

निम्नलिखित पत्र सभा-पटल पर रखता है—

- (1) पश्चिमी बंगाल राज्य के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति द्वारा दिनांक 19 मार्च 1970 को जारी की गई उद्घोषणा के खण्ड (ग) (तीन) के साथ पठित विद्युत (पूर्ति) अधिनियम, 1948 की धारा 69 की उपधारा (5) के अन्तर्गत पश्चिमी बंगाल राज्य विद्युत बोर्ड के वर्ष 1968-69 के वार्षिक लेखे की एक प्रति तथा उन पर लेखापरीक्षा प्रतिवेदन। [प्रयालय में रख दिया गया।] [बेल्लिए संख्या LT—3698/70]

- (2) उपर्युक्त दस्तावेजों को सभा पटल पर रखने में हुए विलम्ब के कारणों का एक विवरण। [प्रयालय में रख दिया गया।] [बेल्लिए संख्या LT-3699/70]

DIRECTION BY THE SPEAKER  
UNDER THE RULES OF  
PROCEDURE

SECRETARY : I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Direction 115C issued by the Speaker under the Rules of procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE  
MEMBERS' BILLS AND  
RESOLUTIONS

SIXTY FOURTH REPORT

SHRI G. G. SWELL : (Autonomous districts) : I beg to present the Sixty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

STATEMENT *Re.* STRIKE ON THE  
SOUTH EASTERN AND NORTH  
EASTERN RAILWAYS

MR. SPEAKER : There is a statement By Shri Nanda, the Railway Minister. He can lay it on the Table.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) : The railway men are on strike ..

SHRI J. M. BISWAS (Bankura) : In the South Eastern Railways lakhs of workers are on strike...

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI NANDA) : I beg to lay on the Table a statement regarding the strike of certain staff on the South Eastern and North-East Frontier Railways. [Placed In Library. See No. LT-3700/70]

13.67 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY  
COMMITTEE  
FIFTY FIRST REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING & TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH) : I beg to move :

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-first Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 28th July, 1970."

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-first Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 28th July, 1970"

*The motion was adopted*

MOTION OF NO—CONFIDENCE IN  
THE COUNCIL ON MINISTERS *Contd.*

MR. SPEAKER : The Prime Minister will speak at about 5 O'Clock and after that

Mr. Speaker]

14.05 hrs.

Shri Madu Limaye will reply. I think we should finish it in another  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours.

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

13.08 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch  
till Fourteen of the Clock.*

SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL (Manjeri): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I spoke a few words yesterday regarding the time-table of the Kerala Assembly elections. The people speak of the Election Commission being hasty in fixing the election date and the time-table for it. Kerala Legislative Assembly was dissolved on the 26th June and it is only the other day that the Election Commission has fixed the date for polling. In the meantime, the Election Commission consulted all the parties concerned, the Kerala Government and others and they took one month to fix the date after the dissolution of the Assembly. Even after fixing the date, they have formulated their programme in a spirit of accommodation providing facilities for the voters as well as the parties concerned.

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*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after  
Lunch at four minutes past  
Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

The electoral rolls were brought up-to-date by the end of November in Kerala as well as in other parts of the country. But there were complaints about certain things. They were also taken into consideration by the Election Commission though those complaints were not justified according to most of the people. Originally, for any correction or insertion or deletion, they had fixed 29th August. But they have now extended the date by two or three days and fixed 2nd September. Even after 2nd September, the people can enroll themselves as voters on payment of Rs. 1.50 p. This is what has been done. What is the reality about the electoral rolls and how there can be anything wrong passes our understanding. It is on the basis of these electoral rolls that three by-elections were held in Kerala recently, in Kottarakara, Nilalamdur and Midayi. All those by-elections were held on the basis of the electoral rolls that had been brought up-to-date by the Election Commission upto that time. There was no complaint whatsoever regarding the electoral rolls when those by-elections took place.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। अभी मैं बड़ौदा हाउस गया हुआ था जोकि नार्दन रेलवे का हेडक्वार्टर है। वहाँ पर सिचुएशन बहुत टेन्स है। वहाँ पर हजारों की तादाद में रेल मजदूर इकट्ठे हैं और सैकड़ों की तादाद में पुलिस इकट्ठी है और जनरल मैनेजर भाग चुके हैं। वे लोग अपनी माँग लेकर वहाँ गए हैं लेकिन वहाँ पर उनसे कोई मिलने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए मैं आपकी मार्फत निवेदन करूँगा कि रेल मन्त्री इस तरफ तुरन्त ध्यान दें नहीं तो वहाँ पर कोई भी खतरा होने के चांसेज हैं। नार्दन रेलवे वर्क्स यूनियन के लोग वहाँ पर मौजूद हैं, उन की मीटिंग चल रही है पीसफुली, वे लोग अपनी माँगों के सिलसिले में बात करना चाहते हैं लेकिन जनरल मैनेजर भाग चुके हैं और पुलिस घेरा डालकर बँटी हुई है। मैं वहीं से आ रहा हूँ इसलिए जानता हूँ कि वहाँ पर स्थिति बहुत गम्भीर है। आप रेलवे मिनिस्टर से तुरन्त हस्तक्षेप करने के लिए कहें वरना वहाँ पर कोई भी अनटुर्बड घटना हो सकती है।

Sir, the rainy season in Kerala is from 15th June to 16th August and mid-September

is, usually, a bright period and, I think, the Onam festival also takes place in the middle of August. Therefore, there is nothing to prevent the elections taking place in mid-September, on the date fixed for it; and, I think, no elections will hinder any festival, nor any festival will hinder the election then. Our Marxist friends are objecting to the elections being fixed on that day. They might have their own reasons (*Inter-uptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order please. Every Party will have its chance. You can put your points of view at that time.

SHRI P. P. ESTHOSE (Muvattupuzha): He is misleading the House. That is not proper.

SHRI M. MOHAMMAD ISMAIL: I am stating only the facts. If they have got anything to controvert what I am saying, they are free to say that. These are mere facts. I have been giving, only dates and nothing more and what the Election Commission has done. And what has the Central Government got to do with this, so to bring it under the no-confidence motion is another question, a common man cannot understand. The leading article of a paper has in a way reflected the opinion of the general public on this question. With your permission I will just read a portion of it:

"By fixing September 17 as the date for Kerala's next election, the Chief Election Commissioner has ended unnecessary and avoidable uncertainty. Since the Achutha Menon Ministry has been pressing for an even earlier poll, and Mr. S. P. Sen-Verma's consultations with political parties in Trivandrum concluded some time ago, the election time-table could have been announced sooner. But then Mr. Sen-Verma and his establishment are hardly known for speed and dispatch.

Significantly, the CPI (M) and its nondescript allies in Kerala are alone

in deploring an early Roll, which is, as it should be, welcome to almost everyone else. Isolated and demoralised, the Marxists in Kerala are apparently afraid of facing the electorate. But their plea for a postponement of the Kerala election becomes ludicrous because of their simultaneous demand, backed by a recent bandh, for almost instant elections in West Bengal, in spite of widespread and still unchecked lawlessness . . ."

In Kerala too eruption of violence is taking place. In Madayi where one of the by-elections took place, more than the usual number of people voted against the Marxists and even then they won the election. But even that they could not bear. There has been violence in that place. In that town coconut trees were cut. Properties have been destroyed. People have been injured and murdered and this has spread uneasiness even among the people of the towns in other parts of the country. I have received a telegram from Bombay requesting that I should press the Government for proper protection.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry): The hon. Member is deliberately misleading the House.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): He is entitled to do that.

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN (Badagara): He says that he is only misleading the House. The Deputy-Speaker is there to find out whether he is misleading the House or not. He is looking at the facts from his own angle. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I would appeal to the Members to maintain order.

SHRI MUHAMMAD ISMAIL: I am only relating some facts that have occurred. Why should people feel touchy when I am narrating those incidents and facts.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : When there is a point of order, it is my duty to hear it and after that to rule whether it is a point of order or not. Kindly make a brief submission.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry): In the Madayi constituency there is an island called Mattoo which is predominantly a Muslim league area in that constituency and Hindus are in a minority. And recently ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : What is the point of order ?

SHRI P. GOPALAN : 140 Hindu families were driven out of that area by the Muslim League goondas. He is attributing violence on our part. But this is the real situation there, 140 families were thrown out of the constituency by the Muslim League goondas.

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN : Mr. Gopalan has placed misleading information before the House. I have visited Madayi constituency and I know about the position there.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am sorry, there is no point of order. Mr. Ismail, please try to conclude.

SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL : That is the position, Sir, in Kerala. What I have stated are only facts which are happening there and can be seen in Kerala and I do not think that anybody can dispute those facts. But they may have their own view of things.

Now, with regard to the electoral roll, they speak of the increase in the percentage. Sir, the people of Kerala are spread all over the country in their search for employment. They keep coming home in hundreds and thousands in a season and go out. I do not see any reason for any special treatment in this regard and there is nothing to wonder with regard to the percentage of increase in population or increase in the matter of the electoral roll. Actually there is not much

difference between increase in the electorate of Kerala and of any other States in the country.

Speaking on the No-confidence Motion, I want to touch upon one or two more points, apart from the Kerala elections.

Sir, the Leader of the Opposition is a likeable person so far as I know.

But, now, when I saw his performance yesterday and also one or two performances of his previously too,—and the performance of the Mover of the Motion,—I was very much distressed to note that the level of the Debate had gone down very very much below the standard.

Instead of speaking on the policy, on the contents of the policy, they have put their case on a point of concentration of power in a single hand and in doing so they have indulged in personal attacks. That is something that does not at all carry conviction to the people and to the Members of the House. We must keep up the standard of debate at a high level and we must criticise on'y the policy, the method and action of the Government.

This does not mean that we ourselves have no differences with the policy of the Government. We have got our own complaints. But the manner in which they are being attacked by the friends mentioned is not proper. Reshuffling is not peculiar to the Central Government. Reshuffling of portfolios is taking place in the Government of the various States in India and elsewhere as well. Therefore, it is a matter between the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. The way in which they have been attacking that action of the Prime Minister only makes people to think that they want to drive a wedge between the Prime Minister and the other members of the Cabinet.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Members should try to conclude now. Dr. Govind Das.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kozhikode) : A lot of time was taken up

in the points of order. So, some more time may be given to him.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has already exceeded the time. He should try to conclude now.

SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL : I have to omit many points I which wanted to touch, because of lack of time.

Shri Bal Raj Madhok does not lose any opportunity of bringing Muslim League and the Muslims and indulging in attacking them. He said that the Muslim League was raising its ugly head once again. I find he does not know the real facts about the Muslim League. The Muslim League has been existing even before he came to this part of the country. The Muslim League was represented by its representatives in the Constituent Assembly and they took active part in the framing of the Constitution ; and from that day until today they are represented in both Houses of Parliament without any break. And yet he says that it is coming up only now somehow or other. What is it that he is objecting to in the actions of the Muslim League ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member may kindly co-operate with the Chair. He should conclude now.

SHRI M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL : What is it that he is objecting to in the constitution of the Muslim League or its activities ? Let him cite one instance in which the Muslim League was responsible for provoking any action of ill-will amongst the people. Let him cite one instance in which he can prove that the Muslim League was engaged in that kind of thing. A minority community cannot be communal. It is an axioms of truth. What they do is in self-defence. What they want is equality of treatment which has been provided for them under the Constitution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member should conclude now, Dr. Govind Das.

डा० गोबिन्द दास (जबलपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, इस प्रकार का अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव जो यहाँ लाया गया है उसे मैं राजनीतिक आतिशबाजी कहता हूँ और इसके पक्ष में जो भाषण हुए हैं वे उस आतिशबाजी की फुलभड़ियाँ हैं। मैंने इसके पहले के भी अविश्वास के प्रस्तावों को देखा है, उन पर क्या कहा गया था उसका अवलोकन किया है और कल से अब तक मैं इस प्रस्ताव के पक्ष के भाषण सुन रहा हूँ। मुझे कोई नई बात मालूम नहीं हुई इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव में। जो बातें इसके पहले के अविश्वास के प्रस्तावों में कही गई थीं करीब करीब वही बातें फिर से दोहराई जा रही हैं।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को तानाशाह की उपाधि दी गई है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ बहन इन्दिरा जी से कि यह आपको कोई नई उपाधि नहीं मिली है। आपके पिता जी पंडित जवाहर लाल जी को भी इस प्रकार की तानाशाही की उपाधियाँ दी गई थीं। यह मुझे बड़ी अच्छी तरह से याद है। क्या मतलब है इस तानाशाही का, मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। क्या इन्दिरा जी यहाँ पर इस सदन के बहुमत से प्रधान मंत्री नहीं हैं ?

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : नहीं।

डा० गोबिन्द दास : क्या जहाँ जहाँ इन्दिरा जी का दौरा होता है, दिल्ली तक में, वहाँ लाखों लोग उनको सुनने के लिए नहीं आते ? अगर यह सब सच है तो क्या यह इस बात की ताईद करता है कि वे तानाशाह हैं ? मेरी समझ में बात आई नहीं कि उनको तानाशाह किस प्रकार कहा जाता है ? जब इस सदन का बहुमत उनके साथ है, जब देश का बहुमत उन के साथ है तो कैसे उनको तानाशाह कहा जा सकता है। प्रजातंत्र में सब से प्रधान बात जिस पर विचार होता है वह बहुमत ही है।

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

जिन दलों ने मिल कर यह प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है उन दलों में एक वह भी है जो अपने आपको कांग्रेस दल कहता है। मैं तो उन को कांग्रेस का दल मानता नहीं। कांग्रेस दल वह है जिसमें कांग्रेसवादियों का बहुमत है। क्या वे लोग जो कांग्रेस से निकल गए हैं और अपने आपको अभी भी कांग्रेसवादी कहते हैं, क्या उन्होंने बहुमत की अवहेलना नहीं की है। सबसे पहले बहुमत की अवहेलना तो इन्होंने ही की है। जब बहुमत इनके साथ नहीं था तब भी ये अपने अपने स्थानों पर चिपके रहे। पहले कभी इस प्रकार की घटनाएं नहीं हुईं। जब देशबन्धु चित्तरंजन दास गया कांग्रेस में गए तो मैं वहाँ मौजूद था। उन्हें अध्यक्ष चुना गया था। उन्होंने जब देखा कि बहुमत उनके साथ नहीं रहा तब 1922 या 1923 में उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया। उसके बाद त्रिपुरी में 1939 में कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ। नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस उसके अध्यक्ष थे। मुझे उसका स्वागताध्यक्ष होने का गौरव था। जब नेता जी ने देखा कि उनका बहुमत नहीं तब उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया। आचार्य कृपलानी कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष थे। उन्होंने भी जब देखा कि उनका बहुमत नहीं रहा तो उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया। राजर्षि पुरुषोत्तम दास टण्डन ने जब देखा कि उनका बहुमत नहीं रहा तब उन्होंने भी इस्तीफा दे दिया। बहुमत जो प्रजातंत्र के रीढ़ की हड्डी है उस बहुमत की अवहेलना तो इन लोगों ने की है जो कांग्रेस से आज बाहर चले गए हैं और अभी भी अपने को कांग्रेसवादी कहते हैं।

जब आप देखिये कि कैसा सुन्दर गठबन्धन इनका हो रहा है। किन सिद्धान्तों के ऊपर यह गठबन्धन हो रहा है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। इन्दिरा जी के लिए कहा जा रहा है कि वह साम्यवादियों से गठबन्धन करती हैं।

उन्होंने तो कोई गठबन्धन नहीं किया। अगर साम्यवादियों का एक दल उनका समर्थन करता है तो किसी गठबन्धन के कारण नहीं करता। लेकिन जिन दलों ने मिल कर इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव को यहाँ पेश किया है उनका तो स्पष्ट रूप से गठबन्धन हो रहा है और आगे के लिए गठबन्धन की बातें भी चल रही हैं।

सिद्धान्तों की दुहाई भी यहाँ दी जा रही है। सिद्धान्त के मामले में मैं एक दृष्टान्त देता हूँ। जनसंघ का एक सिद्धान्त है कि हिंदी को अपनाया जाए। जनसंघ के जो पहले अध्यक्ष रह चुके हैं, मधोक साहब, कल उनका सारा भाषण अंग्रेजी में हुआ और अनेक उनके भाषण अंग्रेजी में होते हैं। यह कौन सी सिद्धान्त-प्रियता है? श्री मोरारजी देसाई हिन्दी के बहुत बड़े समर्थक हैं। वे इतने वर्षों तक मंत्री और उप प्रधान मंत्री रहे। लेकिन लोक सभा में या राज्यसभा के उन्होंने अपना एक भाषण भी हिन्दी में नहीं दिया। यह सिद्धान्त-प्रियता है। मैंने यह दृष्टान्त इसलिए दिया कि वह मेरा प्रिय विषय है और मैं भाषा के विषय को सबसे महत्वपूर्ण विषय मानता हूँ। कौसी यह सिद्धान्त-प्रियता है, इसको आप देखिये।

प्रधान मंत्री जी के ऊपर आक्षेप किया जाता है कि उन्होंने मंत्रिमंडल में हेरफेर किए। मैं कहता हूँ कि प्रजातंत्र का यह सिद्धान्त है कि जो प्रधान मंत्री होता है उसको अपने मंत्रियों को लेने का हक होता है, उसको इस बात का अधिकार होता है कि वह किसको कौन सा विभाग दे और इस सबका निर्णय उसी को करना होता है। फिर यदि इन्दिरा जी ने इसको किया तो कहाँ सिद्धान्तविहीनता हुई, उसमें तानाशाही की बात कहाँ से आ गई, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

डा० राम सुभग सिंह जी ने कल अपना भाषण किया। उनको इस दल में बुराई ही बुराई दिखाई दी। उन्होंने कहा कि सब से अधिक बुराईयां इसी दल में हैं। उपाध्यक्ष जी, आज से कुछ महीने पहले वे इसी दल में थे और मंत्री पद पर आसीन थे। तब उनको कोई बुराई नहीं दिखी। आज मंत्री पद से हटने के बाद उनको ये सब बुराईयां दिखाई पड़ रही हैं। मेरी समझ में बात आती नहीं कि कुछ महीने पहले तक तो कोई बुराई नहीं थी और आज आप मंत्रिपद से हट गए तो आप को बुराई ही बुराई दिखती है। फिर जिनका बहुमत है वह तो पदों पर रहेंगे। रहें। मुझे तो यह दिखता है कि जिनका बहुमत नहीं है उनकी लार भी आज पदों के लिए टपकती है। ईश्वर के सम्बन्ध में तो दो मत हैं। कुछ लोग आस्तिक हैं, कुछ लोग नास्तिक हैं। लेकिन जहाँ तक पदों का मामला है वहाँ कोई नास्तिक नहीं है। सभी आस्तिक मुझे दिखाई पड़ रहे हैं।

केन्द्रीय सरकार की मजबूती के ऊपर देश का भविष्य निर्भर है। केन्द्रीय सरकार के हाथ मजबूत करना प्रत्येक देशभक्त का काम होना चाहिए और यहाँ पर जो कार्यवाही हो रही है वह सब की सब इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को कमजोर बनाए। इससे इस देश का लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। यह मैं आप से कह रहा हूँ, अपने इतने लम्बे सार्वजनिक जीवन के अनुभव के आधार पर कह रहा हूँ, इस सदन में 48 साल से मैं हूँ। मैंने सब तरह की पाटियों को यहाँ पर देखा है और मेरा यह निश्चित मत है कि इस देश का सारा भविष्य केन्द्रीय सरकार की मजबूती पर निर्भर है और जहाँ तक केन्द्रीय सरकार का मामला है मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज इन्दिरा जी का कोई विकल्प नहीं है। इन्दिरा जी के हाथ मजबूत करना केन्द्रीय सरकार के हाथ मजबूत करना

है। इसके ऊपर इस देश का भविष्य निर्भर है। मैं कोई भविष्यवक्ता ज्योतिषी नहीं हूँ। लेकिन इतने लम्बे सार्वजनिक जीवन के अनुभव के आधार पर मैं एक भविष्य-वाणी करता हूँ। रोचक कहा जाता है कि भेड़िया भ्रामा, भेड़िया भ्रामा। कल एलेक्शन होने वाला है, परसों एलेक्शन होने वाला है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 72 के पहले लोक सभा के एलेक्शन होने वाले नहीं हैं और 1972 में आप देखेंगे, देश देखेगा कि इन्दिरा जी इस लोक सभा में प्रचण्ड बहुमत के साथ आएंगी। उनको किसी दल के सहयोग की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

इन शब्दों के साथ यह जो प्रस्ताव आपके सामने आया है, इसका मैं कड़े से कड़े शब्दों में विरोध करता हूँ।

SHRI SEZHIAN (Kumbakonam) : Yesterday when the no-confidence motion was admitted, the Speaker told the House that he had received three no-confidence motions, one by Mr. A. K. Gopalan, another by Mr. P. Ramamurti and a third by Mr. Madhu Limaye. If the chances had favoured the CPM motion it would have been better, because in the problems of Kerala and West Bengal it is the CPM which is most interested, and this House and the country are entitled to hear what they want to say on the subject. Everybody wants to know what their apprehensions are in this matter.

when a member of the Communist Party told me that they were going to bring this motion, I said it was their internecine war, what we call *pangali chandal* in Tamil which was being brought here because the partners of a Hindu family, after partition, quarrel more, and so do the CPI and CPM, the ruling Congress and opposition Congress, and probably PSP and SSP.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam) : DMK and DK.

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** Now they are one.

I am more interested in hearing Mr. Gopalan as to the exact apprehension of theirs in Kerala and the other point of view may probably be explained by Mr. Dange. Now we are concerned with the no-confidence motion of Mr. Limaye.

Though it is a one line motion saying that this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers, there are three points in support of it, viz., the reported manipulation of the electoral rolls in Kerala and the imposition of a minority Government there; excessive concentration of power in the hands of the Prime Minister, Cabinet Secretariat and the Prime Minister's Secretariat; and dilution of the principle of Ministerial control and general bureaucratisation. All these things by themselves are matters of academic interest and study and deserve the attention not only of this House but all those who believe in democracy in the country.

We are mainly concerned with this form of the no confidence motion. In that thing they say that there has been rigging of the electoral rolls. If so, it is a serious charge and the Election Commission should be seized of it. I do not want this Government, whether it is headed by the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi or anybody else, to give any direction what so ever to the Election Commission this way or that way. It may or may not be true--this charge. If we are convinced that the Election Commission is in the wrong, there is a remedy in the Constitution; we can express our want of confidence in the Chief Election Commissioner just as we can express our want of confidence in the judges. Both Houses can send an address to the president asking him to take action. I do not want the motion of no confidence against the Election Commission to be turned into a motion of no-confidence against the Ministry; it is not procedurally correct. Impressive figures are given that in Kerala electoral rolls there have been 31 lakhs of inclusions and 17 lakhs of deletions and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh asks: what kind of family planning is this. But

is that conclusion correct? Mere quoting of figures does not prove the conclusion. Whether and how they arrive at this conclusion—the CP (M) will say after going through the list I know the figures for Tamil Nadu. During the last four year there have been 63 lakhs inclusion and 45 lakhs deletions. Anyone can ask: how has this happened I can assure you that there has been no complaint that the electoral rolls had been rigged in Tamil Nadu.

**SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli):** There is no election in Tamil Nadu in the next few weeks; there is ample time. In Kerala the elections are to be held within a few weeks. There is no comparison.

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** I am dealing with figures only. The deletions or inclusions are not the results of deaths or births during the last three or four years; children of two and three years of age are not registered as voters, unless Dr. Ram Subhag Singh occupies that side and changes the law. One should be 21 years to get into voters' list. This proliferation, if any should have happened somewhere in 1947 and 1948 and Keralities were perhaps more jubilant after Independence. (*An hon. Member:* In Tamil Nadu?) ...In Tamil Nadu also. Besides, inclusion does not mean a new entrant or a new birth. It may mean alteration. If a person goes from one ward to another, there is addition in one list and deletion in another. A person who changes his residence will not be entitled to vote unless he makes corresponding changes in the voters' list. I do not blame family planning for this nor do I want the same kind of blame thrown upon Tamil Nadu because of 63 lakhs inclusions and 41 lakhs deletions. If at all the family planning system has to be blamed, the system prevalent in the years 1947-48 should be blamed when Dr. Ram Subhag Singh was himself there, on that side.

There are some other points. Mr. Madhu Limaye says that there is abnormal concentration of power. I do not want to single out the Prime Minister for this. As Mr. Masani said this concentration had been there for the past 20 years. The

Constitution gives so much powers. There is the accusation of the grabbing of power, whether it is grabbing of power or of land or grabbing a vehicle or grabbing a woman, and grabbing is bad. From the Nexalite area we are told that land is being grabbed, that women are being grabbed. It is something different here. Here, it is the question of a woman grabbing power. It is the ministerial reshuffle about which the speakers were seriously agitated. When Dr. Ram Subhag Singh was speaking, he expressed his serious dissatisfaction about the reported demotions and displacements in the Cabinet. But I would call this only as a *Pangali Chondai*. Blood is thicker than water and so probably Dr. Ram Subhag Singh is very much concerned with the welfare of some Ministers, his ex-colleagues. If therefore, Mr. Chavan is demoted, so to say, it hurts him. If Mr. Dinesh Singh is removed or changed, it hurts him. Therefore Dr. Ram Subhag Singh expressed sympathy for Shri Chavan, his pity for Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and is perturbed over the change of portfolio to Shri Dinesh Singh and others. He is so much agitated that probably, he may go over there, set things right and come back here against probably such is his anxiety. Therefore, whatever it is, the congress opposition has got much anxiety about the welfare of its erstwhile brethren. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh has nothing against the Ministers; nothing against Shri Chavan; nothing against Shri Fakhruddin; nor against Shri Dinesh Singh. He has only got something against the Prime Minister who according to him has become a dictator. If she has really become a dictator, those who are on the other side would be more concerned than those who are here. We should look at the collective performance of the whole Cabinet, and I do not want to single out any individual in that context, especially a lady. After all, she may have five, 10 or 53 Ministers. We should judge the performance of the Government as a whole as per the Constitution; the performance of the entire Cabinet or the entire Ministry. If anything goes wrong, attack the entire Ministry or the entire Government. Do not single out anybody; that does not help anyone. (*Interruption*)

Now, I agree that there is concentration of power; whether it is in the hands of

one or five or a dozen persons or 53 persons, I am very much concerned about this concentration of power. This concentration of power could have been avoided, and my suggestion is, decentralise as many powers as possible, and give them to the States.

AN HON. MEMBER : That is the solution. (*Interruption*).

SHRI SEZHIAN : As per the Constitution, we provided certain powers. Now, you have combined and taken over all those powers. My point is, whether it is Shri Chavan or anybody else, do not give so much power to anyone. Once you give certain powers, then they try to concentrate those powers. My point is, take away the powers and give them to the States, except vital matters like defence or external affairs or communication or currency, etc.

AN HON. MEMBER : I agree.

SHRI SEZHIAN : If he agrees with me, then this no confidence motion is not the way to bring it about; bring a constitutional amendment, when we will come and support it, so that these powers can be curtailed and distributed properly. Thus, concentration of powers can be avoided.

I do not want to take much time of the House. Regarding the composition of the partners who are now going to support the no-confidence motion, I think that the Marxist party has expressed earlier—that is my presumption and I think it will be correct—that they want to give expression to their apprehension through a discussion, whether it is through a no confidence motion or an adjournment motion or anything else; because they are so much exercised over the issues. Their main aim is to bring forth the matters to the attention of the House. I think they are not very much interested in toppling this Government, to be fair to them. The position might have changed after the Rabat debacle. But then, at that time, I should like to draw the attention of the House to what

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Shri P. Ramamurti, the spokesman of their party, said.

He said :

"I must confess that I am not convinced about the advisability of having attended this conference. I believe the Government of India have bungled in this matter."

That was his reaction then in relation to the adjournment motion. Why? He went on to say :

"Neither am I one of those who believes that the policies of Shrimati Indira Gandhi are going to be extremely progressive."

It is no illusion.

"Nonetheless, what is the choice before us? Whom do the Jan Sangh-Swatantra-Syndicate combine represent in our country? What is it that they are pleading for?...We all know what is in store for the country if they come to power now."

Therefore, at that time, on that issue, he had definitely given his opinion that the Government had bungled.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Why don't you quote Mr. Manoharan ?

SHRI SEZHIYAN : I can quote Mr. Manoharan also. I do not want Mr. Mody's assistance in that matter.

So, that was Mr. Ramamurti's position then. I hope he will take the same position now. He may feel that the actions of the Government may not be progressive. There may be rigging of the electoral rolls in Kerala. On that score, he may find fault with the Election Commission and the Kerala Government.

I do not think even the Swatantra Party is very much interested in toppling this Government. Mr. Masani has made it clear.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Wait till you listen to me :

SHRI SEZHIYAN : I thought Mr. Masani was the only spokesman for his party. I find there are two. Yesterday Mr. Masani said :

Toppling has nothing to do with democracy. That is not the way in which self-respecting people come to power".

They are all self-respecting people and therefore I think they are not interested in toppling the Government.

"Democratic people come to power after an appeal to the people and a mandate of the electorate...We want to come to power by the mandate of the people. We will not listen to the advice of people, "Let us topple Shrimati Indira Gandhi and then see what comes to India". You cannot fight something with nothing. You have got to fight something with something better."

I agree, I fully endorse this sentiment.

SHRI R. K. AMIN (Dhandhuka) : Is that the DMK view ?

SHRI SEZHIYAN : Yes; there is no point in removing something and having something worse. We want something better and we will wait till that opportunity comes. If she does not come up to expectations, we are ready to dissociate Our support is always conditional and qualified to that extent.

With these words, I oppose the no-confidence motion that has been moved, because it is so much a no-confidence motion against the Election Commission and against the Kerala Government.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Gopalan.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Kasergod) : Mr. Dange is here. According to the order, he should speak first.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All right, Mr. Dange.

SHRI S. A. DANGE (Bombay Central-South) : Thanks very much to Mr. Gopalan for at least recognising once in a while my seniority.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : It is the Lok Sabha that recognises, not I.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Sir, there are three parts to the motion of censure. The first part is in relation to Kerala. The case about Kerala has been argued by my friend Mr. Madbu Limaye and argued in the reverse by my friend, the DMK leader. What is the complaint about Kerala? It is that the elections are being held sooner than some of these gentlemen wanted. But then I thought our Government there was fulfilling their wishes that immediately the ministry's strength and the front's strength should be tested by a reference to the voters. I thought they were consistent in their political and tactical principles.

But it seems sometimes, or often, they are not. In Bengal they want immediate elections. In Kerala they want post-ponement of the elections. In Bengal they want peoples' democracy. At the Centre they want alliance with Jansangh and Swatantra. So, I am rather confused about the tactical line of my friends here. Anyway that does not matter. That is not the point. The point is... (*Interruptions*). You can have your say through Shri Gopalan.

Now, with regard to the case about mortality and birth rate, that has been answered already. This revision of the rolls is taking place after six years and if you see the percentages of rise and Fall in other States—Somebody has worked it out for me—the average net increase per year in Kerala from 1964 comes to 2.7 per cent and the average increase in Tamilnadu from 1966 comes to 2.12 per cent. In West Bengal It is 2.08 per cent. We

cannot certainly say that in West Bengal they were busy manufacturing and rigging the rolls in expectation of immediate elections. It is not our viewpoint alone. The masses, behind whichever party they are conscious of the fact that the rigging of the rolls and falsification of election results by this method is an impossibility.

I might cite an example for the benefit of my friends. In Andhra once we expected to sweep the Congress out of power and were almost ready to form a Ministry. Then suddenly we found we had lost. At that time somebody trotted forward the theory that the ballot boxes had been tampered with. Then Comrade Sundarayya issued a statement that such an explanation of the defeat was nonsense and non-political and "our party does not agree with that". But, it seems, after 1955, standards have changed with the Marxists and their leadership.

With the claim which they have made, which I do not want to discuss here, that the masses were solidly behind them, why should they be afraid of such rolls? Whatever their names, they have the people with them. Against those names they can put the people and win. Why should they be afraid of it?

SHRI NAMBIAR : There would be false voting and misrepresentation.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Then they make so much about the cases, that thousands of asses are instituted. They forget that 1,000 cases were instituted in the reign of comrade E M S Nambudiripad as Chief Minister. Will they lump those cases also with these? They say that 50,000 people are involved. Not at all; the Chief Minister has given the figures. Even supposing they are, after all, they are political fighters. Are they afraid of going to polls just because they are under-trials? Which heroic Marxist will be daunted by the prospect of a sentence and not go for voting? It is a censure on their own following to say one lakh voters are involved and so the whole election will be lost. What a

[ Shri S. A. Dange ]

loss of faith in their own following ! I cannot understand it.

Then, on the voting day the courts are generally closed. On the voting day you are not required to go to court to lose the right of voting. What are they losing, I do not know.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : It is not only going to court but attending to some other work also.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : He says it is not only attending court but some other work also. But, after all some all 20 million Keraliyas are there in their party. Why should at all they worry about one lakh people ? So let us leave it aside This thing about voting and all these things are very small matters for bringing in a motion of no-confidence.

Then, there were three or four by elections recently, about four months back. At that time the rolls were not rigged; they were the same; but they did not worry about it at that time. Why are they worrying about it now ? Most probably because the Marxists have changed their mood. They think it is better to be busy with the rolls than with the masses. So, at the time of the four by-elections four months back, no worry is there, because something has changed. What is the change ? The political atmosphere has changed.

I have here a very nice example of how the birth rate of their rolls is increasing in Kerala. I got it from some of these people themselves. There is an MP. he is a member of the Rajya Sabha—who was registered in one constituency. Then he went and registered himself in another constituency. (I thought, the MPs knew the rules better.) Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad complained to the Commissioner that his name was not there at all ; this was victimisation. Then, a verification was made and his name was found at two places. Naturally, that was the birth rate of the voter. It is simple. If 50,000 people go and register themselves in other 50,000 places, the birth rate is naturally bound to be double or treble in spite of the quality of the Kerala people or

of the Tamil Nadu people or some other people. This has no reference to genetics and life at all. This is just registering here, then there and then somewhere else.

So, the Kerala case is rather weak and I do not know why Shri Madhu Limaye should have bothered himself with this. In any case, this is perhaps because of the new partnership and the new alliance. I do not want to speak much on this ; perhaps, there are other speakers who may have to say something about it.

In any case, the elections are going to take place. They do not want them. All right ; if you want President's rule, if you are so much in good mood about it and its virtues, if it will have a special quality in Kerala under the benign leadership of Shri A. K. Gopalan, we have no objection. We thought that you were against President's rule ; therefore, the hurry was there. But it seems that there is no hurry. There are two standards—one in West Bengal and one in Kerala.

As regards the resignation of the Ministry, the Ministry is prepared to resign. It did not resign only for the simple reason that if the resigned the elections could be postponed till 1972. In fact, they should have thanked us that we did not enable the other side to postpone them till 1972 as they are able to do in Bengal. So, that is our case about Kerala. There is not much of a political quarrel in these rolls and other things and I would leave it at that.

The more important part of the censure motion is the second part, that is, the concentration of power, I am so sorry that the proposition has not been properly put. Is there a concentration of power ? What is the main reason for it ? The main reason for it is that the concentration of political power follows from the base, that is the concentration of economic power against which the Constitution warns, namely that if property is concentrated in the hands of a few people to the detriment of society, democracy also ceases to be in existence and dictatorial trends begin to take possession of demo-

*S A Dange*

cracy. That is the real proposition about the concentration of power. What is the use of saying whether Shri Chavan is displaced by Shri Swaran Singh or Shri Swaran Singh is displaced by Shri Jagjiwan Ram and all that, because their power flows from concentration somewhere else? Unless that concentration is broken, real democracy functioning in the political system of the country will not come and the democracy of the Constitution will not get its correct expression. So, the proposition was put forward by my hon. friend, Shri Madhu Limaye, rather from an unsocialistic point of view though I do not expect him to follow the socialism as I define it. I have no grudge about that with him, but I thought that the proposition was not being argued correctly in this House.

It is not a question of concentration of power in the hands of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Supposing, this vote is carried—taking it for granted—with the help of all this gentry here and we are given an alternative, what type of concentration is substituted by what type of a new concentration? Will it be the destruction of concentration of power and will it be a march towards democracy? If this resolution is carried, first we will have a Cabinet with Shri Morarji Desai as the Prime Minister, (*An Hon. Member*: No.) with Shri Bal Raj Madhok as the Defence Minister, displacing the Indian Army by the vast army of the RSS and the Shiv Sena. Then we will have Shri M. R. Masani as the Finance Minister, selling all the pupic sector plants to the house of Tatas. Will that be a progress towards democracy if that side is displaced and this side marches in?

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Yes.

AN HON MEMBER : There will be elections.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Why elections? You will have a majority. What is being debated about? Then, there is the Shadow Cabinet that is promised from that side.....  
(*Interruption*)

15 Hrs.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Mr. Pillo Mody as the Health Minister,

SHRI S. A. DANGE : In that case, he will form a Ministry of Slimming. That will be the effect of his being the Health Minister.

So, Sir, what I was saying is that the concentration of power follows from the concentration of economic power and, that way, State power has to be analysed. It is the concentration of power of the bourgeois and landlord system. Unless that system is destroyed, you will not have the real democratisation of the State power. It is a simple proposition. It was, in fact, envisaged by the framers of the Constitution, But, unfortunately, at present, even the Marxists who wanted to throw out the Constitution lock, stock and barrel, are now discussing parliamentary democracy and concentration of power and so on,

Then, in regard to the quotation which my hon. friend of the D. M. K. Party gave about Mr. Ramamurti, let me inform him and for the benefit of other people also that that Marxist Party's formulation has changed now. In their last Central Committee deliberations, the proposition about the character of the Indira Gandhi Government has changed. It has now been described as a fascist Government of landlords and bourgeois allied with imperialism. That is the latest change. (*Interruption*) To them now that side is also fascist; this side also is fascist. Which is to be put against which at a given moment is not for them the concern of democracy and concentration of power at all I want the House and the leadership of all the parties to take up the motion of concentration of power seriously. I am not of the opinion that power is getting more concentrated politically today than last year.

When the 1967 elections broke up to Congress Ministries in several States and, when the July events of last year took place, a most unhealthy concentration that was taking place was arrested though not completely broken. Imagine the concentration of power that was there on the eve of the July events! When leader like Shri

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Morarji Desai was displaced from the Cabinet, it was a welcome event. That was a step in the direction of preventing the most unhealthy concentration of power in the bourgeois and landlord class. The division of the Congress party itself and the breaking up of the leadership was a step towards de-concentration of power, and not towards more concentration of power. Therefore, this event should be pursued. This line of development should be encouraged and this line of development should not be arrested. Otherwise, imagine all these parties of the ultra-right continuing in their career of displacing the other party, and what would be the outcome? Would it be lesser concentration or more concentration, in an unhealthy direction or in a healthy direction? I do not know why this proposition was really put forward by my comrade Shri Madhu Limaye. I never expected him to mis-read the events of July, 1969 in a wrong way. The July 1969 events are to be pursued to a logical end until the remnants of those who were expelled are further expelled from that side since they are still hiding under cover here and there.

I do oppose the motion of No-confidence. But that does not mean that I am for a vote of confidence in the other side as it is. Why? For the simple reason that still further changes to the left are necessary in the policies of the present Government. Those changes are necessary. We are now trying to see that those changes take place on the question of land concentration. Thousands of acres are concentrated in the hands of the Birlas who are getting more and more concessions. That ought to be stopped. Otherwise, the direction of concentration of power will go in an unhealthy way—the concentration of power in the hands of the biggest monopolies which are now multiplying. The latest issue of the Company Law Report and the magazine that they issue—many of us will benefit by reading that—says that 20 large houses which were mentioned in the Dutt Report have now become still larger and multiplied in number, concentrating greater economic power in the hands of a few houses than that was before.

Therefore, the danger of de-concentration of the political power at the Centre being met with and defeated by this concentration of economic power is multiplied and larger houses are now going to command more than 50% of the capital in this country. Therefore, the proposition of concentration should be discussed on some other motion in a more detailed way, in a more scientific way rather than in this haphazard way. How to fight concentration? As far as we are concerned, most of the left parties are agreed that unless you strengthen the mass movement, deconcentration cannot be achieved and the concentration of power in the hands of the bourgeois landlord class cannot be fought. The signs are good. For example, a CRP Policeman beat a railway shunter. Immediately 40,000 railwaymen began to strike work. That is the way to fight concentration of Power. Lands are lying with the big landlords. We are going to occupy them, We hope we will succeed. Actually already it is having an effect on the concentration of power. For example, even a Chief Minister like Mr Brahmananda Reddy, who does not hesitate to shoot down the Telengana fellows, asked one of his Ministers to part with 400 acres of land and hand it over to the landless labourers. These are good signs. But what are they due to? They are due to the fact that the masses started struggling and that is the real guarantee to decentralising the unhealthy power that is concentrated at present in the hands of the Government.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : But Mrs. Gandhi is recruiting more and more CRP men.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Therefore, what I have pointed out was that we should concentrate on the question of class power and not on power of individuals. Individuals are but the expression of the classes behind them and from that follows the strength of the bureaucracy. The strength of bureaucracy has grown. No doubt about that. Why has it grown? Because the Ministerial composition of the Cabinet is such that everyday a Minister changing means no guidance in the Ministry and even if there is a progressive policy, it is not acted upon.

I may tell you here what one Manager of the Railways at present managed by our Sadhu leader, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, said. When we complained to the Manager he said 'Don't take about the Ministers'. We are permanent people who run the Department. Ministers are like casual labour. They come and go.' (*Interruptions*) I had an experience of this myself. About one closed mill in Bombay which four Marwaris of Kanpur are holding in ransom, we knocked at the door of every Minister including the Prime Minister everybody promised immediate relief and the immediate relief is that the mill continues to remain closed with the workers' wages held back. Several lakhs of rupees are held in abeyance and not paid to them. It is a nice good mill. It is not run because it does not suit the interests of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra to open that mill and the bureaucracy down below is in the good books of these millowners. Don't you know how the bureaucracy functions? Take an example. We are opposed to the National Labour Commission. They proposed that this question of adjudication, conciliation be given to the Industrial Relations Commission composed of Judges and so on so that an owner or a Minister or a bureaucrat cannot influence the results. The bureaucrats stoutly opposed it and the Ministers could not oppose the bureaucrats. Labour Minister of all the States said, No, we must have this power' because every bureaucrat down below says Gentlemen, you will be in trouble if you start handling the files yourself'. Why? Because really Ministers do not know their own subjects.

If the Ministers change every third day, in those 3 days they have no time to acquaint themselves with their subjects, except those Minister who have done a round of all the Ministers at one time or the other. But that is a different matter. That is there. They are like casuals that are employed in Railway Service. Casuals are there in Railways even for 14 years, permanent casuals. But they gather knowledge; others don't.

And therefore, Sir, we have got this spectacle of the bureaucrats coming and

dictating decisions against the wishes of the trade union movement and the Minister says, yes. I will give you one example. Since my time is up, I wish to say this. What I have been saying was that this subject of concentration of power should be discussed in a more serious way. Now, it is rather late in the day to say so. But this question has not been raised today; it was there already; only thing is, this has not been taken up seriously at all. The first question of concentration of power of a Minister or a King was raised and you should know it--in *Mahabharat* by Arjun who asked the question for reply from Bhishma a simple question. He asked: I am a man with two eyes; I am like any other man with two hands, two eyes. But why the other man should obey me and give me the right to become a king and be a subjects? Who brought this about? And who gave me power to rule over the other man who has not got the power to refuse to be ruled? This is the question, the theory of the State, the question of class power and how power comes, which are raised in Debates in the history book of *Mahabharat*. And then a reply was given. I don't want to go into that.

The entire thing is based on the struggle of classes of property and non-property, dispossessed and possessed. This struggle has been going on in this country. That struggle has been there under Hindu rule or Muslim rule or British rule or in present day Congress rule.

So, that is the essence of the question. That question has got to be solved by a real fight for a democracy and that fight must be begin by nationalisation of the big monopolies. Then these gentlemen who want to concentrate power in the hand of the big houses will lose their concentrated power and democracy will really start flowing. Then alone working class can really govern the country, the peasantry can get their demands, the problem of the ordinary working class and the unemployed can be solved.

The unemployment problem cannot be solved either by Mrs. Indira Gandhi or the

[Shri S. A. Dange]

Home Ministry or anybody talking about good wishes for the unemployed.

My proposition is that this type of debate of no-confidence is not going to give us any results. The debate should be based on foundations of science, dealing with management of society, nature of political power and nature of democracy in this country, and the necessity to really put the working people, the peasants and the middle class and the working class in power. Unless that is done, this problem cannot be solved.

There is one example I will give now. Banks were nationalised. A good measure. They could not have been nationalised if Morarji Desai had not been dismissed as he was last year. But what is the difficulty now? The banks are being managed by the bureaucrats and Rs. 130 crores are handed over to the speculative market and prices go up by 7% or 9%. This has appeared in the *Statesman*, the *Times of India* and other papers, and they said, this thing must stop. Then the Governor of the Reserve Bank comes in, and says; yes, yes, we have seen that too much money was given, we are calling it back. That happened in February. Again in July the same thing has happened. Why is this happening again and again?

It is because the forces of democracy are not in control of the banks. And therefore, the management of the banks has got to be handed over and carried out by the forces of democracy? What is meant by democracy? The workers must have a share in the management.

The old speculators, the old directors, the old gangsters who played with the deposits of the people are all still there in power along with the old bureaucrats. And therefore if Mr. Chavan says that more deposits be mobilised, I say, No, Sir, the more the deposits, today, greater the speculation. These resources should not be mobilised unless you give the guarantee that these deposits will not be put at the disposal of the speculative market, Who is

going to control them? You may please debate about it. You may take all the journals. They are there before you. I am not talking of facts which are in my own pocket only. But you are not dealing with it. Why are you not dealing with it? Of whom are you afraid? It is true that the Supreme Court stopped you for some time, and custodians were imposed. But fortunately some custodians ran away and some have resigned and all that. Therefore, the point is that the banks continue still to be controlled by the monopolists who are the friends of Shri M. R. Masani. Shri M. R. Masani's proposition which he offered as perhaps a solution was this...

SHRI NAMBIAR : Now, he is supporting the motion?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : . that the reason why concentration is taking place is that the public sector has increased and private enterprise is going down. That was one proposition which he made and he said that if private enterprise grew then democracy automatically would grow. The home of private enterprise is America; the home of private enterprise is England. And the American Senate says that concentration of power is taking place in the hands of the President too much and, therefore, some way must be found to demolish it; there are no public sectors of a large size in America, and no public sectors of a large size in England, and yet concentration of power has taken place. Therefore, demolishing the public sector is not a panacea for destroying the class-power of the monopolists, which can only be done by the democratic masses.

SHRI M. V. KRISHNAPPA (Hoskote): The no-confidence motion has been brought forward on a trivial and very small matter and much has already been said, to which replies have also been given. In a democratic armoury, a no-confidence motion is like the Brahmastra or the mightiest weapon in a democracy is the no-confidence motion, and it should not be used often and on trivial matters. If it is not used, it will lose all its importance.

I am sorry to say that Shri Madhu Limaye has brought forward this no-confidence-motion on a very small and trivial matter and the cry that there is a tiger. My only worry is that when there is really a tiger and the cry is heard, nobody will pay attention to it, and one would be swallowed by the very no-confidence motion which has lost its value now.

As regards Kerala voters, since yesterday, much has been said and replies have also been given. There could not be a more proper reply to this than Shri S. A. Dange's observation on this matter. I have been very much associated with Kerala since the last twenty-five years. Since I come from an area adjoining Kerala, I have been asked to be either an observer or to take part in every general elections in Kerala for the last twenty-five years. My experience is that the Kerala voters need not be protected by Shri Madhu Limaye. They know how to protect themselves. They are highly enlightened people and Kerala is a highly literate State. My experience there has been that even the dead people come out and vote during the elections. During the elections, I have seen a number of people who are dead, whose names are not in the voters' list, who have come and voted. When that is the case, I do not think that there would be any possibility of those who are entitled to vote and whose names have been left out, being prevented from exercising their franchise.

The Election Commissioner has revised the voters' list. He has given comparative figures concerning the adjoining States also. He says that compared to those figures, there is nothing unusual in the increase of voters in Kerala and there is no malpractice done in the voters' list. When that is the case, I do not know why Shri Limaye should feel concerned; when in a State like Kerala even the dead come out and vote, I do not know why he has taken up the case of those who are entitled to vote, whose names have been enlisted. The Election Commissioner has given more time, two or three days. Even afterwards

by paying a nominal fee, one can enlist as a voter if his name is not there. That being so, there is no meaning in Shri Limaye crying that there is some *golmal* going on in the electoral rolls of Kerala.

Coming to concentration of power, as Shri Dange has said, it is uncharitable for the Mover to interfere with the inner politics of our party. After all, it is the Prime Minister's prerogative. Once she takes anybody in her Cabinet, it is for her to distribute the power among the members of the Cabinet, and no member of the Cabinet has any business to think that this portfolio is important or that portfolio is important. Once they are in the Cabinet, it is a joint responsibility. I have been a Minister for 15 years. I know the supreme power lies in the Chief Minister or the Prime Minister. Even though particular portfolios are handled by individual Ministers, the Prime Minister can call for any paper or file at any time she likes. To say that there is concentration of power in one hand is quite wrong and as I said, it is wrong on the part of Shri Limaye to interfere with the inner politics of our party and try to bring about some differences among us. It is not so. The Cabinet works as a team on a joint responsibility basis. In fact, some of us feel that the Prime Minister should have taken more portfolios under her charge and dealt with the unrest going on in the country. That being so, I do not think the Prime Minister has taken more portfolios than she could manage, and Shri Limaye should be told that he should not hereafter meddle with our party politics.

As regards Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, I am surprised to see how the Doctor changes. Only 11 months ago when he was a member of the Cabinet, everything was all right. Now according to him, it is corrupt and there are cliques and everything has gone wrong. I can tell him after the departure of Shri Morarji Desai and others from the Cabinet, there are no cliques in the Cabinet and there is a homogeneous team functioning with one leader and followers unlike on the other side in their party where there are more leaders and less followers. I tell Dr. Ram Subhag Singh that he should not have spoken in this manner. He is an old

[Shri M. V. Krishnappa]  
 friend of mine in this House since nearly 18 years.

To Shri Madhok, everything looked like dictatorship here. To him, our Prime Minister looks like a dictator. He compared here to Hitler and Stalin put together. Someone from the 'O' Congress said that the prime Minister looks like Mussolini also. There is no doubt the Prime Minister has emerged the strongest leader in the country. In the Syndicate, everyone now is frustrated.

The leaders of the 'O' Congress who have been functioning as king-makers making Ministers and dismissing them, for 30 years, now feel frustrated because the Prime Minister boldly protested and sent them out. Now they are helpless, disappointed and frustrated and to them, she looks like a dictator.

Is the Prime Minister of India a dictator? Why should she be? She has renounced almost everything. The one house which her grandfather had given to her, Anand Bhavan, she has gifted to the nation. She goes to the people immediately after Parliament's session is over and even during the session. They gather in millions round her. She speaks to them, understands their feelings. They cheer her and wish her. I have seen her going about amidst people without caring for the police *bando-bast*. Some people cry "God bless you, madam", and that is the spontaneous feeling of the people in this country. To call her a dictator is something which nobody can tolerate. A dictator would never face his people, but our Prime Minister mixes with millions of people. I challenge them to go to the countryside and see whether they can face so many people as the Prime Minister of India faces. She works 18 hours in the day when you people want to reduce eight working hours in the day. She wears the simplest of clothes. What for on earth should she become a dictator? She is working for this nation, its progress and wherever she goes, thousands and millions flock to her,

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: Is he a biographer of the Prime Minister?

SHRI M. V. KRISHNAPPA: I want to tell Mr. Madhok that because of her boldness the whole country appreciates her, whether she is going to fulfil all that she has promised immediately or not. Because of her boldness she looks like a dictator to Mr. Madhok. She has more sense than all the dictators put together, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, and she acts as a democrat, she is not a dictator.

Yesterday Mr. Kripalani mentioned the old story, how the Congress candidate in the Presidential election was defeated. It was unnecessary for him to refer to it. My reply is that Mr. Kripalani, in the same breath, should ask the Congress (O) how the Presidential candidate was selected. Was it not a coup, was there not almost a clique? In the annals of Indian history or the political party which he served for nearly 30 years, was there any instance where the Presidential candidate was selected by vote in five minutes? Does it not amount to a coup, does it not amount to a clique? Why should Shri Sanjiva Reddy, who was a very popular Speaker here, and who was becoming more popular, have been dragged into the Presidential election? Mr. Kripalani should apply his mind to these problems and see whether it was correct on the part of the Congress (O) leaders to have behaved in this manner.

When there was a coup, certainly the Prime Minister had to protest, and she protested. Not only did she protest, she taught them a lesson, and by teaching them a lesson, she has done the right thing. I want to tell Mr. Kripalani that he should not be blind to the blunders committed by the Congress (O). Is it because his better half is on that side?

We welcome the neutrality of Mr. Kripalani: He has served long the country and this Parliament, but when this neutrality is blind to the blunders committed by the Congress (O) and simply condemns the Prime Minister and this party, what right

has Mr. Kriplani to ask for the neutrality of the Government in world politics? So, I appeal him to be impartial in these matters.

SHRI A.K. GOPALAN (Kasergod) : I requested you to call me after Shri Dange because I thought that there would be some points which I could answer, but unfortunately as far as Kerala is concerned, there were no valid points made by him. He only wanted to discuss the tactical line. I do not want to discuss the tactical line of our party here, I will do it outside at the time of the election. The tactical line of his party is that in 1967 it was against the Congress, in 1970 it is in alliance with the Congress, and in 1972 I think his party's tactical line will be such that we will find Shri Dange not here in the opposition, but on that side. Their tactical line may change like that.

As far as the tactical line to be adopted by one party or many parties is concerned, I do not want to discuss it here.

Another point he made was : these people want President's rule. We do not want President's rule; we are against President's rule. The question is not whether you want President's rule. We want free and fair elections. Supposing for one or two months President's rule is to be there, we shall have to make that sacrifice because the most important thing in a parliamentary democracy is free and fair elections, giving everybody who is entitled to vote a chance to vote. We must remove those who are not entitled to vote. As my friend Mr. Krishnappa said there are many persons in the list who are dead. Dead persons come in the morning and vote; real persons come in the evening. There are such allegations. I shall point this out from the list. These are the experiences during the last three by-elections. We prefer the President's rule to Achutha Menon's rule because our experience was bad during the last so many months. In Achutha Menon's rule perhaps ten persons will be killed and two battalions of CRP will be there; under the president's rule, instead of ten, fifteen persons may be killed, the difference is only in number. As far as we are concerned, even if President's rule comes, the most important thing is that the elections must

be free and fair. I do not want to go into constitutional points. I only want to say that the continuation of the Ministry is illegal and unconstitutional. There is a news item in the *Times of India* from Trivandrum which reads as follows : "The Kerala Governor Mr. Viswanathan dissolved the State Assembly on the advice of the Chief Minister Mr. Achutha Menon and announced fresh election. Mr. Menon who sprang the biggest surprise of his career as Chief Minister told the reporters that he advised the dissolution of the Assembly to end the present 'uncertainty', and to win a fresh mandate possibly within the next three or four months." What is the 'uncertainty'? whether he has the majority. When he himself says that there was uncertainty, one should not dissolve the Assembly but call it into session to see whether he has got a majority and if he has no majority, tell the Governor and see whether any other majority will be there.

As for dissolution, I shall refer to articles 163, 164, and 174. As per article 163, there shall be a Council of Ministers with a Chief Minister as the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. The duty of the Chief Minister is that of communicating. He has to say what the Council of Ministers says; he has to advise the Governor as per the decisions of the Council of Ministers. Under article 167 (A) he has to communicate to the Governor of the State all the decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to administration or other things. It must be the decision of the Council of Ministers. The dissolution was not on the advice of the Council of Ministers because O Koran, one of the Ministers openly made a statement the other day saying : I do not know anything about it; I am unaware of it; I was not asked. Two other Ministers also said that they did not know about it. So, it was a decision taken by the Chief Minister himself. According to article 167 (B) the Chief Minister has to advise the Governor on the decisions of the Council of Ministers. But the Council of Ministers were not consulted. We do not know if the advice given by the Chief Minister to the Governor was something that was unconstitutional. Alone the Chief Minister has no right to dissolve the Assembly.

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

According to article 174, the Governor shall summon the Assembly. According to the constitutional provisions, the Council of Ministers is responsible to the Assembly. It is said that there is no Assembly especially in a coalition government where there are so many parties; but where there are so many parties, he must consult them and then give the advice to the Governor. After giving the advice also, there is no Assembly; whose is the responsibility when the Assembly is not there? The Council of Ministers is responsible to the Assembly, and when you dissolve the Assembly and then say you remain there, that is something which is not only unconstitutional but also shameful. I want to say, therefore, that it is unconstitutional.

The second point, as far as the election which has been talked of is concerned, is this. What is it that is said here? It is said by so many Members that we want an election in West Bengal and we do not want an election in Kerala. They minimise it that way. We say, whether in West Bengal or Kerala or Punjab or Manipur or any other place you must have an election, and the prerequisite of an election is that it must be a free and fair election. For a free and fair election, what are the things necessary? There must be a proper voters' list. I will show it to you what has happened. I shall read a letter written by me to the Election Commission on 10 July. There had been references here to the elections: What did you do in the by-elections? This is the relevant letter of 10th July, when we met and gave a memorandum to the Election Commission. Recently, three by-elections were conducted in Kerala-Kottarakara, Nilambur and Madayi. The list of voters in these three constituencies were having enormous anomalies like the inclusion of illegitimate voters and rejection of legitimate names. In the Madayi constituency alone, there were more than 4,000 deletions. In the Madayi constituency, in the Madayi Panchayat alone, more than 700 bogus voters were included in the list, most of whom are residing outside India like Dubai, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, etc. In other lists also, glaring defects were noted. It was really after

the three by-elections in which the voters' list were defective, we said that as far as the election lists are concerned, there are anomalies and something must be done about it. That is why we asked the Election Commission to supply us a Copy.

I have no time, or else, I would give details in this respect. In the lists in Kerala, in each district, something like 1,25,000 or 1,26,000 names were removed, and some two lakhs or three lakhs of names were added. As far as the 1967 elections were concerned, I have to tell you that there was no complaint from any side; there was no complaint from our side. There was no complaint from their side either. The voters' list was there. After 1967, three elections were there and it was then that we looked into the voters' lists and we told the Election Commission, "Please see that something is done. This is our experience as far as the three by-elections were concerned." We enquired about the 722 names of voters and gave our findings to the Election Commission, saying that these are the people who had not been here for the last so many years. The Election Commission, after that, sent me a letter on the 24th July after I met the Election Commissioner there. All the political parties were there. The majority parties represented in the Legislative Assembly told the Election Commission that the elections should not be in September. So, it was the desire of the majority of the people. But the Election Commission said, "We want to have the elections in September, because, before September 24, if the Assembly is not convened, six months will elapse. So, we must do that." I want to ask what the Election Commission has got to do with that. What is the duty of the Election Commission? The duty of the Election Commission is to see that free and fair elections are conducted. There may be President's rule; there may be some other thing. That is not the concern of the Election Commissioner. Majority of the parties, though not a big majority, namely, Cong (O), Cong (R) and all other parties except the mini-front parties, have said that elections should not be held in September because there is rain and the voters' list is irregular. This was told to the Election Commissioner. He

said, "The voters' list is ready. I will show". But the voters' list is not ready even today. Here are the telegrams I have got. When I met the Election Commissioner and showed him the telegrams, he promised that by 20th printed voters' list will be ready. But I have received a telegram from Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad on the 25th and also today morning saying, till yesterday midnight, all the voters lists are not given. Some of the voters' lists are given but all are not given.

The election has already been declared but there is no voters' list. Does anybody, including Mr. Dange, want elections without the voters' list? I will read the telegram I received on the 25th:

"Your letter dated July 23rd. received. Reports received by you are lies. There are some constituencies of which lists have not yet been received. Unimaginable errors in lists supplied show total unreliability. Letter follows."

This is a telegram to the Election Commissioner, a copy of which was sent to me. Today morning a telegram was sent to the Commissioner, a copy of which I have got which says that till yesterday midnight the complete voters' list is not prepared. Of course, the question can be twisted and we may be asked. "You do not want an election in Kerala, but you want an early election in Calcutta." We want elections everywhere. Let there be a mid-term poll in Bengal and also in Kerala, but the point is this. The Election Commissioner has already agreed to a revision. This is the copy of his letter :

"I have already agreed and have made arrangements for a special revision under section 21 (3) of the Representation of the People Act, 1950 of the electoral roll..." etc.

So, the Election Commission has agreed to a special revision of the electoral rolls. When a revision is done, certainly the provisions of the People Act and the rules made thereunder must be followed. For revision,

it is necessary that there must be a voters' list. As regards the voters' list, will the Election Commission show to the Prime Minister a copy of the letters received from all the parties? When the parties get the electoral roll, they will sign. I ask the Law Minister to ask the Election to show the signatures and vouchers of all the parties saying that they have got the electoral roll. The electoral roll has not been received by them.

Secondly, I want to show you a specimen of the electoral roll that is prepared in Kerala. Can you read this?

SHRI PILOO MODY : Written in Chinese invisible ink ?

SHRI A. K GOPALAN : I do not know what is the language. Nobody can read what it is.

SHRI MANOHARAN (Madras North) : is it genuine or bogus ?

SHRI A. K GOPALAN : It is a certified copy. Revision means, you must be able to read it. Without reading it, how can there be a revision ?

SHRI PILOO MODY : It does not matter if you lose this constituency. Let it be laid on the Table of the House.

SHRI A. K GOPALAN : Another example is a news item in *Malayala Manorama*, a paper not supporting us, a paper against us. That *Malayala Manorama* has the picture of the students of some high school in Manjeri preparing the electoral rolls. Sometimes the standards of our students in high schools are such that they do not write all the letters well. Here is a news item in *Malayala Manorama* dated 25th July :

"Kadeeja is a voter. Her father's name has also been given in the voters list. Do you know what it is ? 'Father.'

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

Suppose she goes to vote and the officer asks her the name of her father. If she says "Usman", he will say "here it is recorded as 'father', so you go away, you cannot vote".

"There are any number of such funny things in the voters list containing 1, 369 names in the Balusserry constituency, ward No. 45. There is no time to think of rights and wrongs. The whole thing has to be written somehow. Bring it out as quick as possible, that was the aim. See some of the names in the list. Vasandhi, Thiritha, Kenatti, Repper, Kerappan, Chechikutti, Thanka, Yavoda, Manidhyam, Ratha, Panchayathutti, Cheyi. There are many such names."

All the Malayalees will understand that such names are not there. If this list is not corrected and suppose a voter goes to the polling booth and says that his name is Manikkam, they will say "no, your name is Manidhyam, because it is written so here."

"Phisa is another name. It is sure that he is not the leader of the insurgent Nugas because his father's name is put as Athruman. Phisa is supposed to be a 32 year old woman.

Do you know what is the age of a voter! One year? There are also voters with, 4, 5, 6 and 7 years of age. An example, Merinnanna, male aged 7. "Appiri", yes he is a voter. He is 51 years old. Sthreedharan (not Sreedharan), son of "Aani" is another voter.

28 year old Hallah is supposed to be the son of Hassan Koya. There is according to this voters list eligibility for voting for Naskayai, the daughter Kakaya and the  $2\frac{1}{4}$  year old son Mohammed of Sui.

Souminikutty, a good name. Age 97.

Kenatti is also a voter. His father is Mohammad.

Aniyayi (which in Sanskrit means the follower) is also a voter. Aged 39 (who is his leader?) One cannot say in which pages of the list these sort of mistakes are there because many pages of the list have no numbers."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He should try to conclude.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madur.i): After all, the House should know all the facts when it is discussing an issue.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am not trying to prevent him. But there is a time limit. I am only drawing attention to that.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: This is the voters' list. In the 1967 voters list lakhs and lakhs of voters were not included and what were included were taken away. And what is the date for the revision? The last date is 28th. So the time is over. Till today there is no complete voters' list. Why was the election announced so hurriedly without the voters' list. In there no press in Kerala? Can you not print the voter's list? If that is not done, President's rule will come and the present ministry that is there cannot be continued. The new alliance between the Congress (O) and the Mini-Front—I am sorry, between the Congress (R) and the Mini Front—there cannot continue like that. I can understand that.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade): Congress (O) are you allies.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: At least he has agreed that the Congress (R) are their allies.

On the first day the Governor did not dissolve the Assembly. What the Governor did was that he came here, had a talk with the Election Commissioner and met the Prime Minister. I reliably understand that the Governor told the Prime Minister that if this Government did not continue, there was no chance of the new alliance coming to power in Kerala afterwards, if President's rule is imposed and elections are delayed.

The Governor went there and the *Malalayam Manorama* says—I have got it here—that Governor called the Chief Minister and said, "Do not resign." Then, the announcement of the election is there.

So, one can understand that there is collusion. Though they will say that Election Commission and everybody is independent, there is some conspiracy and collusion between the Election Commission, the Kerala Government and the Central Government. It is a shame that in a country where, as the Prime Minister says, there is the highest parliamentary democracy the voters' list is not printed and the elections are held without printing the voters' list with shabby writing and so many mistakes in the voters' list. If the elections are going to take place this way, one cannot say what is the object behind it. That is why we support the No-confidence Motion, because it is a conspiracy and this conspiracy has a political motive.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Law Minister.

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack) : On a point of order, Sir. Today's paper said that Shri Gopalan was filling a writ in the Delhi High Court. Has he done that? If so, the matter is *subjudice* and he cannot take up the matter here.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai) : Let him gather information and come here.

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA) : Sir, I am intervening in the debate in order to clarify matters from the legal and constitutional point.

I am am one with hon. friend, Shri Gopalan, that elections must be free and fair. That is a common ground. That is not common ground merely between Government and the party of Shri Gopalan but I am certain that it is the point of view of every party in this House.

I want to place before the House the events that have happened in a sequence.

The programme for the review of the electoral rolls of Kerala along with those in other States and Union territories was issued by the Election Commission on the 6th November, 1969. It provided for the publication of the existing rolls as draft rolls on the 15th November, 1969. The period for lodging claims and objections was from the 15th November, 1969 to the 30th November, 1969. Simultaneously, there was a house-to-house verification of each and every voter in the existing rolls. The claims and objections in respect of the draft rolls were disposed of before the 31st December, 1969. The electoral rolls were finally published on 15-1-70. The finally published electoral rolls are being questioned by some hon. Members. The Election Commission has strictly followed the provisions of the Representation of Peoples Act, 1950, the Registration of Electoral Rolls Rules, 1960 and the directions and instructions issued. After the publication of the electoral rolls for 1970 on 15-1-70, there were three by-elections in Kerala as referred to by my hon. friend Shri Dange. No objection was raised by any political party in respect of the electoral rolls in respect of these three by-elections.

SHRI UMANATH : It is these three by-elections which have brought out the entire thing.

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA : Now, the electoral rolls of these constituencies are being questioned. The objections to the electoral rolls have come only after the Legislative Assembly was dissolved and fresh elections became necessary to constitute a new Legislative Assembly. The Election Commission has now agreed to carry out a special revision prior to the ensuing General elections. It is not the intention of the Election Commission to leave the mistakes that have crept in the list.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : Without the voters' list?

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA : According to law, the final publication of the electoral rolls is already there. It is only a

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revision that is taking place in the light of the complaints made. To say that there is no electoral roll at all is wholly incorrect. The Election Commission has now agreed to carry out a special revision prior to the ensuing General Elections. It is a special revision undertaken to allay the suspicions raised by some of the political parties in respect of the finally published electoral rolls of 1970.

Some parties have complained that copies of the electoral rolls have not been supplied to them. About 80 per cent of the different parts of electoral rolls were supplied in the printed form to all political parties in Kerala by 20. 7. 70 and the remaining 20 per cent is in cyclostyled, type written and manuscript form. The 20 per cent of the electoral rolls will also be made available to them in the printed form before the end of this month. The printed and the manuscript copies were delivered at the office of the CPI (M) at taluk level. They were clear and readable as they were the first copies which came out of the press and the cyclostyle machine. The copy that is now produced before the House might not be the copy supplied to the CPI (M). Even now, the Election Commission is arranging to make copies available.

SHRI UMANATH : This is the copy supplied to the CPI (M). That is misleading the House. We have produced the copy which was supplied to the CPI (M). You take it as a statement of fact that we are making. It is a certified copy supplied to our party.

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA : You also cannot go on saying that whatever the Election Commission does is false.

SHRI UMANATH : Do you deny the statement that the copies of the electoral rolls of all the constituencies have not been supplied even to the State? Are you in a position to deny that? Do you take up the challenge?

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA : I have already made the statement that the copies have been supplied. I accept the challenge.

So far as challenge making is concerned, we are inferior to none.

SHRI UMANATH : If you accept the challenge, you send somebody to Kerala immediately to see whether the list has been supplied to them.

SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA : The total increase in the electoral rolls of all the 133 constituencies in Kerala is 16 per cent more than that of electoral rolls of 1964. This increase works out to an annual rate of growth of about 2½ per cent which is considered normal as was argued by my hon. friend of the D. M. K. party. So is the case with the electoral rolls in every other State.

Variations of this nature take place in the usual course. But in the case of Kerala political controversies have highlighted the problem as is seen now. So far as the Government of India is concerned, we are in no way responsible, nor are we parties to the controversies.  
16 hrs.

The Election Commission is an independent and impartial authority brought into existence under the Constitution. (Interruptions) Art. 324 of the Constitution lays down that the superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of the electoral rolls shall be vested in the Election Commission. The Chief Election Commissioner has been made under the same article equal to a Judge of the Supreme Court in order to guarantee his independence and impartiality. Again, Art. 327 provides that subject to the provisions of the Constitution, Parliament may from time to time by law make provision with respect to all matters relating to, or in connection with, elections to Parliament, and State Legislatures. The Representation of the Peoples Act, 1950 and 1951 were enacted by Parliament under this article. The Representation of the People Act does not contain any provision empowering the Government to fix the dates of an election or to intervene or interfere in the work of the Election Commission. Sec. 15 of the R. P. Act, 1951 lays down that the Governor shall on such date or dates as may be recommended by

the Election Commission call upon the constituencies to elect members. It is, therefore, clear that the Government of India are in no way responsible for deletions and additions in the electoral rolls. It is now at best a bone of contention between some political parties in Kerala State. Government cannot, in the very nature of things, issue any direction to the Election Commission whether it is in respect of the preparation of the electoral rolls or the fixing of the date of the election or the conducting of elections. Government of India want to scrupulously avoid saying or doing anything which may even be construed to affect the impartiality or independence of the Election Commission.

**SHRI UMANATH :** That you should have done before fixing the date on the 17th.

**SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA :** We have obtained information from the Election Commission that a meeting of the representatives of all the political parties in the State was held in Trivandrum on the 10th July, 1970. The meeting which was convened by the Chief Election Commissioner was attended by 17 political parties. I understand that it was said at that meeting that electoral rolls this time are "far better" and "more perfect" than the electoral rolls in the State during the last 20 years.

**SHRI UMANATH :** Who said that? After the issuing of the electoral rolls we want to know as to who said that. This House wants to know who said that. Only the satellites of the Government might have said that.

**SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA:** Shri A. K. Gopalan was present at the meeting. On the representation of his party, the Chief Election Commission undertook to inquire into and rectify any mistake which may be pointed out. This special revision will be completed before the 10th August, 1970, i.e., one week before the notification for the election is to be issued. I may in this connection state that when Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist),

met the Chief Election Commissioner on the 3rd July, 1970, he made a specific complaint about the omission from the electoral roll of the name of Shri K. P. Subramania Menon, M.P. This complaint was inquired into by the Chief Election Commissioner and it was found that not only Shri Menon's name had not been omitted but on the contrary his name is found as a voter in the electoral rolls of two constituencies, namely, Narakkhal and Ernakulam.

**SHRI A. K. GOPALAN:** That is why we say that there must be a thorough revision. You do not understand that.

**SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA :** No other specific case as distinguished from general complaints of alleged irregular inclusion or deletion has been brought to the notice of the Election Commission.

**SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) :** What about Mr. Imbichj Bava's name?

The special revision ordered in Kerala was a special concession. The parties were given time from 12th to 28th July to file their lists of objections. Even this period has now been extended by 2 days. This special concession has been accorded, I suppose to Kerala because Kerala is a special problem with special demands.

The holding of elections on a particular date is solely within the discretion of the Election Commission. The Government of India cannot direct the Election Commission to change the dates once fixed. The discretion of the Election Commission has to be independently and impartially exercised in the matter of fixing the dates. The political parties however are free to make representation to the Election Commission and in the final analysis they are bound to accept the decision of the Election Commission.

I may however observe that in the present case under Art. 174 (1) of the Constitution the Election Commission has a Constitutional obligation to conduct the

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general election in Kerala so as to see that the newly constituted legislative assembly meets before the expiration of 6 months from its last sitting. The last sitting was held on 25-3-70. The new Assembly has to be summoned for its first sitting not later than the 24th September 1970. Therefore the date fixed for the poll, the 17th September 1970 is *bonafied*. There can therefore be no question of any haste in the holding of general election in Kerala.

**SHRI A. K. GOPALAN :** This Assembly is dissolved. Which Assembly is to meet? He is only reading what he has got. The Assembly is dissolved.

**SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA :** The postponement of elections in Kerala on the ground of rains is not tenable. Sir, unfortunately or fortunately, I have control neither over the rains nor over the Election Commission.

**SHRI UMANATH :** These factors about rain and harvesting season are being taken into consideration during several general elections earlier.

**SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA :** Sir, I want to deal with the argument advanced by my hon. friend Dr. Ram Subhag Singh the hon. Leader of the Opposition. He grew so indignant as to demand a Commission of Inquiry. His indignation has overrun his discretion and judgement. As an ex-Cabinet Minister, with long experience he should have known that there can be no Commission of Inquiry relating to matters falling within the jurisdiction of the Election Commission. There has never been any such Commission demanded or appointed. The CPJ (M) seem to be wiser than the Leader of the Opposition for instead of asking for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry they intend going to a court of law as I learn from the newspapers.

Sir, it is not my purpose to enter into controversy with one party or the other on this matter.

So far as the Election Commission is

concerned, the statement I have made clearly shows that they are anxious to correct every mistake humanly possible. The proper course for all of us would be to see that the Election Commission is given proper information and the rectifications made. There is no use attacking the Government of India on this issue.

I do not know what reason or logic prompted my hon. friend Shri Madhu Limaye to include this as one of the grounds in the no-confidence motion. I have explained the position. A legal and constitutional expert as he is, because he moves many amendments to the Constitution several times, he should have known that the Government is not responsible for this. In spite of that he takes this as the first ground of no-confidence against this Government.

I can only say this. I read a long time ago an Essay by Goldsmith. There was a person who used to be present wherever there was a gathering for entertainment or amusement. Here is my hon. friend Shri Madhu Limaye who wants to be present at every controversy, in advance. This attitude of championing every issue and every cause against the Government is not rational or logical. I would appeal to him to take up issues which should really matter and which really affect the interests of the country, and I am sure Government would be equally understanding enough to rectify matters.

One or two Members including my hon. friend Shri Madhu Limaye took the Administrative Reforms Commission and its report into consideration in this connection. He has made the allegation that the Prime Minister has taken advantage of only those recommendations which are convenient to her. But this argument could be turned against him also. If he were really interested in administrative reforms being implemented, he should have taken up the issue independently and impartially so as to command the attention and respect of all the parties in this House. To join this issue in a partisan manner with a no-confidence

motion is not a service which he is doing either to the commission or to the cause of administrative reforms.

So far as the reforms are concerned, the reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission are there. I do not say that they are the wisest things that can be said on the subject. But they will provide a basis for all the Members to think so that they could improve and accept whatever improvements are necessary. The Prime Minister herself had made a broadcast speech as soon as she accepted the office of the Prime Minister that she wanted revolutionary change; and that she wanted the administration to be tuned to the needs and requirements of the time. Out of the 20 reports that we have given, Government have already processed about seven or eight. A statement has been made by the concerned Minister that 87 per cent of the recommendations have been accepted. Some more reports have still to be accepted. Instead of their taking advantage of the occasion in a partisan manner—this is a non-controversial subject—I would appeal to all the parties and to the leaders of all the parties to take up the issue of administrative reforms and the reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission independently and impartially on their own merits and see that we get a better administration than the one we have.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY :** (Kendrapara) : It is not that I am not in favour of a no-confidence motion. It is not that if a motion is moved for confidence, I shall vote in favour of it; I shall never vote in favour of a confidence motion for this Government. But this motion that we are considering here, according to me is ill-timed and misconceived. My friends here in their anxiety and in their personal obsession with the Prime Minister have chosen a wrong time for this motion. You know and the country knows for a fact that a minority government is functioning in this country. This Government which Shrimati Indira Gandhi is now heading is a minority government. When she was called upon to form the Government here, she was really commanding a majority in the House. But even though her majority has been

reduced, she still continues as a minority Government and carries on the parliamentary functioning in this House. I think there is some lacuna in our Constitution which gives her this opportunity. She is not voted out, but friends who have brought forward this sort of motion are giving her opportunities to tom-tom before the world and to show to the country and to the world outside that although she is in a minority, every motion of no-confidence in the House is being defeated.

What have my hon. friends done after the experience of so many months when there was some attempt at Opposition consolidation and an attempt to see whether there were common factors on which the Opposition could unite in order to give a real confrontation to Government? Now, not only the grand alliance but, as this motion is going to prove, even the grander alliance has floundered because it does not command the majority in the House. That is what is going to happen. It is not only the grand alliance, but Shri Madhu Limaye has fallen a prey to this game. The CPI(M) has also joined in because of the Kerala elections, forgetting their own formulations,

It was never my case, and it is not my case even today, that I will never vote on a no-confidence motion against this Government. But I do not see any better alternative in this House. I do not want that a minority government should continue for long. It is not healthy for the country, it is not healthy for democracy. When I make this statement, I am not going to support motions on flimsy grounds or flimsy reasons. I would have gone all out to support a motion which stated substantial grounds. But the grounds stated here are not fit for the admission of even an adjournment motion. When they tried to bring forward an adjournment motion on this issue, the Speaker did not think it fit to give consent to it. Yet that has been given as a ground for a no-confidence motion.

Then in their anxiety, they are really, by implication, giving suggestions which cut

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at the very root of democratic functioning in this country. What is the meaning or purpose of saying here that a minority government is imposed in Kerala? Does the Mover suggest that the Central Government should have intervened and dismissed that Government? That Government did enjoy the confidence of that House till the last day, 22 March. On the 25th March, they resigned. The last motion of the Kerala Assembly had given a vote of confidence to that Government.

Then what does he suggest? Does he suggest that the Central Government should have intervened? Is it Shri Limaye's case that where the Constitution gives the right, an autonomous right, which right we want to increase, to the Election Commission—we want that it should be on par with the Supreme Court—we should now say that the Central Government should intervene and ask the Election Commission 'Do not hold elections; hold them only when it suits us'? That means giving more power to Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Government about whose present powers you are already complaining.

There is no substance in this motion at all. That is why I am worried. In their anxiety, what are the Mover and his supporters doing? They see seeds of dictatorship because of the Cabinet reshuffle. But what are they aiming at? In their anxiety to do something, they are making a mockery of the last, extreme parliamentary weapon we have before us—a motion of no-confidence. We have many other weapons in our hands. We can use them. We have been using them and we will continue to use them. But this is not the way to go about it. They are confusing the country; they are going to misdirect the mind of the people and they are really giving a fresh lease of life to such a Government which should not have existed so long.

I would make a suggestion. If they are all serious about it, if they are serious in what they have said that this Government is not capable of delivering the goods, I say 'yes'. Then why not bring a motion of no-confidence against this Government on

the ground that in spite of its so-called 10-point programme, it has not been able to implement even one?

AN HON. MEMBER : Let him bring it.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : Yes, but will they support it. Let the Swatantra Party say yes, let the Jana Sangh agree. Are they prepared to support it?

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh) : We will support it.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Let the PSP say 'yes' first.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : We want that this sovereign, supreme body, should have more rights; we want that its rights should not be curbed. But by a judgement of the Supreme Court, Parliament's right is being encroached upon. The Supreme Court says that Parliament has no right to amend the fundamental rights in the Constitution. Nath Pai's Bill is there. There is the unanimous recommendation of the Select Committee. This Government, because it is not sure of the support of some of its own followers, has not yet declared whether it is in support of it. It has been said that the Speaker and the Leader of the House would fix a date for its discussion. Two years have passed. The Leader of the Congress Party is not bold enough, has not the courage, even to get the Bill passed in this House. You bring such measures and see the result, because that will be the real test for this Government.

A Government which claims to be socialist, which professes socialism, must have an alternative socialist programme here. (*Interruptions*) These things are not palatable to you. You are in a strange combination, but people can see through this game. It will not pay, it has not paid in any country, and it is not going to pay in this country also.

If they are really wedded to socialism, after they became a minority Government, they should have come forward in this House with their own programme for the rest of the two years, saying that this is the socialist programme that they want to carry out and taken the mandate of the House. I would have supported them even as a minority Government for the rest of the period, but nothing of the sort has been done.

If you had taken up one by one the failings of this Government, I would have supported the motion. I am in some agreement when they refer to general bureaucratisation, but that is nothing new.

You have criticised the Cabinet reshuffle. I agree. Too much power has been taken by Prime Minister, but is it anybody's contention that in a democratic majority party Government the leader of the party which is called upon to form the Government has no right to choose his own companions and no right even to distribute the portfolios as he likes? What is the point in it? I could have understood if a criticism was made, a valid criticism, that this reshuffle was not made for the good of the country, for the efficient functioning of the Government, there was no rationale behind it. This reshuffle was made because Indira Gandhi wanted to prove, and she proved, to the old bosses that they are no match to her; according to their own language, like clerks she can dismiss them. She also proved, to these men of clay that she can reshuffle them like a pack of cards, not only as ordinary cards but in any way she likes. She is the supreme master of this show of the party. That is what she has shown. It is not concentration of power.

We do not have a unitary form of Government. She is not the President. She is, after all, the Prime Minister. The Cabinet has joint responsibility. Therefore it is not that the Prime Minister, according to her sweet will, can do anything she likes. Only in a presidential form of government it is possible. In America, no Secretary of State is elected, he is nominated by the President. But here our Ministers are elected persons. The portfolios are distributed

and the Prime Minister should be the co-ordinating authority. She should have the least number of portfolios with her. Otherwise, she cannot do justice. She has the supreme power to intervene in any of the Ministries. What was the need then to take all these powers, for which probably she has neither the time nor the real energy? I do not say whether any one of us has more capacity than her.

Any way, this is the situation. Therefore, the question before us is not dictatorship. If we see dictatorship in matters like this, I do not know, when real dictatorship emerges, what these people will say. They are exhausting all their words. Words have lost all meaning. To bring in the question of dictatorship when we are yet democratically functioning is really not in tune with the situation that we want.

I am surprised to see that in this country when such a Government is functioning, my friends in the Opposition are playing a game in which they are making it impossible for this country to make politics policy oriented because of personal bitterness and animosity. If that is the guiding factor for political decisions by political parties, I think it is the end of democracy. That kind of politics should go. I want polarisation in political life, as Dange pointed out. I know the land reforms. The ten point programme contained land reforms. Where are the land reforms? What is the Fourth Plan? Is there mention of land reforms there? Nothing. They say it is for the State Governments. Leave alone the State Government which according to you are reactionaries. What about your own State Governments? In Andhra the Chief Minister opposes agricultural wealth tax. What is the ceiling there?

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Rightly. It should never have been imposed.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: He is your man; he agrees with you there. He is not a socialist Chief Minister; that is what I say. In Punjab you are now choosing Akalis as your allies; they have over-

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night become socialists. They not only opposed but they made it clear that so long as the Akali Government was there, they would see to it that no agricultural wealth tax was collected. They have become your companions. What should be the logical conclusion? In Maharashtra, the edifice of Chavan will fall to pieces if actually land reforms are undertaken. These are your partners, the parties dominated by the se persons. However much you may shout that you want socialism and social reforms and transformation of rural society, you have not got the guts; the party has not got the guts. The party passes so many resolutions on communalism and this and that. It is only to divert the attention of the people from the real failure of the party, failure of this Government. I could understand that the Prime Minister did not take the vote on the basis of the programme. But I could not understand if the Prime Minister is not able to implement the programmes of her own party. What about the Privy Purses? Is that Bill going to be passed in this session or not? *An Hon. Member*: They are having meaningful dialogue) Yes, they are having secret, meaningful dialogue and they are assessing—what? I was told by the Chairman of my party, when the consultative committee on Bengal met here. when the question of taking action against Naxalite violence was talked about—it is good that Mr. Chavan has been changed from the Home Ministry—what was the reply of Mr. Chavan? Even the Preventive Detention Act was not considered or included in that agenda; it was considered in the last meeting; it was never considered then Why? Mr. Chavan gave the facile explanation: political arithmetic has also to be taken into consideration. The Government in function in I on the basis of political arithmetic... (*An. Hon. Member*: You are party to that.) What you say is non-sense. So, political arithmetic prevented this Government from taking any forward action for which it stood. Yet they say: we divided the party, we have removed them we have now come into our own; we shall now go forward with socialist programmes.

Therefore, what I suggest is: let us consider this matter more dispassionately.

There was a suggestion sometime back that this Government was going to the polls. Now that the Prime Minister has concentrated all these powers with her, probably she is thinking of the next elections. I think instead of continuing with this unhealthy government, if they go to the polls there should be no objection to it. Let them go to the polls. We may not come; one of us may not be returned, but I am sure that if the Government, the Congress party, in its present position, with its present strength and its present colour, goes to the people, it will still further be reduced to not more than 150; let alone a majority in the House. When that is the position it is not really a test. We would go to the polls now or later. It is not really the test. What we should do? The test is, it is parliamentary government now. It is not a party government. The Government must respond to the desires and aspirations of Parliament, and Parliament should decide what is good for the country. What is the party form of government? That era has almost ended. Therefore, my proposal is, let friends decide, friends from all sides, who are real, genuine socialists, democrats. If they really want to believe, if they really believe, if they have a firm faith that a real transformation in this country is necessary in a democratic manner to change the entire society, let them come forward and join hands and let us see if any Government which flouts them can exist even for a moment in this country. Therefore,....

AN HON. MEMBER: Dissolve all the parties.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: Yes; after all, the way parties are formed or decided, ultimately everyone will be eliminated. As I see the process, the way it is going, there is no polarization. Some attempts have been made. I would have welcomed it—

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: (Balrampur): You decry them.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: There is no good saying that they are strange be fellows. I have said several times. To Morarji, when he talked to me,

I said, "Go ahead. I want at least the consolidation and that will polarize politics. But do not drag me there. I have no place there. I cannot be part of it." Therefore, there is no question that I did not welcome it. I had welcomed the rightist consolidation. If you have had done that, you would have put Indira Gandhi in a tight corner, a tight corner in this sense that if really the SSP, the CPM and all those parties which are supporting this motion are combined and become one grand alliance, and if the PSP does not extend its support to the Government, what happens? It will be for the DMK to decide whether to side the Government alone.

Accusations have been levelled against the Prime Minister. She has refused to accept that she has been guided or supported by the communists. If you have formed that grand alliance, really, you will come to the position where only with the support of the communists the Government would exist. But you had not the courage, you had not the determination; you had not the faith; if you had the faith, you would have gone ahead with the grand alliance. Because you have no faith, you are concentrating on flimsy ground, flimsy material, which have no relevance to the motion.

Sir, I have been voting in this House. Nobody can say and point a finger at me that at any time in this House.

I and my party, have not voted with the Opposition so far. If it is of such a nature, where we have to compromise on the fundamental and basic principles, I can never agree. Shri Ranga and Shri Masani are saying, "Private sector, free enterprise." To hell; I do not want it. I want it should go. My complaint exactly is that the Government is not courageous enough to go ahead with the programme. I am not afraid of those elements. I do not want that the Government should be so weak. My complaint is that the Government have become weak; because of the weakness, it cannot take action in West Bengal. Leave alone the Naxalites. In Darjeeling, and in the West Dinajpur district, the Border Security Force is there everyday. It goes to control something somewhere, but every day

dacoities are taking place. The police are in collaboration with the dacoits. Hundreds of cows are being taken away and robberies are taking place. But no border police gives protection. My colleague, Mr. Lakhanlal Kapur who comes from that area, has been raising this question again and again. He has written to the Home Minister also. BSF is available for every other place, but not there. That is the weakness of this Government. They think that the communist party is there and they will be offended. So far as Naxalite menace is concerned, I had been to that area when the UF Government was there. Even Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee cautioned me and said "Don't go there. From the Jute field, they will throw arrows aimed at you." But I went there and saw it. I said whatever had been said in this House. But they did not take any action. Even now they failed to take action and lawlessness and disorder are continuing in West Bengal. It is not just one incident. It is no use accusing this or that person. A statement was made here saying that there are some officials who have some commitment with some parties and we want to remove them from the Government machinery. But may I ask, how many of them have been removed after the imposition of President's rule? So, the weakness lies there. I do not say you have become a communist or that you subscribe to their theory. The weakness lies there because all of us are after power. Whatever happens to the country, we want to manoeuvre to continue in power; let it be on principles or no principles.

I have no love for this Government. But I have love for democracy and socialism. I see quite clearly from this motion that danger to democracy comes not from the Indira Government, but democracy will be in danger if elements like these are combined and if motions like this are brought to give more power to the central authorities. Therefore, I did not stand in support of the motion. Since I have no confidence in this Government, I will not vote either way.

MR. SPEAKER: We had fixed 5 P.M. for the Prime Minister to reply, but I see from the list that some of the parties could not have their allotted time and there is sug-

[Mr. Speaker ]

plus time for certain parties still pending. If we do not take up the half-hour discussion, we can accommodate them. Dr. Karni Singh.

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner). Sir, the views I express today are my own. In the constitution of group that I represent, we have a clause that when important matters are at stake, we have the liberty to exercise our discretion. I am also one of those who feel that this no confidence motion was not psychologically well-termed. It is because of this that we did not support it yesterday, but some of us shall certainly vote along with it. The reason was that many of us felt that as a result of the grand alliance and the great aspirations that were created in the minds of the people who believe in democracy, we should hit hard with all the force at our command; and if we bring about a no confidence motion that fizzles out then, in a round about way, it expresses confidence in the government.

I would like to say this much, that I do not believe in character assassination; nor do I believe in hitting below the belt. But I do feel that one of the reasons why I should support the no-confidence motion is that in the last few months and years that I have had occasion to watch the Indicate in power I found that the government was becoming more and more a chairocratic government, a government which is wedded to the chair, a government where chair was the god and India took the second place. Secondly, many of us who are wedded to democracy and a free way of life have felt that the Prime Minister's reliance on the Communist Party to stay in power was not correct. If she believed in Communism it would have been perfectly all right, but I am convinced that she does not believe in Communism. In this case it is wrong of her to rely on Communist support to stay in power. The Prime Minister, in my opinion, has meddled in State politics. She has, in my opinion, created corruption in State politics and this is something that should not be tolerated.

But, above all, I feel that one of the most important reasons why I would like

to vote for the no confidence motion is that I am one of those who believe that democratic nationalist forces in this country should unite if we want to save this country from communism and the fear of totalitarianism. Now this challenge has been made by the grand alliance, I would like to see its scope widened by the inclusion of the SSP and the PSP. It is up to those great leaders to answer the call of the nation and to bring about a minimum programme but, for God's sake read the writing on the wall. Nehru and Gandhiji gave us our freedom; we are not going to give up this freedom to a new type of slavery that the Communist Party might bring into our country.

When I talk of the Communists I would like to make one thing absolutely clear. I have always been branded as a pro-Communist myself. Yes, that is true. Shri Hiren Mukerjee, Shri Dange, Shri Ramamurti, many of these great leaders I have held in great respect and I know in my own mind that they are all great nationalists and many of them have fought in the Indian freedom struggle. But I do feel that when Communists, God forbid, come to power in the Centre, people like Shri Ramamurti, Shri Hiren Mukerjee, Shri Dange and Shri Nambiar, our friends in the CPI and CPM will be obliterated and a new type of leadership will come, the Chinese type. That is what one has to be afraid of. I am not afraid of the Communist Party in the Centre when it is led by people of this type. Now that men like Shri Morarji Desai, Acharya Ranga, Shri Rajaji and Shri Vajpayee have given the clarion call for unification of the opposition forces in the country, I think it has given the country an entirely new direction; there is no doubt about it, I do not say that we should quibble about whether we are socialists, right or left, pink or blue, whatever the colours be. The thing is to keep India a free country and if we have achieved that we have achieved everything and we have lived up to the spirit of Gandhi, Nehru, Lal Bahadur and all the great masters who strove to keep India a democratic and free country. If the present leadership were to quibble and quarrel among themselves, I think the people in future years and historians will sit in judgment and they will blame the present

leadership for what took place. And let me say this much that if we go the Chinese way, God forbid, that would be the end and even people like Shri Hiren Mukerjee, Shri Dange and all of our friends in the CPI and CPM will not be able to do one iota of good because they will be finished, purged, and perhaps shot.

**SHRI NAMBIAR :** What for ? What is out crime ?

**DR. KARNI SINGH :** Your crime is that you try to be democratic. Communism has no place for democracy.

I do not feel that Hon. Prime Minister, in my honest opinion, is not a Communist but she is being trapped by the Communists.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Cinderella !

**DR. KARNI SINGH :** I do not know how we can rescue her from that situation. I certainly do feel that in the interests of our country and democracy, the hon. Prime Minister will try to extricate herself from these dangerous forces, collect the democratic forces, around her and give the country an entirely new meaning.

On the other side, will be the grand alliance, or whatever name you wish to call it. We have to establish a two-party system in a democracy.

**SHRI S. M. BANERJEE :** Topless one !

**DR. KARNI SINGH :** Yes, if you like, the topless one ; go ahead. In the Communist raj we will have bottomless also.

The country is facing the parting of the ways. We are now at a very, very serious turn in the history of our country. Whenever we move a No-confidence Motion or whatever it is, no longer what it was for last 15 or 18 years ; it means a great deal more. I would request ... leaders that if they are honestly and genuinely serious

that this Ministry should be ousted, they still have a few hours on their hands to see that we actually accomplish it. I can assure you of my vote for whatever it is worth. But I would like to say that in the process of developing our democratic principles an Opposition Government must always be prepared to take over. I am sure that Shrimati Gandhi also, if she is dislodged, will take it in the same spirit.

Something was said this morning about Members of Parliament being puppets of different countries. I would like to say that as a Member of Parliament who has sat in this House for 18 years I feel highly humiliated even to think that we can be considered as puppets of foreign powers. If we are, we are traitors ; we are unfit to be Member of Parliament of this great sovereign legislature.

I would, as an independent, make a request to all my brothers here, please for God's sake think of what the rest of the world think of us. If we are to be treated as puppets of foreign nations, we are not fit to be called Indians. I would request you that next you may call anybody whatever you like but not puppets of any other country ; if we do, we are nothing better than spies. If we are nothing better than spies, we are just traitors and if we are traitors, we are unfit to be here.

While concluding, because I know another Member from my group wants to speak, I would like to say that politics in our country is moving towards corruption. It is a matter of great shame. The other day some body told me in Bombay--I do not believe it but it is true, it is a horrible thing--that Member of Parliament are prepared to ask or put questions if they were paid between Rs. 5,000 and Rs 10,000. I had shock.

**SHRI S.M. BANERJEE :** This should be expunged.

**DR. KARNI SINGH :** By all means ; I am prepared if it is against the rules. But if this were true, it reflects adversely

[Dr. Karni Singh]

on us. I feel, it is our responsibility as Members of Parliament to see that we set down high standards so that people in the other walks of life can follow them.

I belong to one of those who have been a wor-hipper of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Gandhiji. I want to see my country, not only now but always, a free country, a democracy where the Constitution is protected and preserved. I would rather die of starvation but would never like to give up my independence.

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी (गोपाल गंज) : छः सात घण्टों से यह बहस चल रही है। अभी पूर्व वक्ता, डा० कर्णसिंह, ने दो कंटेडिक्टी बातें कहीं। एक तो उन्होंने कहा कि वह श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को कम्युनिस्टों से अलग करना चाहते हैं, उनसे उनकी रक्षा करना चाहते हैं और दूसरी बात यह कही कि अगर समूचा ग्रांड एलायंस हो जाए तो कम्युनिस्ट भी बुरे नहीं हैं, वे भी उसमें शामिल हो सकते हैं। अगर वे शामिल नहीं होंगे तो उनकी भी गति बही होगी जो और लोगों की हुई है। वे भी शूट कर दिये जायेंगे। दोनों परस्पर विरोधी बातें मेरी समझ में नहीं आई हैं। अगर इन्दिरा गांधी जी की पालिसी ठीक है और वह चाहते हैं कि उनको कम्युनिस्टों के प्रभाव से रसब्यू किया जाए तो उनको चाहिए कि वह उनको अपनी सपोर्ट दें। अगर उन्होंने ऐसा किया तो अपने आप वह रसब्यू हो जायेंगी। उनको कम्युनिस्टों के ऊपर डिपेण्ड नही करना पड़ेगा। लेकिन आप तो सपोर्ट करते नहीं हैं और कहते हैं कि कम्युनिस्टों से रसब्यू करना है। यह जो आपकी बात है यह समझ में आने वाली नहीं है।

नौ कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन एक रिचुअल सा हो गया लगता है। हर सेशन में एक न एक नौ कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन आ जाता है। जिस प्रकार से कुछ पंडित मुझ उठने ही गायत्री का पाठ करते हैं वैसे ही जब सेशन शुरू होता है तब कोई न

कोई मेम्बर नौ कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन ले आता है। अगर इसी तरह से नौ कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन आते रहे तो भगवान रक्षा करे आपकी और डेमोक्रेसी की, नौ कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन लाने वाले आज श्री मधु लिमये हैं और इसको मुख्य सपोर्ट देने वाले हैं डा० राम सुभगसिंह, अपोजीशन लीडर। अपोजीशन लीडर का भाषण किस प्रकार का होता है, इसको भी आप देखें। अगर कहा जाए तो मैं कहूंगा कि वह बहुत ही अप्रोभनीय था। जिस प्रकार बी भाषा का उन्होंने इस्तेमाल किया है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि हिन्दी के किस शब्द से उसकी संज्ञा दी जाए। भोजपुरी भाषा में उसके लिये एक शब्द है 'लंठार्ई'। उसी भाषा का उन्होंने प्रयोग किया है। केसरी जी उसका जवाब दे सकते हैं, मैं नहीं। मैं मुंह खराब करना नहीं चाहता हूँ। क्रिटिसाइज श्री भोरारजी देसाई भी करते हैं, अशोक मेहता जी भी करते हैं, डा० राम सुभग सिंह जी से ज्यादा तीक्ष्ण रूप में करते हैं लेकिन उनकी भाषा में सौम्यता होती है, शिष्टता होती है। अपोजीशन लीडर को मर्यादा नहीं छोड़नी चाहिये। उन्होंने सिवाय गाली देने के और वह भी भद्दे रूप में कोई प्वाइंट नहीं रखा। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि आप क्रिटिसाइज न करें। लेकिन सभ्य, सौम्य, शिष्ट तरीके से क्रिटिसिज्म होना चाहिए मैं और अधिक उनके बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता।

लिमये जी ने दो तीन बातें बही हैं। केरल में वोटर लिस्ट्स खराब हैं, यह उनकी पहली बात है। उनके दृष्टिकोण से सारे देश की वोटर लिस्ट्स को यदि आप देखेंगे तो आपकी गलतियाँ मिलेंगी। तमिलनाडु, महाराष्ट्र, बिहार आदि सभी जगहों में लिस्टों में त्रुटियाँ मिलेंगी। हम जानते हैं कि वोटर्स लिस्ट्स में दस दस और बारह बारह बरस के लड़कों के नाम भी हैं। अब अगर उन नामों को निकाल दिया जाता है तो हममें कौन सी बेजा बात है? देखना यह है कि टोटल बढ़ा है या कम हुआ

है। टोटल उन्होंने कहा है कि बढ़ा है और कुछ नाम हटा दिए गये हैं। अगर दस बारह या चौदह बरस के लड़कों के नाम हटा दिए गए हैं तो क्या बेजा किया गया है? अब समझ में नहीं आता है कि यह कौन सा ग्राउंड है नों कान्फिडेंस मोशन लाने का? जो लोग पोलिंग बूथ्स पर गए होंगे उन्होंने देखा होगा कि बारह चौदह बरस के लड़के वहां वोट करते हैं लेकिन उनकी आयु 28 बरस लिखी रहती है। पोलिंग अफसर उनको प्रिवेंट नहीं कर सकता है क्योंकि उनका नाम लिस्ट में है और वे वोट करेंगे। ऐसी गलतियां तो वोटर्ज लिस्ट्स में सब जगह पाई जाती हैं। कोई नई बात केरल में नहीं हुई है कि जिसके वास्ते संशय मोगन लाया जाये। इलैक्शन कमीशन एक स्वतंत्र संस्था है। उसको आपने कायम किया है। अब क्या आप यह चाहते हैं कि उसको गवर्नमेंट कंट्रोल करे? कल श्री चन्द्र गीत यादव ने कहा था कि आप ऐसी पारिपाटी न चनाएं कि इलैक्शन कमीशन को यह गवर्नमेंट कंट्रोल करे, अगर्वे लिमये साहब यह चाहते हैं कि उसको गवर्नमेंट करे...

**श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) :** मैंने नहीं कहा है। आप इस बात को क्यों कह रहे हैं?

**श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी :** फिर आप इस आधार पर इस गवर्नमेंट को संशय क्यों करते हैं, समझ में नहीं आता है। आप रेजोल्यूशन लाते कि इलैक्शन कमीशनर को हटा दिया जाए तो बात समझ में आ सकती थी।

उनकी दूसरी बात एक बाजारू दलील है। मैं तो समझता था कि लिमये जी पार्लियामेंटरी स्टैंडर्ड के आदमी हैं। मैं उनसे आशा नहीं करता था कि वह बाजारू बात यहाँ रखेंगे। उन्होंने कहा कि श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र को प्रोमोशन इसलिए दे दिया गया है कि वह पांच करोड़ रुपया इकट्ठा करके देंगे। कहाँ से वह इस बात को निकाल लाए, समझ में नहीं

आया। श्री लिमये जैसा पार्लियामेंटरियन ऐसी गलत और बेबुनियाद बातें पार्लियामेंट में बोल सकता है, इसकी आशा उनसे नहीं की जा सकती थी। अगर इसी तरह से वह बोलते रहे तो फिर यह पार्लियामेंट कैसे चलेगी? उनको जवाबदेही से बोलना चाहिए। कैबिनेट रिशफन करके एक आदमी को प्रोमोशन इसलिए दे दिया गया है कि वह पांच करोड़ रुपया वसूल करे, इस तरह की बेबुनियाद और बेमतलब की बात को यहाँ ला कर उन्होंने उस के समय को बरबाद किया है। टेस्ट को बिगाड़ना, स्टैंडर्ड को बिगाड़ना ठीक नहीं है और इसकी लिमये जी से आशा नहीं की जा सकती थी, डॉ० राम मुभग सिंह जी से तो की जा सकती थी, लेकिन उनसे नहीं की जा सकती थी।

दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह कही कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने कैबिनेट रिशफन करके समूची पावर अपने हाथ में ले ली है। इनकी महाराष्ट्र के मिनिस्टर की बड़ी चिन्ता हो गई। जिस महाराष्ट्र के मिनिस्टर ने इनको अपने यहाँ कभी मंत्रर नहीं होने दिया और वह निकल कर बिहार आए और बिहार ने इनको प्रश्रय दिया, उसकी चिन्ता इनको हो गई ..

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मैंने एक शब्द नहीं कहा।

**श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी :** आपने चव्हाण साहब के बारे में कहा है। आपने कहा है कि उनसे विभाग छीन लिया गया है।

**श्री मधु लिमये :** महाराष्ट्र का इससे क्या सम्बन्ध है? मैंने और मंत्रियों के बारे में भी कहा है, दिनेश सिंह जी के बारे में कहा है, जगजोवन राम जी के बारे में कहा है। महाराष्ट्र की बात इसमें कैसे आ गई? इस तरह से एकात्मकता आएगी?

**श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी :** मैं कह रहा था कि महाराष्ट्र के चव्हाण साहब ने इनको वहाँ

[श्री द्वा० नाथ तिवारी]

कभी मेम्बर नहीं होने दिया, इनको बिहार में जाना पड़ा और बिहार ने इनको प्रथम दिया...

**श्री मधु लिमये :** आप की कृपा से नहीं आया हूँ। एक लाख वोट से जीता हूँ। जनता ने मुझे जिताया है। आप की मेहरबानी से नहीं आया हूँ। राष्ट्रीयता की और एकात्मकता की बात करते हैं।

**श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी :** बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन का भी बहुत जिक्र किया गया है। किसी ने यह नहीं कहा था कि इससे सब समस्याएँ हल हो जाएंगी। मुझे एक किस्सा याद आता है। हमारे यहाँ लोग कहते हैं कि शाम को चना खाया और दिन में देखते हैं कि मोटा हो गया या नहीं। बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन को दो चार महीने हुए और वह चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के सारे इल्ज दूर हो जाएं, ये देखते हैं कि भारत सारे इल्ज दूर हो गये हैं या नहीं। बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन करके हम ठीक रास्ते की ओर जा रहे हैं, ठीक कार्रवाही हो रही है या नहीं, इसको देखना चाहिये। कुछ देर हो गई मैं मानता हूँ। देर से घबराने की जरूरत नहीं है एक ही बात को बार बार कहते रहने से बार बार चिल्लाने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। इसको भी इन्होंने नो-कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन का अंग बनाया है और अभी भी इसको कह रहे हैं।

जो अगुमेंटस पेश की गई हैं, उनको मैं आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन पर हाउस विचार करे। लैंड रिफार्म की बात कही गई है। बिहार राज्य एक पिछड़ा हुआ राज्य है। वहाँ लैंड रिफार्म का बिल अभी पास हुआ है। लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों ने लैंड ग्रेव मूवमेंट चला दी है। इस तरह की मूवमेंट की क्या जरूरत थी। वे कहते भी हैं कि हम लोग भी वही चाहते हैं जो बिहार गवर्नमेंट ने पास किया है। उसने जो कानून पास किया है, उसको लागू किया जाये, इसे

ही हम चाहते हैं। लैंड रिफार्म का जो कानून पास हुआ है वह प्राप्रिसिव है, इसको कम्युनिस्ट भी चाहते हैं। वे यह भी कहते हैं कि उससे अधिक वे कुछ नहीं चाहते हैं। श्री भोगेन्द्र भा कल ही हम से कह रहे थे कि इससे अधिक वे नहीं चाहते हैं बल्कि इससे कुछ कम चाहते हैं। लेकिन वे चाहते हैं कि उसको इम्प्लेमेंट किया जाए। हम लोग इम्प्लेमेंट करने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन लिमये जी को शिकायत है। जो मोस्ट प्राप्रिसिव लोग कहे जाते हैं उनका कहना है कि जो बिहार में लैंडरिलेशन पास हुआ है, उससे अधिक हम कुछ नहीं चाहते हैं, लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी शिकायत है। अभी अभी वहाँ की असैम्बली ने उसको पास किया है। असैम्बली का सेशन अभी खत्म हुआ है। गवर्नमेंट उसको इम्प्लेमेंट करने जा रही है। लेकिन उसके पहले ही लैंडग्रेव मूवमेंट चल गया। लैंड ग्रेविंग मूवमेंट जब चलेगा, जब कानून अपने हाथ में लेंगे तो काम इतनी तेजी से हो नहीं सकता। इसलिए मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों से भी कहूँगा कि जरा दम रखिए, हग लोगों से बात करिए, उस कानून को लागू कराने के लिए हम लोग बराबर चेष्टा कर रहे हैं और कानून लागू होगा। प्रोप्रिसिव मेजर्स तो हमारे हैं। फिर यह नो-कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन क्यों आया? हम काम भी कर रहे हैं ठीक से, हमारा काम चल रहा है ठीक से तो नो-कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन की जरूरत क्या है?

17 hrs.

तीसरी बात जो सबसे दुखद बात है वह यह कि मधु लिमये साहब अपनी पार्टी की ओर नहीं देखते हैं, हमारी पार्टी में कैसे क्या हो रहा है इसकी उन्हें अधिक चिन्ता है। कहा हुआ है कि फिजिशियन हील वाइसेल्फ। वह अपनी पार्टी को देखें। उनकी पार्टी में क्या हो रहा है? हमारी पार्टी में जो हो रहा है वह तो हमारी सम्मति से हो रहा है। हम सब लोग

उसमें हैं और उसमें उनको सुधार करने की जरूरत नहीं है। डांगे साहब ने कहा और अन्य सदस्यों ने भी कहा कि कांग्रेस का डिवीजन हो गया। कांग्रेस का डिवीजन हुआ है। मैं यह इम्प्रेशन दूर कर देना चाहता हूँ। कांग्रेस में ऐसी स्थिति बराबर आती रही है। सूरत में डिवीजन हुआ था 1907 में। उसके बाद 1915 में हुआ, फिर 1921 में डिवीजन हुआ। कुछ माडरेट लोग भ्रम चल गए और गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में कांग्रेस रह गई। हसन इमाम, मोहम्मद अली जिन्ना ये लोग बाहर चले गये। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। जब जब कोई नये मेंबर लाए गए तो कुछ लोग भ्रम हो गये हमारी कांग्रेस टूटी हुई पार्टी नहीं है। ये लोग मुकदमा लड़ रहे हैं कि कांग्रेस हमारी है। लेकिन कांग्रेस के मेंबर कितने हमारे साथ हैं और कितने उनके साथ हैं यह देख लीजिए तो कांग्रेस है कौन, यह पता चल जायेगा। एक छोटा-सा मिपस्टर ग्रुप ले कर यह दावा करते हैं कि कांग्रेस हमारी है और उसी को हमारे अन्य नेता भी मान लेते हैं। यह गलत मनोवृत्ति है। इसको मैं दूर करना चाहता हूँ। कांग्रेस में कोई डिवीजन नहीं हुआ है। कांग्रेस के कुछ लोग बाहर चले गए।

श्री शिवनारायण (बस्ती) : भ्रम तो आप चले गए। आप बरखास्त हो गए।

श्री डा० ना० लिबारी : भरे, 222 हमारे साथ हैं, 62 आप के साथ हैं। सदन के बाहर और सदन के भीतर बहुमत हमारे साथ हैं। तो वह कांग्रेस हो गए और हम लोग कांग्रेस के बाहर हो गए ?

डांगे साहब ने कहा कि कांग्रेस में डिवीजन हो गया। डिवीजन कहाँ हुआ ? हम तो कांग्रेस हैं ही। कुछ लोग कांग्रेस से भ्रम चले गये। .. (व्यवधान)... मैं इस इम्प्रेशन को दूर करना चाहता था कि कांग्रेस में कोई डिवीजन

हुआ है। कुछ लोग भ्रम हो गये हैं। यह स्थिति है, सदन में भी और सदन के बाहर भी।

मसानी साहब ने कहा कि यदि सारा पब्लिक सेक्टर हटा दिया जाय, सब प्राइवेट सेक्टर हो जाय तो डेमोक्रेसी ठीक हो जाय। उनको तो भ्राबजेकशन है, पब्लिक सेक्टर से, वह नहीं चाहते हैं कि पब्लिक सेक्टर बढ़े। भ्राज ही नहीं, हम उनकी तारीफ करेंगे इस माकले में, वह प्रू-भाउट कांसिस्टेंट रहे हैं कि पब्लिक सेक्टर न रहे। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के लोग मसानी साहब की सलाह पर चलने वाले नहीं हैं। वह लोग पब्लिक सेक्टर चाहते हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में कुछ बुराईयाँ हैं। हर एक में बुराईयाँ होती हैं। तो उस बुराई को दूर करना है, पब्लिक सेक्टर को हटाना नहीं है। इसी तरह यदि यह कहा जाय कि हम पब्लिक सेक्टर की इज्जत को कम कर रहे हैं या उसे घटाना चाहते हैं यह बात भी गलत होगी।

हमारे मित्र द्विवेदी जी बहुत रंज हैं। उनको क्या प्रीवेंस है ? कुछ इधर भी हाथ मारा, कुछ उधर भी हाथ मारा और इतने ज्यादा जोर से बोल रहे थे कि मुझे डर हुआ कि कहीं इनके लंग्स न फट जायं। बेचारे बीमार भ्रामही हैं। उनको शिकायत यह है कि इन्दिरा गांधी और अधिक रैडिकली मूव नहीं कर रही है। लेकिन रैडिकली मूव करने के लिए देश में सपोर्ट भी चाहिये। देश उसके लिए तैयार है या नहीं यह भी देखना होता है। यदि देश किसी रैडिकल मूवमेंट के लिए तैयार नहीं है और हम उसको ला दें तो काउंटर मूवमेंट हो जायेगा...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपका क्या ख्याल है कि यह घण्टी मैं किसी को खुश करने के लिए बजा रहा हूँ ? या मेरा शुगल है घण्टी बज्जावा ?

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : घण्टी मैंने सुनी नहीं। मैं एक मिनट में खाम करता हूँ। मैं डिनिज़िन्ड ग्राममी हूँ, घण्टी गुनता तो बँट जाता।

बहुत ज्यादा रैंडकल होने से होता क्या है? जैसे अफगानिस्तान में अमीनुल्ला की हालत हुई थी। उन्होंने बहुत रैंडकलिज्म किया और गद्दी से हटा कर फेंक दिये गए और देश पीछे चला गया। तो अगर सुरेन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी जी वही चाहते हैं तो हम नहीं समझते हैं कि उस से देश का उद्धार हो सकता है।

इसलिए न फैक्ट्स की दृष्टि से, न और किसी दृष्टि से इस नौ-कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन की कोई जरूरत थी और सारी बातें गुन वर लिमये जी को वापिस ले लेना चाहिए।

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA (Bhandara) : Some friends here have deplored the practice of bringing forward no-confidence motions which seems to have developed into a routine in the House. I would like to assure them that this particular motion is not of a routine character but is of a climacteric or critical nature. Under the Rules of Procedure, the motion has to be one of no-confidence in the Government as a whole. But as far as I can understand the mood of the House, the motion really is against the head of the Government, because she has reduced the Government to the position of an one-pole tent. There is only a single pole left in the tent.

There is nothing personal as far as the Leader of the House is concerned. The particular motion has to be brought forward because of the political style that she has developed, of the stance of administration that is being adopted. The new style, the objectionable stance, causes concern, and it is necessary, and it has become imperative, that we should sound the tocsin of alarm. Indian and foreign observers have been commenting upon the lonely eminence and the solitary grandeur that the Prime Minister has achieved.

It is important to find out how this eminence has been achieved and what its consequences are likely to be. She has given the keenest attention to the advice that is given to *The Prince*, 'Go out and chop off the tall poppies'. She has been pursuing for the last three years a policy of denigrating respected leaders of the country, the consequences of which are known to us all. But what is really regrettable, and what is really disturbing, is that that process is continuing. The process of building herself up by stunting, humiliating and denigrating others continues. Mahatma Gandhi built up a tremendous position not only for himself but for the country by building up a whole group of people round about him. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, believes that her position grows to the extent that others are destroyed around her.

One can have no objection to her re-buffing her ministerial pack and handing out a new deal whenever she likes. But it becomes objectionable, something about which one has to be deeply concerned, when behind it there is a grand design, when there is a set purpose which can be of a destructive character. Ministry after Ministry is being stripped of its vital parts and the balance that needs to be maintained within the administration is being deliberately disturbed and destroyed.

I believe that in the Home Ministry 40 sections have been taken out. She has herself taken over the Home Ministry. Forty sections have been transferred elsewhere so that in future out of the 100 sections that the Ministry controlled, it will have so many less and the Ministry will always remain truncated.

There has been integration of all intelligence. All intelligence services in administration that were in various Ministries have been brought together. When these intelligence services were distributed in various departments, there was a certain amount of cross check and counter check. Today all the intelligence agencies have been brought together under one single control. Under each intelligence service, there are certain secret funds, which are not accounted for, which

You can go on bandying with words ; you can even condemn and kill human beings but you cannot bury ideas. If socialist's in Germany and Italy can join hands with Christian Democrats and Free Democrats, I do not know why in India the socialists believe in this rigid caste system of out moded generations. Today liberals like in our party are willing to eschew our differences and come together with other democratic and socialist forces, because we see that there is an extreme danger facing this country. Our democratic way of life is evaporating and national security is being jeopardised. The danger is that this Government has joined hands and colluded with communists, mortgaged our future to the Soviet Union, crippled the economy and ruined our reputation abroad. Edmund Burke said, "When bad men conspire, good men must unite". Bad men have been conspiring and therefore we have been trying to unite. This is precisely the scheme of the grand alliance. *(Interruptions)*. While differences between socialists and non socialists are negotiable, differences between totalitarians and democrats are not.

To suit her political ends, the Prime Minister has been clinging to power, throwing all norms of public behaviour to the winds. It hurts me. She has trampled on our Constitution, made a mockery of democratic procedures and used every device, not even stopping short of exploiting communal differences and creating disaffection amongst communists castes and regions. Law and order is conspicuous by its absence. The atmosphere of permissive violence has been allowed to grow to such an extent that the ordinary citizen is totally insecure, both for his life and property. It makes no difference to him whether the threat is delivered by Naxalites, communist land-grabbers, militant labourites, rank communalists or people just squabbling over border issues. What do you think of a nation where Mahatma Gandhi walked throughout the length and breadth of the country, even during the day of the British without a single police escort, and now 22 years after independence, we require 36 policemen to guard his statue in Calcutta ?

I think it must go to the eternal shame of this Government.

Take the manner in which the Prime Minister has reshuffled her colleagues. Every plum has been taken from every Ministry. She has become the chief of the gestapo, CIA and KGB all rolled into one. She has robbed the Finance Minister, because she has no trust in Shri Chavan, of revenue intelligence and the Minister of External Affairs of Foreign intelligence. But I do not blame her for that. I do not think that Shri Swaran Singh should be, after this morning's performance, allowed to deal with intelligence at all. She has taken over border security and central Industrial Security. She has taken over the Central Reserve Police, Civil Defence and Central Secretariat Security because she want to know who is visiting her colleagues. She has taken over public order. She has become chief of planning so that she alone decides how these crores should be spent, who should be favoured and who should be punished. She has become the chief of patronage with absolute power over the destinies, postings, salaries and promotions of all officers. She is going to use it also in installing key men in key positions to see that her will is done. She is also now on the look out for committed Governors because she alone will appoint them. The Judges of the Supreme Court and the Chief Justice of India would henceforth be a cohesive team. She will appoint the personnel of Union Public Service Commission, nominate Members of Parliament, organise elections and reward people with awards. After today's performance I highly recommend my friend Shri Sezhayan for an award and, may be, my friend Shri Surenderanath Dwivedy can be given a Bhusban or two. She has become the chief benefactress of industry so that she alone will issue licences. With tremendous foresight she has taken nuclear control under her wings. She has become chief scientist and chief electronic expert pinching from Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao the CSIR and again from my friend, Shri Jagjivan Ram the Department of Electronics. She has become the chief of all the States, Kashmir Affairs and Union Territories including Delhi so that she can poke her finger into Delhi affairs and get into trouble with my friend

[Shri Piloo Mody]

Shri Sondhi. The re-organisation of States and Centre-State relations are in her hands. Now she is planning a coup de grace. She is going to become the chief of her party and the super woman of 1970.

But two things are confusing me. She has taken over lotteries. I do not understand why unless she wants to meddle with numbers, in which case I do hope that she fiddles one in my favour.

Another thing she has taken over is Vital Statistics, births, deaths and marriages, but I suppose this must be to satisfy her feminine curiosity.

What I want to ask is why she needs these 54 courtiers, this fawning fan club which costs Rs. 4½ lakhs per head. It can be handled by any Deputy Secretary with straight forward instructions. I do not know why she needs them. This motley crowd cannot possibly pass muster as a Council of Ministers. What is more, we do not need it, the country does not need it, and she does not need it.

It was said in a recent survey poll that Switzerland is the best governed country in the world. It has seven Ministers all of whom are on holiday for the last three weeks and they have no problems in Switzerland and the government is running smoothly. Gandhiji was right when he said that the best government is the government that governs the least.

Finally, Shrimati Gandhi may today—I do not know, she may—sustain this vote of no confidence on the floor of this House, but of one thing I am certain; she could never win a vote of confidence from her own Council of Ministers.

**श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) :** इन्सान भी कैसा अजीब प्राणी है कि जब तक वजीर बना रहता है तब तक तो उसको हर चीज ठीक नजर आती है और जैसे ही वह वज्जारत से हट जाता है तो हर चीज में उसको खराबी ही खराबी नजर आने लग जाती है, हर चीज उस को गलत ही दिखाई देती है। अगर वज्जारत की

कुर्सी उसके नीचे है तब तो सब ठीक है लेकिन जैसे ही वह छिन गई, सभी मामले उसको गड़-बड़ नजर आने लग जाते हैं। हमारे देश में कुर्सी से आदमियों को बड़ा प्यार है। जिस आदमी को कुर्सी से प्यार हो और उससे वह छिन जाए तो उसका कोई इलाज नहीं है। हर बड़ी छोटी बीमारी का इलाज है, तपेदिक की बीमारी का इलाज है, साप के काटे का इलाज है, और भी जो बीमारियाँ हैं उनका इलाज है लेकिन अगर किसी भाई को कुर्सी काट जाती है तो उसका कोई इलाज नहीं है। यह जो तमाम बहस है इसके पीछे श्री लिमये जी का दिखावटी मोशन है। हमारे गाँवों में, देहातों में एक ताऊ होता है और जहाँ कहीं कोई भगड़े की बात होती है, उसको वहाँ आगे कर दिया जाता है—

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY :**  
How long will this debate continue ?

**MR. SPEAKER :** There are two or three more speakers. After that the Prime Minister will speak.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY :**  
We can take it up tomorrow.

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) :** No, no; today. Why tomorrow ?

**श्री रणधीर सिंह :** लिमये जी को मैं जानता हूँ। वह साफ आदमी हैं। लेकिन वह बहक जाते हैं। लोग उनको अपनी साजिश का शिकार बना लेते हैं। आज यह जो मोशन पेश किया गया है, यह बेमानी चीज है। यह बच्चों का खेल है। आप देखें कि इस मोशन में क्या कहा गया है ? पहली बात तो केरल की इलैक-शन्ज के बारे में कही गई है। यह कहा गया है कि केरल में इलैकशंज इतनी जल्दी क्यों कराये जा रहे हैं। मेरे भाइयों को इसका पता ही है कि सरकार का इससे कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। रिप्रिजेंटेशन आफ पीपल एक्ट बना हुआ है। साथ ही साथ इलैकशन कमीशन जो बना हुआ है वह एक आटोनोमस बाडी है। उसका

फंसला आखिरी फंसला है इलैकशन के मामले में। सरकार उसमें दखल नहीं दे सकती है। अगर किसी को इलैकशन से कोई शिकायत है तो उसके वास्ते भी ट्रिब्यूनल है। उसके यहां इलैकशन पंटीशंज होती है। मेरे भाइयों ने सारा वक्त इसी चीज को लेकर गुजार दिया है, मेरे भाई गोपाल जी तथा दूसरे भाईयों ने कहा कि इलैक्टोरल रोज गलत है। उसी का रोना दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों ने भी रोया। मुझे ऐसा नजर आया कि इनके केस में कोई ताकत नहीं थी। चूंकि ये सब किसी एक बात को लेकर इकट्ठे नहीं हो सके थे, इस वास्ते इस बेबुनियाद बात को लेकर इकट्ठे हो गए। ढोल का पोल खुल गया है। अपोजीशन चूं चूं का मुरब्बा मुझे नजर आ रहा है। ये कोई एक लिंक ढूँढ रहे हैं ताकि ये मुल्क को दिखा सकें कि ये इकट्ठे हैं, और देशवासियों को मुंह दिखाने के काबिल हैं। वरना इन सब पार्टियों के हर आदमी में और पार्टी में फस्ट्रे-शन है और उस फस्ट्रे-शन का ये शिकार हैं। उसी की वजह से यह प्रस्ताव आया है।

जब सैनाव आता है तो जितने कीड़े मकोड़े होते हैं, साँप, हिरण आदि, सब इकट्ठे हो जाते हैं। अपोजीशन भी पूरे जोर से हमारा जो स्टीम रोलर चलने वाला है, उसको देखते हुए इकट्ठा होने की कोशिश कर रहा है। लेकिन हमारे प्रोग्राम के सामने यह टिक नहीं सकेगा, उस स्टीम रोलर का मुकाबला यह नहीं कर सकेगा। हमें बार-बार कहा जाता है कि पब्लिक के सामने जाओ, उसका सामना करो। इसके बारे में हमें बेलैज भी दिये जाते हैं। हम भी पब्लिक में जाते हैं। उसी ने हमको चुना है। तीन दिन पहले में पब्लिक में से होकर आया हूँ। कान्फ्रेंसिस करके आया हूँ। पब्लिक को हम जानते हैं। पब्लिक के आप ही ठेकेदार नहीं हैं। पब्लिक को पता लग गया है कि आपकी हासत क्या है, आप कितने पानी में हैं। आपको भी यह माझूम है कि हम स्वीच कर आयेगे।

आपको अपना भविष्य ग्रंथकारमय दिखाई दे रहा है। इसी वास्ते आप इस तरह के राग अलापने लग गए हैं कि इलैक्टोरल रोज गलत है और इलैकशन अभी नहीं होने चाहियें। सारा भगड़ा सिर्फ यही है।

यह भी आरोप लगाया गया है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर बहुत ताकतवर बन गई हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा प्राइम मिनिस्टर ताकतवर हो। अगर देश में ताकतवर प्राइम मिनिस्टर नहीं होगा तो देश का भट्टा बैठ जायेगा, यह मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूँ। अगर कमजोर प्राइम मिनिस्टर होगा तो नक्स-लाइट एक्टिविटीज का क्या होगा, कम्युनल एक्टिविटीज का क्या होगा? उनको दबाने के लिए ताकतवर प्राइम मिनिस्टर चाहिये। आज क्या होता है? कोई जनरल उठ खड़ा होता है और कहता है कि मिलिटरी रूल देश को सूट करेगा। इंदिरा जी से ज्यादा और कौन डेमोक्रेट हो सकता है जो इस तरह की बातों को बरदाश्त करतो हैं? श्री लिमये जी के चले जो इस तरह की बातें करते हैं कि कर लो दूकानों पर कब्जा, कर लो इवैक्वी प्रापर्टी पर कब्जा, कर लो जमीन पर कब्जा, कर लो फारेस्ट लैंड पर कब्जा, अगर श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी डिक्टेट होती तो इन सब कब्जा करने वालों को और कब्जा करने के लिए उकसाने वालों को उन्न कंद हो गई होती। ये भगवान् का धुक करे कि दुनिया भर की गैर कानूनी हरकतें होती हैं लेकिन फिर भी उनको बरदाश्त किया जाता है और इस डेमोक्रेसी में लोग कानून के हाथ से बचे हुए हैं। कम्युनल भगड़े होते हैं, सैकड़ों जाने जाती हैं, फिर भी लोग बच जाते हैं और यह इसी वास्ते है कि इंदिरा जी डेमोक्रेट हैं। एक आदमी भी मार कर दिखा दो पाकिस्तान में, कल ही फांसी पर लटका दिये जाओगे। इन्दिराजी से ज्यादा बड़ा डेमोक्रेट प्राइम मिनिस्टर और कौन हो सकता है। हिन्दुस्तान में प्रजातंत्र है और इंदिरा जी डेमोक्रेट हैं और यही

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

वजह है कि कोई रिटायर्ड जनरल भी कुरप्शन की बात हो या दूसरी बात हो, कहने की हिम्मत करता है कि मिलिटरी राज भी देश को सूट कर सकता है। मेरे भाई इस तरह की बातें मिश्र में या पाकिस्तान में कह कर तो देखें, अगले ही दिन उम्र कंद हो जायेगी, इतनी लिबर्टी वहाँ लेकर देखें, इनको पता चल जायेगा कि क्या नतीजा निकलता है। जो यह आरोप लगाया जाता है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर डिक्लेटर हो गई हैं यह अपनी कमजोरी को छिपाने के लिये ही लगाया जाता है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर पब्लिक मीटिंग एड्रेस करती हैं। एक आदमी में इतनी जुरत कि वह उनको पत्थर मारे? नासिर का देश होता, ईरान, ईराक आदि कोई देश होता तो पत्थर मारने वाले के लिए जेल-खाने में जगह होती। लेकिन यहाँ प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कोई आदमी पत्थर मार देता है तो यह जम्हूरियत का ही क्रिष्मा है, कि वह उसको मामूली सी बात समझती हैं। प्राइम मिनिस्टर के कत्ल के पत्र भी यहाँ दिये जाते हैं, वे भी भेजे जाते हैं, और हर एक को इसका पता है, लेकिन फिर भी कोई पार्टी बन नहीं की जाती है, हर एक पार्टी को अपनी बात कहने का पूरा मौका मिलता है। इस वास्ते जब आप डिक्लेटरशिप की बात कहते हैं तो वह ऐसी बात है जो गले नहीं उतरती है। आप दिल पर हाथ रख कर बतायें कि क्या वह डेमोक्रेट है या डिक्लेटर हैं और आपने जो डिक्लेटर की उनको संज्ञा दी है, उसमें कहाँ तक तथ्य है।

आज होता क्या है? श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी किसी तरह हट जाएँ, इसके लिए प्रार्थनायें की जाती हैं। तिरुपति में जाकर घंटियाँ बजाई जाती हैं और प्रार्थना की जाती है कि वह हटें। इस तरह से मुहम्मद गजनवी जो पन्द्रह सौ साल पहले आया था और जिसने मन्दिर तोड़ने शुरू किये थे, वह भी कुछ नहीं कर सका था

तो ये क्या कर सकेंगे? मंदिरों में जाकर घंटियाँ बजाने से ये समझते हैं कि प्रजातंत्र का राज, सोशलिस्ट राज हट जाएगा। लेकिन यह हटेगा नहीं इस बात को इनको अपने दिमाग से निकाल देना चाहिए।

ताकत के पीछे ये इतने दीवाने हो गए हैं, कुर्सी से इनको इतना प्यार हो गया है कि ये टैन प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम भी छोड़ने के लिए तैयार हो गये हैं। किसी तरह से ये चाहते हैं कि इनको कुर्सी मिल जाए। क्या चूँ चूँ का मुरब्बा है। ये तो गांधीजी की बात को भी भूल गये हैं। इनको जन संघ वाले प्राग्नेसिव नजर आने लग गए हैं। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी वाले इनको बड़े तेज तर्रार नजर आने लग गये हैं। ऊँट के गले में ये बिल्ली बाँधना चाहते हैं। मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्टों का और जनसंघ का आपस में क्या ताल्लुक? इस तरह के गठबन्धन को लोग अपनी तौहीन समझते हैं। पता नहीं इस मामले में एक होकर इन्होंने क्या बहादुरी का काम कर दिया है। इस तरह से गठजोड़ करके क्या आप यह समझते हैं कि आप कोई अपना इमेज बना लेंगे देश के सामने? ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है। लोग हर बात को खूब समझते हैं।

इण्डियनाइजेशन की बात भी की जाती है। मैं इसको लेकर जो बात कहने जा रहा हूँ, स्पीकर साहब उसको सुन कर आप भी हँसेंगे। एक किसान भाई के पास एक भैंस थी। वह गरीब था। जब उसके पास उसको खिलाने के लिए नहीं रहा तो उसने कहा कि चलो इसको बेच दिया जाए। वह इसको बेचने के लिए गया तो खरीददार ने पूछा कि इसमें खासियत क्या है? इस पर उसने बताया कि यह भैंस पन्द्रह साल से ब्याहती नहीं है। यह बड़े अच्छे चरित्र की भैंस, है बहुत अच्छे कैरेक्टर की भैंस है, तो और भैंस की कीमत पाँच सौ है तो इसकी में 5 हजार लूंगा। पब्लिक को धोखा नहीं दे सकते। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ इण्डियना-

are not audited, which are not brought before Shri Vajpayee's Committee. What happens to all these funds which run into crores? What happens to the tremendous power through intelligence that one is able to wield? If there is a check and balance inside the Government, if there is a check and balance between different Ministries and different departments and the Prime Minister is merely a co-ordinating authority, a certain amount of democratic balance is maintained. But so far as secret funds, secret knowledge and secret information are concerned, when all these are braught and pooled together in one single strand, in one single hand, and that also the hand of the Prime Minister, where there is no question of anyone supervising it, anyone questioning it or challenging it, where no one even anyone in this House or in the Government knows what is happening, what can be the consequences?

Then, I believe, in the Ministries themselves junior Ministers are being planted to function as watchdogs on senior Ministers.

There is today, for the first time, a huge Secretariat of the Prime Minister. It has grown and grown. There are today 9 top officials in that Secretariat. Ministers have to go and pay court to these privileged officials in the *sanctum sanctorum*. Till recently the negotiations with the Princes were being carried on by Shri Y. B. Chavan; now these are to be carried on by one of the officers in the Prime Minister's Secretariat. I hope the Princes must be feeling very happy that they have been so uplifted.

Not only political patronage is concentrated in the Prime Minister's hands, but even functional patronage is being concentrated in her hands. I am sure you will recall that in the past different Ministers used to appoint the managing directors and definitely the directors of various public sector enterprises. The whole rule has been changed. Now appointments have to be made by a Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Minister concerned. When the Prime

Minister and the Home Minister are both one, you can very well understand who makes the appointments. So even functional appointments are being made by the Prime Minister herself.

As to what is happening to licensing and all that, my hon friend, Shri Madhu Limaye, has told you; I have no desire to go into it once more.

There has been denigration of the Ministers. As against a collective team, they are being reduced to the position of advisers who can be hired and fired at her will.

This is a complete transformation, a subtle insidious transformation of parliamentary democracy into a Presidential system. If the country were to adopt the Presidential system knowingly, in a straightforward manner, there would ensure that the necessary checks and balances exist, such for instance as exist in the USA. But where a parliamentary democracy is subverted into a presidential system, the consequences are that it becomes, or threatens to be, a half-way house to some kind of an authoritarian rule.

Already to day one sees the emerging profile of this kind of authoritarian rule, and that is the reason why it becomes necessary for us to be deeply concerned not the ordinary type of concentration of power about the concentration of power. This is not the ordinary type of concentration of power. There is behind it a will, a design, a purpose. There is behind it a strategy, a strategy to see that the key threads of authority are all gathered together in her hands, and as against a parliamentary system of democracy where there is collective responsibility, the whole thing is reduced to a situation where every one is dependent upon the Prime Minister.

It is interesting that she has become the patron saint of de-stabilisation. She has de-stabilised the party, she has de-stabilised Parliament, she goes about de-stabilising the regimes in the States, she goes about de-stabilising other political parties, and what is important is, that she has converted the Congress Party into an organisation which, as a Ceylonese paper recently pointed out-

[Shri Asoka Mehta]

has today become an organisation which is absolutely dependent upon her. Take away the Prime Minister, the whole Congress organisation collapses. In the past, when Pandit Nehru was there, whatever authority he exercised, he saw to it that the organisation had its own personality, its own integrity, its own identity, and that is why, even after his sad demise, the organisation remains

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : She is feeling it is a compliment to her.

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA : Whether it is a compliment or not, I am concerned with the analysis of the situation.

I would like my friends to realise that when a major party or any political party of significance is converted into a one pole tent, what the consequences are to the political life of the country as a whole. Therefore, these things are being done, and it is in this context that one has also to look at what is happening in Kerala.

In Kerala, some politics are being pushed through, whether they are straight forward politics or crooked politics events alone will show. There is a possibility, there is a threat, of elections being rigged with some kind of faked rolls, and I was stunned to hear what Mr. Dange had to say. Mr. Dange advised Mr. Gopalan : "Why do you bother about the voters' list, what does it matter ? There is the list of voters on the one side and there are the men on the other. You claim to have the men with you, send the men, what does it matter, let them take any name they like, match the names with the voters' list, and win and the election." I do not think Mr. Gopalan will be able or allowed to do it. Now that he has come round to talk about fair and free elections, I hope he will not even want to do it. Whether Mr. Gopalan is allowed to do it or not, I have no doubt that Mr. Dange wants to do it, and I am afraid Mr. Dange will be permitted to do it and get away with it.

Why is this so ? Why is Kerala being

treated separately, on a different level from the other States in India ? In Bihar for instance, before the Congress Party was divided, the then leader of the Congress Party in Bihar was not permitted by the Prime Minister to form the Government. In State after State attempts are made to see that either somebody does not form a Government, or that if a Government falls promptly presidential rule is imposed. There is, however, new pattern, a new approach, a new attitude as far as Kerala is concerned. Why is it so ? Because it has a Government led by the CPI. The CPI is the pace-setter so far as the Prime Minister's programmes are concerned. What is permitted by the CPI will happen in the rest of India tomorrow. That is why I am glad that my Marxist friends have been altered in time.

Why has the Prime Minister permitted that Government this kind of latitude ? It is because of the close relationship that she has forged with the Government of the Soviet Union. It would be interesting to know, and I would like the Prime Minister to give this information to the House. What is the number of calls and what is the amount spent on calls made from the Prime Minister's Secretariat and from the Foreign Office to Moscow ? And let them compare the amount on money and the number of calls made with similar calls to any other major capital in the world I should also like to know this. Recently, when the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Ferobin, visited India did he or did he not say, talking about someone who is very close to the Prime Minister : "we have special relationship with the gentleman. The Soviet Union has a special relationship with that person. What kind of toast was proposed and what kind of toast was drunk by Mr. Ferobin when he was with some top officials of the Government ? I have no desire to say more on these things. Either the Prime Minister knows these and deliberately permits them or she does not know. If she does not know we are in a parlous, dangerous condition,

I would be therefore end up by saying this. I beg of the Prime Minister to change her style. This style is endangering democracy in this country and economic growth

which alone can enable us to bring about social changes. If she does not change the style, I have no doubt that the surging surf of history will inevitably sweep her away, but in the meantime in calculable damage can be done to this beloved land of ours.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Piloo Mody. Your party has got only four minutes:

SHRI M. R. MASANI: I corrected that impression; you please ask the office. I have taken half the time of my party; he will take the rest,

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Even if you say that I do not have the time, I am sure the Prime Minister will give me some of her time so that I can describe what power she has acquired and advise her how best to use them.

It is true that I have no confidence in this Government; I never have, and I never will. If I were to start preparing a chargesheet of its monumental failure; it would take me weeks to complete, and therefore, I will satisfy myself in highlighting just a few of the most glaring failure of this Government.

The entire economic programme of this Government has been based on "some stray thoughts, rather hurriedly dictated," which miraculously transformed themselves, through the gluttony of Young Turks, into an economic programme that is supposed to herald in the Great Socialist Dawn. Unfortunately, it will do nothing of the kind.

When this Government cannot even eradicate the social injustice that it practices from day to day, how can it possibly talk about an economic programme for the welfare of the people? Its programme is devoid of logic, divorced from reason and innocent of any economic thinking. As long as inflation continues in this country, as long as the licensing policy of this Government continues to create monopolies and as long as we continue to have this perverse transfer of incomes, we shall continue to have social injustice in this country along with its concomitant

miseries. I shall give you a few startling pictures

In the first 15 years of planning, industrial production rose by 138 per cent, but industrial employment rose by only 35 percent. The correlation between investment, production and employment, which operates effectively and automatically in other countries just did not operate in India because of the perverse economic policies practised by this Government.

The output per worker in the last 15 years went up by 2.0 per cent, but the wages per worker increased by only 76 per cent; of this 57 per cent was wiped out by inflation, leaving a net gain of only 19 per cent to the worker.

Take the pernicious import licensing policy of this country. Year after year, the Government of India have issued licences worth Rs. 750 crores or thereabouts; in terms of intrinsic value these licences would be worth Rs. 2,000 crores. Whom do you think is making the profit? These profits are made without putting one iota of work into this gross national product. Where does this money come from? It comes from the workers who cannot be paid their need-based wage, and it comes from the consumer who has to pay a higher price for the product. And if there is any scientific definition of the common man in this country, it is the consumer. If you orient a policy by which the consumer would benefit, you would have covered every single individual in this country. No wonder these people, my Communist friends, go on crying that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. It is absolutely true, but unfortunately, having said that, they immediately cry hoarse about Birla and monopoly capital, and indeed, my friend Mr. Dange did this afternoon. This is the real reason for it, because, year after year, this difference between what the licences cost and what they are worth is being plundered out of the pockets of the poor and stuffed into the pockets of the licenses of the Government of India. This is what is responsible for it. Indeed, the poor are getting poorer.

[Shri Pilloo Mody]

Let me give you some statistics. In the last five years, the consumption of foodgrains went down by 3.7 per cent ; of cotton cloth by 11 per cent ; edible oil, by 14 per cent ; sugar by 17 per cent. And by contrast, what do we have ? The manufacture of motor cars went up by 23 per cent ; of air-conditioners by 44 per cent ; refrigerators by 292 per cent ; confectionery by 52 per cent and art silk fabrics by 51 per cent. These are the achievements of this great socialist Government.

And if I object, I am labelled a reactionary ; I am called a feudal ; I am called a capitalist and a monopolist. All economic evils can be blamed on this Government. They have not learnt from past mistakes. The latest dogma that they have developed is they want to nationalise the cotton trade. For sheer stupidity and vindictive vandalism, I think it would be difficult to find another activity because three lakhs of people are going to be out of employment overnight, and not one sound reason has been advanced by this Government why they wish to do it. The cotton trade in India is the most efficient marketing mechanism that has ever been devised. It has the smallest margin of profit ; less than one per cent. It gives to the farmer the highest price that any sale of cotton has ever given in any place in the world. The Farmer in India gets 90 percent of the end-price of cotton. It has been the finest link between the consumer and the producer, the consumer which is the textile mill and producer that is the farmer. It has been abused, interfered with and victimised. A credit squeeze has been brought on them and they have been deprived of any insurance cover by closing down the forward trading market ; and nowhere in the world has a higher percentage of gain gone to the farmer

SHRI SHIVAJIRAO S. DESHMUKH  
(Parbhani) : \*\*

SHRI PILOO MODY : I do not expect

illiteracy and ignorance to contradict my figures.

MR. SPEAKER : The unparliamentary remarks of Shri Deshmukh will be expunged.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Yet, this Government in total disregard of all economic laws, shameless of its past performance, arbitrarily wants to pounce on the livelihood of three lakhs of people just to satiate the appetite of half-baked Turks—one of whom we have just heard—doctrinaire economic quacks and frustrated politicians that form the hard core of their brains trust. Jobs, more jobs and even more jobs is what we need in this country. This is the finest form of social justice. We have the resources and the machinery to produce the jobs. We have the resources. We have the capacity, if only the Government does not squander it away on these monstrous, meaningless public sector companies which yield no profit and which have been created through a sense of warped priority and are grossly mismanaged, to boot. If Rs. 1 crore was invested in heavy industry, it would produce 400 jobs. Take the same Rs. 1 crore and invest it in medium industries. You will create 1250 jobs. The same Rs. 1 crore invested in small-scale industry agriculture or infrastructure would produce 4000 jobs. The ratio is ten to one between heavy and small-scale industries. Does this Government not realise this after 22 years, having increased unemployment at a monumental rate for the last so many years ?

Those who say that the Swatantra Party is reactionary are displaying colossal ignorance. It is a liberal party dedicated to human welfare. The manifesto of the Swatantra Party, if you care to read it, is identical to that of the Social Democrats in Germany, almost word for word. In Germany they were the left wing opposition to the ruling Christian Democrat coalition. Over here we are considered as reactionaries, feudals or whatever jargon the communists invent and the ignorants adorning the treasury benches are willing to adopt.

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

इजेशन की बात कह कर पब्लिक को घ्राप धोखा नहीं दे सकते। लोग घ्रापकी बातों को समझते हैं। इन बातों से पब्लिक को अग्रर बुद्ध बनाइयेया तो लोग नहीं बनेये। प्रोग्रामों मे घ्राप लोग जाते हैं वहाँ अपनी बात करते हैं और पार्लियामेंट में इस किस्म की बातें करते हैं। बहुत गैर-जिम्मेदारी की बातें होती हैं। पब्लिक पर उसका असर नहीं होगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, घ्रापने मुझे टाइम दिया, उसके लिए मैं घ्रापका मशकूर हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि जितनी बातें इस देश के हित की हैं उनको घ्रापको सपोर्ट करना चाहिए। कोई गलत बात होती है तो घ्राप गवर्नमेंट को सुभाव दें। कन्सल्टेटिव कमेटीज होती हैं, और कमे-टियाँ होती हैं, गवर्नमेंट हर मामले में घ्रापकी सलाह लेती है और जो मानने लायक बात होती है उसको मानती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मोशन में कोई जान नहीं है और मैं पूरे जोर से इसकी मुखालिफत करता हूँ और अपील करता हूँ जो दिल और दिमाग रखते हैं, उन सभी दलों से कि वह इसको प्रो अउट करेंगे।

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi) : Mr. speaker, sir, is it quite clear from the manner in which this debate has been conducted that on the other side there is an objection to dissent, there is an objection to criticism and there is an objection to the very manner on which the Opposition seeks to formulate its argument.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is not the way of democracy. In a democracy if the leader is subject to flattery, if the leader is surrounded by sychophants, that in fact spells disaster to such a leader. My thoughts go back 50 years as a student of history to the fate of Russia. A certain gentleman became the Prime Minister of Russia. He thought he had a popular base. He thought he had a winning coalition. He thought he had a revolutionary skill. It turned out that the gentleman had only a mastery of political manipulations. He was only a part of a decadent oligarchy and he

was only accomplished in revolutionary verbalism. That person is Karensky. I would like Mrs. Indira Gandhi to ponder over in her moments of stillness on the fate of Karensky. Mr. Karensky died last month in exile in USA. Karensky did not have the will to act in defence of the interests of his country and the result was that Russia had the experience of a civil war and consequent disaster on a very large scale till a leader was found and that leader although I differ from him politically, was Lenin. Therefore, to-day we are concerned with finding out whether Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as Mr. Ranbir Singh would like us to believe, is a holder of beacon light of democracy in this country or if she is a Karensky of India. If she is an Indian Karensky it is a matter of great concern to all of us and to her also.

To-day what do we find. We find to-day that there is very little regard for originality of ideas. Everything is borrowed our attitudes and our ideas. We have no objection to Russia. We admire Russia if it were in the contact of Gandhi and Tolstoy having a dialogue with each other. What we have to-day is Soviet Russia dictates to us and this dictation is not good far us and it is not good for the Russians. I quote her from a writer the following words which I commend to this House. I quote him. Wilson, a former Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council remarked.

"The Indian budget was a gamble in rains, To day the Indian budget is not merely a gamble in foreign aid but is also a gamble in borrowed economic ideas."

Sir, we charge Mrs Gandhi for having surrendered that freedom of mind which was symbolised by Lokamanya Tilak, which was symbolised by Lala Lajpat Rai, which was symbolised by Subhas Chandra Bose, there's such an integrity of thinking which we have inherited. That integrity to-day has been dissipated.

Let us look at the fate of the people who matter most. Mrs Gandhi is a house wife, One would have imagined the fate of

[Shri M. L. Sondhi]

the housewife in this country. I would invite her to Sarojini Nagar or Netaji Nagar or Aliganj where the Central Government employees live. Let us see the fate of the housewife. The value of money which the housewife takes when she goes for shopping is reduced. The mother of the household or the sister of the household cannot bring back enough grain, enough fruit or enough bread. That is the stark reality. How is this happening at a time when the housewife was given the helpmanship of this country. That is the fate of the housewife today and that is why the Jan Sangh has been very much concerned with it, I know friends are here who hold up something or other against the Jan Sangh ideology, but this much I may tell them that today the Bharatiya Jan Sangh is in the forefront in expressing the discontent of the people at the failures of the Government to maintain economic growth, to maintain monetary stability and to check the unemployment. These are all serious problems which we are taking up and it is a terrible plight on the part of the housewife who is finding it difficult to make essential purchases because of the wrong policies pursued by the Government. And today the Bharatiya Jan Sangh is in the forefront in respect of formulating sound economic policies. For 3 years she has not called the Jan Sangh communal. But now when the Jan Sangh has brought out its economic ideology she has called it communal and she is hurling abuses against the Jan Sangh. That is bad politics, if not anything else. That is not the way statesmanship is reflected or understood in the democratic countries of the world.

In this country this is the real danger and with the taking over of the Home Portfolio by the Prime Minister we find a great deterioration in the law and order situation in the country. There is a tendency on her part to alarm the public with stories of plots against her life, bet smear tactics against the Jan Sangh and the use of the official machinery for her own party ends. Thus she has alienated the public mind and the public sympathy which at one time had been generated for her. I congratulate my party on the firm principles which it follows against the Prime Minister and her policies

which has brought rich political dividends to the Bharatiya Jan Sangh.

I therefore feel that we must understand today that the country is concerned with what is happening around. It is not as if the All India Radio can put out propaganda and that that propaganda can be swallowed by the people. We on this side of the House raise our emphatic protest to these sycophants who come and tell us what we should say or what we should not say. We have learnt our lessons from Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lokmanya Tilak, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Vithalbai Patel, those are our mentors. These sycophants sitting here are not our mentors.

With regard to foreign policy, it is said that foreign minister should have an open mind, but we found that the last gentleman occupying the Foreign Ministry had an open mouth. On every occasion, in season and out of season, he would verbalise and the Prime Minister would encourage him. The Prime Minister herself has been known to make interperate statements. What is the result? It is the duty of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister to project a true image of the country abroad, but what we find today is that we are insulted abroad. Whenever an Indian goes abroad he must go as a man of dignity, but what do we find today? We are insulted in Rabat; we did not go to Jakarta and there are misgivings about us in South-east Asia. Everywhere Indians are insulted; abuses are hurled against us. Why are we still a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, I want to ask. Why should we remain in the company of such a country which practices racial discrimination, which supplies arms to south Africa, which regards every Indian as a suspect immigrant? What did Mrs. Gandhi do about it? As I said, they only believe in verbalism, in words and when it comes to action, nothing is done. 550 million Indians are not people of clay. With our closest neighbours what is the policy that we pursue? What happens in Cambodia and Laos is a matter of concern to all of us and we want that concern to be expressed in proper terms. I would not grumble or protest if she wants to widen her political contacts as was alleged here. But there are

methods of quiet diplomacy for that. Dag Hammerskjöld and many others have taught us how by quiet diplomacy you can bring people together on the negotiating table. I have no objection if you want to find out at first hand the various groups in South-East Asia. Contact the Buddhists who are there. Contact the PRG and others. But must you destroy the very basis of the Geneva settlements? Must you destroy the very basis on which the International Control Commission was set up? This is like a bull in a China shop. Who does not know which way he has to move? That sort of diplomacy is not worthy of the name diplomacy! If such a situation exists, India's image is reduced in the world. We must be known in furtherance of our political purposes that we talk with dignity and we are heard with respect in the various forums of the world.

18 hrs.

I crave your indulgence, Mr. Speaker, to just spell out one problem. We have known here accusations being hurled against the Jana Sangh about the communal nature of the party and so on. May I ask the Prime Minister whether she has any introduction to modern methods of conflict-resolution? Does she understand that today it is modernisation in economics, in social behaviour, which will lead to integrated social communities, and which will remove the danger which is posed by inter-religious hatred inherited from the past? We are prepared for that modern and scientific manner. Let her set up an institute of social peace research, and we shall contribute ideas to it, and let her come out with ideas herself. But this sort of raving propaganda is not worthy of serious attention because it has a negative aspect.

One word I would address finally here and that is about Russia. As I have said, I want good relations with Russia. But we must understand that there are certain historical forces. There is something known as Russian expansionism which is inherited from the Czarist times. Russia has always been wanting to expand to the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. Any government in power in Moscow, be it communist or even a Jan Sangh Government in Moscow,

I say, would expand to the south.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Jan Sangh Government in Moscow ?

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : I would be glad to disclose to Shri Nambiar certain historical details, Thrice—I mean it very seriously—in the history of Russia, armies were assembled at Tashkent to march on to Hindustan. That is a historical fact. In the modern context of the nuclear weapons and so on, this may not sound very relevant but we must be vigilant, and in determining our policy, I should like, for example, to stress that if we have inherited the tradition of Lord Buddha, if we have inherited the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi, we have inherited also the tradition of Kautilya. So, should we be ashamed to safeguard our interests where it is necessary ?

When it is a question of communism, I admire a man like Dubcek who wanted to create freedom plus communism. But we found how difficult it has been for Dubcek to survive in a certain system. Then, there was a gentleman called Cohn Bandit who led a great revolution in France. He has written a book which is entitled *Obsolete Communism*. It is for our Communist friends to come out with fresh ideas. I would request them to remember that when they think of trade unionism, let them not think of any person born abroad. Let them think of Lokmanya Tilak and see what strength they will feel in their arms and what conviction they will carry in this country. Let them have the example of Netaji Subhas Bose, a man who was at one time president of the AITUC.

There are a variety of problems facing this country. In this context, what I would suggest is that we put our heads together and we think of the work which is to be done by us and not merely in a negative fashion run each other down. What the Prime Minister has done and what none of her senior colleagues has prevented her from doing, is cumulative devaluation of the political system. That is not good. It is not political modernisation. I would commend to them certain books on politics.

[Shri M. L. Sondhi]

For, knowledge knows no frontiers. Knowledge is something universal.

In deference to your wishes, I shall now try to conclude...

MR. SPEAKER : I am waiting for his conclusion.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : Let me conclude now...

MR. SPEAKER : I had given him five minutes, but he has already crossed the limit of 15 minutes. The other parties are still left behind.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : What I would, therefore, commend is that national interests be placed foremost. National interests will help us in small matters also. For example, India has made many protests to the Soviet Union that our borders or our frontiers in Soviet maps have not been delineated properly. Our interest is not made clear to them.

MR. SPEAKER : His speech is more on foreign affairs than on the Motion before us.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : In conclusion I say this. What we want is a resolve on the part of this Parliament, this sovereign forum of the Indian people. It does not matter on which side of the House we are, but this resolve should be there, that we want to do something for the starving sections of our countrymen, for those who have been denied their right. As I happen to represent a constituency where a lot of government servants live, I know how hard their feeling is today. This Government has denied them the necessities of life. The family of the government servant starves. It does not have enough food, clothing; housing is non-existent. I have statistics here.

MR. SPEAKER : Some other time.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : There are nearly one lakh government servants with-

out quarter in Delhi. I have the statement of Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao and several other persons. These basic necessities of housing, food and shelter are not being provided for them. Therefore, this Government is a feudal Government, not a modern Government.

MR. SPEAKER : When I had gone abroad, I came across a strange bell fixed on the Table of the Speaker. It was called 'revolution bell'. The moment the shouting goes on or the speaker would not sit down I am referring to the speakers here, not to myself—that revolution bell would drown—everything; that the speaker was saying and so he had to sit down. I do not think hon. members will allow me to put that bell on my Table here. So I would request them to care for my directions.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : A few minutes.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) : When is the voting likely to take place ?

MR. SPEAKER : After one or two speakers, then the reply and then the voting.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : Approximately when ?

MR. SPEAKER : Near about 7 O'clock.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Many members opposite have talked about the irrelevance of this no-confidence Motion. The simple issue it raises is that one of the biggest frauds of an election is being sought to be perpetrated in Kerala. It is not an election in the ordinary sense, but one of the biggest frauds in the name of an election is being sought to be perpetrated there. Is this Parliament to keep quiet over that ? The Government of India say that they are developing in this country a parliamentary democratic system. Whether the Government of India have got a voice or opinion in this matter or not or whether they can interfere with the Election Commission is not my question.

Today I had expected from the Law Minister a better performance in his maiden speech. I did not expect him to just read a statement given to him by the Election Commission. Particularly after comrade Gopalan had given facts and figures to show how the election process is being conducted. I had expected he would try to answer than rather than just read a written script which was evidently given to him by the Election Commission.

They talked about the three by-elections that had taken place. My simple answer is this. How was it that in those three by-elections printed lists were given? Where have they disappeared now? Why is it that in this election no printed list is being given but such manuscripts are being given? Either those printed lists were lists of the previous election—for the 1967 election—or if there had been another printed list, obviously it would have been given to us.

The question is why is this being done in haste when everything, every difficulty experienced by the people, has been made clear to them. The rains are there till the 25 August. Nobody knows whether they will not continue after the 25th also. When the Election Commission is satisfied that there are very grave mistakes in the electoral rolls, is it or is it not necessary for him to give the people sufficient time to see that those mistakes are corrected?

Here was comrade Gopalan who made the charge that till even last night the electoral rolls had not been given to us, and there is Mr. Hanumanthaiya who cannot refute it. He has got to see whether these are facts or not. I am prepared to stand here and challenge the Prime Minister. Let a Commission of Parliament immediately go and see whether the facts that we allege, that copies of the electoral rolls have not been given to the parties even till yesterday, are correct or not.

And then you say that to correct the electoral rolls the time has been extended by two days, from the 30th July to 1st September. What is this? Is this not the biggest fraud that is being perpetrated?

I am now concerned with this biggest fraud, and therefore my question is this. What is the answer of the Government of India with regard to this biggest fraud? I charge that the Government of India is a party to this fraud, because the Congress Party and Shrimati Indira Gandhi somehow or other want to get back the Achuta Menon Ministry, willy nilly, whether there is proper election or fraudulent election or any election.

The other day the Governor had been here, and I am reliably told that the Governor had told Mrs. Gandhi that this Ministry has got to be returned, the election must be held immediately on whatever rolls are available. That is why this conspiracy is being made.

In no election in this country till today from 1952 onwards have manuscript electoral rolls been given to the parties for correction, and no electoral rolls can be printed with this thing before the 8th. You are going to conduct the elections with this manuscript thing? Therefore, I would ask them to declare on the floor of the House whether at any time before in the history of this country, during the entire period of elections that have taken place, such frauds had ever been committed. If it is not so what is the answer of the Government of India? Let the Government of India, let the Prime Minister, declare openly that as far as the Government of India is concerned, it does not want such elections, whatever might be the position. The Ministry may last or may not last. We can have a spell of Governor's rule if necessary, but we want the elections to be conducted after printing the electoral rolls, giving copies of the electoral rolls to the parties and asking them to correct them.

The question of what happened in 1967 and 1970 does not arise, because it has been proved and the Election Commission itself is satisfied that it was a wrong electoral roll and so it agreed to its revision. Therefore, this is the simple issue on which we want to censure the Government.

You accept that. If you do not accept that, it only proves my charge that you have

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

conspired, the Government of India has conspired. If you do not agree to do this and if you want to conduct the election on that basis, I am not at all sorry because you will be only proving to the people of this country what we have been saying all the time. We have been telling the people that all this talk of democracy which these people indulge in from time to time is just a shibboleth, that when it suits them they will subvert even these rules of bourgeois democracy. Therefore, we have been telling the people that the vested interests in this country, the classes in power the ruling classes cannot be overthrown by this kind of thing because every time they will adopt such a stratagem and in the ultimate analysis the vested interests can be overthrown only by open class battles of the classes concerned. You will be proving that, and I will thank you for proving that. We will be extremely grateful to you for proving our thesis.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermaile)

I was interested in intervening at this stage only to dispel any misrepresentation of facts which may be made by the Mr. P. Ramamurti.

I was surprised to see that he and his colleagues are shifting their ground almost every moment. Right from Mr. Limaye, including Mr. Gopalan we have seen that they were trumpeting so much about 31 lakhs of new voters being added and 17 lakhs being deleted. They say it is something fantastic and unimaginable. I am happy Mr. Ramamurti omits that allegation and does not speak about it because... (*Interruptions.*)

SHRI UMANATH : That has already been covered.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : There is no point in interrupting me and facts are against you. I know you do not want me to be heard. Everyone of your false and fantastic accusations will be challenged and contradicted. Mr. Ramamurti has not spoken about these figures because he and his friends found that the revision of the electoral rolls took place not only in Kerala but all over India, in all the States and

Union territories, The figures are there for all to see. It is not a secret document. Kerala is no exception. Here is the average net increase per year Assam 2.88 per cent, Bihar 2.21, Haryana 2.5, Orissa 2.58, Tamil Nadu 2.12, West Bengal 2.08, Kerala 2.7, per cent. When the average net increase in the number of voters per year as a result of the revision of the electoral rolls is between 2 and 3 per cent not only in Kerala but in more than six States, Messrs. Ramamurti and Gopalan cannot go about selling this fantastic suggestion that in Kerala alone there was falsification of electoral rolls. They did not speak about the other States. He has raised objection about the electoral rolls of three constituencies where byelections took place on those very electoral rolls which were revised on 1st January 1970. He says that he raised objections but it is significant that the letter he wrote to the Election Commission was dated July 10th, although byelections took place on 20th April. When parties go into byelections they should be wise enough and experienced enough to find things in the field, at the grass roots, in the villages. If there are persons above 21 years of age who are not in the list of voters, people will find out and say that something wrong is there. There was no murmur of protest at that time about the electoral rolls either to the Election Commission in April, May or even in June. On July 10 Mr. Gopalan writes a letter because on June 26th the Kerala Assembly is dissolved and there is a mid term poll

SHRI A. K. Gopalan : On July 10, the Election Commission came to Kerala and that is why I wrote to them.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : Then he knows that a mid-term poll is bound to come in Kerala. Unfortunately for the Marxist Party leadership, because of their misguided policies and the faults which they committed, they are isolated from the progressive and left opinion in the State and they know that in the mid-term poll that is likely to take place in the near future they may be defeated... (*Interruptions.*) I do not know why they should shout like this ; I did not interrupt Mr. Ramamurti when he spoke. They know one thing. In the present political climate in Kerala, the Marxist

party is isolated from the progressive forces  
(*Interruption*).

AN HON. MEMBER : They are surely isolated from the Congress party.

SHRI VASUDEVEN NAIR : From the leftist forces, that a defeat...

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS *ro e.*

MR. SPEAKER : Order, order. You listen with patience to the other Members.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : ... is awaiting them. I understood that they should give advance arguments for a coming defeat otherwise there is no material or reason in this.

I would like to point out only one more thing, although it was touched upon by comrade Dange. The Marxist party leaders have absolutely no respect for figures, because for them 5,000 means five lakhs; five lakhs means 50 crores. Shri E. M. Sankaran Nambudiripad, before he went to Korea, made a statement saying that something like 50,000 party cadres are involved in cases. As soon as he returned and landed in India, he issued a statement to the press saying that it is not 50,000 but it is 100,000. 50,000 became 100,000. Tomorrow, it will become 200,000. It is going on like that. They have no respect for facts and figures.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : It is not that. I do not expect a person like Shri Vasudevan Nair to say like that. Shri Nambudiripad returned to India after one month and within that period of one month there were so many cases where the numbers involved were 400, 500, 7,000 and so on. It increased because of that.  
(*Interruption*)

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : Is he making a speech, Sir? Is he making another speech? There is no use getting angry, because the records are there. (*Interruption*) That is why I say that facts are against them. Otherwise, why should they shout like this? The facts are these. They say that 50,000 cadres are prosecuted in cases connected with the implementation of the Land Reforms Act, while the actual fact is

that 1,627 cases were registered.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam) : It is wrong.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : These facts have been collected by our Government. Out of these 1,627 cases which were registered, only 1229 cases were placed before the courts. The total number of persons involved in these cases is not 50,000, as Shri Gopalan has alleged, but 6,503. That is the exact figure. (*Interruption*). At the same time, let them not pretend that they are such democrats, because when their leader, Mr. Nambudiripad, was the Chief Minister and Home Minister of Kerala, there were people who were involved in cases and were prosecuted. This is continuing even to day, and more than 1,000 people are going to the courts almost every week; they were involved in such cases during Mr. Nambudiripad's days. Now there are other cases. I may submit to this House that apart from land cases, there are other cases where some people are also involved. A bus was burnt with a large number of people in it. Three people were burnt to death. The Home Minister of Kerala was sought to be killed. Fish-plates were removed.

SHRI UMANATH : Nandaji's White Paper is being repeated by Shri Vasudevan Nair. (*Interruption*).

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : There are cases like this. They want to shout me down. I am only giving out these facts and figures with great sorrow and a lot of reluctance, because these people are trying day in and day out to slander and malign our party and several other parties in Kerala. I can claim that our Government and our Chief Minister have done something remarkable in the annals of parliamentary history. They have gone to the Assembly with courage. (*Interruptions*). I have a right to express my views in this House. When Mr. Gopalan and Mr. Ramamurti were speaking, the 24 members of our party were keeping quiet. But now 10 people are trying to shout me down. I have a right to express my views. When our Government was challenged, when we thought there was a

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

move to topple the Government, the Chief Minister went before the Assembly with a confidence motion. He did not run away from the Assembly. He got a vote in his favour. But day in and day out these people are trying to run down the Chief Minister like that. Mr. Gopalan in his statement used the words "pack of wolves" against the Achuta Menon ministry. (*Interruptions*). They can use any slanderous language about other parties, other Governments and Chief Ministers. They are trying to sell an unsaleable commodity in the Kerala market, in the parliamentary market and in the political market in the capital and other places. That is why with reluctance and sorrow, I was compelled to bring out at least part of the facts. Let hon. members judge for themselves. When lakhs of names are printed, there may be mistakes in the electoral rolls. It is for the Election Commission to look after that matter. We do not want any favour. It is the right of the Kerala Government to demand that elections should be held before 25th September before the six month period expires under the Constitution. Now the Election Commission has recommended a date for the election. We request that they should stick to that date. Neither the Election Commission nor the Government of the India should submit themselves to the blackmailing tactics that are being employed by some people in this country.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very difficult to know how to reply to this motion of no confidence because, whereas certain items have been mentioned in the actual motion, many of the speeches have touched upon very much wider fields, bringing in, as usual, the public sector, socialism and all kinds of other matters which were not in the motion. Some of the speeches were in a very light-hearted vein and I should have liked to reply in like manner except that it is necessary to put straight certain facts so as to remove misunderstandings from the public mind.

As far as Congo is concerned, I have

only one thing to say. I have been indeed amused as some hon. Member remarked from the other side, because once I did listen to Shri Asoka Mehta. The result was not one of my most conspicuously successful actions.

Since yesterday there has been a pitiful effort to put Humpty-Dumpty together again. Some people had seen visions of a grand alliance but evidently they could not win a vote of confidence even from their own people. So, Humpty-Dumpty had a fall and except for Shri Piloo Mody, who always sounds well even when he talks utter nonsense, the others could not even work up any fervour or eloquence in their speeches in order to put together the pieces. Even though Shri Dange came to their rescue and gave them suggestions as to who should hold what portfolio, in their shadow Cabinet their hopes for their shadow Cabinet have been completely shattered and I am afraid there is not even a shadow of a shadow Cabinet.

The motion broadly lists four grounds. The first is the charge that the elections in Kerala are being rigged. As we have been told by my colleague the Law Minister and others the electoral rolls were revised in January of this year. Bye-elections were held after that and no complaints were made that these elections were not fair. Mention has been made here about the Governor's visit to me.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Where are those printed forms of the rolls ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : As far as I know, they are exactly where they were, where the rolls are normally kept. I am told they are exactly where they are supposed to be.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : That is not correct. When we come and say that here, you do not believe us. But when somebody else says something, you believe it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am not talking of somebody; I am talking of the election Commissioner,

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : The Election Commissioner has said something : I say that what he said is not correct. You must examine and decide whether what he says is correct or what we say is correct.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : This is not a governmental function. All that we can do is to draw the commissions attention to complaints. The Government is not here to interfere with the Election Commission or the Election Commissioner. And I should like to say that one of the things about which we can legitimately be proud in India since our independence is the fact that, except for occasional isolated cases, our elections have been free and fair and have given the people unfettered opportunity to express their wish. The very fact that almost every party has had the opportunity of being elected to form a government, elected to power and also removed from power, is a proof if proof is needed, of the strength and justice of our electoral system.

SHRI A.K. GOPALAN : I want to know whether the printed electoral rolls were given. I also want to know whether the election date was fixed anywhere in India before the printed list was given.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I do not know whether printed lists are given to the people or not.....(Interruption) but the printed lists are available at the places where they are kept .....(Interruption).

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : We are given printed lists..... (Interruption).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We have not only an independent Election Commission but the law courts also exercise full vigilance to ensure the fairness of our elections. It is rather unfortunate that any kind of doubt is cast on the election system which has worked effectively all these years.

It is also difficult to believe that all of a sudden a State Government in a part of India which is known for its high political consciousness and literacy should meddle with the electoral system. However, as I

said to Shri Gopalan when he came to see me about this, I have referred this matter to the Election Commissioner that such a complaint had been made and I was told that he had looked into the matter. There is, as you all know, still time for any objections to be raised in this matter. But I can assure the hon. House that we stand fully for free and fair elections. We are not concerned with what party comes into power. Naturally everybody would like their party to win but not at the cost of fair play or damage to the electoral system. We will never stand for. As you all know, as the Central Government we have given support and cooperation to all governments of whatever hue they were, which came into power anywhere in the country.

For the first time there was something new in this No confidence Motion and that was the strange alliance which we witnessed. As was effectively pointed out by Shri Chandra J. et Yadav, the cat was let out of the bag by the hon. Member, the Swatantra spokesman, when he delivered a broadside against socialism and nationalisation, which of course they always call State capitalism.

As usual, all kinds of other baseless charges and insinuations have been made. Reckless personal charges were made against some of my colleagues and against my Secretariat. I do not need to defend them because they are capable of taking care of themselves, but I can only feel sorry that some hon. Members simply cannot get away from this kind of vituperation and also from giving a casteist or a regional bias to anything that happens in the country.

मधु लिमये : श्री डी० एन० तिवारी ने प्रदेशवाद का परिचय दिया है। अपने सड़े हुए मन का परिचय दिया है।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Although the question of the Kerala elections has been brought in as a bait to the Members of the CPI (M), it is obvious that the entire motion is designed as a personal attack on me on the supposed concentration of power in my hands. In fact, reference

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has been made to the recent reshuffle of the Cabinet and the transfer of some departments to the Cabinet Secretariat. I did not create the Cabinet Secretariat. It has long been in existence. I did not invent the Prime Minister's Secretariat either. Contrary to what some member has said, the Prime Minister's Secretariat in its present form was not designed by me but by my distinguished predecessor, Shri Lal Bahadurji Shastri. Since then we have answered questions in this House on the Secretariat, giving the numbers of officials. There has been no addition to the Secretariat nor is any addition contemplated because of any of the changes which have taken place because no extra work has come to that Secretariat.

The function of the Cabinet Secretariat is to provide effective coordination between the ministries of Government. It also takes up certain items of study, analysis and research. When the Planning Commission shed its executive function in response to the desire of this honourable House, the Cabinet Secretariat took on some of this work. It has to take initiative in several matters of economic coordination which were previously being attended to by the Planning Commission. The three Departments which have been transferred to the Cabinet Secretariat are the Personnel Department, the Electronics Department and the Scientific and Industrial Research Department. The Department of Personnel has been newly constituted and placed under the Cabinet Secretariat, as the House knows, on the recommendation of the A.R.C.

Regarding the Intelligence agencies, I had thought that there were several experts in this House on public administration and at least they should have set the records straight. As is well-known, in England as well as in many other countries, Intelligence is directly with the Prime Minister and I am sure that these countries did not take inspiration from the Cabinet reshuffle in this country.

The C. B. I. and the Special Police Establishment have been mainly concerned with the eradication of corruption from

public service. It has necessarily to be a part of the Personnel Department. Even in the Home Ministry, the work was being looked after on the Services side under a separate Secretary (Services).

The Directorate of Revenue Intelligence was transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the Cabinet Secretariat in order to ensure better coordination with the Central Bureau of Investigation. The C. B. I. has already a wing dealing with economic offences and the work of the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence is very largely related to such offences.

Some members made a remark about the committee of Appointments saying that previously there was the Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Minister concerned but now, since the Home and the Prime Minister was the same person, there would only be two persons. So, I should like to inform the House that the Committees of the Cabinet were formed soon after the reshuffle, but unfortunately, they were not declared immediately—that I had decided that Shri Chavanji should remain on that Committee, since he was dealing with this question and with the people who would be concerned will be in these Committees. Apart from that, I would like to point out that none of these Committees works on the basis of voting. The persons sit together and it is always a question of having discussion and coming to a decision.

So far as the transfer of the C.S.I.R. to the Cabinet Secretariat is concerned, the hon. Members will remember that the Prime Minister, from the very beginning of its existence has been the ex-officio President. Therefore, this does not really change the situation.

As for the future development of electronics in India, this also has been a subject of long and anxious debate in both Houses ever since the publication of the Bhabha Report on Electronics. The future development of electronics, has such wide ranging application not only in defence but also with regard to communications, radio television, etc, hence the fast development of the industry has become a matter of

crucial importance to the country. Several Ministries and Departments of the Government as well as the private sector are consumers of the product of the electronics industry. It was in order to give a special impetus to the development of electronics that the Government have been considering the setting up of a special organisational structure. The allocation of the electronics Department to the Cabinet Secretariat was made to enable this structure to be built which, we hope, will be very soon.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is all amusing.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It may seem amusing to you. But for most such organisations that have to be set up, with which many Ministries are concerned, it is more convenient for coordinated working if at this stage the Prime Minister is there. Similarly a great deal was said about ministerial responsibility being diluted and collective responsibility being discounted. Nothing could be farther from the fact. Many hon. Members do not seem to have a correct appreciation of what is meant by collective responsibility. All Cabinet decisions are collectively taken. (*Interruptions*). Some decisions are taken by individual Ministers but we are all collectively responsible and these decisions are collectively supported and defended by the entire Government. In modern Government, several spot decisions must also be taken and Ministers who take them do so in the full knowledge that they will have to defend them on the floor of the House and in the full trust that they will have the full support of their colleagues. All controversial matters are brought to the Cabinet itself or to one of its Committees. I do not have to point out that throughout last year my colleagues have come to this House and given the reasons for their decisions. They have won an open vote of the House. They have withstood many determined efforts to shake them and challenge them. Hon. Members from the Opposition had wrongly imagined that we on this side would not stand together. They have spent days and nights planning strategies and offering prayers to divide us. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PILOO MODY : It is better than offering money.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : They have set afloat all kinds of rumours of dissension but we have stood together with loyalty to one another and faith in our Party and full conviction in our policies. I may tell the hon Member—opposite that what they could too achieve during this difficult year, they will certainly not be able to achieve in the coming months.

Sir, I have respect for my colleagues, respect for their ability and respect for their dedication to the welfare of the people and to the progress of this great nation. (*Interruptions*). That is why we have been able to work together and to introduce certain far-reaching changes in our national life. I do agree with the hon. Member, Shri Dwivedy, that much that we wanted to do we have not been able to do. We have not been able to proceed as fast as we would like to do. We have not said that we have done everything. But when you go ahead in a democratic way, it is a slower path than the other. I am not saying this to excuse ourselves because I fully realise that we must work more speedily and reach our goals more effectively.

Cabinet Government and Parliamentary Democracy are built on the principle that the overriding power and responsibility rests in the legislature. Parliament is the master of Ministers and if you could put it that way, Ministers in turn are—I do not like the word 'master'—in a way over civil servants. Those who are propagating the myth of a powerful bureaucracy are in fact running down this Parliament and the work which it has been doing to guard the people's interests. Now you can give the civil service any name you like, but the fact remains that whether you have a capitalist government or a socialist government or any other form of government, it has to have some kind of a civil service.

If it is a large country obviously that civil service will be large. And a country in which society itself takes upon itself the power and the duty to regulate economic and social life has to have the appropriate

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machinery to do it. But the hon. Member is right when he said that in a socialist State there will be more servants of the State, but they are servants of the people, not masters of the people.

There may be, and there is, some inefficiency and there may also be some deadwood in the Administrative organisation. But we cannot deny that there are also fine people who are as good as any in the world. They are doing their work with ability and dedication. It would be a pity if the House were to do anything which would blunt these tools. This is not peculiar to our country, because, almost everywhere there is sometimes criticism against bureaucrats and even in countries and Governments which have far more advanced methods than we can afford today.

A statement of mine or rather a speech was quoted and in the attempt to show that there was some contradiction between that and a letter which I had written about our administrative service to a newly selected IAS officer. I don't think that there is any contradiction between the two. Because, I do believe that we must give better status to Specialists. All over the world it has been realised that technical jobs must go to technicians. But everywhere administrators and business managers also are being given more intensive training in now and modern methods. We have been choosing specialists for our technical posts so far as possible, but at no time has this meant that we should dispense with the administrative service. On the contrary, the administrative service must be given greater social orientation so as to be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively.

Something has been said about the communal problem. But this problem has been thoroughly debated on earlier occasions and I leave it to the country to judge whose speeches have been provocative or have added to the tension in any particular area.

The problem of the refugees is naturally one which is uppermost in the minds of

most of us. They are facing very genuine hardships and this is a matter of grave concern and deep distress. The Government has indeed a heavy responsibility to settle and rehabilitate them with great speed. We are doing everything possible towards this end. Shri Samar Guha's excitement was understandable. I entirely agree with what he said this morning about the political side of the problem. He mentioned also my visit to Calcutta. But, as I told him when I met him there that particular visit was for a limited purpose, that is, to look into the implementation of the various decisions which had been taken earlier in Delhi. And, the steps being taken for the refugees and their rehabilitation formed a considerable part of this discussion, whether it was with political parties, whether it was with administrators or some of the other public men and women whom I met, I have promised our friends from Bengal to visit the transit camps soon. I am sorry I could not go there on that occasion.

This is hardly the occasion on which to speak about Manipur. But, since the matter was brought up, I would just like to say that this House is fully aware of the law and order situation there. It is obvious, whether it is Manipur or elsewhere, that the restoration of normal conditions is an essential precondition for any fair election. Yet we all know that this part of the country faces many difficult problems. We are looking into them.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Double Standards everywhere,

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Government have no double standards, but I am afraid many of those who have spoken have shown their own double standards.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy also spoke heatedly about land reforms. I do not think that it is correct to say that our programmes are not making any headway even in the States where we are in control. I think there has never been greater consciousness at the Centre and in the States of the great importance of creating an equitable agrarian structure within the shortest possible time.

In Bengal, we announced some months ago that the occupiers of land belonging to eligible categories would not be evicted and that their position would be regularised very soon. Earlier this month, the West Bengal Land Reforms Amendment Act was enacted. Its result will be to increase the burgadar's share of the produce from 60 to 75 per cent, in cases where they themselves provide all the inputs. The conditions under which land owners are permitted to resume lands have been made more favourable to burgadars, and the right of cultivation by them has been made hereditary. It has also been decided to enact fresh legislation on ceiling, fixing the ceiling in terms of family rather than individual units. The details are now being finalised. The Government of West Bengal have been told to give this work the highest priority, that is, the re-distribution of waste and surplus land to eligible cultivators. In this matter, the State Government are reviewing the ceiling law and enforcing the existing ceilings with much greater rigour. (*Interruptions*) Detailed instructions have already gone out to district collectors, and notices have been served on several thousands of the largest owners of surplus land. The amendments to the Bihar Tenancy Act, carried out during President's rule, are being implemented, so that even bataidars on oral lease are not liable to eviction.

In UP, the ceiling laws are being reviewed. In Maharashtra, the rent payable by tenants to land-owners has been reduced to one-sixth of the produce, which is perhaps the lowest in the country. After many years, there is now real hope that land reforms, which have so long been talked about, are at last under way.

The examples of Bihar and West Bengal during President's rule conclusively show that the Central Government is earnestly engaged in carrying through the measures which it has been urging on other State Governments.

The other problem which is very much on everybody's mind is naturally that of unemployment. I fully share the concern expressed in this House and outside about this growing problem. But the only lasting remedy for unemployment and under-emp-

loyment, particularly of skilled personnel such as engineers and technicians lies in vigorous implementation of the plan and inclusion of specially labour-intensive programmes.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Plans ? They are responsible for the mischief.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI :** The plan outlay for the current year has been stepped up by about Rs. 400 crores especially with a view to bring some improvement in the employment situation. We are examining how to speedily organise a land army, that is, enrolling cadres of skilled and unskilled workers to be put to work on specific projects of public utility.

There was reference to the performance of nationalised banks. It may be that we did proceed a bit slowly for many reasons. But there is no basis for the criticism that benefits have not accrued to the small persons or the small farmers, although I concede that much remains to be done and must be done speedily.

19 hrs.

The number of borrowal accounts in the case of direct loans to agriculture went up from Rs. 1,34,849 at the end of June, 1969 to Rs. 2,97,670 by the end of March, 1970. The number of accounts for advances to retail traders and small business increased from 28,037 at the end of June, 1969 to 70,607 by the end of March, 1970. Similarly, the number of loans to self-employed persons increased impressively from 422 at the end of June, 1969 to 22,030 by the end of March, 1970. The share of advances to neglected sectors, namely, agriculture, small scale industries, road transport operators, retail traders, small business etc in the aggregate advances of the public sector banks increased from 14.6 per cent at the end of June, 1969 to 20.3 per cent by the end of March, 1970.

There were some entirely false charges made regarding issuing of licences. Perhaps the House knows that the decision in all important cases is taken not by any individual Minister or by the Prime Minister but

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by the Cabinet as a whole. A ridiculous statement was made alleging that I had taken over licensing in my own hands. Nothing could be farther from the truth. All that has been decided is that the grant of licences in certain defined cases should be considered by the Committee on Economic Co-ordination on which all Ministers dealing with economic matters are represented. This is largely because this is a controversial matter, and many cases come within the purview of different Ministries also. Therefore, the question is not of concentration of power but of sharing responsibility and decision making power and bringing the collective judgment of a ministerial group to bear on these important problems of licensing.

**SHRI RANJEET SINGH** (Khalilabad : Why has she taken away Shri Swaran Singh's intelligence ?

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI** : It has been alleged that the decisions taken on the grant of industrial licences have been inspired by dishonest motives. I have no hesitation in saying that this is a mischievous and reckless charge, and also an entirely dishonest charge. I have no hesitation in maintaining that the interest of the national economy and not narrow or party or personal interest guides our decisions.

I have been compared, not for the first time, to Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini. If they had perhaps read more books, they could have used more names. I think the people will laugh at the preposterousness of these comparisons.

It was somewhat dramatically stated that this country would not tolerate Hitler. I entirely agree with this. In fact, this is what I myself have been saying. I have said it in the House ; I have said it outside also. This country will not tolerate Hitler and what Hitlerism stands for. But we should know what it stands for, namely, the preaching of hatred against sections of the people, the building up of para-military organisations, the use of the lie, the big lie and the biggest lie and the readiness to use any and every method capture power. We do not believe in such methods ; we leave such methods to others.

The biggest lie that has been told in this House on this occasion is the one that is now being constantly repeated about our subservience, as they say, to the Soviet Union. This, as the House and those members who have been in the House for some time, will remember, is not a new charge. It was also made against my father. Some called him a Soviet stooge and others called him an American camp-follower, but he was an Indian, a proud Indian. Now, the same charge is being levelled against me. My concern is only for the people of India. These charges are not going to deflect us from seeking friendship with all nations because the country's good requires it. And when the national interests demand it, we shall not hesitate to stand up against all nations. Somebody said : let us have one example. There is a very recent example, which is our not signing the NPT.

**SHRI M. L. SONDHI** : That is because of our pressure.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI** : Mr. Sondhi has some imaginary ideas of his own strength in this House. I will leave him to his illusion.

**SHRI M. L. SONDHI** : When you hold a public meeting next, I will hold one the same day.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI** : I trust the country will treat this charge with the contempt which it deserves, India, free, sovereign, democratic India, shall never be a satellite of any country, however great or powerful.

**SHRI PULO MODY** : Except the Soviet Union.

**SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI** : Those who bandy about this charge show a singular lack of confidence in themselves or in the country. All the chancelleries of the world know and respect the fact that our country has steadfastly pursued its own course of action.

**SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA** : In spite of you.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : And I shall continue to do it so long as I have anything to do with the Government of this country. The consistent and steadfast adherence to our policy of non-alignment is absolutely non-negotiable. Many people thought that we would succumb, they have tried to browbeat us here many a time, but we have not gone back from anything for which we stand, nor shall we ever do so in foreign policy or in domestic policy.

I hope that this House will reject...

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : Interim relief for the Government employees.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : ...This motion and will continue to show its confidence in this Government.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मन्त्री हमेशा शिकायत करती थीं कि जो पिटी पिटाई बातें हैं वही अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव की बहस में लाई जाती हैं लेकिन आज जिस ढंग से उन्होंने अपना भाषण किया और बचाव की भूमिका जो अख्तियार की उससे पता चलता है कि आज जो बहस यहाँ पर उठाई गई उसमें कितना तथ्य है, कितनी—जान है उसका स्वयं उनको पता चल गया था। जब कल मैं बोल रहा था तो सभी लोगों ने देखा कि इनके मंत्रिमण्डल के अधिकतर मन्त्री हमारी बातों पर खुशी से फूले नहीं समा रहे थे—सभी लोगों ने इसको देखा है। आज उनका बचाव करने के लिए इस बहस में न दिनेश सिंह आये, न जगजीवन राम आये, न चव्हाण साहब आये और न ही बलिराम भगत आये। तो ये जो कह रही हैं कि हम एक हैं और बड़ा इत्तफाक है हम लोगों में, उसका परिचय दो दिनों की बहस में हमें अच्छी तरह मिला है।... (व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय, विरोधी दलों में बैठने वाले हमारे दक्षिण पंथी कम्युनिस्टों के नेता डांगे साहब का भाषण मैंने गौर से सुना। उन्होंने

बहुत विचित्र किस्म की बातें कीं। उन्होंने कहा मैं अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव के साथ नहीं हूँ लेकिन मैं इस सरकार पर विश्वास भी व्यक्त नहीं करना चाहता। एक त्रिशंकु की तरह डांगे साहब लटक रहे हैं। मैंने यहाँ पर जो बातें कहीं उनमें एक भी डांगे साहब या उनके समर्थक काट नहीं पाये।... (व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब श्री वामुदेवन नायर बो टोका जा रहा था तब इन लोगों को गुस्सा आ रहा था। अब द्राप इनको बिठलाइये।

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा (जयनगर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भी...

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down ; you have no right to speak. The hon. Member is not yielding.

श्री मधु लिमये : इस वक्त यह क्यों टोक रहे हैं ?

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा : अध्यक्ष महोदय, द्राप मेरी बात सुन लीजिये।\*

MR. SPEAKER : It will not go on record.

श्री मधुलिमये : श्री डांगे मेरी एक बात को भी काट नहीं पाये।

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा :\*

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, द्राप इनको शान्त कीजिये।

MR. SPEAKER : You should know the rule that if he does not yield you have no right to speak. He is not yielding.

श्री मधु लिमये : डांगे मेरी एक बात को भी काट नहीं पाये। मैंने कहा कि राजनीतिक सत्ता का केन्द्रीकरण हो गया है।

\* Not recorded.

[श्री मधु लिमये]

उन्होंने इसको कबूल किया, लेकिन उन्होंने सिर्फ यह कहा कि मुक्त में जो आर्थिक सत्ता का केन्द्रीकरण है वही प्रतिबिम्बित हो रहा है राजनीतिक सत्ता के केन्द्रीकरण में। मेरी बात को उन्होंने नहीं काटा। मैं यह कह रहा था कि जो राजनीतिक सत्ता प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ में केन्द्रित हो रही है उसका इस्तेमाल भी आर्थिक सत्ता के केन्द्रीकरण के लिये किया जा रहा है। स्वयम् श्री डांगे ने कहा कि जुलाई में महान् घटनायें हुईं और उसके बाद एक साल के अन्दर आर्थिक सत्ता का और ज्यादा केन्द्रीकरण हो गया। यह स्वयम् उन्होंने कहा है, आप रेकार्ड देख लीजिए। मेरी इस बात को कबूल करने के बाद भी डांगे साहब कहते हैं कि मैं न इस प्रस्ताव के हक में हूँ, न सरकार के प्रति विश्वास प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ। तो उनकी जो नीति है उसके बारे में सदन सोचे।

प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि मेरे ऊपर व्यक्तिगत आरोप किये गए। मैंने अपने पूरे भाषण में उनके व्यक्तिगत जीवन के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। मेरे आरोप राजनीतिक हैं, और जो राजनीतिक सत्ता के केन्द्रीकरण की बात है वह सिर्फ मेरे जैसे लोग नहीं कहते। जो एक उनके समर्थक हैं, जिनको उन्होंने अशोक होटल का चैयरमैन बनाया था, ट्रिजम कारपोरेशन का चैयरमैन बनाया था, वह पौलिटिकल एण्ड एका-मिक बीकली में लिखते हैं। श्री रमेश थापर साहब इनके मित्र हैं, वह कहते हैं कि :

“Power is concentrated as never before in the hands of the Prime Minister.”

इस सत्ता का इस्तेमाल आर्थिक सत्ता के केन्द्रीकरण को बढ़ावा देने के लिये प्रधान मंत्री कर रही हैं। वह एक ओर समाजवाद की बात कहती हैं, एक ओर कहती हैं कि एकाधिकार-शाही को मैं रोकना चाहती हूँ और दूसरी ओर उनकी सरकार बिड़ला और जो दूसरे बड़े बड़े

पूँजीपति हैं उनको लाइसेंस देने के काम को लगातार जनवरी महीने से कर रही है। बिड़ला ने ईस्टर्न एकानमिस्ट में उनकी ताराफ में पिछले सप्ताह लिखा है। उसका एक वाक्य मैं पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ :

“In the wake of the Cabinet reshuffle the Prime Minister displayed commendable initiative in taking much-needed but overdue promotional action in the industrial sector.”

बड़े-बड़े लोगों को लाइसेंस मिले हैं। वह जानते हैं कि उनकी समाजवाद की घोषणा नकली है। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि राजनीतिक सत्ता का केन्द्रीकरण, नौकरशाही में एकाधिकारों का केन्द्रीकरण और आर्थिक सत्ता का भी केन्द्रीकरण हो रहा है।

प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि क्या कैबिनेट सेक्रेटेरियट का निर्माण मैंने किया? उनके पिताजी के जमाने से कैबिनेट सेक्रेटेरियट है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर सेक्रेटेरियट का निर्माण मैंने नहीं किया, लालबहादुर शास्त्री ने किया। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन दो हथियारों का जो इस्तेमाल वह कर रही हैं वह बहुत दूसरे उद्देश्य के लिए किया जा रहा है। सरकारी नियमों की किताब मेरे पास है। मंत्रियों के बीच काम बाँटने के बारे में पहले कैबिनेट सेक्रेटेरियट के पास कितने अधिकार थे? केवल दो अधिकार थे, अर्थात् सेक्रेटेरियट असिस्टेंट टु दि कैबिनेट एण्ड कैबिनेट कमेटीज। अब एलेक्ट्रानिक्स, साइन्टिफिक एण्ड इण्डस्ट्रियल रिसर्च, पर्सोनेल ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन आदि सारे अधिकार कैबिनेट सेक्रेटेरियट में केन्द्रित हो रहे हैं।

इसी तरह से प्राइम मिनिस्टर सेक्रेटेरियट में, जिसको मैं अदृश्य सरकार कहता हूँ, जो बड़ी-बड़ी फाइलें जाती हैं, जब तक उनके ऊपर हस्ताक्षर या दूसरे लोगों की मोहर नहीं लगती, तब तक कोई निर्णय नहीं होता। (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह बात स्टेल है।

श्री मधु लिमये : स्टेल क्यों है ? मैं यह नई बात कह रहा हूँ, लेकिन वह कोई जवाब नहीं दे रही है। उनके हाथ में एक साल वित्त मंत्रालय था। उसमें क्या हुआ ? डांगे साहब ने कहा कि सट्टा खेलने वालों को बैंकों द्वारा ऋण दिया जाता है। डिपाजिट्स का हमारे देश में 12 प्रतिशत की दर से विस्तार हुआ है, लेकिन सट्टेबाज आदि लोगों को जो क्रेडिट दिया गया है उसमें 17 प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई। जब उन्होंने अपना वजट पेश किया तब इसका कोई जवाब नहीं दिया। वह फालतू प्रश्नों के बारे में कह रही थीं, लेकिन मैंने सवाल उठाया था दाम की वृद्धि का। जब उन्होंने वित्त मंत्री के नाते वजट पेश किया तब कई दफे कहा कि दामों में कोई वृद्धि नहीं होगी, लेकिन लगातार मार्च महीने से दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। उनके पास किसी बात का कोई जवाब नहीं है। (व्यवधान) प्रश्नों का जवाब उन्हें देना था, आपकी नहीं।

कल मैंने कहा था कि यह अवमूल्यन वाली सरकार है। उन्होंने चालाकी से अशोक मेहता के ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी थोपने का प्रयास किया। मैं कहता हूँ कि अशोक मेहता ने सलाह दी थी, लेकिन आपकी वृद्धि और आपकी सूभ-बूभ कहाँ चली गई थी ? अब तक केवल रुपए के अवमूल्यन की जिम्मेदारी आपके ऊपर थी, लेकिन पिछले वर्ष सारी राजनीति के मूल्यों का अवमूल्यन आपने किया। जिस उम्मीदवार का पर्चा आपने दाखिल किया, उसी को आपने हरा दिया। सारी पोलिटिकल वेल्यूज का अवमूल्यन आपने किया, और इस साल आपने मंत्रियों का डिबैलुएशन किया। केन्द्र की इन्दिरा गांधी सरकार लगातार डिबैलुएशन वाली सरकार बनती जा रही है। श्री डांगे ने भी कहा था कि मंत्रियों का दर्जा कंजुअल लेबर से ज्यादा नहीं है। मैं उसका एक ही सबूत देता हूँ। फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद साहब उद्योग मंत्रालय में बैठते थे,

तब उनके साथ भारत हेवी एलेक्ट्रिकल्स को लेकर करार हुआ था। उनके सामने मंत्रालय के सचिव साहब ने हस्ताक्षर किया था, लेकिन अब मुझे यूनियन के लोगों ने बतलाया कि जो उनका पब्लिक सेक्टर का जो चेअरमैन है, जनरल मैनेजर है वह अब उस करार पर अमल करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। अगर फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद साहब में थोड़ी भी नैतिकता है तो क्या वे सदन को आश्वासन देंगे कि अगर उस करार का पालन नहीं होता है, जो उनके सामने ही और उनकी सहमति से हुआ है, तो वह मंत्रिमंडल में नहीं रहेंगे ? (व्यवधान) क्या कोठी और लम्बी मोटर-गाड़ी के मोह को वह अपने मन से निकालेंगे ?

मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा, मैं कल यहाँ नहीं था उस वक्त और मुझ को अचरज होता है, श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी ने कल सवाल पूछा था प्रधान मंत्री से कि मंत्रिमंडल की पुनर्रचना किस आधार पर की गई, उसकी पीछे कौन सा सिद्धान्त था ? अब स्वयं दक्षिणपन्थी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी की राय अलग है, श्री डांगे साहब की राय अलग है और दूसरे लोगों की अलग है। भारत हेवी एलेक्ट्रिकल्स के मजदूरों की आम सभा में श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने यह कहा था कि अगर इन करारों पर अमल नहीं होगा तो मैं अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाऊँगा। बनर्जी साहब मेरे साथ थे। हजारों मजदूरों की सभा में मैंने दो-दो बार मजदूरों से पूछा कि क्या श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने इस तरह की बात की है। हजारों मजदूरों ने चिल्ला कर कहा, हाँ। मजदूरों का वोट लेने के लिए उनके सामने अविश्वास प्रस्ताव की बात कही गयी और यहाँ न विश्वास, न अविश्वास, न नर न नारी वाला नया ही रूप धारण करके आ रहे हैं। दक्षिणपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों की यह जो नीति है यह समझ में नहीं आती है। हमने यह नहीं कहा कि उनका समर्थन हम नहीं लेंगे। हम उनका समर्थन भी इस प्रस्ताव पर लेने के लिए तैयार हैं, अगर भूपेश गुप्त जी की बात में कोई

[श्री मधु लिमये]

दम है.....(इंटरप्रांज) इनको जो खुलासा करना है, बाद में करें। हरिद्वार में मैंने मजदूरों से स्वयं पूछा कि क्या श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव की बात की थी, तब मजदूरों ने दो-दो दफा कहा कि की थी (इंटरप्रांज) दक्षिण पन्थी कम्युनिस्टों को मैं श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी से भी ज्यादा दक्षिण पन्थी समझता हूँ और उसके कारण मैं बता रहा हूँ...

एक माननीय सदस्य : गाली आप न दें।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैंने गाली नहीं दी है। (इंटरप्रांज) मुझे प्रागे बढ़ने दीजिये। इनके ऊपर मैंने कोई आरोप नहीं किया है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, सुरक्षा और विदेश नीति की चर्चा मैंने नहीं की थी। लेकिन चूँकि इन्होंने यह सवाल उठाया है, इस वास्ते एक सवाल मैं भी उठाना चाहता हूँ। यह सवाल मैंने डिफेंस कमिटी में भी उठाया था। जानकार सूत्रों से मुझे पता चला है कि दिन प्रतिदिन हमारी सेना हमारा हवाई दल रूसी सहायता के ऊपर या रूस से जो सामान आता है, उससे ऊपर निर्भर होता चला जा रहा है। हेली-काप्टर रूस से हमें जो मिले हैं एम आई 4, मुझे पता चला है कि रूस द्वारा उसके पुर्जे और स्पेअर पार्ट्स नहीं दिये जा रहे हैं। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि हेलीकाप्टर उड़ नहीं पा रहे हैं। हमारी सेना को 100-130 मिलीमीटर की तोप मिली है, गंज मिली है। उसके इफैक्टिवफुल चाज के तेरह सौ राऊंड फायर करने के बाद बैरल बदलना पड़ता है। मैं कोई टैक्नीकल एक्सपर्ट नहीं हूँ, लेकिन मुझे पता चला है कि सोवियत यूनियन स्पेअर बैरल नहीं दे रहा है। अगर मुल्क के ऊपर संकट आयेगा तो आप कहते हैं कि सब इन्तजाम है। हम सामना करने के लिए तैयार हैं। महीडा साहब तो कहते हैं कि हम चीन से भी लड़ेंगे, पाकिस्तान से भी लड़ेंगे, सबसे लड़ेंगे। कहीं हैं महीडा साहब ?

शायद वह फ्रंट पर चले गए हैं। स्पेअर बैरल हमको मिलते नहीं हैं। यही मिगड के बारे में हालत है। इस सरकार ने सुरक्षा के बारे में गोपनीयता की बात कह कर इस पार्लिमेंट को और पब्लिक को अंधेरे में रखा है। यह आज चर्चा का विषय नहीं है। लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी कहती हैं कि हमारी विदेश नीति, हमारी सुरक्षा नीति जो पहले थी वही है। इनकी पहले वाली नीति भी बहुत अच्छी नहीं थी। सुरक्षा के मामले में वह कितनी निकम्मी थी यह 1962 ने साबित कर दिया था। इनको चाहिए था कि मामले को सुधारते। आत्म-निर्भर बनते। लेकिन इनको लज्जा नहीं है, शर्म नहीं है, जो इस देश के हर नागरिक को होनी चाहिए। ऐसे उपाय होने चाहिये थे कि 1962 में हमारी जो दुर्गति हुई वह फिर एक बार न हो। उसके लिए ये कोई तैयार नहीं कर रहे हैं।

इन्होंने हमारे किसी भी मुद्दे का उत्तर नहीं दिया है। इस वास्ते में भी और अधिक बोल कर इस सदन का समय क्यों बिगाड़ें। मैं केवल इतनी अपील करता हूँ और इस तरफ जो लोग हैं उनसे भी अपनी करता हूँ कि वे इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव पर गम्भीरता से विचार करें। लोग पूछते हैं कि यह सरकार गिरेगी तो तो क्या होगा। यह सरकार गिरेगी तो या तो चुनाव होगा या फिर इस पार्लिमेंट में जो शक्ति है उसका इस्तेमाल कर यह इससे भी अच्छी सरकार और कार्यक्रम वाली और नीति वाली सरकार बनायेगी। ऐसी सरकार हम लोग बना सकते हैं। इस वास्ते घबराने की कोई बात नहीं है। आप इस सरकार को आज गिरा दीजिये।

MR. SPEAKER : I will now put the motion to vote of the House.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : Sir, the Rajya Sabha members should withdraw from the House.

MR. SPEAKER : Those members of the Rajya Sabha who are Ministers will not vote. How can they vote ?

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Why are they sitting here ? They should withdraw.

MR. SPEAKER : If they vote, action can be taken against them.

SHRI RANGA : There is no justification for their presence here.

MR. SPEAKER : Now the question is : "That this House express its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers."

*The Lok Sabha divided :*

Division No. 1 ]

[ 19.32 hrs.

AYES

Agadi, Shri S. A.  
 Amat, Shri D.  
 Amin, Shri R. K.  
 Anirudhan, Shri K.  
 Avedya Nath, Shri  
 Ayarwal, Shri Ram Singh  
 Bajaj, Shri Kamalnayan  
 Basu, Shri Jyotirmoy  
 Berwa, Shri Onkar Lal  
 Bhadoria, Shri Arjun Singh  
 Bhagaban Das, Shri  
 Brij Bhushan Lal, Shri  
 Chakrapani, Shri C. K.  
 Chauhan, Shri Bharat Singh  
 Dar, Shri Abdul Ghani  
 Dass, Shri C.  
 Deb, Shri D. N.  
 Deo, Shri K. P. Singh  
 Deo, Shri P. K.  
 Deo, Shri R. R. Singh  
 Desai, Shri Morarji  
 Dhrangadhra, Shri Sriraj Meghrajji  
 Dipa, Shri A.  
 Esthose, Shri P. P.  
 Fernandes, Shri George  
 Ghosh, Shri Bimalkanti  
 Ghosh, Shri Ganesh  
 Gopalan, Shri A. K.  
 Gopalan, Shri P.  
 Gopalan, Shrimati Suseela

Gowd, Shri Gadilingana  
 Gowder, Shri Nanja  
 Goyal, Shri Shri Chand  
 Gupta, Shri Kanwar Lal  
 Hari Krishna, Shri  
 Himatsingka, Shri  
 Jai Singh, Shri  
 Jena, Shri D. D.  
 Jha, Shri Shiva Chandra  
 Joshi, Shri Jagannath Rao  
 Joshi, Shri S. M.  
 Kachwai, Shri Hukam Chand  
 Kamaraj, Shri K.  
 Karni Singh, Dr.  
 Kedaria, Shri C. M.  
 Khan, Shri Ghayoor Ali  
 Khan, Shri H. Ajmal  
 Kothari, Shri S. S.  
 Koushik, Shri K. M.  
 Kripalani, Shri J. B.  
 Kripalani, Shrimati Sucheta  
 Limaye, Shri Madhu  
 Madhok, Shri Bal Raj  
 Majhi, Shri Mahendra  
 Masani, Shri M. R.  
 Masuriya Din, Shri  
 Meena, Shri Meetha Lal  
 Mehta, Sri Asoka  
 Mehta Shri P. M.  
 Menon, Shri Viswanatha  
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali  
 Misra, Shri Janeshwar  
 Modak, Shri B. K.  
 Mody, Shri Pilo  
 Mohamed Imam, Shri J.  
 Mohammad Ismail, Shri  
 Mohinder Kaur, Shrima i  
 Molahu Prasad, Shri  
 Mrityunjay Pr.sad, Shri  
 Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda  
 Murti, Shri M. S.  
 Naghnoor, Shri M. N.  
 Naik, Shri G. C.  
 Naik, Shri R. V.  
 Nambiar, Shri  
 Nayanar, Shri E.K.  
 Nayar, Shrimati Shakuntla  
 Nayar, Dr, Sushila  
 Nihal Singh, Shri  
 Onkar Singh, Shri  
 Pandey, Shri K. N.  
 Parmar, Shri bhaljibhai  
 Patel, Shri Baburao  
 Patel, Shri J. H.  
 Patel, Shri Manubhai  
 Patel, Shri N. N.

Poonacha, Shri C. M.  
 Rajasekharan, Shri  
 Raju, Shri D. B.  
 Raju Dr. D. S.  
 Ram Dhani Das, Shri  
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.  
 Ramamurti, Shri Shri P.  
 Ramani, Shri K.  
 Rampur, Shri מִיחָדָּם־רַמְפּוּר  
 Ranga, Shri  
 Ranjeet Singh, Shri  
 Rao, Shri V. Narasimha  
 Reddy, Shri R. D.  
 Reddy, Shri N. Sanjiva  
 Sanji Rupji, Shri  
 Santosham, Dr. M.  
 Sarma, Shri T. A.  
 Satya Narain Singh, Shri  
 Sen, Shri P. G.  
 Sethuraman, Shri N.  
 Shah, Shrimati Jayaben  
 Shah, Shri T. P.  
 Shah, Shri Virendrakumar  
 Shalwale, Shri Ram Gopal  
 Sbarda Nand, Shri  
 Sharma, Shri Narayan Swaroo  
 Sharma, Shri Ram Avtar  
 Sharma, Shri Yajna Datt  
 Sheo Narain, Shri  
 Sheth, Shri T. M.  
 Shivappa, Shri N.  
 Singh, Shri D. N.  
 Singh Shri J. B.  
 Solanki, Shri S. M.  
 Somani, Shri N. K.  
 Sondhi, Shri M. L.  
 Supakar, Shri Sradhakar  
 Suraj Bhan, Shri  
 Tapuriah, Shri S. K.  
 Thakur, Shri Gunanand  
 Tyagi, Shri Om Prakash  
 Umanah, Shri  
 Vajpayee, Shri Atal Bihari  
 Veerappa, Shri Ramachandra  
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
 Vidyarthi, Shri Ram Swarup  
 Xavier, Shri S.  
 Yashpal Singh, Shri

## NOES

Achal Singh, Shri  
 Adichan, Shri P. C.  
 Aga, Shri Ahmed  
 Abirwar, Shri Nathu Ram  
 Ahmad, Dr. I.

Ahmed, Shri F. A.  
 Ankineedu, Shri  
 Anthony, Shri Frank  
 Asghar Husain, Shri  
 Atam Das, Shri  
 Awadesh Chandra Singh, Shri  
 Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
 Babunath Singh, Shri  
 Badrudduja, Shri  
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar  
 Bakshi, Shri Ghulam Mohammad  
 Banerjee, Shri S. M.  
 Barrow, Shri  
 Barua, Shri Bedabrata  
 Barupal, Shri P. L.  
 Basu, Dr. Maitreyee  
 Baswant, Shri  
 Besra, Shri S. C.  
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.  
 Bhakt Darshan, Shri  
 Bhandare, Shri R. D.  
 Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri  
 Bhattacharya, Shri C. K.  
 Birla, Shri R. K.  
 Birua, Shri Kelai  
 Biswas, Shri J. M.  
 Bohra, Shri Onkarlal  
 Brahmanandji, Shri Swami  
 Burmah, Shri Kirit Bikram Deb  
 Chanda, Shri Anil K.  
 Chanda, Shrimati Jyotsna  
 Chandra Shekhar Singh, Shri  
 Chandrakar, Shri Chandoolal  
 Chandrika Prasad, Shri  
 Chatterji, Shri Krishna Kumar  
 Chaturvedi, Shri R. L.  
 Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh  
 Chavan, Shri D. R.  
 Chavan, Shri Y. B.  
 Chittybabu, Shri C.  
 Choudhary, Shri Valmiki  
 Choudhury, Shri J. K.  
 Dalbir Singh, Shri  
 Damani, Shri S. R.  
 Dange, Shri S. A.  
 Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.  
 Deghare, Shri N. R.  
 Deshmukh, Shri B. D.  
 Deshmukh, Shri K. G.  
 Deshmukh, Shri Shivajirao S.  
 Dhuleshwar Meena, Shri  
 Dinesh Singh, Shri  
 Dixit, Shri G. C.  
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar  
 Gajraj Singh Rao, Shri  
 Gandhi, Shrimati Indira

- Ganesh, Shri K. R.  
 Gangi Devi, Shrimati  
 Garcha, Shri Devender Singh  
 Gautam, Shri C. D.  
 Gavit, Shri Tukaram  
 Ghosh, Shri P. K.  
 Ghosh, Shri Parimal  
 Girja Kumari, Shrimati  
 Govind Das, Dr.  
 Gupta, Shri Indrajit  
 Gupta, Shri Laxhan Lal  
 Gurcharan Singh, Shri  
 Hajarnawis, Shri  
 Halder, Shri K.  
 Hanumanthaiya Shri K.  
 Heerji Bhai, Shri  
 Hem Raj, Shri  
 Hero, Shri N. E.  
 Iqbal Singh, Shri  
 Jadhav, Shri Tulshidas  
 Jadhav, Shri V. N.  
 Jagjiwan Ram, Shri  
 Jamir, Shri S. C.  
 Jamna Lal, Shri  
 Janardhanan, Shri C.  
 Jha, Shri Bhogendra  
 Kahandole, Shri Z. M.  
 Kalita, Shri Dhireswar  
 Kamble, Shri  
 Kamla Kumari, Kumari  
 Kandappan, Shri S.  
 Karan Singh, Dr.  
 Kas ure, Shri A. S.  
 Kavade, Shri B. R.  
 Kedar Nath Singh, Shri  
 Kesri, Shri Sitaram  
 Khadilkar, Shri R. K.  
 Khan, Shri Latafi Ali  
 Khan, Shri M. A.  
 Kinder Lal, Shri  
 Kisku, Shri A. K.  
 Kotoki, Shri Liladhar  
 Krishna, Shri M. R.  
 Krishnappa, Shri M. V.  
 Kuchelkar, Shri G.  
 Kureel, Shri B. N.  
 Lakshnikanthamma, Shrimati  
 Lalit Sen, Shri  
 Laskar, Shri N. R.  
 Laxmi Bai, Shrimati  
 Lutfal Haque, Shri  
 Madhukar, Shri K. M.  
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.  
 Mahajan, Shri Vikram Chand  
 Mahajan, Shri Yadav Shivram  
 Maharaj Singh, Shri  
 Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh  
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini  
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.  
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad  
 Mane, Shri Shankarrao  
 Manoharan, Shri  
 Marandi, Shri  
 Master, Shri Bholu Nath  
 Mayavan, Shri  
 Meghachandra, Shri M.  
 Melkote, Dr.  
 Menon, Shri Krishna  
 Minimata Agam Dass Guru, Shrimati  
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti  
 Mishra, Shri G. S.  
 Mohammad Yusuf, Shri  
 Mohsin, Shri  
 Mukerjee Shri H. N.  
 Mulla, Shri A. N.  
 Murthy, Shri B. S.  
 Nahata, Shri Amrit  
 Nair, Shri Vasudevan  
 Nanda, Shri  
 Oraon, Shri Kartik  
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath  
 Palchoudhuri Shrimati Ila  
 Pandey, Shri Sarjoo  
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani  
 Pant, Shri K. C.  
 Paokai Haokip, Shri  
 Parmar, Shri D.R.  
 Paratap Singh, Shri  
 Parthasarathy, Shri P.  
 Patil, Shri Anantrao  
 Patil, Shri Deorao  
 Patil Shri N. R.  
 Patil, Shri S. B.  
 Patil Shri S. D.  
 Patil, Shri T. A.  
 Pradhani, Shri K.  
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Sbaifi  
 Radhabai, Shrimati B.  
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri  
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri  
 Rajaram, Shri  
 Rajni Devi, Shrimati  
 Ram, Shri T.  
 Ram Charan, Shri  
 Ram Dhan, Shri  
 Ram Sewak, Shri  
 Ram Swarup, Shri  
 Ramsbekhar Prasad Singh, Shri  
 Rana, Shri M. B.  
 Randhir Singh, Shri

Rao, Shri Jaganath  
 Rao, Dr. K. L.  
 Rao, Shri Muthyal  
 Rao, Shri J. Ramapathi  
 Rao, Shri Thirumala  
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.  
 Raut, Shri Bhola  
 Reddi, Shri G. S.  
 Reddy, Shri Eswara  
 Rohatgi, Shrimati Sushila  
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath  
 Roy, Shrimati Uma  
 Sadhu Ram, Shri  
 Saigal, Shri A. S.  
 Sait, Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman  
 Seleem, Shri M. Yunus  
 Samanta, Shri S. C.  
 Sambhali, Shri Ishaq  
 Sanghi, Shri N. K.  
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.  
 Sant Bux Singh, Shri  
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati  
 Sayyad Ali, Shri  
 Sen Shri Dwaipayan  
 Sequeira, Shri Erasmo De  
 Sethi, Shri P. C.  
 Sezhiyan, Shri  
 Shambhu Nath, Shri  
 Sharma, Shri Madhoram  
 Sharma, Shri Naval Kishore  
 Shashi Bhushan, Shri  
 Shastri, Shri Biswanarayan  
 Shastri, Shri Raghuvir Singh  
 Shastri, Shri Ramavatar  
 Shastri, Shri Ramanand  
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan  
 Sher Singh, Shri  
 Shinde, Shri Annasahib  
 Shiv Chandika Prasad, Shri  
 Shukla, Shri S. N.  
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan  
 Siddayya, Shri  
 Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri  
 Singh, Shri D. V.  
 Sinha, Shri Mudrika  
 Sinha, Shri R. K.  
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan  
 Sivasankaran, Shri  
 Sntak, Shri Nar Deo

Sonar, Dr. A. G.  
 Sonavane, Shri  
 Sreedharan, Shri A.  
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.  
 Sunder Lal, Shri  
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri  
 Swaran Singh, Shri  
 Thakur. Shai P. R.  
 Tiwary, Shri D. N.  
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.  
 Tripathi, Shri K. D.  
 Tula Ram, Shri  
 Uikey, Shri M. G.  
 Venkatswamy, Shri G.  
 Verma, Shri Balgovind  
 Verma, Shri Prem Chad  
 Viswanatham, Shri Tenneti  
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra  
 Yadav, Shri N. P.  
 Yadav, Shri Chandra Jeet  
 Yadav, Shri Jageshwar

MR. SPEAKER : The result\* of the division is : Ayes—134 ; Noes—241. The 'Noes' have it ; the 'Noes' have it.

*The motion was negatived.*

19 30 hrs.

STATEMENT RE : DR. DHARMA TEJA

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
 TARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING &  
 TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH);  
 Sir, this afternoon Dr. Ram Subbag Singh  
 alleged that certain papers relating to  
 Dharma Teja were destroyed.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) :  
 They have all been destroyed,

SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH : I would  
 like to deny this allegation. There is abso-  
 lutely no truth in it. The papers are in  
 proper custody and there is no truth what-  
 soever in this allegation.

\*The following Members also recorded their votes :

**AYES** : Sarvasbri Ram Sewak Yadav, Beni Shankar Sharma and Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha ;

**NOES** : Sarvasbri Muhammad Sheriff and Ramachandra J. Amin,

381 *Re. Dr. Dharma Teja* SRAVANA 7, 1892 (SAKA) *Re. Dr. Aharma Teja* 382  
(St.) (St.)

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : I challenge it. They have all been destroyed .....  
(Interruption). 19.33 hrs.

MR. PEAKER : The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, July 30, 1970/ Sravana 8, 1892 (Saka).*

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