the Opposition. It meant that they had no confidence in each other. It was surprising that even though the Congress and the Opposition were unanimous on taking preventive measures, they could not come to a concrete conclusion.

The relationship between the government and members of the Opposition was strained because government defended firings on the ground of maintaining law and order. In fact, generally the police opened fire for three main reasons:

(i) When political disturbances were created
(ii) When riots started
(iii) When strike was declared.

The recurrence of these three root causes could have been removed if Government had improved the standard of administration in connection with holding the price-line, had tuned up the relationship between the employers and the employees and had realised the importance of cordial relationship among various castes.

The members of the legislature failed to make the Government own the mistakes in this behalf. When the Opposition members located the responsibility of firings on the Government, Government held the Opposition parties responsible.

The Opposition members of the legislature during discussions used to taunt the Congress members who belonged to the Opposition Parties previously. Dr. Mandlik (FSP,
Cuhagar] taunted Shri Dhariya (Congress, Kolaba) that when Shri Dhariya was in the Socialist Party he used to criticise firings and when later he joined the Congress he defended the firings.

The issue of firings in the Assembly was the concern of mainly the Peasants and Workers Party and the Praja Socialist Party, and no other opposition party during discussions made it a target. From amongst the Congress members Shri Dhariya (Kolaba) and Shri Ali Hasan Hamdani (Darwha) were the main defenders of the government.

In the Council few Opposition members exaggerated the situation and made improper charges against the government. These charges might have caused an undesirable situation in Maharashtras. When a discussion was held on a firing in Poona, Shri Gogate (Hindu Mahasabha, Maharashtra Graduates) smelled anti-national elements in the matter. Such charges, which were lodged to disgrace the government unnecessarily. However other members of the Opposition did not share the views of Shri Gogate.

The discussion on a lathi-charge was used to criticise government policy. When an octroi was to be imposed in Akola, 80 per cent burden was to be borne by the farmers. The Government had already declared the policy in favour of the farmers, however the imposition of octroi in Akola was not consistent with it. Hence a morcha was organised and the police had to take resort to the lathi-charge. The
government accused the opposition parties of taking disadvantage of the serious situation in the State.

The subjects for discussion and the lines of arguments in the Council were similar to those in the Assembly. Shri Gogate (NMS, Maharashtra Graduates), Shri Rajhans (PSP, elected by the Assembly) and Shri Gawandi (BJS, Maharashtra Graduates) were noteworthy participants in the discussions in the Council. The members of the Council also could not influence the behaviour of the government in respect of the matters discussed.

(iii) Working Class

The members of the legislature tried to ventilate the grievances of the industrial working class about the wages and dearness allowance, but they could not convince the government on the hardships endured by the workers.

The members tried to convince the Government the inadequacy of the terms of reference of the Lakdawala Committee on Index Number. But partially the trade-unions were at fault because they had accepted improper terms of reference for the Committee. 30

The Government, it was alleged by the Opposition, took a very rigid stand towards the demands of the working class. They further averred that instead of negotiating with the workers government resorted to lathi charges. 31
One important subject of the discussions was the closure of several textile mills in the State and the unemployment resulting therefrom. The discussions were also held on other consequences of the closures on the trade unions.

The Opposition members did not take into account the fair aspect of the administration. The government, on the request of the members of the Council, accepted to introduce new items of the travelling expenses in the new series of index numbers. As regards the medicines and house rent, government was ready to consider them in the new context, but no comparable prices were available.

The government was sympathetic with the unemployed weavers in Vidarbha. Though all demands of the Opposition members were not accepted by the government, it consented that a larger field should be reserved for handloom production.

The government promised an investigation when Shri Bhalerao (Communist, Jalgaon) raised a discussion on the fire that broke out in an oil-mill at Jalgaon.

The Jana Sangh showed its interest in the weavers' issue in Vidarbha. The Communist members were active in the discussion. Shri S. C. Patkar (Sewree) was the most dominant member in these discussions. Shri A. B. Bardhan
and Shri S. N. Phalerao (both Communist) raised their regional issues. Shri V. R. Pandit (Jana Sangh) and Shri B. N. Rajhana (Samyukta Socialist Party) in the Council safeguarded the interests of the weavers. On the general question on unemployment Shri R. S. Gawai (Republican, Elected by Assembly) supported the Praja Socialist Party.

Shri Shantilal Shah (Minister for Labour and Law) was the minister who was bitterly criticised by the members of the Opposition. But he broached a good suggestion which might prove helpful to the workers. He stated that the cooperative societies of the bidi workers should be started. He was also willing to start relief works for the bidi workers.38

On the question of weavers Shri T. S. Bharde (Minister for Co-operation) accepted the suggestion of reserving a larger field for the handloom production. He also clarified that the government safeguarded the interests of the weavers by rendering them monopoly of the production of sarees and towels.39

Contribution of the Opposition Members

As the Opposition members criticised the government, the government also criticised them. The government argued that the Opposition members did not suggest constructive points. But the Opposition members retorted that they mooted valuable suggestions.
In connection with the compilation of the Index Numbers, the members recommended to the government that a new series should be introduced. Shri B. N. Rajhans suggested a bold measure of nationalization to remove unemployment.

(iv) Farmers

Discussions on the subject relating to the farmers carried considerable weightage and consumed most of the time allotted for the discussions. When discussions were held on the food shortage, directly or indirectly the farmers' problems were referred to. The members of the legislature not only ventilated the grievances of the farmers but also tried to influence the Government Policy. Though they were not successful in influencing it they detected the drawbacks in the actual execution of the tenancy legislation.

The members of the legislature, while ventilating the grievances of the farmers, suggested the reconsideration of the policy relating to the tenants, because the arbitrary determination of the local areas and the family holdings was responsible for the number of eviction of a large number of tenants. They showed a keen interest in the tenancy legislation and their valuable recommendations stood testimony of their studious nature. But government did not seem to respond adequately. Shri A. B. Bardhan (Communist, Nagpur) and Shri D. R. Patil (FNP, Panvel) were the main participants in these discussions. Both of them suggested the reappointment of a Committee to give more thoughtful approach to the
problem. Shri D. B. Patil suggested to appoint one Committee of eleven members to investigate how the land reforms were executed and to what extent the purpose behind them was served. Shri D. B. Patil made the following useful recommendations about the functioning of the Committee:

1. The Committee should find out the acreage of agricultural land rendered to the tenants and the number of evicted tenants for various reasons; and
2. It should find out the figure of absentee landlords.

Shri D. B. Patil intended to expose the failure of the land reforms with a view to promoting the object of making the tiller the owner of the land.

The members of Opposition repeated their arguments during the discussions on the subjects of farmers and the replies were also repeated. Shri D. B. Patil and Shri B. S. Patil (PWP, Bhiwandi) made good suggestions regarding tenancy policy and Khar lands respectively. The government promised Shri B. S. Patil to implement his suggestions.

(v) **Regional Ventilation of Grievances**

Regional demands were placed before the House by the members. After the re-organization of the State of Bombay on unilingual principle these demands increased, and it was quite natural. While merging Vidarbha and Marathwada in the new State of Maharashtra, Shri Y. B. Chavan, the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra, assured the people of Vidarbha of
the continuance of the previous concessions. He also promised that the imbalances in the growth of the regions would be removed by rendering extra financial help to the backward areas of Vidarbha and Marathwada.

The members representing these regions used the discussions for ventilating their regional grievances. Government gradually responded to the demands of the members representing Vidarbha and Marathwada. Shri A. B. Bardhan (Communist) from the Nagpur constituency so forcefully placed the regional demands that the government accused him of giving political colour to any matter concerning Vidarbha.

Government appeared very cautious when it argued about Vidarbha and Marathwada in the legislature. The problems regarding the Impending of Secondary schools in Vidarbha, the panic created among the cultivators in Vidarbha due to the government drive to recover taccavi and loans by auctioning and forfeiting their lands when the famine conditions existed in the region.41

The members from these regions compelled the government to handle their problems with special care because they always complained that no fair treatment was given to them.

During the discussions of educational matters, they forced the government to give assurances. The members from Vidarbha showed discontent on the question of effect rise in the tuition fees in non-governmental schools. They
forced the government to give an assurance to take severe action in case the non-governmental institutions raised the tuition fees.

Konkan

Government responded favourably and appreciated the casual grievances of the people from Ratnagiri, Kolaba and Thana districts because of the havoc created by storms. It was complained that in these circumstances also the taccavi was recovered in Thana District.

The members lodged complaints regarding the measures which government adopted in Ratnagiri after the tragic storm. The government accepted that delay occurred in providing financial assistance to the sufferers.

Government was persuaded in this regard because government promised to take action against the officer who caused delay in providing assistance.

(vi) Riots

The discussions on riots exposed another weakness in the administration. The inefficiency of the Department of Police was the main target of criticism. During the discussions on riots the following points were repeated:

(i) Inefficiency of the Department of Police

(ii) Inadequate Police Staff

(iii) Failure to judge promptly the gravity of situations

(iv) Failure to take precautionary measures
(v) Failure to inspire confidence among the people

(vi) Collusion of police with goonda elements in certain crimes

These discussions failed to persuade the government to admit the gravity of the problem. It was however found that the members confined to a casual analysis of the riots, instead of finding a permanent solution to it.

All parties participated in the discussions on riots. The Republican members, Shri R. S. Gawai (Republican, Elected by Assembly) pointed out the inefficiency of the Police Department. Shri D. S. Desai (Minister for Home) took a considerate stand on the issue of the conflict between the Adiwasis and the villagers of Rabhulwada in Parnar Taluka. The government suspended the Police Inspector of Parnar because of his indifference towards the complaints made by the Adiwasis. Shri D. S. Desai at the same time made an appeal to the leaders to try their best in rectifying such incidents. His replies to the charge that the preventive measures were not taken to avoid the riots, were pertinent. In regard to the discussion on the loot and arson at Washim he argued that the Sub-Divisional Officer called an extra police force as a preventive measure. The District Superintendent of Police and the Collector tried their best to avoid riots. Thus, the Opposition's criticism in this respect was exaggerated.
The problems of shortage of cement, shortage of milk in Greater Bombay, printing of faulty Geography books, rise in the examination fee for the S.S.C., cases of poisoning because of Sarsa tonic, misuse of the government machinery in the general election, were also raised in the discussions.

In connection with the printing of Geography books, the government failed to carry out the responsibility of printing which it had accepted. There were several mistakes in the Geography books. The Opposition members fiercely criticised this matter and demanded the resignation of the Education Minister. Though the members of the Opposition failed to compel the Education Minister to resign, they forced the Government to suspend a big officer.

The Opposition members criticised the prohibition policy, when a discussion was raised on the casualties on account of Sarsa tonic. In Nagpur, when people did not get quality liquor, they drank Sarsa tonic, and the tragedy occurred.

The members of the legislature also succeeded in ventilating the grievances of various classes in the society. Discussions in respect of the farmers were most effective. The members of the Peasants and Workers Party and the Communist Party were dominating during these discussions.

The members could not persuade the government in
connection with the problems of the working class.

Frequently the members raised either adjournment motions or discussions on the issue of firing with a little effect on the government.

In the Assembly, Sarvashri Datta Deshmukh (LNG, Sangamner), Dhondge (PWP, Kandhar), Patkar (Communist, Sewree), Berdhan (Communist, Nagpur), D. B. Patil (PWP, Panvel), and in the Council Sarvashri B. M. Rajhans (SSP, Elected by Assembly), V. R. Pandit (RJS, Maharashtra Graduates), Gogate (HMS, Maharashtra Graduates), Bhide (RJS, Maharashtra Graduates) were effective participants.

The discussions were not utilized as a device to ventilate the grievances, but many times important issues regarding government policy were raised, for example, the monopoly procurement, prohibition, bringing equity in land holdings and decentralization.

Shri Shantilal Shah, Shri T. S. Bhide and Shri D. S. Desai replied to the discussions effectively. The issues before them were complicated and chronic, still they proved to be impressive. Shri Nana Jedhe (Ambed) and Shri K. S. Dhariya (Kolaba) (both Congress) supported the ministers during the discussions in the Assembly.

Serious party conflict between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha was observed in the Council. The Jana Sangh members supported the views of the Hindu Mahasabha. Sarvashri
Shirole, Shinde, Akarte, Abad and Raja Mantri (all Elected by Assembly) hurled an attack on the Hindu Mahasabha when certain persons celebrated the death anniversary (punyatithi) of Nathuram Godse at Poona on or about 15th November 1964. The ideology of the Hindu Mahasabha was condemned and Shri Raja Mantri made some allegations against Shri Savarkar. The Hindu Mahasabha was held responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. But Sarvashri Bhide (RJS, Elected by Assembly), Cogate (IMS, Maharashtra Graduates) and Sohani (RJS, Vidarbha Graduates) held Shri Nathuram Godse responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. However, all participants condemned the celebration of the Godse Punyatithi.

During February, March and April Session of 1961 the following was the Party-wise break-up regarding the most active part in the discussions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicen</td>
<td>Shri Bhendare (Morli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shri G. R. Kamble (Chiplun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist</td>
<td>Shri Bardhan (Nagpur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shri Shaleroo (Jalgaon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praja Socialist Party</td>
<td>Shri Gurud (Jamner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shri S. N. Joshi (Poone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata Sangh</td>
<td>Shri Mhalgi (Mawal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Shri S. L. Sonawane (Latur)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Resolutions

The term 'resolution' has got a specific meaning in the vocabulary pertaining to the parliamentary proceedings,
though all motions are presented in the form of the resolutions. The members of the legislature avail of this opportunity to express their inclinations relating to some subject matter. Resolutions, generally are recommendatory in nature. They may relate to matters of general public interest. They may seek either approval or disapproval of the Government policy. Resolutions may pertain the conduct of a person in his official or public capacity. A specific problem concerning the government has to be referred to in the resolution. Discussion cannot be held on subject matters which are under the consideration of a court of law, statutory tribunal or statutory authority. However, the Speaker is empowered to allow such matter if he thinks that discussion on such matter would not prejudice the functioning of the judicial authority.

A notice of a resolution has to be given, but in consultation with the Minister concerned a resolution can be moved at a shorter notice. A resolution of one member may be moved by another, if the former authorises and the Presiding Officer gives consent. A resolution once moved can only be withdrawn by the leave of the House. But a single dissenter can prevent the mover from withdrawing the resolution. A member can move amendments to the resolution, and rules pertaining to the general amendments are applicable here also. The Speaker can disallow a resolution if he thinks that the general rules of motions are violated.
The Speaker's decision cannot be challenged on the floor of the House. But the member whose resolution is disallowed can exchange views with the Speaker in the latter's chamber. Generally the discussion on a resolution is delimited and a time limit is also fixed for the resolution. In the Lok Sabha, an identical resolution or an amendment raising substantially the same question cannot be moved unless a year elapses after the moving of the previous resolution. If a resolution is withdrawn, another resolution raising the same question cannot be moved in the same session. On the objection of a minister, discussion cannot be held on the resolution. An objection may be projected if the minister thinks that the discussion is unfair in the public interest.

Resolution is for many reasons a proper device maintaining good relations between the opposition and the government. Since a resolution does not involve any binding on the government, members from the ruling party and even the government without any reservation can discuss the matter. It provides a proper atmosphere for the debate. It makes the member forget the party restrictions. On this occasion, a free exchange of thoughts between the ruling party and the Opposition takes place. The Opposition places its demands before the House and the government respects them. Many occasions can be pointed out when the ruling party members supported the resolutions moved by the Opposition and the Opposition members supported the resolutions of the members of the ruling party.
Resolutions in the Bombay/Maharashtra Legislature

The resolutions in the Bombay/Maharashtra Legislature can be categorized as follows: (i) Resolutions disapproving the Government Policies (ii) Resolutions demanding the constitution of various Committees (iii) Resolutions presenting regional demands (iv) Resolutions regarding demands of the various classes.

(i) Resolutions Disapproving the Government Policies

The members of the Opposition disapproved of the Government's prohibition policy on account of the evils generated by it. Sometimes the members of the Congress party also voiced views against the prohibition policy. Shri Phide, a member of the Council, proposed a resolution regarding the 'Prohibition Week'. Shri Akarte, a Congress member, also criticised the government policy severally.

The decentralization policy was also disapproved of through some resolutions. To influence the government policy in this respect Shri M. N. Anjikar (Independent, Vidarbha Teachers) moved a resolution to withdraw primary and secondary schools from the Zilla Parishads because the standard of education had gone down.

The criticism of the Opposition on the prohibition policy carried weight, because some Congress Members also joined them in criticising it.
But the arguments against the decentralization were premature, and therefore could not convince the government. The members were successful in making the government accept some suggestions. Shri Ambalal Shah proposed a resolution to bring about a parity in the rates of revenue in the State and the government accepted the suggestion.50

(ii) Resolutions Demanding the Constitution of Committees

The most important contribution made by the members through resolutions was about the constitution of some important Committees. Sometimes the members had hidden intentions behind the recommendation of the constitution of Committees. Most of these related to the weak administration of the government and the failure of the concerned government policies.

The resolution of Shri T. S. Karkhenis (PWP, Kolhapur) about the formation of the Committee on the Public Undertakings,51 was commendable. The resolution was supported by Congress Members. The government argued that the work which was to be assigned to the proposed Committee was carried out by the Public Accounts Committee. Though the government did not accept this recommendation then, afterwards it had to form this Committee.

The members moved resolutions recommending to constitute Committees with a view to criticising the government policies and administration. Shri M. R. Shah (PSP, Palghar)
proposed a resolution for the establishment of an Inquiry
Committee to investigate the failure of prohibition. The object of exposing the failure of the government policy
was served well.

Corruption, red-tapism and favouritism were rampant in the administration. To expose these drawbacks Shri
D. S. Nervekar (FNP, Godhinglaj) mooted a suggestion to form a Committee to root out these defects. He was
successful in forcing the government to admit the existence of corruption in the administration.

In the Council the members used the same device exposing the faulty policies and weak administration of the
government. The Department of Co-operation was a target of severe criticism in the Council owing to the existence of
frauds. Shri Chhabildas P. Mehta made a suggestion to form a Committee for examining the financial dealings of the Co-
operation Department. A suggestion was also moved to form a Committee for the recruitment of the persons belonging to
the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and Buddhists to government posts.

(iii) Resolutions Presenting Regional Demands

Konkan

Considering the urgent needs of the various regions the members put forward specific demands in this behalf in
the legislature. The members succeeded in getting some of
their demands satisfied. But the demands pertaining to Konkan were not satisfied.

Dr. P. M. Kulkarni (PSP, Raigapur) moved a resolution for the inclusion of Konkan Railway in the Third Five Year Plan. The government tried to console the member telling him that it was giving active consideration to that suggestion.56

The members succeeded in convincing the government the urgency of some of their demands, but owing to financial difficulty, did not accept them.57

It was generally found that the members from Vidarbha area were more active in proposing demands.58

Border Dispute

Though the members of the legislature prevailed upon the government to appreciate the seriousness of this issue, they could not see it materialised.59

Many other resolutions relating to rising prices, facilities to the farmers and working class, appointment on Committees and study-teams, abolition of the Council, some matters concerning the ministers and government officers, facilities to Tillori Kumhi Society and backward classes and Adiwasis, were moved.

The pleas of the members were accepted on many occasions. Though there were instances of giving party colour to the matters, some instances showed that the Congress
members had supported the resolutions moved by the Opposition party members. For example, when Shri K.S. Dhondge (Peasants and Workers Party, Kandhar) proposed a resolution regarding 'Acquisition of religious properties by the government in the general interests of the State', Shri A. B. Namdani (Congress, Narwah) supported the resolution. Another instance was the resolution proposed by a Peasants and Workers Party member Shri T. S. Karkhanis (Kolhapur) regarding the construction of Kalamwadi project. Shri S. B. Patil (Indapur) and Shri Chatge (Hatkanangale) (both Congress) supported the resolution.

The members of the Opposition also supported some resolutions moved by the Congress members. Shri M. B. Songvikar (Congress, Ahmedpur) moved a resolution regarding 'Assigning functions of Sub-Divisional Magistrates for deciding disputes concerning land under Section 145, CR.P.C. to Judicial Magistrates' was supported by Shri K.S. Dhondge (Peasants and Workers Party, Kandhar).

Shri T. S. Karkhanis (Peasants and Workers Party, Kolhapur) and Shri K. S. Dhondge (Peasants and Workers Party, Kandhar) supported Shri Kalyani's (Congress, Eklabag) resolution requesting Government to take back all works and schemes concerning scheduled castes etc. from the Zilla Parishads.

The members were successful in influencing the government to some extent. The relationship between the Opposition and the ruling party concerning resolutions was cordial.
During the discussions on the resolutions many new members introduced themselves unlike during the discussions on the adjournment motions. Sarvashri S. B. Patil (Indapur), Kalyani (Edlabad), A. H. Maniani (Darwha), C. N. Patil (Dhulia), P. T. Patel (Lovegrove) and Ghatge (Hatkanangale) (all Congress) actively participated in the discussions on the resolutions. Sarvashri T. S. Karkhanis (PWP, Kolhapur), K. S. Dhondge (PWP, Kendhar), Shyam Kocharekar (PSP, Nalwan), P. V. Mandlik (PSP, Guhagar), J. B. Shete (Communist, Sangameshwar), S. K. Athalye (Independent, Lanja), C. P. Pradhan (PSP, Maharashtra Teachers), B. N. Rajbans (PSP, Elected by Assembly), V. R. Pandit (BJS, Greater Bombay Graduates), F. B. Bhide (BJS, Elected by Assembly), Gogate (BJS, Maharashtra Graduates) were the Opposition members in the legislature who were active participants in these discussions.

In the discussions on the resolutions the Council maintained an equal standard with the Assembly. The problem relating to the teachers and education in general were dealt with by the Council more efficiently.

During the discussions on the resolutions the Peasants and Workers Party was the most impressive among the parties and groups in the Opposition. The members of the Praja Socialist Party also actively participated in these discussions, while in the Council, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh also contributed satisfactorily.

During February, March and April Session of 1961 the following was the party-wise break-up on discussions regarding
the discussion on the resolutions.

Congress
Shri G.L. Sonawane (Nadha)

Lei Nishan Gat
Shri Bhapkar (Ahmednagar)

Republican
Shri Bhandare (Vorli)
Shri A. G. Pawar (Shirdi)
Shri R. D. Pawar (Shrigonda)

(d) Calling Attention Motions

Information on some facts can be placed before the House through calling attention motions. This information is to relate to a matter of public importance. No debate or vote can be held on such matters.

It is similar to an adjournment motion in regard to its bearing on public importance, but it differs from an adjournment motion because it is not followed by a debate. Secondly this motion does not have any element of censure. Therefore, the members of the ruling party can make a good use of it.

With the permission of the Speaker the motion can be moved, on which the minister furnishes the necessary information. Generally no supplementary questions can be asked on the statement of the Minister. 62

The Maharashtra Legislature used this device to elicit information concerning several important issues like rising prices, problems in agricultural and industrial fields, Krishna-Godawari water dispute, problems of teachers, students and government employees, etc.
Rising Prices

The members of the Assembly raised the question of shortages of foodgrains and the inflating prices. They succeeded in securing an assurance from the government that measures would be adopted to control the situation.

Government and the Opposition unanimously accepted that the price rise was due to the unfair policy of the dealers.

The Opposition members caused trouble to the government on account of their simultaneous contradictory demands of stabilizing the prices and determining the price of sugar at higher level.

Members from Nagpur, Amravati, Bhir, Yeotmal and Ahmednagar districts raised their pleas regarding the scarcity conditions in the State. The price-rise was given an important position in the election-manifestoes of all parties. The Opposition parties criticised the government on this score.

The government gave a categorical reply regarding the price-rise. It pointed out several dependable measures like (i) adequate imports of foodgrains from abroad, (ii) purchase of internal surplus production, (iii) distribution of imported and internally procured foodgrains through the network of the fair-price shops, (iv) fixation of the prices of wheat, (v) imposition of a ban on forward trading in foodgrains. As regards the famine conditions the government
referred to the measures to create employment potential and to remove water-shortage.

The members used this device to criticise the government policy indirectly. They thus criticised the monopoly procurement policy and the zonal system for price controls.

The members from the famine stricken constituencies ventilated their grievances and elicited information about the measures to combat the famine.64

Agricultural Sector

The grievances of the farmers were effectively ventilated by the members. The questions of crop-diseases and preventive measures were raised. Majority of these questions related to Vidarbha, Khandesh, Konkan and Ahmednagar.

The question of Khar Lands was raised but the members failed to get a proper response from the government.

Other problems concerning delay in the supply of manures, the provision of oil engines and hose-pipes, loans from the Reserve Bank of India and Co-operative Societies were also raised.

The government showed its sincerity in handling the problem of the boosting of agricultural production. The government was aware of the probable difficulties and sketched the following remedies to overcome them:

(a) Recruitment of the Servants
(b) Supply of seeds
(c) Supply of chemical manures
(d) Supply of pesticides
(e) Supply of credit

The above remedial programme was to be entirely assigned to the charge of the Zilla Parishads.

**Industrial Sector**

The problems of the industrial workers were repeated in these discussions also. Defective government policy in relation to the industrial working class, the closure policy, the problem of unemployment and matters regarding distribution of profits were referred to through these motions.

The problems relating to the industrial workers at Bombay, Malegaon, Sholapur, Ichalkaranji and Aurangabad were frequently raised through these motions. The retrenchment in the Maharashtra Electricity Board also received a place in calling attention motions.

In the Council, the issues of Akola Mills, Pratap Mill (Amalner), hardships to the employees in the Social Welfare Department, were also broached.

The Jana Sangh members raised several issues concerning the workers while moving the calling attention motions. Shri Mhalgi (BJS, Poona) in the Assembly raised the subject of the advances on the Holi and the Bakra-Id in the Narsinghji Girji Mill. The millowner refused to give advance. The same subject was raised by Dr. V. R. Pandit (BJS, Greater Bombay Graduates) in the Council.
The Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Peasants and Workers Party were the usual contributors on the issue of workers. Shri Y. R. Madur (Communist, Sholapur) ventilated the grievances of his Sholapur constituency. Malegaon, Bombay, Bhiwandi, Aurangabad, Akola, and Amalner were represented properly but not through their own representatives.

The government tried to explain a vital issue like the levy of the excise duty in the financial year 1961-62 that threatened the unemployment of thousands of workers employed in the powerlooms. The government informed the decision of the Central Government to the House that the duty had been reduced per shift, per loom and per month by 50 per cent. 66

Krishna-Godawari Water Disputes

The Government and the Opposition expressed opposite views on the recommendations of the Gulhati Commission appointed by the Union Government on the Krishna-Godawari Water Dispute. The Government upheld the recommendations, while the members of the Opposition criticised them.

All Opposition parties were unanimous on this issue. The issue was raised frequently. Though the government was anxious to solve this problem, the Central Government did not give its decision and the matter was delayed. On 31st May, 1967 Shri Shankarrao Chavan (Minister for Irrigation)
requested the Central Government to consider the problem immediately. On the calling attention motion moved in the Council by Shri V. R. Pandit (BJS, Greater Bombay Graduates) the government replied very firmly that it had conveyed the Central Government not to direct Andhra Pradesh in behalf of the use of the water of the Nagarjun Sagar, unless any decision was taken in this respect.

**Teachers' Grievances**

The members ventilated the grievances of the teachers. The main grievance was about the irregular payment of their salaries. Shri F. M. Pinto (PSP, Mahim), S. K. Athalye (Independent, Lanja) and V. R. Kaldate (PSP, Latur) dealt with this problem.

The members of the legislature ventilated the grievances of the teachers. However, only the Praja Socialist Party was impressive. The financial difficulties of the teachers in Vidarbha were ventilated by Shri F. M. Pinto. On this particular issue negligible constituency representation was registered. The general problems of the teachers like irregularity in payments, inadequate pensions and dearness allowance were referred to.

The replies given by the government in this regard were satisfactory. The government accepted that the discontent among the teachers of non-governmental schools resulted from the meagerness of the dearness allowance. A circular in this behalf was issued by the government.
Students

The question of difference in the pay-scales of the M.B.B.S. doctors and the B.A. and M and S doctors was raised through calling attention motions. Delay in publishing the English text books, mistakes in the English Question Paper and at examination, difficulties in getting admissions to the 9th standard in Aurangabad were referred to. Shri J. G. Shave (BJS, Greater Bombay Teachers) raised the issue of compulsory training.

Admissions and Backward Classes

Grievances of the Backward class students in connection with the admission to the medical colleges were ventilated through the calling attention motions. The members also tried to point out the repercussions of the government's declaration to stop the scholarships on the backward classes.

Many members used the calling attention motions to level certain charges against the government. On 9th January 1961, 1477 Satyagrahis were arrested and unfair treatment was given to them. Government could not give a proper reply when the issue of the supply of cement to 'Apsara Theatre' and 'Sagar Estate' was raised.

Other matters raised related to public health, matters pertaining to municipalities, fishermen, tenants, the dis-housed persons, water scarcity, shifting of the Electronics Department of Bhabha Atomic Energy Establishment, Bombay.
banana powder industry, maladministration in the Industrial Co-operative Association.

The Congress members made a liberal use of these motions, without departing from the party discipline. In this respect also, the Peasants and Workers Party was the most dominating and the Praja Socialist Party also did well. The members did not confine themselves to the specific grievances referred to the motions but they touched the government policies and administration also.

Sarvashri Govind (PSP, Jamer), Madur (Communist Sholapur), T. S. Karkhanis (PWP, Kolhapur), Dhonde (PWP, Kandhar), Genacharya (Communist, Byculla), Sham Kocharekar (PSP, Melwan), B. S. Naik (PWP, Pathri), Patker (Communist, Sewree) in the Assembly, and Sarvashri V. R. Pandit, Kashu Adwani, Madhav Limaye (SSP, Elected by Legislative Assembly) and B. N. Rajhans (SSP, Elected by Legislative Assembly) in the Council were the active movers of the calling attention motions. From the Congress party, Sarvashri Kalyani (Edlabad), Thakre (Rajapur), D. M. Karnele (Badnapur), P. D. Patil (Baglan), P. C. Kher (Bandra) were the active members in this respect.

During February, March and April Session of 1961 the following is the party-wise break-up of the contributors on the Calling Attention Motions.

Congress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shri Ansari</td>
<td>Malagaon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shri O. L. Sonawane</td>
<td>Madha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) Half-an-Hour Discussions

The government, sometimes fails to provide adequate replies to the questions of the members, because of the short time at its disposal. Such questions can be the subjects of half-an-hour discussions. During such discussions the answers to such questions are elucidated. Lengthy speeches are not made; attention is focussed on the matter of public importance involved in the inadequate answer given by the minister.

Half-an-hour is granted for the discussion of an issue or question. The subject matter for such discussions has to fulfil the following conditions:

(i) It should be of sufficient public importance.
(ii) It should relate to a recent question.
(iii) The member raising such discussion should give a notice stating the reasons for discussion.
(iv) This notice should be supported by at least two members.
(v) There is no formal motion or voting on such discussions.
These discussions, in the Maharashtra Assembly, were attended poorly. The quorum bell rang invariably. Shri T. S. Karkhanis (PWP, Kolhapur) made a good suggestion that instead of raising such discussions after finishing the business of the House they should be taken up before finishing the business of the House.

The half-an-hour discussions were used by the Opposition members in such a way that while eliciting information they succeeded in exposing corrupt administration of the government and the alleged callous attitude of the government towards the Opposition members. They also succeeded in highlighting regional demands.

The government many a time succeeded in satisfying the members of the Assembly. On the matter arising out of replies given to suggestion No. 4668 from first starred list, regarding grant of increase in dearness allowance to attendants, the Government's explanation satisfied the mover Shri S. M. Joshi (PWP, Poona).

In connection with the matter arising out of replies given to question No. 5765 from 13th starred list, regarding conversion of certificate course into diploma course in Robertson Medical School, Nagpur, the mover Shri A. B. Bardhan (Communist, Nagpur) was satisfied with the explanation given by the Government.

The government could not satisfy the members on some occasions. Shri T. S. Karkhanis (PWP, Kolhapur) raised the
discussion on the question relating to beggars. During this discussion Shri T. S. Karkhanis asked a supplementary but the government did not furnish information on it.

Shri P. V. Mandlik (SSP, Gahagar) was not satisfied with the government explanation in respect of question No. 22571. The subject was regarding the non- hoisting of the national flag in the meeting of the Defence Minister at Shivaji Park, Bombay.

The members of the Opposition used these discussions to expose the alleged callous attitude of the government towards the Opposition. Shri T. S. Karkhanis raised a discussion on question No. 711. Government had earlier given representation to the members of the Opposition on the State Transport Corporation Board. But, afterwards, the members of the Opposition went over to the Congress Party. Shri T. S. Karkhanis (PWP, Kolhapur) argued that the vacancies belonged to the Opposition and as such should be filled by the Government. But the government declined to accept the demand.

The members tried to ventilate the grievances of their constituencies or of their region. Shri K. S. Dhondge (PWP, Kandhar) made a plea for the creation of an Independent Development Board for Marathwada. His plea was based on his grievance that the government had departed from the promises given to the people of Marathwada.

A grievance of the constituency was ventilated by
Shri Karkhanis (PWP, Kolhapur) in connection with the promotion of the policemen of Kolhapur district.

During June, July and August Session in 1967 the position regarding half-an-hour discussions was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Mover</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>22 June</td>
<td>N. B. Shah (Praja Socialist Party, Palghar)</td>
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<tr>
<td>717</td>
<td>23 June</td>
<td>T. S. Karkhanis (Peasants and Workers Party, Kolhapur)</td>
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<td>1308</td>
<td>3 July</td>
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<td>1102</td>
<td>7 July</td>
<td>K. S. Dhondge (Peasants and Workers Party, Kandhar)</td>
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<td>1306</td>
<td>11 July</td>
<td>K. S. Dhondge (Peasants and Workers Party, Kandhar)</td>
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<td>592</td>
<td>14 July</td>
<td>T. S. Karkhanis (Peasants and Workers Party, Kolhapur)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2104</td>
<td>26 July</td>
<td>T. S. Karkhanis (Peasants and Workers Party, Kolhapur) and Pesha (Congress, Mumbai)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally the members were not satisfied with the government replies.

The Performance of the Committee on Government Assurances

The Committee on the Government Assurances performed its task fairly well. During the transactions of the business of the Assembly and the Council, certain assurances were given by the Government. This measure in Maharashtra had been proved effective in connection with minor demands
made by the honorary members of the legislature. Generally the local demands got a fair response and the removal of the local grievances became possible due to the promises being elicited from the government. Due to certain limitations of the government all the promises cannot be fulfilled by it.

Still the tendency of not replying was unfair. The following table demonstrates how far the government fulfilled the assurances given to the legislators.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session Report Year</th>
<th>Assurances given</th>
<th>Replies not given</th>
<th>% of Replies not given</th>
<th>Assurances with replies</th>
<th>% of Assurances with replies</th>
<th>No. of Vetes</th>
<th>% of Vetes</th>
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<td>1962 II 10th 1965-66</td>
<td>388</td>
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<td>191</td>
<td>59.1</td>
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<td>1964 II 20th 1966-67</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Appx IV</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964 VII 22nd 1966-67</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>50.6</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No replies have been given for 25.3 per cent promises approximately. The percentage of the promises fulfilled was 48. For 30.2 per cent promises dates were not given, while 6.3 per cent promises were not fulfilled.

The following data includes some promises and their break-up as in the Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session Report</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Assurances given</th>
<th>Dates not given</th>
<th>Replies not fulfilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963 I 8th</td>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>1963 9th</td>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964 I 13th</td>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964 III 15th</td>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>86</td>
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<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965 I 17th</td>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965 18th</td>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>51</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1967-68</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>1967-68</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965 III 21st</td>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965 22nd</td>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The assurances fulfilled were 49.6 per cent while the percentage of dates not given was 21.2. The replies not
received stood at 19 per cent and 8.7 per cent promises were not fulfilled. It appears from the above data that the government had been effectively influenced by the demands of the people.

Conclusion

Thus the Maharashtra Legislature ventilated the grievances of the people through adjournment motions, discussions, resolutions, calling attention motions and half-an-hour discussions. The discussions and resolutions enabled several members to participate in the expression of views on administration. The participation of the members of the Ruling Party in the resolutions and the calling attention motions was fair. In connection with the resolutions many Congress members supported the resolutions moved by the Opposition.

The discussions were impressive and they covered a wide range of subjects of public interest. The adjournment motions were not so impressive. The subjects were repeated and were dealt with in a hackneyed fashion. Number of adjournment motions were disposed of with the initial remarks of the Speaker.

During the half-an-hour discussions, the ministers could not elucidate the matters satisfactorily. On the other hand, the Opposition members were dominant. The suggestion regarding the change in time, moved by Shri T.S. Karkhanis, was appropriate.
While ventilating the grievances of the constituencies and the people the members ventilated their own grievances also. The arguments of the Opposition in connection with the membership of various Boards were very powerful.

In all measures of the ventilation of grievances, the Peasants and Workers Party contributed remarkably. The Praja Socialist Party and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (particularly in the Council) did the job well.

There were differences of opinion on some issues in the Opposition parties. The Praja Socialist Party opposed the Communist Party on the issue of the foreign policy. On this score the Praja Socialist Party supported the Congress Government. The attitude of the Congress party towards the Communists was that of suspicion. The Jana Sangh also opposed the Communists. However, other parties did not express their opinion on this matter. The Congress Party members were aggressive against the Hindu Mahasabha. The members of the Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha went on defensive and disowned the charges made by the Congress members in the Council regarding the celebration of the Godse death anniversary (Punyatithi).

Several members of the Assembly ventilated their constituency grievances with the ideological touch. It was observed that the Opposition members neglected the bright side of the government. No doubt there existed several drawbacks in the administration, however the government
made sincere efforts to remove them. On the issue of food-grains the stand taken by the Opposition parties was not considerate. Almost all Opposition members, save a few, took resort to destructive criticism which might have lowered the morale of the people. On the matters of agriculture Shri V. P. Naik (Minister for Agriculture) informed the House of the measures adopted by the government to boost agricultural production. The issues of riots were serious but Shri D. S. Desai (Minister for Home) dealt with them effectively.

The Opposition parties served as a mediator in placing demands for information regarding the grievances of the masses. Information on a large scale was furnished by the government. The government prepared its own case as the 'remover of grievances'. The government sometimes tried to remove grievances prior to the demands lodged by the members of the legislature. In such cases the responsibility of the members was confined to finding out some inadequacies in the government actions or seeking more information from it.

The regionalism was mirrored in the legislature. The backwardness of Marathwada, Viderbha and Konkan kept the members of those regions on the alert. However, the arguments of the members coming from Marathwada and Viderbha were forceful.

As was appropriate to a predominantly agricultural State like Maharashtra, the various problems of the farmers
were discussed in the legislature. The Peasants and Workers Party dealt with the problems of the farmers quite frequently. The Communist Party handled the problems of the industrial workers. In this, the Peasants and Workers Party supported the Communist Party. The Praja Socialist Party and the Samyukt Socialist Party also took a keen interest in the problems of the farmers and the workers. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh was interested more in the problems of government employees, teachers and the problems of middle classes in general. Shri Gogate, a member of the Hindu Mahasabha and once a leader of Opposition in the Council, was an effective participant, generally on all matters. The Lal Nishan Gat was efficiently represented by Shri Datta Deshmukh. All the members belonging to the various political parties reflected their respective political ideology in the legislature.
In connection with the police firing at Dhendu village the members of the Opposition alleged that as the Thakurs of the said village did not vote for the Congress, the police opened the fire and took revenge (Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 4, No. 9, December 10, 1957, p. 486).

Regarding the firing at Ahmedabad some Congress MLCs criticised that the Maha Gujarat Parishad was trying to regain its prestige by spoiling the image of the Congress Party unnecessarily. They said that the government was compelled to open fire (Bombay Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 6, No. 3, September 4, 1958, p. 118).

When demonstrations were staged to express resentment over the murder of Congolese Leader Patrice Lumumba, an unwarranted and excessive lathi charge was resorted to. According to Shri B. D. Jagtap, who was an eyewitness, the lathi charge was deliberate. On the other hand the government taunted the Communist party that it did nothing when China invaded India.

(a) When an adjournment motion regarding 'Total failure of the Maharashtra Government in averting the Maharashtra Band Strike, which paralysed industries, transport and other essential services of this State, affecting the daily routine of the people which is the direct result of the utter failure of Government to assure and alleviate the sufferings of the people consequent on the critical food situation and sky high price-line' was moved, the members of the Congress Party accused the Opposition of using goonda tactics (Maharashtra Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 13, No. 12, August 12, 1964, p. 364).

(b) Shri Mhalgi (BJS, Mawal) gave a notice regarding political consideration behind the bursting of Panshet Dam near Poona (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, No. 7, July 24, 1961, p. 339).

(c) Shri S. M. Joshi (PSP, Poona) was the only member who did not give political colouring to the discussions. Regarding adjournment motion on the lathi charge during the demonstration to protest against murder
Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba, he accepted that it was the duty of the government to maintain law and order. He also suggested that the police should respect the delicate emotions of the people (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 3, February 21, 1961).


21. When a discussion on foodgrains was raised by Shri K. S. Dhondge, Government informed the House nine measures to remove food shortages.

22. (a) Government attempted to provide good quality seeds but other agricultural inputs fell beyond the financial reach of the cultivators.

(b) Delay was caused in providing seeds and manures.

(c) Most of the agricultural facilities were enjoyed by the bigger land holders.


25. The grievances were regarding (i) inadequate quotas provided to them, (ii) low quality of foodgrains, (iii) sweepings mixed with sugar.


28. In Akole the police resorted to a lathi charge, when the farmers demonstrated against the imposition of an octroi. Eighty per cent of the octroi was to be collected from the farmers. The Opposition members criticised that the committee was formed by the Municipality of Akole which recommended not to impose such Octroi, still octroi was imposed. On the other hand the government retorted that the Opposition members used means of demonstrations which were unwarranted in the democratic set-up. The government
further accused the Opposition of taking disadvantage of serious situations (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. V, No. 1, March 10, 1956, p. 772). When the firing in Shahupuri was criticised the government replied that the Morcha in Shahupuri was organized a day prior to the scheduled date (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. XVII, No. 9, December 2, 1965, p. 319).


30. The whole price of cloth was taken into account, the tenements were rented at Rs. 11,39 and there was no link between dearness allowance and index numbers.

31. A member of legislature pointed out that two lakh workers had to face unemployment in Nagpur, Wardha and Yeotmal. To ventilate their grievances, they organized a morcha which was welcomed by tear-gas and lathi charge (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 6, No. 11, September 4, 1956, p. 550). Dr. Mandlik opened the topic of disparity between the pay-scales of the employees of the State Government and those of the Central Government. In the face of the soaring prices negligence of this question showed that government had no sympathy with the Class III and Class IV employees (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. XII, No. 18, August 4, 1965, p. 611).


40. Shri B. J. Patil (PVP, Bhiwand) in relation to Khar Lands, made the following recommendations.

(i) Government should give funds for the protection of khar lands.

(ii) The farmers should contribute funds in addition to government assistance.

(iii) A Committee should be constituted. The members of this Committee should be taken on a democratic principle so that the farmers might influence the Committee.

(iv) The Report of the Khar Land Board should be placed before the House.

(v) Tenancy Acts should not be applied to the Khar Lands.

(vi) Separate planning should be undertaken for Khar Lands.

The Government was generous enough to promise the member that the recommendations would be implemented (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, No. 15, August 11, 1961, p. 695).


43. (i) The figures of losses were incomplete,

(ii) Compensation given to the sufferers was nominal,

(iii) Guarantee was demanded while providing loans and poor people could not give it, and

(iv) Assistance was not given promptly to Ratnagiri district.

(Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, No. 18, August 18, 1961, p. 820).

44. Ibid., p. 835.


49. Maharashtra Legislative Council Debates, Vol. XII, No. 7, February 21, 1964, p. 175. A resolution regarding the transfer of some duties from the Zilla Parishads was moved by Shri M. N. Anjikar (Independent, Vidarbha Teachers). This opportunity was also taken to criticise the decentralisation policy of the government (Maharashtra Legislative Council Debates, Vol. XII, No. 11, February 27, 1964, p. 205).


55. Shri Kamble (Republican, Nasik) moved a resolution to form a Board for the Welfare of the Neo-Buddhists to stress that their interests were not safeguarded (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, No. 25, August 30, 1961, p. 1243).

56. This resolution was accepted by 35:65 voting and its consideration was adjourned sine-die (Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. VII, No. 41, April 1, 1959, p. 2091).

57. During the discussion Shri D. B. Tamhane’s (PSP, Thane) resolution of constitution of an Autonomous Corporation for Flying Passenger Harbour Service on Konkan Coast, nationalization of the service was suggested, but on the ground of financial inability, it was declined (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, No. 7, July 24, 1961, p. 320).

58. Shri Vyas (BJS, Vidarbha Graduates) moved a resolution to establish permanent benches of the Bombay High Court at Nagpur and Rajkot (Bombay Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 6, No. 6, September 9, 1958, p. 263). Shri H. B. Bhidie (BJS, Elected by Assembly) suggested to hold a session of Assembly in Nagpur (Bombay

59. Shri V. D. Deshpande (Communist, Nanded) moved a resolution for the inclusion of Marathi speaking border areas in the State (Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. V, No. 38, April 15, 1958, p. 2036). Shri T. R. Kakkal (Republican, Mehkar) moved a resolution regarding the inclusion of the Marathi speaking border areas in Bombay State on certain principles (Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 6, No. 25, September 30, 1958, p. 1408). Shri G. P. Pradhan (PSP, Teachers) raised the border issue in the Council (Maharashtra Legislative Council Debates, Vol. 19, No. 9, September 13, 1966, pp.252-53).

60. Another instance in this behalf was as follows: Shri J. B. Shete (PSP) moved a resolution regarding "Providing irrigation facilities to districts in Konkan by utilising tail waters of several power projects". He was supported by Shri Champati Vokal (Congress, Thane).

61. Following are other two instances when members of the Opposition supported the Congress members' resolutions. Shri Gangadhar Vokal (Congress, Thane) moved a resolution concerning "Steps to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains"; Shri V. S. Bhondge (PWF, Kandhar) supported it. When Shri C. M. Patel (Congress, Dhulia) moved a resolution to establish Mahatma Gandhi University, Shri K. G. Bhonde (Kandhar) and Shri Karkhanis (Kolhapur) (both PWF) supported the resolution.

62. In the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly however supplementary were permitted by the Speaker.


64. Sarvashtri Nervekar (PWF, Gadhinglaj), Pinto (PSP, Mahim) and Narud (PSP, Junnar) moved a calling attention motion regarding the failure of the government to take effective measures against the rise in prices of necessaries and great hardship to the public at large. Government suggested the following measures:
(1) imports of foodgrains (ii) internal surplus production (iii) distribution of foodgrains through fair price shops (iv) control of bank credit (v) ban on forward trading in foodgrains (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 4, No. 21, August 22, 1961, p. 935).


70. The government replied that the question of dearness allowance could not arise in the case of the part-time attendents (Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 6, No. 9, September 19, 1958, p. 531).

71. Government gave a brief history of the Robertson Medical School and informed of the demand of the student (Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 6, No. 19, September 19, 1958, p. 1249).

Shri T. S. Karkhanis (PWP, Kolhapur) raised the discussion regarding question No. 23734. The Jawahar Nagar Co-operative Housing Society Kolhapur was started for constructing houses for backward classes. But the non-backward classes people were also given membership. The government’s explanation was satisfactory (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 18, No. 24, April 13, 1966, p. 1178).

72. Shri T. S. Karkhanis raised the same discussion on April 7, 1965.


Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, July 5, 1967, p. 537. A complaint was lodged by Shri S. D. Patil (PWP, Panhala) regarding the enlargement of the Tourism Board. No member from the Opposition was taken up (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 13, No. 20, April 6, 1966, p. 980).

Shri K. S. Dhondge (PWP, Kandhar) lodged a similar complaint that no representation was given to the Opposition on the advisory committee which was appointed to assist the Administrator of the Land Development Bank (Ibid., p. 983).

Shri T. S. Karkhanis during another discussion rebuked the government for not taking Opposition members on the Maharashtra Electricity Board. Further, he criticised that Shri Darda who was a good friend of the Chief Minister and Shri Kalyani who had cordial relations with Shri Y. B. Chavan, were taken on the Board. The third member of the Board, Shri Chara, changed his party affiliation and therefore was rewarded by being given membership of the Board. Shri Karkhanis relentlessly criticised that joining Congress Party had become a qualification for such purposes (Maharashtra Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. XXI, No. 30, July 26, 1967, p. 1692).