

really have free and fair elections, I assure you that your party will not be even the largest minority party. Only last year they had 140 MLAs out of 183. Now they are asking whether they will get 90. So, from 140 they have come down to 90. They are not sure of a workable majority. That shows that their credibility has gone down terribly. Because of corruption and bribery, inefficiency and nepotism and the deteriorating law and order situation, youth in revolt and the poor in anger, the country is at a critical juncture.

Generation and conversion of black money is one of the greatest achievements of this Government and that black money is corroding our very social and moral fibre. About this money power in elections many examples can be given, but I have no time to go into details, but the only point which the Congress Party has got is to somehow or anyhow win the elections, no matter what happens. They are themselves responsible for bringing democracy to a downfall.

This Government under the Prime Minister's leadership thought of inviting the leaders of the opposition and the Independents for a dialogue on the question of electoral reforms. On the very first day I asked the Prime Minister pointedly if she was serious, if she was earnest about bringing about real reforms. Of course, she replied yes, but what happened at the three meetings? Even for limited accommodation for the Gujarat elections, Government were not prepared to give some of the basic assurances that there would be no official tours by Ministers, including the Prime Minister, no use of Government machinery, no large use of black money etc. If these things are done in Gujarat, I am quite sure the ruling party cannot win. (Interruptions).

There were 16 Congress (O) MLAs in the Gujarat Assembly and the Congress Party, before the lists were out, have already taken over one man from the Congress (O), the man from Kaparganj. How? By sheer bribery. And this party is taking of an Anti-Defection Bill.

Therefore, I say that Gujarat gives you an opportunity and a challenge for preserving democracy. It is not given to the ruling party to remain in power for ever. Do you think you must always be in power, that every time you must win? It cannot happen like that. If you think so, then I have a very poor opinion of your idea of democracy. If democracy is to survive, you must see to it that an alternative that can come up is not suppressed by black money and unscrupulous means.

**THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF SPACE, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI):** Mr. Speaker, if I may start with the last speaker's remarks, it was rather astonishing and amazing—I do not know what word to use—to hear the words corruption and our taking people away from one party to another used in connection with Gujarat. Perhaps the hon'ble member remembers that when the movement started in Gujarat, it started because one particular individual—I am not blaming him, nor am I judging him, I am only saying what was said... (Interruptions).

**SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR:** You threw him out. He was the Chief Minister.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** There was one individual who was blamed by the entire Opposition. He was blamed by the press, and various allegations were made against him. Now, we were prepared to look into

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

these allegations provided we had full information. Various individuals came to me and said that they would give the information so that we could enquire into them. We asked this person to resign from Chief Ministership because of the allegations.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA :  
So, he was a lily-white!

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
I do not know, I am not judging him, I said, but when he resigned and formed another party, he seemed to suddenly become blameless and all these people were making arrangements with him and his party (Interruptions). I am not giving him a certificate. (Interruptions). Because hon. Members are in the habit of misquoting. They imagine that I do the same. I always give what I consider an honest assessment. (Interruptions). I should like to say that I had given an earlier assessment of the internal situation. I have heard similar remarks passed in this House before the previous elections also. I gave my assessment then, and I would like to know whose assessment came true? I have given my assessment about the international situation. I have been ridiculed and abused; I have been criticised. But I should like to know whose assessment has come true ultimately? Whatever we have said about any part of the world....

(Interruptions).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI.  
Whether it was West Asia, or whether it was Vietnam or.... (Interruptions).

That is the reason why, no matter what hon. Members opposite may say, India's voice is heard with respect in every part of the globe, in every international gathering. Your saying that it is not true, does not change the truth. (Interruptions)

I am prepared to bear and I have borne all types of abuses, false allegations and the sort of language that one

sometimes hears in this House. Whenever we try to reply, even in a very small way the entire Opposition gets so upset that they cannot bear it; they could not bear even the mild speech of my colleague Shri Jagjivan Ram.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
I do not claim brilliance; I do claim sincerity. I do speak from the heart; I do say what I really think.

(Interruptions).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :  
I did not make a noise when any Member from the opposite side was speaking. I did interrupt a few times, because Shyamnandan Babu said, he was enjoying it (Interruptions) and felt happy! This was the only reason why I interrupted him a couple of times. I did not interrupt anybody else.

These years have been exceedingly difficult not only for our country, but for the whole world, for every country. It is not true to say that it is only the capitalist world which is free from these difficulties. We have had leaders from other countries as well. It is not as if they did not talk of these matters. All of them said that the inflation had hit their economies. That is why none of their newspapers none of those countries, has exploited this crisis to malign the capitalist countries as one might have expected them to do. They appreciated the fact that any kind of instability in Europe, any kind of upsetting of the European economy was bound to affect their economies and their countries.

Today, the world is not divided and isolated into separate islands. It is one world. Some people may say that there is a second world, a third world or a fourth world. It is one world. Each country has its own policies, difficulties, problems and view points, yet it is one world, and every country is affected by what happens in other countries. It is not true to say that our problems are the same as

those of other countries. It is perfectly true as hon. Members have said that when there was inflation in European countries, they were able to help the unemployed, they were able to give higher wages. But this does not mean that the basic situation is different or that the causes are entirely within our control. I am not saying that we are faultless. Nobody has said that. Nobody has claimed that there would be a miraculous change either in the poverty of India or the economic standards of India or in the lessening of disparities. These are the objectives towards which we are working. We are struggling. We do fall in the struggle, but we also get up again and again and keep going ahead.

Time and again, we have had aggression. There are few countries in the world which have faced so many difficult problems and challenges. After Independence and more specially in the last few years, India has faced many problems and challenges. Some were due to our own mistakes; some because we did not foresee the difficulties and we could not make a correct assessment. Certainly, we are not faultless; we are human. But many difficulties arose because of events which were beyond our control. The hon. Member very grandly asked: What has been achieved in these last few years? Has he forgotten what has been achieved? Have the House forgotten it? Has the world forgotten it? Was it a small thing for us to face the Bangladesh crisis as we did? Was it a small thing to face tremendous droughts as we did? (Interruptions) Certainly, we shall capitalise on any good achievement.

Let us not compare our country with countries which started at higher levels of development. Let us compare ourselves, as Shri Priya Ranjan Dasgupta or somebody else here said,

with countries which are around us. How much democracy do we see here? (Interruptions) I am not yielding. poverty is there. It is not a poverty that suddenly erupted. May be, our young people do not know what poverty was like in India before Independence. (Interruptions) I have travelled in this country, in the villages and in the cities. I have no hesitation in saying that there is not the sort of poverty which we used to see 10 or 15 years ago. There is absolutely no doubt about it. Anybody, whether he has come from outside or anybody in our own country who has taken the trouble to go round the country will agree. This does not mean that we do not have pockets of poverty and hardship. Of course, they exist. But the question is: Could we have changed this situation in a few years? We simply could not.

Do you think a few years is much in the life of a nation? This nation was under feudalism and it was under colonialism for so long. Immediately after we became free, we had all the troubles of Partition and immediately afterwards we had aggression. It was not an ordinary thing. I should like you to know that even in those countries where a certain amount of equality has been achieved, if you go to see the standard of the people in the interior pockets of those countries, you will see what people eat and how they live.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Korea?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not think that the standard there is much higher for all the people. (Interruptions) You may like the system that China has. I think, most of us here would not tolerate that system. Specially those who dare to talk about democracy, would they like to have the kind of system that China

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

has, where nobody is allowed to speak? I do know something about China and of Vietnam. In fact, I had the great privilege of considering Dr. Ho Chi Minh as a friend. (Interruptions) Just shouting like this does not change the situation. I happen to be on my legs. If I have to be hard, I have to raise my voice. It does not mean that those who are sitting should shout at the same time.

As it has been said, this No-Confidence Motion has become a ritual

श्री इन्दिरा गान्धिवर्य : प्रच्छा ?

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धी : प्रच्छा क्या ?  
हर दफा नहीं होता है यह ? किस दफा नहीं हुआ ?

श्री इन्दिरा गान्धिवर्य : पिछली बार नहीं हुआ ।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धी : प्रच्छा, एक दफा नहीं हुआ ।

That was the exception; that proved the rule.

Every time they feel that they must have a no-confidence motion at the beginning, somehow every time there is a noise that it is going to take place in the beginning, but I do not know what happens, whether they cannot muster the number of people so quickly or what; this time also we were informed, at least I was informed, that it would be on the 8th, I reorganised my programme to enable me to be here that day; then suddenly we were told that it was not on the 8th, it was the 9th...

AN HON. MEMBER: Who told you?

SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI: The Minister told me. I was given in writing. (Interruptions). It is not a figment of imagination.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is our sweet will, our privilege, our prerogative. We do not depend on anybody else. Sir, let your office not act in concert with the Prime Minister's office in many matters; we have many papers being passed on by your office to the Prime Minister's office.. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI: This is no consultation. Surely, if there is a motion of no-confidence, it has to be conveyed to the Prime Minister. It has nothing to do with one secretary or another.. (Interruptions) I do not know why he is getting so excited. One of the charms of Shyamnandan Babu used to be his sense of humour, but sometimes he seems to lose it, and this is one of those occasions.

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : आप हमें बारह बजे तक मार रही हैं तो हम भी कतें छोड़ेंगे

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धी : मैं कोशिश कर रही हूँ जल्दी खत्म करूँ लेकिन आप करने नहीं दे रहे हैं ।

श्री ज्योतिषराय बसू : कल रखते, क्या हर्ज था ? ज्योतिषी ने मना किया था ?

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धी : जी हाँ । जब नियम हो चुका था कि 9 तारीख को अधिवेशन खत्म हो जाएगा, तब आपने हमें बताया ही नहीं था और अधिश्वास प्रस्ताव आप आज ले आए ।

श्री इन्दिरा गान्धिवर्य : क्यों बताते ?

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धी : ज्योतिषी की बात कही है, इसलिए मैं कह रही हूँ । नियम कैसे होते हैं इसको आप देखें (अधिवेशन)

I have said this many times, but I have to repeat it because the allegations are repeated. What are the norms

which we use in judging whether this is democracy or anything else? I heard one hon. Member there taunting my colleague whether he knew of this change of that change whether I changed anybody as I liked? Now, as it has happened, I do consult my colleagues. But if you see how democracy works in other countries including the U.K. which is supposed to be the mother of Parliaments or any other country, does the Prime Minister not reshuffle the cabinet or drop any member of it? Does he consult people to say who will be there? As a matter of fact, my friend here will bear me out. Once we were sitting with a Minister from another country, a democratic European country who exclaimed that such and such Minister in his country had been there for a long time and that he had been changed; when asked after how long, he said that he was there for three years and that his portfolio was being changed. I don't think his opinion was taken for changing the portfolio. When we consider these things, we have to have some norms, how democracy works in other countries. (Interruptions) I do not want to argue on this point, because it is self-evident. There is freedom of speech I think, Mr. Frank Anthony spoke of the Fundamental Rights.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: He was specially sent for over the telephone to make a speech.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Is it not an insult to an Hon'ble Member to accuse him in this manner? He is a senior Member of this House..... (Interruptions)

What greater proof is there of freedom of speech, than the meetings that are held and the speeches that are made and what appears in our newspapers and other publications? What greater evidence could one need of freedom of association than is there... (Interruptions).

It is only in respect of those people who indulge in violence or some such thing that any action has been taken. If there is any wrong action, we shall certainly correct it. There is no doubt about it. The MISA etc., are not political instruments. The country has gone through and is going through an extremely difficult period. We have not suppressed any agitation... (Interruptions)

Shri Mavalankar spoke about electoral reforms in Gujarat. You have discussed the matter while I was away and I think, a great deal was decided. A meeting was supposed to be held after my return.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: It was never held.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are not responsible for that. I got a message from the Minister that he had received a letter asking that the meeting be postponed. That is why it was not held. We are not responsible for postponing it... (Interruptions)

I am glad that a dialogue has begun and I do hope, we shall try to keep acrimony out of it. There are many areas in which there can be a dialogue and working together and we should always try for it.... (Interruptions)

The tasks for the Government are many, but the first and foremost task is to hold this hand of great diversity together and to give it stability. This is what we are trying to do. I was not here, when the hon. Member opposite spoke. He tried to say that we were trying to create chaos. Nobody who watches the Indian scene can say that the Government is creating chaos. It is obviously these agitations which started non-violently which have always created

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

violence around them. Certain institutions which are responsible for this.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:

It is your Party members, who have been interrogated for Misra's murder, not a single member from the opposition.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:

The people have given full support to our endeavour to check inflation in spite of tremendous difficulties. We are aware that these measures were unpopular measures. We are aware that they did impose hardship on the workers, the farmers, the salary earners the housewives and everybody. And, yet, I think people tried to see the bigger question that more inflation would create greater difficulty in future and that is why I think they bore these difficulties. We are not complacent. We know that inflationary pressures have not been fully contained, but, unfortunately, already the opposition is bullying us to withdraw some of these measures. But we cannot afford to relax our efforts.

I have already spoken of how economic development has been slowed down because of these forces. Unemployment is there. We do not deny it. But our revised Plan will stimulate industry and overall, production and will lead to the generation of jobs, specially, for skilled hands. If the nation is to find more employment, the wage demands of those already employed will have to be held in check. The opposition encourages workers to demand higher emoluments and, at the same time, they pay lip service to the unemployed.

There is no question of any slackening of our efforts against smuggling and other economic crimes. We have to pursue these matters, sometimes, in the beginning,

such news sounds more spectacular and now it has become a little stale, but the work is continuing. I wish the opposition would live not in an imaginary world of its own fabrication but try to see the reality of to-day.

We have been accused of serving the interests of foreign monopolists or the Indian monopolists. There are some advocates of Indian capital and monopolists in this very House and most of them are in the opposition.... (Interruptions) They always try to run down our public sector and praise the efficiency of the capitalist system. Our objective is clear and our record is straight. We want to run the economy in such a way that the interests of the masses are safeguarded and the power of monopoly is curtailed whenever it grows.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:

Therefore, you have killed the Monopoly Commission?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:

Many tales have been told and many charges have been repeated. I am not going to go into them because the concerned Ministers have replied to them in both Houses. The habit of naming officials is unfortunate. I thought there was a rule that officials who cannot defend themselves here should not be named in the House. Something was said about an official in my Secretariat. If there are certain problems, meetings are held. But it is absolutely untrue to say that any deal was struck with businessmen or any industrialists were present at any meeting in his room or, so far as I am aware, at any other place in my Secretariat...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: So far as you know.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Obviously, I am sure there are occasions when, for instance, members of Chambers of Commerce or other associations come to me in groups everytime they get elected and various other organizations such as labour unions, also come and see me.

Such has been said about the emergency. I think anybody who is following international trends and the news of the world can see that the whole world situation is in a flux and that means that it is a period when anything can happen. Arms have accumulated in our region. There are new pressures in the seas around us and we should not weaken the government at such a time...

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** You can declare emergency in no time. It does not require a minute.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Our independence of thinking and action are accepted the world over. There is no doubt about it, whatever some people here may say and whatever some people abroad may like to propagate.

A most peculiar point was made by someone saying that although there is the fear—we have never named any country and we just do not know from where a threat may come—it was said, 'Why are we having trade talks with Pakistan?' This seems to be a most peculiar thinking....

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Kisme Kaha?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** I think Shri Bosu said it or Shri Vaipayee—I do not know.

We always believe that we must try to be friends with every country and at the same time, we must be prepared for any threat of aggression. ...

749 LS—19

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Nobody opposed it. Please don't distort and twist things.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Our policy is to continue to seek friendship with all. . .

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Your policy is to twist things.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Our policy is to continue friendship with all. Infiltration and subversion still continue on our borders and we cannot take chances. The only purpose of the emergency is to guard the country's security. It is preposterous to suggest that we are gaining benefit from it or that legitimate political activity of the opposition is curbed. The House is aware of the desperate attempt made by a small section of misguided elements in Nagaland to seek foreign assistance and to bring foreign arms and foreign intervention in our internal affairs. No Government can disown its obligation and responsibility under the Constitution to uphold the integrity of the country and to provide security to law abiding citizens of Nagaland to maintain peace. We know that the security forces in Nagaland as well as Mizoram are facing an extremely difficult task. They have secured the cooperation of large sections of people—patriotic citizens—in Nagaland and also in Mizoram.

There is a strange talk of semi-fascist terror in Bengal. I think, Shri Das Munshi has dealt with the question. But I can say that there is no terror in West Bengal today, either semi or quarter. But there was a reign of terror in Bengal when the CPI was in power. Women were afraid to move about. Women and youth brought down their rule.

There was also talk of the suppression of tribals and Harijans. No party

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

or no Government has tried its utmost as ours to see that a better deal is given to these people. I know that what has been done is not adequate. I am fully aware of the incidents involving loss of their property which we greatly deplore. Some of this is due to the increasing economic tension as well as social obscurantism and certain prejudices. We must all together fight to eliminate this evil from our society. There is greater need for official alertness but it is not true to say that there is unabated repression by the Government. Sometimes officials at lower levels neglect their duties or misuse their authority. But whenever this has come to our notice, we have come down strongly on them.

Sir, as I said I do not want to go into the various allegations because they have been replied to and contradicted time and again. A letter has been tried to be read out and we also have clearly spoken about it. Nothing improper has been done. But I can say that those who pretend to be asleep cannot be woken up. A person who makes false charges knowingly cannot be convinced.

Sir, I have done nothing to be afraid of, nothing to be ashamed of and nothing that has harmed the country. The people know it. They will not be misled by charges made by bitter individuals who are united only in anger and frustration.

Much that should have been done has not been achieved. We fully realise this and we feel humble that such great challenges are still to be overcome. They cannot be dealt with by Government or individuals but by a united move to eradicate all these evils, whether social or economic. Let us fight each other in elections; let us fight each other on matters on which we do not agree not by violence but by peacefully

talking together, by meeting together and not by trying to exploit the situation in Parliament and outside Parliament. Let us not use the occasions in such a way as to harm the country and delay the progress of the country.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Bosu, will you be able to finish it in ten minutes?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: No, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: In that case, if the House agrees, I shall put the Motion at 12-10.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I would require half an hour.

MR. SPEAKER: In that case, I have to put the Motion. If the House agrees, I can give you that much time. It is only seven minutes less. I hope the House agrees that I put the Motion at 12-10.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Agreed.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: At 12-30.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I was expecting that the Prime Minister would take the trouble of replying to my very specific charges in which I had clearly and categorically stated that customs exemption of Rs. 344.08 crores was given to firms and out of which, Rs. 232.19 crores went to two firms. That was given for a consideration shown to the party. There was not a word on that. I take the full responsibility of proving that these two firms were specially favoured; in which customs exemption of this drastic amount was given. So, she cannot answer. Let us do some summing. She cannot answer the specific charges. Because the charges are levelled, I have taken full responsibility in narrating those.