

of section 9 of the Representation of the People Act, 1950:

- (i) S.O. 4388 published in Gazette of India dated the 7th December, 1968, making certain corrections in the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1966 in respect of Pondicherry.
- (ii) S.O. 4657 published in Gazette of India dated the 31st December, 1968 making certain corrections in the Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order, 1966 in respect of the State of Nagaland. [*Placed in Library. See No. LT-37/69.*]
- (2) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (3) of section 169 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951:
 - (i) The Conduct of Elections (Third Amendment) Rules, 1968 published in Notification No. S.O. 4542 in Gazette of India dated the 20th December, 1968.
 - (ii) S.O. 269 published in Gazette of India dated the 16th January, 1969 containing corrigenda to Notification No. S.O. 4542 dated the 20th December, 1968. [*Placed in Library. See No. LT-38/69.*]
- (3) A copy of the Uttar Pradesh Hindu Public Religious Institutions (Prevention of Dissipation of Properties) (Temporary Powers) Continuance Act, 1968 (Hindi and English versions) (President's Act No. 36 of 1968) published in Gazette of India dated the 13th December, 1968, under sub-section (3) of section 3 of the Uttar Pradesh State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Act, 1968. [*Placed in Library. See No. LT-39/69.*]

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

FORTY-THIRD REPORT

SHRI BHALJIBHAI PARMAR (Dohad); I beg to present the Forty-

third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

SIXTY-SEVENTH REPORT

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): I beg to present the Sixty-seventh Report of the Estimates Committee on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Twenty-ninth Report of the Estimates Committee on Ministry of Railways—Commercial and other cognate matters—Travel Concessions allowed to Railway Employees.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

FORTIETH REPORT

SHRI M. R. MASANI (Rajkot): I beg to present the Fortieth Report of the Public Accounts Committee on Appropriation Accounts (P & T), 1966-67 and Audit Report (P & T) 1968.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

TWENTY-FOURTH REPORT

SHRI G. S. DHILLON (Taran Taran): I beg to present the Twenty-fourth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Thirty-sixth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (Third Lok Sabha) on Indian Oil Corporation Ltd. (Refineries Division).

12-03 hrs.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—Contd.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is after a long time that we have a motion of no-confidence which is on some specific issues. Even though such motions have become matters of routine, which was what my hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee objected to, if you have them on specific issues it is certainly better than the usual omnibus ones. Although the motion is on specific issues there were many hon. Members, and some parties, who did not want to join in the

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

censure motion, but they still took the opportunity to bring in issues of their own which had been deliberately left out by the movers of the motion.

First of all, I would like to congratulate all those who have succeeded in these elections. We would certainly have liked our Congress colleagues to win but we accept the verdict of the electorate. And those who are sitting in this House or in the Assemblies should not feel that we resent their presence. On the contrary, we welcome them and we hope they will make valuable contribution to the debates and the work of this House and of the various Assemblies.

AN HON. MEMBER: Very kind of you.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Somebody said "very kind of you". Certainly, I am always kind. I will take this opportunity to congratulate them.

I do not know why Shri Vajpayee is hiding behind there. I was very unhappy about what he said yesterday. He said that I had abused his party during the elections, but I am glad to say that he took the right attitude with regard to abuses namely, that he did not mind abuses. However, I would like to make it very clear that I did not abuse his party or any others. I did not abuse, but I did speak very strongly about certain aspects, not only concerning his party but with regard to other parties also, which to my mind were not in the national interest.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Except the Congress.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Well, I will come to that point later.

It was with regard to communalism. I do not want to deal with that matter now. I will come to that also later. In respect of Jan Sangh, I said we are not against Jan Sangh; nor did I tell anybody not to vote for Jan Sangh. But I did appeal to the public that in respect of the parties which had certain postures which were not conducive to national peace, harmony and unity, the public themselves should make these parties understand that this attitude must be discarded. On that

I spoke strongly. I did not speak strongly against any particular party but against what I considered was a wrong attitude, and I certainly spoke very strongly about that.

Now I do not really have to say anything against the hon. Member, Shri Dandeker. It was a little amusing to see what paper he chose to quote from, because we all know that amongst the newspapers which appear in England, *The Daily Express* is one which has been consistently anti-Indian. During our freedom struggle, after our freedom struggle, whether we were fighting with Pakistan or whatever we were doing, it has taken a very consistent anti-Indian stand, and it was a little amusing that of all the newspapers which appeared there, he should have chosen this particular one from which to quote.

The main question raised by the mover of the motion was with regard to the Senas. When I spoke just now about the Jan Sangh, and in all the speeches I made a point not only to speak against the communal point of view, in an anti-communal stance, but also against any kind of attitude which promoted casteism, regionalism or parochialism which could make anybody who was an Indian citizen feel that he did not enjoy equal rights with any other citizen, regardless of where he was living. He might not be living at a place today but he might like to live there tomorrow. Today he may be living in Delhi, but tomorrow he may want to live in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal or somewhere else. Every Indian citizen must have that freedom.

I do not know what to say. We use strong words on all occasions and sometimes when we really want to stress something, we have to use the same words. What has happened recently in Bombay, what has happened between the people of Telengana and Andhra, or what has happened in other parts of India, is certainly most deplorable and absolutely indefensible.

I have spoken out very strongly against Shiv Sena and all such senas on various occasions, and I have absolutely no hesitation in saying here also that such move-

ments constitute a very serious threat to the development, progress and unity of the country.

Yesterday the Home Minister dealt at length with the unfair charge that there had been either inaction or neglect in this matter by the State Government or by the Centre. It is not always easy to decide when action is to be taken. Sometimes when you take action a little earlier, it provokes agitation and the hon. Members are the first to ask "Why was action taken merely when a person had said something, but actually nothing had been done?" So, it is very difficult, sitting at a distance, to judge the time for taking action. I am very clear in my mind that, apart from this incident—and I want also to assure the many Members of the Opposition who took up this point yesterday—we must not think that the matter is over. We have now to consider how this should be dealt with. But this is not a matter which can be dealt with only by Government. This is a matter in which we must all do some heart-searching among ourselves.....(*Interruption*).

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): What is the contribution of Government? You have taken up the responsibility.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Certainly it is a responsibility of the Government but in the state of affairs and the politics of the country as they are today, I think, every party plays an important role. Previously other parties were not in government and they could perhaps say that they had nothing to do with such issues, but now every party has a hand in government. Some of them have it today; some may not have it today. But it is not only a question of being in government; the question is when you find a solution what attitude will the people take, because if any party decides then to exploit the situation no matter how good the solution may be it cannot be a lasting solution and it can only bring forth new problems. This is what has been happening. Many solutions have been found but somehow the question gets re-opened. There are many in our country—we cannot deny it—who do feel very much emo-

tionally involved whenever it is a question of community, region, language or caste. Conditions in the modern world are such that it is somewhat natural because people want things, and there are not enough things to go round. Therefore matters like caste, region and so on are exploited.

I am very sorry that the name of one of our great and lion-hearted heroes has been associated with such a movement. I had the privilege of having part of my education in the part of the country where Shivaji operated, that is, Poona, and most of our excursions and so on were to some of the old forts which he captured. I grew up to regard him as a national hero and not as a Maharashtrian hero or as a hero of a particular region. Although I have not been connected in the same way with Sardar Lachit of Assam, he also had a great name in our history. These are people who belong to the nation and I think that it is very unfortunate that their names should in any way be associated with movements which are limited to a very small or particular part of the country.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Who did that?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Obviously it is the Sena that is using his name. His name should be for all-India movements which go towards building up the country and making the country greater.

Bombay is one of our great countries.

SHRI RABI RAY (Puri): It is a city, not a country.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am sorry. I meant, city.

It is a cosmopolitan city. All these big cities have been built by many communities. People from different parts of the country have brought in their money, their industry and their talent. This is how these cities have grown and prospered and any movement which aims at shutting out anybody from them will result in bringing the cities down; instead of their rising and growing and adding to the general strength of the country, they will become much narrower in character.

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

I would like to make one brief point in passing and that is, in all such debates, some hon. Members have a great deal to say about the police and we talk about them as if the police belongs to some other country. Now, they may behave well or not well but they are Indians. Most of them are from relatively poor families also. They do not come from the top families or from what are called the 'exploiting classes' as some people call them. We all have to help in creating an atmosphere where they can have a more positive attitude and a more friendly attitude. I think, this also is the responsibility of all of us. Much has changed already. The police training is not as it was. There is a constant effort made to see that they view their job not only as a law and order job but also of helping the people.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): Are you satisfied with what the police did in the Indraprastha Bhavan?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: No. I am certainly not satisfied. We have had plenty to say about that in this House. The Home Minister spoke about it. We have spoken about it in the House and outside. That is not the only occasion. There have been other occasions also which are not satisfactory. There are times when they lose their heads, or certain individuals amongst them lose their heads. That happens amongst many other people also, not only amongst the police.

All that I am trying to say is that these issues should not be exploited for narrow party loyalties nor used for mutual recrimination or blaming one another. These are, as many Members have pointed out, larger national issues and we must all do some heart-searching about them.

I was deeply touched by the manner in which the hon. Member, Shri Nath Pai, spoke yesterday because he, obviously, felt the matter very deeply and he was speaking with great emotion. We share that emotion and that deep distress. As I said, unless we raise these matters to a higher level, it will not be possible to solve them. I do not wish to indulge in any accusations because I am fully

aware that these narrow-minded elements of one kind or the other do exist amongst us all. Perhaps, no party is free from them. But some parties have stressed various points. For instance, as I said earlier, the Jan Sangh has a point of view about minorities which I do not think is in the interest of the unity of the country. Then, we have other parties here who think that only some of the people are "people" and the others are somebody else. It is not being made clear at all as to who the others are. If they are not people of the country, who are they, where can they go, if they leave the country?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर): मैं प्रधान मंत्री महोदया को बीच में टोकना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन जन संघ वन-पीपल में विद्वास करता है। जनता एक है।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैंने आपकी बात नहीं की। दूसरी एक पार्टी की बात की है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : दोनों को मिला देनी हैं, उसी से गड़बड़ होती है।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैंने बहुत साफ कहा है कि एक और पार्टी है जो ऐसा कहती है।

श्री ठुक्कम चन्ड कल्लाय (उज्जैन) : उसका नाम क्या है ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: As I said earlier, there are still many people in the country who do fall prey to feelings of communalism, casteism, regionalism, etc. I have not said, neither during the elections nor in this House nor anywhere else, that the Congress Party is perfect. But we have made a constant effort to try and fight these divisive tendencies from the beginning. We do not deny them...

SHRI RANGA: Not afterwards.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: From the beginning, which means in the beginning and also afterwards.

SHRI RANGA: But not now.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: And even now.

So, the question is of seeing how, if this kind of feelings persist in the country, we can see that, instead of their being exploited, they are channelised in a direction where they add to national strength, because I am not against...

SHRI RANGA: Will the Prime Minister be good enough to tell us as to what is the contribution that the Government is making? What is the good of philosophising on the advice of some friends? We can all philosophize... (Interruption) You are responsible for law and order in the country. What is the positive contribution that the Government is making? (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Government has done many things. I do not think that I am expected now to take each item and say what the Government has done in the matter. Usually, when something has happened each matter, has been taken up for discussion and the Home Minister or whoever is in charge has dealt with it in great detail and every member, or at least many members, have been given full opportunity of expressing their views. This is not the time to go into those details...

SHRI RANGA: That is exactly what you are expected to do as Prime Minister. You are not a philosopher.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Unless we agree on the philosophy, it is very difficult to go on. The major philosophy to be now agreed upon is whether all parties represented in the House do consider this as a national problem and are, therefore, willing to help in its solution. This is the philosophy that has to be agreed upon. Government can, and does, deal with it through many methods. I have been in constant touch with the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh throughout these days, trying to find out what has been happening from day to day and what other measures could be taken. They are doing all they can. There are many problems which are not solved.

I am not saying that all the problems are solved. But whenever any solution is found—there is no solution which can please everybody—, there is always room for creating a movement or creating a feeling or rousing emotion or rousing passions among the people to exploit whatever is not to their liking. That is why I am asking for the co-operation of all parties. There are many matters in which some of us are not involved; the people of some States are involved; there are other matters in which the people of other States are involved...

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : पहले नये मकान न बनाने के बारे में हमारा सहयोग लीजिए। (व्यवधान) यह छोटी बात नहीं है। इस देश के करोड़ों लोग बेघर हैं।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not think that this is a point that has to be replied to. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. I can understand interruptions, but not this way of shouting. In Parliamentary democracy, a little interruption by leaders of the Opposition is allowed, but not shouting. Human beings talk; they don't shout. May I, therefore, request the hon. members to allow her to talk? You cannot compel her to say what you want her to say...

श्री मधु लिमये : प्रधान मंत्री सहयोग माँग रही थीं। हम सहयोग दे रहे हैं।

MR. SPEAKER: I am on my legs. Mr. Madhu Limaye may please resume his seat.

There is as much freedom to reply to the debate as she chooses to and not as you want her to do. You may like it or may not like it. Later on, if you want some other information, that is a different matter. But she should not be disturbed during her speech. A little interruption now and then is permitted in Parliamentary democracy; it is not objected to. But the speech must not be disturbed throughout.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I had not thought of reply to such a point, but I do want to say that the whole House is aware that I am living, and quite happily living, in an exceedingly small house. But I do not think that it is the right house as permanent residence for a Prime Minister mainly because of the inconvenience which it causes to the people who come to visit the Prime Minister; I am not only talking of high dignitaries but also of all Members of Parliament. I might say that Members of Parliament from almost all parties—not the hon. Member's Party but many other parties—have complained to me... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): Your staff did not allow us to go inside.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The proposal is not to build a large house but to build a house which will be functional for the duties of the Prime Minister of this great country.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): Formerly we had Teen Murti House as the Prime Minister's residence; then we had 10, Janpath; now we are going to have 20, Janpath; after some time it will be 50, Janpath; every time the Prime Minister changes, is there going to be a new house for the Prime Minister?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I think the Hon. Member had not heard what I had said. I said 'permanent residence'.

In the course of the debate it was perhaps natural that a lot should be said about the mid-term elections. In a democracy, parties do go up and do go down also. There is nothing strange about this. Yet, we seem to get very excited every time one seat goes here or goes there. The non-Congress parties are not used to winning. So, naturally, when they win, there is a great deal of excitement. We also are not used to losing; so, when we lose we also have a good deal of excitement.

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE: We have to lose but our chains.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It is time now that we take democracy in its stride, and we welcome those who win and sympathise with those who do not win.

The political scene has changed. I think it is ridiculous to say, as some hon. Members have said, that nothing has been done for the last 20 years. Just before I started speaking, it was the tail end of the Question Hour, and I come into the House just in time to see here an hon. Member from the Swatantra Party talking about the improved economic picture, the going up of exports....

SOME HON. MEMBERS: He was from the Jan Sangh and not from the Swatantra Party. Let her not mix up.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): The Swatantra Party knows better.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI (Mandsaur): I was talking only about exports.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Whether the hon. Member from the Swatantra Party or the Jan Sangh would like to believe it or not, the economic picture has improved. It has not improved a very great deal but it has improved and it has improved after a great deal of hardship and very many hardships which the country faced. As the President has rightly said in his Address, it is not the Government alone which has faced all these difficulties, but it is the people of India, and I think that every time we make these remarks that nothing has changed, we are casting aspersions not merely on the Government but really on the people of India who have faced these difficulties with tremendous courage and endurance.

Recently, during these elections, I had the opportunity of going to many villages. Of course, no one will deny that there poverty in this country, but no one will deny also that there have been vast changes, changes not only on the visible tangible things that one can see—these are also there—but changes in the outlook of the people. I do not want to depend upon the verdict of foreigners, but quite often our friends opposite are quoting from

them. Recently, there was somebody who had lived in a certain village about seventeen years ago and who had worked there. He has returned there now and has now spoken about the many changes which have come about. This village is not one where there any special programme or any special effort. It is just one of the ordinary villages of North India, and it is not a village in one of the advanced States like Punjab or any other State which is advanced in agriculture or in anything else.

AN HON. MEMBER: Name the village.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: What has changed the people? It is democracy which has changed them. It is development which has changed them. It is progress which has changed them, and we have brought about these changes. We have to take cognizance of the fact that this has brought about an entire change in the outlook of the people because there is today a whole new post-Independence generation which takes freedom for granted, not only national freedom but freedom of speech and all the other freedoms that we have....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Fundamental freedoms.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: They want the benefits of science and technology. They have new problems. They are facing new challenges and they seek new answers to them. I do not think that this is our failure. I think it is our success that the people today are going up their old sense of resignation and apathy. Today, they have new problems and they are seeking new answers and they are out to get them, and in that process they will try out many things; they may make mistakes; they may do something which we may not consider right, but nevertheless, they have the freedom to do it, and we accept that freedom. We certainly do not want our people to be resigned to poverty or want or to any of the other difficulties to which they are subject now. But we know that all these things cannot be done suddenly.

I am not saying that there are not regional disparities. We do know that in every State, even in the so-called advanced

States, there are pockets which are economically backward and where much needs to be done. We are making an effort in the Plan to see how it can be done. But it cannot be done even in the range of a plan because the problem is far too large.

I think it was Shri George Fernandes who had made some remarks about illiteracy. I have got the census figures in regard to how literacy has grown. I am sorry that paper has got mixed up and I do not find it just now, but I am willing to send the information to him later. Again, I might say that I am saying this not because I am complacent or satisfied; I am not, I do not think that any of us can afford to be satisfied. But it is not right to keep on repeating that nothing has been done. I can say that things are being done, but they are not sufficient, and much more has to be done and that is a position with which nobody will quarrel.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar): How much has been done?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: A tremendous deal has been done for those who are willing to see; but if he keeps his eyes closed, it does not matter what amount of progress has been made.....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Is she also taking credit for the population explosion?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Yesterday, the Home Minister expressed our view by wishing well to the Opposition and to all the non-Congress Government that may come into being and he added our wish that the United Front might also be able to keep their unity, whatever their friends, and whatever their views and mixed persuasions may be. We know that last time they were not able to stand the weight of their unity. I hope that now their friends are even larger in number and the weight is even greater they will have the strength and broad enough shoulders to keep them.

I have said this on various occasions and I would like to repeat it here that we offer full co-operation to all those who have been elected and all the Government which have come or will come into

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

being. The Government of India will deal fairly with all the States. Here, you must realise that it is not only the non-Congress States that think we are unfair, but it is also the Congress States that think so, and that is due to something which is beyond our control, namely the very limited resources at our disposal. But within those limited resources, we shall certainly do whatever we can. Certainly, I must say here that whatever the Members of the various parties may say on the floor of the House, some of their leaders who were Chief Ministers in the States have tried to be helpful and co-operative, but of course on some matters they have not been, and I am sure the hon. Members are fully aware of this also.

The Centre does want to co-operate. But co-operation is not so easy when it is unilateral. In this, we have to sit together. We do expect some co-operation from the State Government also, specially on matters which concern not only that Government but have repercussions in other parts of the country. So I sincerely hope that since we are looking at some of these problems from the much larger national point of view, we will also keep this in view as to how we can co-operate. hon. Members have remarked, the political picture has changed and we have to see how to keep the unity of the country in this changing picture where there are governments of different persuasion in different States which have to work together, to keep the country together. This can only be if we all sit together and find some way of co-operation. It may be that you cannot do it all at once but if every party would like to lay stress on its own points then again it will be very difficult to keep the different States together.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Let us all decide.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It is enough if the Chief Ministers decide, not all of us.

Talking of elections again, this time also there were many prophecies about them, but our people have belied the prophecies of cynics and prophets of doom. The House is aware that there was even an attempt to boycott the elec-

tions. Nevertheless, a large number of people did participate and only in 28 out of a lakh odd stations was a repoll found necessary. I think we should take satisfaction from these results which do not belong to one party or another but to the great people of India and to this great country.

SHRI OM PRAKASH TYAGI (Moradabad): What about the corruption going on in the country?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The matter of corruption also has been repeatedly discussed. It is not limited to any one part of the country or another.

SHRI RANGA: Ask Shri Hanumanthaiya.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We have said repeatedly that wherever there is something wrong, certainly it should be looked into and a remedy found. What I am trying to say here is that I have not gone into some very specific issues raised because they are going to come up in this very budget session, whether during the budget debate or in the debate on the President's Address. Therefore, I did not wish to take up time on that here now (*Interruptions*).

When we speak of unity, we have to see that we transcend our narrow party interests and reject any course intended to bring our system into contempt or bring about the slightest crack in the unity of the country or the slightest feeling of insecurity to any citizen of India. I am sure that with this all rightminded people will agree.

I know that sometimes people take up a cause which seems to them just. But we have found in every case that it is not possible to fully control these things. I am specially unhappy to hear from many places where there was trouble that a large number of children get involved. This is neither promoting the cause which they have at heart nor promoting the interests of these young people who are at an impressionable stage of their lives. We must all see how we can keep them out of such disturbances.

SHRI GIRRAJ SARAN SINGH (Mathura): She herself started it. -

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We have never started anything like this. When the country was not free, it was an entirely different situation. At that time, all citizens had to get together to free the country. I am glad that we did it. I am glad during the fighting on our borders, the entire country got together. But this is not the way to solve problems between one State and another or between Indians living in the same State.

It is this kind of violence and disturbance which must be deplored and condemned in the strongest possible terms. I have no hesitation in doing so. I should like to assure Members from all parts of the country—in this we seek the co-operation of all the parties—that it is the Government's endeavour to enable all the Indian national to live and work freely in any part of the country. We must work for an India which is one and which is not fragmented, as our great poet Tagore said, by narrow domestic walls, an India in which there are no high or low, no privileged or under-privileged, and no 'sons of the soil' other than free and equal citizens.

We should take up these problems at this level. We have been discussing various problems. If in this session we can narrow them down to specific problems, I am sure it will be possible to deal with them in a way which would be satisfactory to all people and which would be helpful to the State Governments. I should like to express my deep sorrow at what happened in certain places.....

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai): What have you done to remove the basic causes of this unrest?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have touched upon the basic causes. They are partly economic, partly political and partly social.

SHRI HEM BARUA: In Assam the number of unemployed is four lakhs.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Unemployment comes within the economic

problems. That is why I say that we must sit together and try to work out some solutions...*(Interruptions.)*

AN HON. MEMBER: What about the implementation of the Mahajan report?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not think that this is the right place to take up all these matters. I have made an indirect reference to all these matters, though I have not mentioned them specifically. When a solution is found to a difficult problem, it cannot please everybody; it leaves a loophole over which some sections of the people are aroused and they are exploited by different parties...*(Interruptions.)* I am sorry we cannot have a dialogue here in this way...*(Interruptions.)*

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. Even the two of you who are in the Opposition are unable to agree among yourselves.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Any solution that is found leaves some cause for dissatisfaction for some sections of our people. We must get together and find the largest measure of agreement and arrive at a basis and all the political parties should help in this role. Then only can difficult problems be solved. Otherwise, no matter what report is accepted, the way is left open for some kind of disturbance and agitation. All problems cannot be solved merely by the Government; they can only be solved if all the parties agree to a common understanding since the country is facing such serious problems. We may have different views with regard to economic development and so on, but on other matters which affect us all we should get together.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: When there are disputes among States, there should be some national criteria on the basis of which a settlement can be made. You do not lay down any criteria but work up the regional feelings.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: This is not the place to discuss the whole matter. It had been discussed and some criteria was suggested. We have to see

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

that everybody accepts the criteria. I request my hon. friends to withdraw their motion of no-confidence and decide to get together and try to find solutions to our great national problems.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am afraid that after listening to all the speeches from the Treasury Benches and from the Congress party, what we have heard is nothing but a futile and profound exercise in evasion. Specific questions were asked, specific problems were raised, specific issues were raised and specific charges were made. What is the answer that the Congress Government, the Minister and the members of the Congress party have given to these specific charges?

I just take these three things one by one. First, the Shiv Sena. There is my friend Mr. Shantilal Shah. When I heard his speech, I was reminded of the professional witnesses in the criminal courts. He said that the Congress party did not take the help of the Shiv Sena in the elections. There was Mr. Chavan who was there to contradict him. He said that the Congress party unfortunately was the victim of its own gullibility. Therefore, I do not want to argue that. Everytime I have seen this, and therefore, I said that Mr. Shantilal Shah was speaking just like a professional prosecution witness in the criminal court.

Then, with regard to the elections, what did Mr. Chavan say? Mr. Chavan stated that every party became gullible. He said that the Shiv Sena took advantage of the gullibility of every party including the Congress party. What is this gullibility, I do not understand. Here was the Congress party which knew that during the elections the Shiv Sena was raising anti-social feelings against the other people. It was indulging in burning houses, in violence against different sections of the people and it was looting. What is the gullibility about? But gullibility—yes, all these things might happen but still it might help me in my elections! That is his idea about it, and therefore he does not answer that. He tried to evade that question. He said that every party was gullible and therefore you cannot

blame the Congress party alone. I do not want to go into the details.

We had again Mr. Shantilal Shah coming as a Daniel to deliver the judgment. He comes and says that the communist party is as bad as the other party. I am not now concerned with the communist party being good or bad. He can have his opinion. But granting that the communist party is also as bad a party, granting that it is so for argument's sake, I would ask, what did this Government do when the Shiv Sena was indulging in arson and loot and murder and rape. It is a specific question. What did his Government do when from 1948 to 1951, the members of the communist party were put in jail? Our entire party was shut up in jail without trial, in detention. What is the attitude? Why this discrimination towards the Shiv Sena? And you say it is as bad as the communist party. That is the crux of the whole problem.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA (Bangalore): They have also been arrested.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Yes; but what did this Government do two years back? A specific question was asked, and somebody said, "After all, how can the Congress party hurt against itself?" That is what somebody asked I am amazed at it. Mr. Chamberlain first supported Hitler, but ultimately Hitler turned against Great Britain. Is that an argument to say that Chamberlain did not support Hitler in the earlier period? What is this answer? He did have some reasons. Similarly, the Shiv Sena was supported and encouraged, both, for solid class reasons. Therefore, this argument does not at all cut any ice.

The Home Minister again was trying to evade the issue. Here was a specific question of that drama. He talks of the heading. He was not aware of what was going to happen and what the drama was about. But ultimately the Chief Minister did attend the drama. In that drama, the Chief Minister, Mr. Naik, who attended it—the drama conducted at the anniversary of the *Marmik*—sat through it, and what did he say? No paper has published what Mr. Chavan now says that he has said. First, the Chief Minister praised