

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Yes, feature. Thank you, Mr. Mody. We have come to expect a no-confidence motion in every session of the House. I am not, as one hon. Member of the opposition has claimed, allergic to such a motion; none of us is in fact, I welcome them. It is one of the few occasions I get to speak in the House. It gives us an opportunity of telling the House what determined efforts we are making to face the present situation. But, listening to many of the speeches of the members opposite, it did not seem to me that they were taking their own motion very seriously. We do take it seriously. We welcome this opportunity. But I would also say that I was a little surprised that this motion should come up when it did. Only the day before we had a very friendly meeting with the leaders of the opposition.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** That continues

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Thank you. For the first time after a long time it was not acrimonious and in that meeting we discussed what subjects should be further discussed, and also whether they were all willing to try to find some areas in which we could cooperate. The very next day, after this friendly beginning, it came as a surprise to me when I heard that there was a No-Confidence motion.

How little faith you have in this No-Confidence motion was displayed by a chivalrous friend opposite when, far from trying to remove us, he wanted to help us to remain by his good advice.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** What I implied was that this Government should go and a new Government be reconstituted. This is what the No-Confidence motion is about.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** That means, you have faith in the Prime Minister and she is to re-constitute the Cabinet.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I have re-constituted the Cabinet!

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Apart from all this joking, the situation is indeed serious. At no time have we said that it is not serious. At no time have we tried to absolve ourselves from all responsibility. It is obvious that the government of the day is responsible for whatever happens. But Opposition Members are in the habit of taking out any one statement out of the speeches that my colleagues or I make and then projecting it as if that was the only point made at that particular meeting. Usually, in speeches, we mention many aspects. If I said that inflation was a global phenomenon—it is a global phenomenon—but I did not say it was entirely due to that. In fact, I explained the differences also. I am only giving this as an instance.

Twenty years ago in the United States, a particular Senator created a situation when everyone was suspected, and even honest and upright people of all sections were persecuted in the name of supposed loyalty to the country. At that time, this shadow fell on us also. At one time, there were loud voices of criticism from people who saw communism lurking not only in the communist party but also in our party.

Today, everything is made to look corrupt. Everyone is painted in black colours in the hope that at least a few people will believe some of these false charges.

Several of the speeches made by Honourable Members of the opposition have been full of insinuations and fabrications. Again many matters have been raised not for the first time but which have come up during Question Hour, during Half-an-Hour discussions and on other occasions, and full replies have been given.

I have enough faith in the good-sense of our people. I know that they will not be misled. I do not

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have to defend myself. I think, the people of the country will defend me if they so choose and, if they do not so choose, I shall still abide by their verdict. We believe in democracy and we always accept the people's verdict. It is very strange to say that if some of us win the elections, we do it only through black money but if somebody on the other side wins it, then the people have really, and truly, elected him! (*Interruptions*) Please do not go into all those things. We can also take many names if we wish to do so. But I do not want to make any allegations, nor do I want to go into all those matters as to who was associated with whom, who collected money and such other matters. This Government, this Party and I shall always abide by the people's verdict. We shall be judged by how we serve the people, what we do to lighten their burden of ancient wrongs, injustices and inequalities, to what extent we are able to help them to defend their freedoms and how far we can harness their inner strength towards a more meaningful life. I think, these are the matters on which the country will judge us, and if they want to throw us out, we shall take it in that spirit and we shall not behave like all the present opposition parties alleging that somebody came in through false methods and so on.

I would only ask the hon. members of the Opposition not to underrate the strength of our people, because in spite of all the present hardships—we are not minimising the hardships by any means—the nation is far stronger than it has ever been; it is certainly far stronger than what it was in 1947. In fact, it is this strength and this self-confidence which has enabled us to meet the political burdens of 1971 or the economic burdens of today.

Much has been said about the railway strike. I do not want to go into details because we had a motion on

it on the last day of the last Session and this time also several people on our side have spoken about it; the Railway Minister has spoken; and most of the points made on the other side were made on the previous occasion also.

AN HON. MEMBER: Victimisation came afterwards.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: At that time also you spoke about it. Now you say that it came afterwards. But at that time you said that it was taking place. On any such occasions, there are cases of excesses. I cannot say to what extent this has happened in this particular case. But knowing the situation, I know that somehow some excesses do take place in spite of our best intentions. However, nobody has ever been told to victimise or harass any person, but certainly....

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (मुरेना)

आप का नाम ले ले कर ऐसा कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : आप ने शुरू किया है कि हर चीज में मेरा नाम आ जाय। लोकी का दाम बढ़ना है तो प्रधान मंत्री से जा कर पूछो कोई भी चीज होती है तो प्रधान मंत्री से जा कर पूछो . . .

श्री पीलू मोदी : आप का नाम नहीं लेगे तो आप नाराज हो जायेंगे।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : मैं तो नाराज होती ही नहीं। I have overgrown that stage long ago.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Not being angry is more dangerous.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: This is very peculiar. You are not satisfied with anything. Being angry is bad and not being angry is worse.

So far as I know, considering the very large numbers of people involved, considering the gravity of the



situation, one can say that there was hardly any victimisation. We are treating—and I would like to assure the hon. members that we shall continue to treat—with sympathy those amongst the railwaymen who were misguided into going on the strike. And it is only the intention of those politicians who forced the strike which we consider to be frankly partisan and political. They did the worst they could do. (*Interruptions*) I know that a large number of railwaymen did go on strike. Nobody says that they did not. But I also know that a much larger number did not go on strike and they managed, in spite of tremendous odds, to keep the trains running.

Fortunately, supplies to key industrial installations and feed movements were maintained. (*Interruptions*). The country is aware of the great harm that was inflicted upon the national economy. It is not easy to absorb the damage of roundabout Rs. 600 crores.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Rs. 1000 crores... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I think before you came here, I have already said that I do not shirk any responsibility. I am willing to take the responsibility for what we have done, if you want, even for what we have not done and even for what you have done; but let us not waste time in arguing about it.

One hon. Member referred—I think he used the word 'delight'—that we were delighted or that we were crowing over the victory. I should like to sincerely assure him that this is a rather strange word to use. None of us could view the problem in that light. We were not delighted at crushing the strike. We were not crowing over, nor did we regard it as a victory.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Sweets were distributed.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We were greatly saddened and distressed over the whole situation and at the hardship of the railwaymen and their families, the inconveniences to which the common man and the poorer sections of the people were put, and the grave consequences to the nation's economy and strength. There was no question of delight, but, as I said, the situation was so serious that it was a relief that the strike was over and this relief was shared by the vast majority of the Indian people.

One of the other misconceptions created by the other side is the constant use of the word 'wage-freeze'. My colleague, the Finance Minister, and, I think, the Defence Minister also as well as various members from this side have already clarified the point. But if I also do not state my viewpoint, then you will accuse me—'You did not say'. Therefore, some of it I have to repeat.

What the Government proposes is not a wage-freeze, as hon. Members have alleged. A wage-freeze would mean a ban on negotiations or on revision of wages. This is not what we have done. What we have done is not to impose any embargo on negotiations for wage revision either in the public or in the private sector. What we have done to enforce through these ordinances is that if as a result of wage revision, the workers become entitled to some increase in the emoluments, such increase should be deposited in a special account carrying a special rate of interest.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Then, how will they eat?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The ordinance only asks the labour to save the increase in their emoluments for a certain limited period so as to give some respite to bring the inflationary situation under control. The amount saved by the workers is theirs and it

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will not be used by the Government, even temporarily, either for its current expenditure or for industries.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: But the prices will go up.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Our workers have been actuated by patriotic motives. In the past they have loaned money to the Government under various schemes. There is the Small Savings Scheme. There is the pay-roll savings scheme, cumulative deposits scheme etc, to meet the emergencies posed by war or by influx of refugees and so on.

The present inflationary situation poses, as my friend opposite, Dr. Rao, said, a grave threat to our social and political systems as the invasion we have faced.

SHRI PILOO MODY: When does he become 'opposite'?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: He is just sitting opposite to me at this moment.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I am sorry, it is not a parliamentary expression to say 'opposite'.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I shall correct myself—my friend on our side.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Mr. Rao, I pushed you back into your Party!

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Mr. Piloo Mody is generous to us to-day.

We all know, and everybody here has commented on the fact, that inflation is the worst enemy of social justice. So, any step we take to curb inflation can be considered egalitarian.

The ordinance provides for the payment of dearness allowance into a special account, that is, only half the additional dearness allowance falling due for payment. The idea

of compensating labour for the increase in the cost of living through the periodical adjustment of the dearness allowance was evolved during the second world war. Has this system really provided an effective safeguard? This is the question which arises. Labour representatives and others are aware that an increase in dearness allowance is often only an invitation to traders to push up their prices. It is a spiral or vicious circle. As soon as dearness allowance is given, prices rise and more dearness allowance is demanded.

Many factors contribute to the rise in prices and all these have to be tackled together. You cannot look at only one side of the problem. A pertinent point made by Dr. Rao was that in recent months, an inflationary psychology has been building up. Traders and hoarders profit in such an atmosphere. People expect prices to rise continually and since income can only rise partially, they can never catch up with this rise in prices. So, this psychology has to be effectively countered. Slowing down the process of the continuous injection of money into the economy is one of the important steps by which we can hope to defeat the expectations of traders and hoarders. This steep reduction in the expansion of money supply has been accompanied and is going to be followed further by other energetic measures such as curtailing unnecessary Government expenditure and by augmenting production in strategic sectors of our economy.

The House will perhaps remember that this is not the first time that either a part or the whole of the dearness allowance has been impounded in the form of contributions, of provident fund or otherwise. Many State Governments, in fact, eight, from different regions of the country, have also done likewise for several years. The Government of India also took similar steps in 1967-68 when we were just recovering from an unprecedented drought.



So, all that we have now done is to extend the scheme so as to cover employees of the private sector, in the interest of parity of treatment. This is the only new thing that has come about. The amounts paid into a special account may be retained for a slightly longer period than in the case of the scheme enforced in the past, but, at the same time, if the period of retention is longer, the rate of interest is also appreciably higher.

I should like to appeal to workers to try to understand that an increase in money wages will not help them unless an effective anti-inflationary campaign is launched and is successful.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about action?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Action is implied in the word 'successful'.

We cannot be successful unless we take action.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): The workers do not want a single pie as dearness allowance, provided you can give them essential commodities at fixed prices. Why don't you do that?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are trying to do that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Give commodities at fixed prices.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are trying to do that. I have just been trying to explain that the dearness allowance contributes also to rising prices. (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Will you kindly sit down? Let her finish her speech.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: An increase in wages to workers will not help them. As regards welfare of the workers, a very large number of them are unorganised labour. Their wal-

fare depends on our success in bringing the prices under control. I have no doubt about that. We have brought forward all these measures in order to try to deal with this situation. (Interruptions). There can be growth in the economy if the extreme measures we have taken succeed. At the same time, I am sure, hon. Members are aware that every sanctioning or giving of Dearness Allowance has an immediate effect on the finances of State Governments and their capacity to continue their programmes, whether of development or of helping the weaker sections. Many essential programmes are affected, because more and more money goes into administrative costs.

SHRI INDIRAJIT GUPTA: Why don't you freeze the price?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We cannot do that through an Ordinance. We can only take certain steps. We are trying to arrest the inflation as a first step. Only then, can we think of checking the price rise. (Interruptions).

Members of the Opposition want to have the cake and eat it too. Everyone wants opposite things to happen simultaneously. They want Government to curb the money supply and at the same time criticize Government when it takes concrete steps to do so. I fully realise that logical consistency is not the strong point of the Opposition, especially when each party has its own theory of politics and economics and its own point of view.

Now, some members of the Opposition, particularly, those claiming to be radical, have often pointed out that it is no use trying to control Government's budgetary deficit alone. Bank credit to the commercial sector should also be brought under strict surveillance. The rise in the bank rate and corresponding adjustments in rates of interest charged by the banks on loans to different categories of borrowers will slow down the pace

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of expansion of credits to the commercial sector. The rise in interest rates will discourage the build-up of inventories. At the same time, the rise in deposit rates will benefit savers and enable the banks to mobilize savings both in urban and in rural areas. You have probably heard that the Reserve Bank is arranging a strict scrutiny of the top accounts of all the banks. This scrutiny will strengthen our attempts to control the use of bank money for building inventories or for other purposes which are of a lower priority. (Interruptions). The private sector has to be subjected to the same degree of fiscal discipline which the people rightly expect the Government to observe in the present difficult situation.

We have to enforce discipline not merely in the use of financial resources but also in the use of other scarce materials such as steel and cement. These proposals are being worked out in some detail. All these measures relating to wages, dearness allowance, dividends and compulsory savings for the higher income groups, control of credit to the private sector and discipline in the use of the scarce materials should be viewed together.

At the same time, I agree with all the Members who have raised the point—many of them have—that we have to take care of the necessary supplies; in particular, we have to augment supply of articles of mass consumption, of what the economists call wage goods, that is, foodgrains, common cloth and coarse and medium varieties, edible oil and so on.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: 37 per cent rise in the case of common cloth.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Equally important at this moment, in fact, of the utmost importance, is agricultural production. That holds the key to the success of our efforts at controlling prices.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: What about increase in fertiliser prices?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Fertiliser is in a class by itself, and I do not think that it can be mixed up with other items. It is essential for our farmers and we are doing everything possible not only to increase its production in India but to get whatever is available from outside and simultaneously to maximise the utilisation of compost and organic fertiliser.

SHRI B. N. REDDY (Ningalgudo): We go back to Ramrajya.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It is not a going-back. These are two different situations. One type of simple life is where you have not known anything like science or sophistication, and the other is that having the knowledge and the experience you go to a simple life, using what you have learnt in the meantime. That is the type of simplicity that we want. So, it is not going back to the old.

SHRI SHYMANANDAN MISHRA: All these years she did not pay any attention to that.

SHRI PILOO MODY: That was philosophy and not economics.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is not in the year of grace 1947....

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: What is not in the year of grace? (Interruptions).

श्री मधु लिमये - हम लोग जब बोलते हैं तो वह लोग भी तो शोर मचाते हैं, तब प्रधान मंत्री उन को क्यों नहीं रोकती है ?

श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी - प्रधान मंत्री हमेशा अपने लोगों से चुप होने को कहती हैं। लेकिन आप लोग इतना गुल मचाते हैं कि वह मेरी आवाज नहीं सुन सकते।



I was just talking about agricultural production. Hon. Members are aware that I have been going round with my colleagues and with other experts and officials to various States. We have asked the Chief Ministers to immediately personally direct, guide and supervise agricultural production programmes in their States. We have found....

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar):** What about land reforms?....

**MR. SPEAKER:** Order. I am not going to allow him. He is getting up without my permission.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** What did the Prime Minister do in the conferences which she had? She added only culture to agriculture?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Perhaps, he can go and ask the other people who attended the conference I have found great enthusiasm amongst our young and other older workers also at district and other levels in the States, and I have found that this exchange of views has been extremely useful to the Centre as well as to the States. There has unfortunately not been adequate co-ordination between the experience of one State and the experience of another. This is going to be very useful.

In the whole world, whether it is in agriculture or in other subjects, our knowledge is increasing all the time and there has to be proper application of it.

Recently I also met some of the heads of our agricultural colleges. We have to give the greatest priority to our extension work. Their extension workers are doing extremely good work, but this has to be strengthened and expanded.

A great deal has been said about black money. My colleague, the Finance Minister, has explained the

steps that are being taken. Some important aspects of the problem are often ignored.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Why was the Interim Report of the Wanchoo Committee suppressed?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** In a sense, black money is a creature of shortages. So one of the effective means of dealing with the problem is to remove the vested interests in shortages and to increase production. Some of the steps taken to increase production such as higher procurement prices for foodgrains themselves tend to effect a rise in prices. It is also true that some of the controls to check prices have bred corruption. We simply cannot say that all controls can be removed. If they could be removed without increasing the growth of economic monopoly, then we could do so. We have to see how to minimise malpractices and see that nobody takes advantage of the situation.

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA:** Except the monopolists.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** We have acknowledged that some monopoly houses or all monopoly houses have taken advantage of the situation and this is one of the problems which we have to face. Certainly they have to be dealt with very strongly.

So this is the paradox of the situation underlying the complexity of the problem we face. It is easy for the Opposition to speak different things at different times and in different voices. They demand higher procurement price for one section and lower prices for another section, continuance of subsidy for one section and so on and so forth. But it is just not possible to have all these things simultaneously. In the circumstances in which we find ourselves today, larger production of essential goods and an efficient public distribution system should be the most essential components of our programme against black money.

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Of course, this must be supplemented by the firmest action against hoarders and tax evaders.

Something must also be said about smuggling. This is also an evil. It must be combated with all our strength. On an earlier occasion, I spoke about it somewhere. The Defence Minister has also spoken about it though not here. One Hon. Member quoted his speech misinterpreting it that Government wanted to put all the responsibility on the people. That is not the point at all. The point is that in these matters unless we have the co-operation of the people, we cannot tackle it. This is not a matter which the army can deal with; it is not a matter which the police can deal with. It is a matter where the neighbours of those who indulge in anti-social acts are the first people who can help to solve this. This I think, is, what the Defence Minister said.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Why don't you join Madhu Mehta?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have been talking about this subject long ago. But Shri Madhu Mehta has added his voice to this and I welcome it. He is taking interest in this anti-smuggling campaign. As a part of this campaign, he has also suggested that at least everybody should boycott all smuggled goods. That is the least that everybody can do. I would like very strongly to commend that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: What about boycotting of smugglers who are in respectable positions?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have also said—this was said by the Defence Minister too—that there should be a social boycott of all those people whether they are smugglers, tax evaders, hoarders or black marketers.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please announce a list of them.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Where will these people go for dinner tonight?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: They will accept an invitation from you, Shri Piloo Mody. Shri Mishra has said—if he does not mind my taking the House into confidence—this is very hard to come by!

A group of ministers is trying to recast our textile policy because it is true that although the textile producers and millowners have made very large profits, they have not abided by our rules for producing larger quantities of the type of cloth that is needed by the people. So, we are going to impose definite obligations on the textile mills to produce common cloth of coarse and medium varieties. This policy will be vigorously imposed, and all those who come in the way of effective implementation of this policy will be dealt with ruthlessly. The textile industry, which is our most important industry, has to accept certain social obligations. If it defaults in the fulfilment of these obligations, the full force of Government will be brought to bear on the defaulting mills.

Several members have talked about transport and power bottlenecks. These are really of grave concern to us all and we are trying to remove the difficulties which have come in the way. Last year there was a big shortfall in production, but this year, there has been significant improvement in the movement of vital raw materials like coal. Even during the railway strike, this improvement was evident. We are grateful to the railway workers for this.

With regard to power also, I have been in close touch with the Chief Ministers and we are all looking into the problems of generation as well as distribution of power. There are some signs of significant improvement.

I should like to tell the House that adequate imports of foodgrains to



supplement domestic availability have been arranged. I do not think it would help to give figures here, because we know that our food statistics have been distorted by traders at home and for manipulation in foreign markets. This had an immediate effect on the prices. So, the import of foodgrains should enable us to maintain the public distribution system at a satisfactory level. At the same time, vigorous action will be taken against hoarders and profiteers. But again this is a matter in which public cooperation and cooperation of all parties is very much needed. I know there have been cases where the district authorities have not taken kindly to such help, but wherever such instances have been brought to our notice, we have looked into them and I think the situation in this regard has improved, and the Government's performance has improved. I am sorry to hear that in Bihar there are some students involved in the agitation who have tried to prevent anti-hoarding activities.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:  
Completely wrong.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:  
These are the reports which we have received.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:  
I want to bring to the notice of the Prime Minister one circular which shows how unfair means have been permitted by the University in the examination halls. That is how you are conducting the examinations.

नकल वरने के बहस सद्दूर है। इसमें आ  
देखा।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:  
Just now we are talking about foodgrains and suddenly you jump to examination. I am informing them about one or two incidents which came to our notice. So far as my knowledge goes, this information has appeared in the press, but it has not been denied.

I should like to go back to what I was saying, namely, we have to fight the menace of inflation with united will and determination. We seek the co-operation of all sections of society, of our workers in factories, on the land and in farms, even of the businessman and industrialists—because, we want to say to them this is not the time to take advantage of the difficulties of the people—and the civil servants at all levels in implementing our anti-inflationary programme. I appeal to the opposition also to help and not hinder these attempts of ours.

I have been twitted by some opposition leader for referring to inflation in other countries. I should like to say that I have never over-simplified our inflation by saying that it is wholly due to what happens outside. But no one can deny that parts of our economy are directly affected by the rise in prices of vital imports. There is a steep rise in the prices of petroleum products and of fertilizers and we have to pay more for our imports, wherever they come from. This is an economic reality. Foreign exchange resources which could have been used to import other essential goods in short supply have been absorbed by the mounting bill on imports of oil and one or two other commodities.

So, to the opposition I would only say: do criticise us to your heart's content, as often as you like, with all the vehemence and oratory at your command.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:  
But you will go your own way.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We will go the way which we consider right. If you are able to convince us on some points, we shall not stand on prestige; we shall accept your suggestion. We rarely get any alternative formulations. There has been advice as to how to change the government, when to change it and so on.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Even on a matter like that you are late by one day.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** We certainly do not object, as I think one hon. Member alleged, to one or more opposition parties. But what saddens us is that the opposition is obsessed by only one thing, and that is the Congress Party, what is the Congress Party doing, what is it saying in its party forms, what is being said in Central Hall. They are far more occupied with these matters than by the basic problems of the country. This is what pains us.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Your party issued a circular even about your members hobnobbing with members of the opposition.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** If you were not so obsessed with us you would not bother about our circulars to our own members. Since you have given so much advice, may I give you advice on how to strengthen the opposition?

If you get rid of this obsession with the Congress party and deal with your own problems, deal with the problems of the country, you will find that you will gather more strength. We shall not be able to erode that strength.

We have also been accused of doing everything for votes. Simultaneously, the same people tell us that our Ordinances are very unpopular. How can both the statements be true? It is not that we disregard the people's verdict. As I have already said, we will always regard the people's verdict. We have the greatest respect and faith in the people. But we do take steps which we consider necessary even though they may annoy one section or another or are misunderstood by one section or another. I have said this publicly. Every political party would like to remain in power. But I can assure hon. Mem-

bers opposite that I personally have no desire that I should remain permanently in power or even that the Congress party should remain permanently in power.

What I should like to say is that while we would certainly like to have the people's support it is more important for us to do the right thing today even if by doing so, we create a better atmosphere for the Opposition to win in the future.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Solicitous.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** Not solicitous. What I am saying is that we are concerned for the future of the country, even though it may make us do something which may be misunderstood by certain people today and it may even turn them against us. Even then, we have to do what will strengthen the foundation of this country and what we consider to be for the people's welfare and for a better future.

One thing more. Let the opposition parties not make out that the Indian people are a race of mean men and women. This is not a selfish nation, this is not a corrupt nation. This is a nation which has seen visions of greatness, greatness not of conventional armed might or economic arrogance, but a greatness measured in terms of human worth. What can we ever achieve if we erode the people's pride in their own country, pride in themselves, pride in their capacity to do things. There are people who run down themselves. But the future is not going to be built by them. So, I would only request the hon. Member, opposite not to weaken the people's will to face this challenge.

A. I have said earlier, the people have shown determination; they have shown tremendous forbearance, the capacity to face hardships, the capacity to face danger. And today we face all these things. There is a



tremendous challenge to us on the economic front and on many other fronts. We can face them only if the people are convinced that they are able to face them. Saying all the time that nothing has happened, that the nation is going down-hill which, of course, is not a fact at all and in spite of the many hardships and difficulties, it is not going down-hill, it is not in a state of ruin or chaos... (Interruptions).

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** I challenge. Can you give me even a single instance?

19.00 hrs.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:** I am not entering into any confrontation with you. I am not going to be provoked by anything that you say. It is not a question of using particular words. It is the day-in and day-out sayings which weaken the people's will in their own ability. This has been told to me by young scientists, this has been said by engineers, this has been said by farmers; almost every section says day-in and day-out the country is being debilitated. If this country is going down-hill, let some of us, those who can afford it at least, leave it and go to other countries. This is the type of atmosphere that has been built. So I would only urge on this House to demonstrate our will and our determination to face this challenge with courage, determination and humour by rejecting this motion.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** I have a very difficult task because I have to answer the contentions of not less than four Ministers and so many hon. friends on the opposite. I would, to start with, much rather like to deal with what my hon. friend, Mr. Yeshwantrao Chavan, has said because there is substance in what he has said in the matter of holding a dialogue on the floor of the House. I must say with deep regret that I have found the Prime Minister's speech nothing but hollow-sounding.

I was indeed surprised to see that Mr. Chavan was very much on the defensive although he had no defence to put forward. I will take up the points one by one. He talked about dividend restriction. How much worth is it? Rs. 50 crores. Is it not an eye-wash to defend the partial wage freeze Ordinance worth nine times the money, i.e., Rs. 450 crores involving 18 million employees—private sector 6.1 millions and public sector 11.9 millions?

Are you aware of the distinction between impounding of purchasing power and reduction in money supply? I really do not think that you had applied your mind to that. Money supply depends on its velocity. The relation between expansion of money supply and additional wage payment is indeed very little. Examples are there; in 1969-70 and 1972-73 there was hardly any rise in the dearness allowance, in a particular industry the dearness allowance increased by less than five per cent whereas the money supply increased between 1970 and 1971 by 11.8 per cent and between 1972 and 1973 by 15.7 per cent. And in your regime, the erosion to the workers' earnings, has been monumental. That is what has upset all us. There is enormous erosion in working class wage and earnings; it is without a parallel in the history. The higher retained earnings on account of the dividend curb will, on the whole, accrue to the large companies and the money will go ultimately to the non-priority sector and the core sector will thus be deprived of the capital structure.

I said yesterday that your claims are hollow. You claimed a saving of Rs. 371.51 crores for the year 1973-74. What is the pattern of the cut?

Agriculture . . .	Rs. 13.84 crores.
Assistance to State Plans	Rs. 93.9 crores.
Advance action for Fifth Plan . . .	Rs. 34 crores.