

June, 1979, but postponed their decision till the 12th July, 1979 on the intervention of the Mayor of Delhi. Meanwhile, the employees' union participated in the conciliation proceedings before the Labour Commissioner. The employee union was advised by the Labour Commissioner not to proceed on strike while conciliation proceedings were in progress. Still, the employees of the Undertaking suddenly and illegally struck work on the evening of the 11th July 1979. It is learnt from the Municipal Corporation that the employees apparently, tampered with the water-supply equipment and the distribution system before they went on strike. The Municipal Commissioner and other functionaries of the Corporation visited the plants in the early hours today. Army technicians have been called in to assist the civil authorities in putting the equipment in order and in resuming normal water supply. Meanwhile, the distribution lines and valves are being checked to ensure that there is no disruption in distribution. Since it is the Municipal Corporation of Delhi which supplies water also to the New Delhi Municipal Committee and the Cantonment areas, water supply in the areas under the MCD, NDMC and the Cantonment was seriously disrupted this morning. The Municipal Corporation expects that the normal water supply will be resumed before midnight.

#### MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

SHRI B. P. MANDAL (Madhepura) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the No-Confidence motion of Mr. Y.B. Chavan. I would rather appeal to the Patriotism sense of Mr. Chavan to withdraw this No-Confidence motion because, as you know and everybody here knows, there is no alternative to the Janata Government in this country. The alternative to Janata Government is chaos and confusion which may ultimately lead to loss of democracy in our country. Nobody in our country will like that.

During the Emergency, we had enough experience of what loss of democracy means to the people. The whole country was like a jail. Nobody had freedom of expression; nobody had freedom of speech; nobody had freedom of movement. Lakhs and lakhs of our workers and leaders were sent to jail without trial. The first and foremost thing that the Janata Government has done is that they have restored democracy. Everybody is free now. During the Emergency, under the leadership of the then Prime Minister, even the speeches of Members of Parliament were not allowed to be published in the newspapers. There was strict censorship over the newspapers. All those restrictions have been done away with. The whole country is now

enjoying freedom. If at all—I think, the No-Confidence motion is not going to succeed—if succeeds, it will be most unpatriotic on the part of the mover of the motion.

After all, what has this No-Confidence brought about? It has brought about a number of defections. Since long, there has been a strong public opinion in this country that defections should be done away with. The Anti-Defections Bill was pending before Parliament since the Fourth Lok Sabha and every body, including Mr. Chavan, and all the leaders were speaking at the top of their voice that if there is any danger to the country, it is from the defections of legislators in Assemblies and Parliament. The moment Mr. Chavan brought this No-Confidence motion, there have been a number of defections.

I have had such an experience myself in 1968. When there was the Samvid Government of Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, my friend who is sitting here by my side, I happened to be Health Minister just like Mr. Raj Narain who was the Health Minister here. I also felt insulted as he felt insulted. I also organised a number of members and that Government was toppled and, later on, I became the Chief Minister. But then at that time, these very gentlemen, Mr. Raj Narain and all these persons, from the house-tops were saying;

दलबदल जो करता है, देश को घोषा देता है ।

It once happened that when I was the Chief Minister, I was going by train to Hasanpur and by another train passing by, Mr. Raj Narain and his men were going. As soon as they came to know that the Chief Minister was going by the other train, the slogan was given.

दलबदल जो करता है देश को घोषा देता है ।

Now, he himself is doing the same thing for which he was so much against at that time. Although I succeeded in toppling the Government, although I succeeded in becoming the Chief Minister of the State, and, later on, after resigning my seat in Parliament, although I succeeded in getting re-elected as an Independent candidate defeating all the forces which were put up against me, from that time I felt that in future this should not be done. Therefore, I would call upon Mr. Raj

[Shri B. P. Mandal]

Narain not to do the same thing. If he calls it a revolution, that was a better revolution. For the first time, under me, the *Soshit Dal* was formed and a person belonging to backward classes became the Chief Minister. Before that, nobody could imagine that anybody belonging to the backward classes could be the Chief Minister in the caste-ridden State of Bihar. But then, Shri Raj Narain himself and all his men were so much against me, crying throughout the country—

दल बदल जो करता है देश को खोबा देता है।

How is he doing the same thing now. I wonder.

And Raj Narainji was speaking about Jana Sangh. In that Government also, in which I was a Minister and Mahamaya Babu, sitting by my side, was the Chief Minister, the Jana Sangh had participated. And when Karpuri Thakur became Chief Minister next time, he also participated in Jana Sangh. But today Raj Narainji is saying that the Jamshedpur riot is due to some Pande, an MLA belonging to Jana Sangh—that the riot was perpetuated because of him, and he put the blame on this Government. I wonder how it can be. I had been to Jamshedpur when Karpuri Thakur was Chief Minister of Bihar. Some local officers of Jamshedpur were saying that the procession of some Mahabiri Jhanda should not pass through that street and, for six days, the MLA was on strike. Later on, orders from the Chief Minister had gone to the District Magistrates and the Superintendent of Police, and Karpuriji was the Chief Minister, belonging to the same Party as Shri Raj Narain : he is still an associate of his. The order did not go from the Prime Minister. So, who was responsible for that ? (*Interruptions*)

So, what I say is, when there was a riot in Jamshedpur, who was the Chief Minister? After all, law and order is the responsibility of the State Government and an associate, a Party-man and an ally of Shri Raj Narain—Shri Karpuri Thakur—was the Chief Minister. At that time why did Raj Narainji not say anything? As a matter of fact, Raj Narainji and ourselves, from 1965, that is for about 14 years—before that I was also in the Congress—were in the SSP. We had been in Socialist Parties this way or that. We had nothing to do with RSS. Personally, I have got no idea about the RSS. But then, when Shri Raj Narain was the Health Minister in this Government, they were the RSS and Jana Sangh quite good and why are they not so, when he has gone out of the Government? I don't understand that :

what is the logic of it? When Raj Narainji was the Health Minister, he was so much satisfied, so much happy and so much on good terms with the Prime Minister that when the Prime Minister came back from some foreign country, he had gone there with some scent and he put it in the hands of the Prime Minister. At that time, the same Prime Minister was quite good. Then how is it that when he went out of the Government, the same Prime Minister became so bad?

So I would appeal to them that the alternative to the Janata Government is 'chaos' which may lead us to dictatorship of some type or other. We have been seeing what has happened in the neighbouring States of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Any alternative to democracy is fraught with danger and it should not be encouraged...

Then, about law and order, much has been said. After all, law and order is the State's responsibility, and there are different government with different colours, with different Parties ruling different States. So the Centre cannot be blamed for all that is happening.

Before 1952, in 1946, when Dr. Sir Krishna Sinha was the Chief Minister of Bihar, there was a police riot in the State of Bihar. Gandhiji was there, Shri Ramnand Tiwari was the leader of the police constables, and even at that time the arm was called to disarm the police. So, there is nothing wrong. In U.P. when some Congressman was the Chief Minister....

AN HON. MEMBER : Mr. Kamalpathi Tripathi.

SHRI B. P. MANDAL : When Mr. Kamalpathi Tripathi was the Chief Minister, there was a police riot and the army was called there also to disarm the police. What will Government do in such a situation? Can the Government go on seeing the policemen taking up the arms and committing violence throughout, looting property and indulging in arson and loot? Can Government remain a silent spectator to that? No Government can tolerate such a thing. So, it was quite justified, if the Government took the help of the Army and with minimum loss of life controlled it and restored normalcy in the country. I do not know, myself not being in the Government; but I suspect the hands of the friends opposite, they might have been inciting the police force. Somebody....

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN (Cannanore) : Who?

SHRI B. P. MANDAL : Somebody like you. I suspect, the gentleman who was speaking loudly should have done that. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore) : Don't talk with suspicion. Speak with knowledge.

SHRI B. P. MANDAL : I have got sufficient knowledge, Madam.

You do not get agitated. It seems you are very much hurt. This happened in the State of Kerala and in the State of West Bengal where you are ruling the roost.

श्री ज्योतिर्भय बसु (डायमण्ड-हाबर्) : ईस्ट बंगाल में कुछ नहीं हुआ, मडल जी।

SHRI B. P. MANDAL : It was in Kerala. I stand corrected.

Therefore, Government should get the credit for this. Without much loss of life, without much violence, with the minimum loss of life and property and casualties, the police riot had been controlled. So, Government should get the credit for that.

I will not take much time. I would say that more than 70 per cent of the population in this country are backward. What do the Articles 29(2), 15(4), and 16(4) say? They say that the state shall take measures to ameliorate the conditions of the backward classes and do justice to them by making special provision and reservation for them.

Kaka Kalelkar Commission was appointed in 1953, and in 1955 that Commission gave a report listing 2,399 castes and communities in this country as backward. They recommended that 33 per cent reservation should be done for them. But the Congress people—Shri Govind Ballabh Pant was the Home Minister and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister at that time—did not implement that recommendation. They were sleeping over that recommendation as if the Constitution-makers did not know anything, as if they had committed some crime in making that provision. So far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were concerned, something was done, but so far as the other Backward Classes were concerned, the Congress Government were sleeping for 30 years doing nothing. The Janata Party in its election manifesto had pledged to do their best for the upliftment of the other Backward classes. And consequently, this government has appointed a Backward Classes Commission and also the Scheduled Castes Commission. Uptill now there was only a Scheduled Castes Commissioner to look into the grievances of Sched-

uled Castes. But this Government has appointed a Commission for Scheduled Castes. They wanted it to get it constitutionally ratified in the last session.....

श्री राम प्रबोध सिंह (विक्रमगंज) : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चुनाव घोषणा पत्र को लागू करने का वायदा किया गया था। यह वायदा नहीं किया गया था कि नया कमीशन बहाल किया जाएगा बल्कि यह वायदा था कि काका कालेकर की सिफारिशों को लागू किया जाएगा। इस बारे में आप बताएं।

SHRI B.P. MANDAL : I am not yielding.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please take your seat. He is not yielding.

SHRI B. P. MANDAL : The hon. Member interrupted me although I am not yielding. This information I may give him that that recommendation of Kaka Kalelkar commission was to be valid for a period of 20 years. Now 26 years have passed. That has become time-barred. Then out of the 11 members of that Commission, as many as 7 members had given a note of dissent on this point and even in the forwarding letter the Chairman himself had not agreed with the majority decision of the Commission. Had that recommendation been implemented, that would have been a fraud on the Backward Classes of the country. And that would not have stood the test and scrutiny of the High Court and the Supreme Court. So the present Government is totally justified and fully justified in having a fresh Commission and for the information of the hon. Members, I would like to mention that almost all the members of this Commission belong to the Backward Classes. So we can understand the sympathy and the solicitude of the present government. So far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, the 10 year period has lapsed and they have extended it to another 10 years.

The Minorities Commission was never conceived of by any government and this Government has appointed a Minorities Commission. The Scheduled Castes, the Minorities and other Backward Classes form 90% of the population of the country. So, I think if this government is disturbed the plight of the Backward Classes, the plight of the Scheduled Castes and the plight of the Minorities will be in danger. So, I request Mr. Chavan to kindly withdraw his motion in the national interests.

Sir, as my time is over, with these words I conclude...

**SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Pali):** Already I had drawn the attention of the Speaker this morning about the telephone call that I received. Now I also want to draw the attention of the Home Minister who was here just now but who has now apparently left. One hon. Member of this House, Shri Hira Bhai is missing for the last 3 days. He had left his house to attend a meeting at the residence of Shri R. K. Amin. He did not reach his house and he had not returned to his home and his family members are worried about it.....

**श्री कल्याण जैन (इंदौर) :** यह बहुत गंभीर मामला है कि संसद का सदस्य तीन, चार दिन से लापता है। इसलिए मेरा धाप से निवेदन है—धाप इस सदन के मालिक है—कि सदन के मालिक होने के नाते इस बारे में धाप ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान दें और उन को लाने की कोशिश करें।

**SHRI AMRIT NAHATA:** I only want the Home Minister or the Prime Minister to assure this House that the manner in which the Haryana Assembly members were taken round the country, such shameful events will not take place in this House and in this capital of the country.

15 hrs.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, when we thought of moving this Motion of No-Confidence, we had only taken the recent events that had happened into consideration. Before this session of Parliament, certain things had happened and the entire people of India were raising doubts about the capacity of this Government to govern. And, therefore, apart from any technical reasons, we decided to move this Motion of No-Confidence; at that particular point of time, we had no idea, that, very soon, this exodus will start from the Janata Party.

Let us be serious. Any serious political person would draw the conclusion that this exodus from the Janata Party is the result of the Jansangh's attempts in the Janata Party to dominate the party. It is the result because, in the Janata Party, the Jansangh tried to humiliate, insult, drive out and overthrow those who were representing the aspirations of the rural masses and the backward people. So, let us not enter into mutual bickerings. The fact remains that the Janata Party, of late, has been dominated by the Jansangh. That is why, I think, there is an exodus from the Janata Party.

Sir, 2½ years ago, I had also joined the Janata Party because I thought and believed that the greatest enemy of the

people at that time was the authoritarian rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in this country (*Interruptions*). I should congratulate the Janata Party that truly reflecting the aspirations of the Indian people and, under the pressure of the Indian people, they restored to us the democratic institution, Parliamentary institution. But, Sir, very soon, it appeared that the Janata Party was given with internal contradictions, far more serious than any ruling party has been in the past. There have been other more serious developments in the country on economic, political, social and administrative fronts.

Within these 2½ years we are in a position where we have entered the period of shortages; there is a shortage of everything in the country. And I sympathise with Shri Mohan Dharia—he is not here—and the Janata Party has opted for very easy options. To-day, they are importing edible oils, cement, coal, steel, copper, aluminium, and what not. In 1977-78, our total imports were Rs. 2,707 crores; in 1978-79, they rose to Rs. 3,085 crores—there is a fourteen per cent increase in our imports. Our exports in 1977-78 were Rs. 2,713 crores but in 1978-79, the exports come to Rs. 2,494 crores—there is a decline of eight per cent in exports.

Our foreign exchange reserves are dwindling—in 1976-77 they were Rs. 1,096 crores; last year—1977-78—they were only Rs. 580 crores. The main source of our foreign exchange earning is from our own human forces. Because of their sweat in the Gulf countries, our foreign exchange reserve to-day has risen. But, now, the construction boom in the Gulf countries is on the decline. Even that source is going to dry up. So, the result would be, the inevitable result would be, that imports are increasing while exports are declining and our foreign exchange reserve is dwindling. This Government has no alternative except to go abegging in the world and to kneel down before the World Bank, from the IMF. After Bangladesh war the national target has become a net zero foreign aid. It was for the first time during the emergency Mr. MacNamara came to India and he was received. This time—for the second time—Mr. MacNamara visited India during the Janata regime and, in one of the villages in Rajasthan, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan asked some villagers to touch the feet of Mr. MacNamara. But, this is not an accident. The foreign aid in 1977-78 was Rs. 1,280 crores; this year it is Rs. 1,444 crores. Last year, the debt servicing was Rs. 821 crores; this year it is Rs. 900 crores.

Sir, every Indian is paying Rs. 15/- every year to International Monetary Fund, I.D.A. and the World Bank as servicing charges. And every Indian who is born today carries with him the debt to foreign agencies worth Rs. 400. Every Indian that is born is indebted and all his life he cannot earn that much and cannot pay back. What I mean to say is that the policies of soft options, the policy of easy imports, the policies of refusing to strengthen public sector through massive public investments for building self-reliance in this country is inevitably leading to the policy of national sell-out and I am convinced that the Janata government is leading the country towards that sell-out.

Sir, I want to warn this government that by the end of this year we will have 19 per cent inflation. Never in India's history in any year there has been so much inflation. The worst was 14 per cent in 1974. This year it is going to be 19 per cent. What are the solutions? Each Janata leader has his own solution but the Janata party or Janata government has no solution. Some minister says that there should be credit squeeze. We had credit squeezes in the past with the result that small and medium industries were closed down and it led to massive unemployment. Somebody says that government expenditure be curbed. It is a moon-shine especially when thousands of crores are being spent over futile subsidies. My friend, Shri Mohan Dharia, is pathetically trying to build up a public distribution system but he says the articles which are in short supply will not be distributed through this public distribution system. Then what for is this public distribution system? And is he under the illusion that without taking over the wholesale trade in essential articles he can ever build up a viable public distribution system? Then some minister tries to give a final solution to inflation—wage freeze viz., embezzle the money of the workers that you have compulsorily deposited. Embezzlement, breach of trust and mis-appropriation are the methods of the Janata party. The workers with their sweated earnings have deposited it and now they refuse to pay it back. Had anyone else done it, he would have been thrown behind the bars but this government is doing it. Then our Prime Minister is coming with a 'danda'—preventive detention, banning of the strikes in the Reserve Bank of India and wage freeze. There are strikes here and there. That is not the solution. The conditions they have created, conditions of inflation are essentially due to refusal to curb black-market by traders because the traders who are the most powerful section in the country today have the representatives dominating the

Janata party, namely, Jan Sangh. So long as you appease the traders you can never contain price rise.

Sir, my friend George Fernandes is here. When I was talking of the national sell-out it wanted also to draw the attention towards the multi-nationals that have been allowed to enter our economy. During the last two and a half years more than 29 agreements with multi-nationals have been entered into. In 1971-72 the total assets of multi-nationals in the country were Rs. 1,160-crores whereas in 1977-78 they are Rs. 2,330 crores. The remittances from Rs. 80 crores have now increased to Rs. 115 crores. The assets of their subsidiaries have risen from Rs. 1,100 crores to Rs. 1,740 crores. Their profits have increased from Rs. 1,000 crores last year to Rs. 1,040 crores.

Sir, my friend George Fernandes is used to say that small is beautiful. Janata party's economic policy says: What can be produced by cottage industries shall not be produced by small scale and large scale industries and what can be produced by small scale sector shall not be open for large scale industries. This is their policy. Now the total items in small-scale sector today which are being produced are 2400. But, my dear friend, Mr. George Fernandes, provides for reservations only for 504 items and that reservation also is a myth and a fiction. It is reservation of further development of capacity, not of the present production. This is the situation.

Sir, regarding the outlays for the small-scale industry, there is a great impression which is sought to be created, that the Janata Party is for the small-scale industries. Sir, what is the position? In the Second Plan, the allocation which had been made for the small scale sector was 328 per cent. In the Sixth Plan, that is, the Janata Rolling Plan, this allocation has been reduced to only two per cent. Our hon. Prime Minister is all the time issuing firman and fiat saying within 10 years unemployment will be abolished, within 4 years new education will be introduced, within 6 months this will be done, within 8 months that will be done and so on and so forth. Do they really realise the implications of what they are saying? Sir, in order to abolish unemployment within 10 years you will have to provide jobs for 6 million unemployed people every year. What is the position today? During the last 2½ years unemployment is increasing by leaps and bounds. In March 1977, it was 120.4 million. In December 1977, it was 179.2 million and in December, 1978, it was 126.8 million. In February, 1979, it was 132.8 million. So, unemployment is increasing. This is the present situation and I wonder how they are going to achieve what they say.

[Shri Amrit Nahate]

Regarding the peasantry, we have found that the sugar-cane prices have crashed. The potato prices have crashed. Today nobody is buying paddy in Andhra Pradesh. The FCI refused to buy paddy on the ground that it is below the standard quality. But what happens is that the farmers are compelled to sell this to the millers at distress prices. The FCI purchases from the millers that very rice thereby expropriating the farmers and enriching the millers and the middlemen.

Regarding the public sector investment, I think, I need not talk about it. This Janata Government has no commitment to the public sector. They have landed the public sector into a mess.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about the Film Industry ?

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA : Yes, film industry should be taken in the public sector, and out of the clutches of commercial sharks.

Sir, they are bringing in foreign capital into the country. Their Industrial Policy Resolution says :

"As a rule, the majority interest in ownership and effective control should be in Indian hands, though the Government may make exceptions in highly export oriented and/or sophisticated technology areas.

In 100 % export-oriented cases, the Government may consider even a fully-owned foreign company."

So, Sir, this is the position. They are following the model of South Korea and Pakistan. These small countries can afford to barter away their freedom, but India cannot afford to do it. The present Government which invites foreign capital on a platter is bound to be thrown out by the people.

Communal riots are taking place in this country every day. Today it is Purnea. The refugees used to come from Bangla Desh into India. Now refugees are going from India to Bangla Desh. It is not a matter for shame? I want to warn this Government that they are now trying to drive away Muslims from the Western Borders, into Pakistan. The present Chief Minister of Rajasthan, Mr. Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, (when he was in the Opposition in the Assembly for 10 years) used to say—and he said it hundreds of times—that Muslims should be "driven out" from India to Pakistan. Now he is the Chief Minister and he is trying to do that very same thing, by settling thousands of refugees along the western borders of the country. So, this Government about this. Even

if a single Muslim is driven out from India to Pakistan, the people will not tolerate it; they will fight it out tooth and nail.

About atrocities on harijans, what is the position? I am not talking about Belchi alone. In Rajasthan and other parts of the country, during emergency, lands were given to the landless people and the scheduled castes people. These were given in my constituency and other parts of western Rajasthan and in other regions of our country,

Now, all these Harijans have been driven out; they have been evicted, forcibly thrown out of their lands. Now these lands have been forcibly taken by the feudal lords, not only in my constituency but all over Rajasthan and other parts of the country. Denial of land to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the landless people is the most glaring atrocity. That is the main reason why we say that this Government represents the urban bania and the rural landlords and revival of feudalism. Lastly, we had a head mistress in this country and she has gone, Now, we have a head-master. we had a branch of paranoid delinquents who played havoc with the democratic institutions of this country. Now, we have a bunch of Neros who are playing musical-chairs/atop a seething volcano. when Jamshedpur was burning, the Prime Minister was watching a Polo game in Jaipur. And another great Gandhian was on hunger strike to save cow because his mother has laid him to do so in a dream. Shall the Parliament wait till Vinobhaji has better dreams? When C. R. P. and C. I. S. F. and the Army were shooting at each other, it is the gravest crisis that any country can foresee, that armies were being asked to defend not the borders of the country but to defend the present tottering regions. The army is being used even for breaking the strikes. While this cross-shooting between the army and the C.R.P. was taking place, Haryana M.L.As were taken round the country as captives of Jan Sangh. This is what a bunch of Neros were doing. You are impervious and senseless to the feelings of the people. Don't call these things defections. You have st confidence of the people. I challenge you have lost the confidence of the people and, therefore, if this parliament vindicates, if this parliament ventilates if this Parliament reflects the feelings of the country as it is doing, I am confident that this vote of no-confidence shall be passed and this Government shall be thrown out.

SHRI ASHOKE KRISHNA DUTT (Dum Dum) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I stand here to oppose the notion

of No-confidence that has been moved by the newly appointed leader of the Opposition. Sir, at the outside, I must congratulate Mr. Y. B. Chavan for being reappointed as the leader of the Opposition and I must sincerely tell him that I was very happy when he was reappointed as the Leader of the Opposition. Once we were in the same party and he was one of my esteemed leaders. When he took over the Defence Minister-ship of India at a critical time in 1962, we had a tremendous admiration for him. We thought and expected great things from him. I must confess that his image was very seriously furnished during the days of Emergency. At that time also, we thought that we would get much from him, but we did not. We see today he is possibly the shadow Prime Minister. But at that time he was in the shadow of the then Prime Minister. He did not have any independent existence but again when he came back as the Leader of the Opposition last year, he tried to invigorate his party and create a new impression. But then unfortunately that dictator from behind the scene split his party, removed him from the leadership of the opposition. Now, after coming back, I had expected that what he said yesterday that he was moving this motion as a national duty, I thought that he would give expression to the consciousness of the national duty by really doing something for upholding democracy. Does he not realise that his no-confidence motion is being taken advantage of by defectors who are bent upon ruining democracy? Does he seriously believe? ... (interruptions) Why has he brought this no-confidence motion? As a responsible leader of the Opposition he should consider himself as a shadow Prime Minister. Is he prepared to form an alternative viable Government with the help of these defectors who change sides everyday? Just before me, we heard one of these defectors.

**SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH:**  
This is not defection, this is split.

**SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT:**  
I will come to this later. Has Mr. Amrit Nahata split with the party? He was returned on the Janata ticket. If he had the moral courage, if he had the moral conviction, he should have resigned his seat, faced the electorate and come back on the Congress ticket. He is a coward, he has gone back from here to there. Shri Amrit Nahata was criticising the Government policies its industrial policy, its foreign trade policy etc. Our competent Ministers will reply to that; I have got limited time and I do not want to go into all that. Shri Amrit Nahata during the last budget session of Parliament

invited all of us and he invited me also asking us to see a ten-minute documentary film which was being shown at one of the Government auditoriums. The film was concerned with textiles. It was an indifferent film, neither good nor bad. But the significant point was that as soon as the film was over and we were coming out, he was standing with a cyclostyled form addressed to the Government and wanted us to sign it. This was addressed to the Government saying that this film must be taken as a documentary and shown on the T.V. I flatly refused to sign it. He was in our party then, but I refused to sign that, because this was not the proper manner of doing things.

I must come back and consider and if I feel that it was a good film, I will praise it. But as I said, it was an indifferent film and he wanted us to sign that form. Had the Government taken that film for the TV as a documentary he would not have crossed over. The hon. Leader of the Opposition should take note that it was for one film that he had come to this side and it was for another film that he has gone over from this side to that side. Is the hon. Leader of the Opposition going to rely on that type of people to form a viable alternative Government?

The hon. Leader of the Opposition, while moving his no-confidence motion, said that he was doing it as a national duty. He was very apologetic and said that it was not very pleasant for him to move this. He was halting apologetic and after making a few points, he immediately says: "Look here, such eminent people as Shri Raj Narain have appreciated this."

Shri Raj Narain has crossed over from this side to that side." He claims that his Party is the real Janata Party (S—Secular); he is calling us names with 'C'. I want to tell him and others that we are the real Janata Party; we do not want any adjectives to define us. Today, he is calling himself 'secular' and blaming us as 'communal' because RSS is connected with us. When Shri Raj Narain joined the Janata party, when he fought the elections on a Janata Party ticket, did he not know that RSS was with us? So long as he was a Minister he forgot that RSS was with us. Day in and day out, he was conferring with one of the General Secretaries of the Janata Party who has RSS background. At that time, the RSS was all right, but as soon as he lost his Ministry, the RSS became very bad. Is this the type of the person that

[Shri Asoke Krishna Dutt]

the hon. Leader of the Opposition would take as his lieutenants? He is one who has betrayed Shri Morarji Desai, he is one who has betrayed Shri Chander Bhan Gupta and others in U. P. and one who has betrayed Dr. Lohia. Possibly, he was just trying to pay back his conscience and was trying to make up with Dr. Lohia by renaming the Wellington Hospital as Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital. That was how he was paying his Guru's debt. Is the hon. Leader of the Opposition to form a Government with such people? I do not want to blame individually any one of them. They were, till day before yesterday, my colleagues. They were our friends and I believe that by Monday, many of them will again come back and strengthen the Janata Party. I will not name any of them individually. (Interruptions).

I know Mr. Sathe is very happy, because he has old connections with Raj Narain (Interruptions). I think many people have forgotten. But Mr. Sathe must remember that when the 41st Amendment was being considered in Parliament, Mr. Raj Narain was a Member of the Rajya Sabha. And on the 9th August, 1975, when the 41st Amendment was voted, which side did Mr. Raj Narain vote for? He voted along with Indira Congress for the promulgation of the 41st Amendment, whereby the President, Governors and the Prime Minister were exempted from certain provisions of law; and Raj Narain went and supported it. I am quoting from the records of the Rajya Sabha. He went and supported Indira Gandhi. It is not new. Sathe may be very happy with it. But should the hon. Leader of the Opposition depend on these people to form a viable alternative?

I was hearing Raj Narain to-day. He started by saying that RSS was creating animosity between Hindus and Muslims. If RSS was creating it, it is doing it for the last 30 years. Why did Raj Narain shake hands with them and fight the elections with their support? If he is honest he should have come out at that time, and said that he would have no truck with the RSS. Did he do it?

The next point which Mr. Raj Narain made was that Mr. Desai was a dictator. Mr. Desai indeed is a dictator! But when this dictator was the Prime Minister and Mr. Raj Narain was a member of that dictator's Cabinet. Mr. Desai went out of India, and Raj Narain suddenly started creating chaos in this country. Mr. Desai came back; and

this man, with a guilty conscience, did not waste one minute. He rushed to the airport with a bottle of perfume, to smear it on Mr. Morarji Desai. To-day he is smearing mud on him; yesterday he was smearing perfume. And tomorrow, if it suits his convenience, he would come back and smear perfume again on Mr. Desai.

A leader of a sizeable party in Parliament—let him call it Janata (S) or anything else—bent upon creating an alternative Government should have many qualities. The first of these qualities is dignity. My friends from Uttar Pradesh will give details. Mr. Ugra Sen said a lot about him. Others will say what he did in Uttar Pradesh. But I will just say what he did over here, the day he went to take the oath at the Rashtrapati Bhavan. There, he astounded everybody, including the President himself, by pushing some sweets into the mouth of the President. Is this dignity for a Minister? (Interruptions).

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): It is a new thing.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: My esteemed friend Mr. Bala Pajanor was not here. He did not know it. He has forgotten many things.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: I do not take note of silly matters. I am on serious matters.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: If he considers it a silly matter, I will bring another serious instance before him. Mr. Bala Pajanor and Mr. Mohanarangam are there. Mr. Raj Narain comes here and boasts that he is secular. By merely shouting and boasting one does not become secular. Secularism is a condition of mind. I have had nothing to do with Jana Sangh. I do not have anything to do with the RSS; but I am honour-bound, when I have taken a pledge, when I have joined them in the elections, when I have formed a



party with them, I am honour-bound to work with them. This is a condition of honour. But, at the same time, this man while he was a Minister, was quite content to be with the RSS and the Jana Sangh. Today he is changing his opinion. It is a condition of mind, I said.

Communalism is the effect of narrow mindedness and meanness. Somebody who is mean in one respect will always be mean in every other respect. He calls himself non-communal and secular. Did Mr. Mohanarangam and Mr. Bala Pajanor forget the instance of last year, when the language agitation came, in what manner Mr. Raj Narain tried to thrust Hindi upon South Indians? Was that a fair condition of mind?

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR : I will come to it.

SHRI RAGAVALU MOHANARANGAM (CHENGALPATTU) : We will never forget it. It is recorded in our heart.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT : I hope it is recorded in their hearts.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR : I would request my hon. friend to come forward with a categorical statement on the language issue also. (Interruptions).

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT : I do not have to give any other assurance to Mr. Bala Pajanor. I know Hindi. I understand Hindi. I can speak Hindi. But I insist on speaking in English over here because I can express myself better in English and Mr. Bala Pajanor can understand me better in English.

Shri Samar Mukherjee is here. I am happy that he is here. I thought they had all left. But I am happy to find that they have come back. I listened to his speech yesterday. He gave a very forceful speech, but I could not make out what he had in his mind. I thought he had not been able to make up his mind what he had to do on Monday. I just wanted to remind him certain things so that he remembers all these things on Monday. We have difference in West Bengal. We do have differences. I went to West Bengal. The law and order situation came up there. I had talked to the West Bengal Government. I had criticised the CPI (M) government over there. But, at the same time, I want my friends of the CPI (M) to remember that they are going to help in the re-establishment of Indira Gandhi by passing this No Confidence Motion.

Have they forgotten what happened to Mr. Jyoti Basu during those days? Have they forgotten what happened during the emergency? (Interruptions) I thought I would not have to deal with Mr. Stephen. Mr. Stephen has been deposed from his post from the leadership of the Opposition. Yesterday from his speech we saw what frustration he was suffering from. I do not want to deal with him any further. But he is still raising some issues. I want to remind Mr. Stephen about the split in the Congress Party last year. (Interruptions). I think Mr. Stephen ought to remember this. Our memory is not short. When there was a split in the Congress last year, this Congress, not the original Congress, Mr. Stephen had given support to Mr. Chavan. Suddenly, when allurement of *kursi* was given, he changed over. That is a type of person Mr. Stephen is. (Interruptions) I am not addressing Mr. Stephen. I am still trying to impress upon the Leader of the Opposition that in his national duty, he should withdraw this motion, because in this motion, every defector will try to take advantage, the defectors led by Mr. Raj Narain. I told you about his dignity. I also told you what was his performance when he was carrying on Ministership. But a main thing in a leader should be his loyalty. A leader commands loyalty of his followers and gives loyalty to his followers. But what the loyalty in Mr. Raj Narain when he was on our side. Today I was amused to find that he was addressing Babu Jagjivan Ram. He said that Babu Jagjivan Ram should come over there and support them. Last year, when he was paddling in pornographic photographs, did he remember this thing about Babu Jagjivan Ram? Did he remember him as a leader when he was trying to blackmail him in a most nasty manner.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MANI RAM BAGRI (Mathura) : I am on a point of order. My dear friends, all RSS members from this side have alleged that

“बावू जगजीवन राम ने इनकमटेक्म की चोरी की है।”

श्री सुरज मान (अम्बाला) : चोर तुम हो, बिड़ला के पैसे पर पलते हो।

(व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please wind up now.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT : I can understand the anger of my friend; because he is angry he has lost his memory.

[Shri Asoke Krishna Dutt]

कोषाश्ववति समोहः समोहात्समुत्तिभिर्ममः ।  
स्मतिभ्रशाद्बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशारम्भश्च्यति ॥

I should remind my Marxist friends to remember that one of these defectors who was the first to defect yesterday, or the day before yesterday, also defected in West Bengal in 1966. Our Marxist friends wooed him, had taken him and made him a minister. How long did it take him to betray them? It must be remembered by them.

I will conclude by saying that I vehemently oppose this motion. At the same time I appeal to the hon. Leader of the Opposition that in consciousness of the national duty he should withdraw this motion because defectors and people who are bent upon ruining democracy are trying to take advantage of this motion.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA (Tura) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to support the motion of no confidence moved by the hon. Leader of the Opposition. The discussion and the speeches of the hon. Members of the House, particularly from the ruling side, remind me of a story which speaks about three professionals : a scientist, an artist and a politician. One day a discussion arose among a scientist, an artist and a politician—Prime Minister as to whose profession was the oldest and the best. The scientist said of course my profession is the best and the oldest. How come? asked the others. When God created man and He found that he was alone and needed company, a woman, He made Adam sleep and took a rib out of him and created a woman. That was the first surgical operation performed by God himself and so my profession is the oldest. The artist said : no : man was the last item to be created by God and before that he had created the beautiful universe, the stars, moon and green scenery which is all art and so my profession is the oldest. Whereupon, the politician Prime Minister smiled and said: both of you are wrong ; my profession of politics, government, is the oldest in the world. The scientist and the artist were non-blussed ; they said: what was there before the world was created except chaos and confusion? The Prime Minister politician said: yes, chaos and confusion—that is exactly politics ; that is my profession. Today we have a politician, prime minister, we have leadership in the country who is happy and satisfied, who takes pride in the chaos and confusion in our country. Mr. Deputy Speaker, after listening to the speeches of the hon. members of the ruling party, I now find that there are two motions of no confidence. One is against the Prime Minister and another is against Shri Raj Narain. The eloquent

speeches that have been made remind me of a proverb—'pigeon closes its eyes at the sight of the cat'.

What is the duty of the Government? The first and foremost duty of the Government is to protect the life and the property of the people, to maintain communal harmony, to maintain peace. Without all this nothing can be achieved. No development can take place. But here, in this Government, I find, they are least concerned with the chaos and confusion, about the frustration that is going on in the country some body has rightly pointed out, the prime minister always says—everything is all right, everything is well, I am the Prime Minister.

As soon as this Government came into existence about 2 1/2 years ago, what did they try to do? Their first action was to undo whatever had been done in the last thirty years or more. Did this Government try to find out what are the things which are very very essential for the economy of this country? What are the priorities that this Government has given? The priority that this Government has given is 'prohibition'. They have given priority to the imposition of language, interference in food habits of the people, and interference in the religion.

Since various aspects have been dealt with by the previous speakers, I want to speak something about the most important thing which was very rightly pointed out by the leader of the Opposition while he was moving his motion. He said that the treatment meted out to the minorities in this country was most tragic. I belong to the minority community in this country. I belong to the tribal community. I come from the North Eastern Region. Many members have talked about the North Eastern Region, particularly Prof. Dilip Chakravarty. He is not here now. He has claimed to have known and understood the problems of North Eastern Region thoroughly. I doubt it. I can tell you on behalf of the minorities, the tribals in the North Eastern Region, the people over there feel very much unsafe in the hands of the present Government. It is because the present Government has not tried to understand the problems of our region.

What is happening in Mizoram to-day? What is happening in Nagaland to-day? It is solely because the Government has not tried to handle the situation properly. The visits of the Prime Minister to our region have added fuel to the fire.

I should say that to-day the country is not only suffering from the crisis of confidence but is also suffering from the crisis of generation gap. The Prime

Minister comes to Nagaland and meets the village leaders of Nagaland. The first question he asked "Do you consider yourself Indians? Are you Indian citizens?" These village leaders were completely shocked, very much provoked with this question of the Prime Minister. They said "we are Nagas." The Prime Minister said that he was giving them time to reply whether they consider themselves Indians or not? If they do not consider themselves Indians, he would not talk to them. The people said, "We are Nagas". The Prime Minister said, "Get out". He did not talk to the people further. I want to ask, why should the Prime Minister of India, going to an Indian territory, talking to the Indian people, ask the citizens of this country whether they were citizens of this country or not? Why should the Prime Minister have this suspicion in his mind? This is the kind of Prime Minister we have! Last session, Mr. Vasant Sathe, Mr. Lakkappa and myself gave notice of an adjournment motion on the reported Statement of the Prime Minister at Shillong, the capital of my State, on 7th April to the effect that "if you cannot learn Hindi in one year, you better go out of this country". The Prime Minister on the floor of the House flatly denied having made such a statement. He said, it is a total lie. But I have some press reports. I have met the journalists who gave those reports. I have met some Cabinet Ministers of my State who have heard the tape-recorded version of the press conference at that very time and they say that the Prime Minister did say that if you cannot learn Hindi in one year, you should leave the country. For the present, it is sufficient for me to quote one portion from one newspaper report:

"Since Mr. Desai's reported reply was a cryptic one, it is not clear if he denied having made such a statement at all. But those who were present at the Conference insist that the Prime Minister did utter such a sentence and all that was reported was not a 'total lie'. Some reporters who possess the taped version of the Press Conference have in fact thrown a challenge at Mr. Desai."

I am sorry the Prime Minister is not present here today. I would like to ask him whether he would again deny that on that particular day he did not make this statement. Whoever is sitting here now on behalf of the Government, I would like him to note it down carefully: I

want a statement from the Prime Minister whether he can again say on the floor for the House that he did not make this statement or whether he would come up with an amendment and say, "I made it as an individual person, not as Prime Minister of India."

The Nepali community from various parts of the State came to Shillong and met the Prime Minister. They demanded that Nepali language should be included in the 8th schedule of the Constitution. Mr Morarji Desai said—I quote from this newspaper report—

"He told a delegation of Nepali Bhasa Samity that if they wanted Nepali language, they might as well go to Nepal'.

This is how the Prime Minister of India talks to his people. Can we afford to have such a person as the Prime Minister of this nation? I want a categorical statement from the Prime Minister of India as to what his policy is towards language and what his policy is towards religion. Day before yesterday, the Home Minister, Shri H. M. Patel said, while replying to a calling attention motion on Mizoram situation, "I am surprised that the Christians are going on with such a movement against the Freedom of Religion Bill". He is surprised that 15 million people of this country are agitated over this. Is this the way the Home Minister of this country should speak? When the baby cries, is it the duty of the mother to say, "I am surprised why my baby is crying?" It is only a step-mother who can say this, not the mother. This is exactly what we feel. Today we feel that we the minorities, the tribals, the Christians and the Muslims are being given step-motherly treatment. We are being treated as second class citizens.

AN HON. MEMBER: Fourth Class citizens.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: Yes, fourth class citizens.

The Home Minister was saying why we were agitated over the Freedom of Religion Bill. I want to read out what the hon. Member who moved the Bill, said. It is a letter written by Shri Mohd. Aslam to the Indian Express of May 16, 1979. He was also in the gathering whom Mr. Tyagi addressed. He said:

"Mr. Tyagi told the gathering that the minorities in Bangladesh were being persecuted and their population was fast decreasing, whereas in India the

[Shri P. A. Sangma]

minorities were on the increase. He said that already Harijans, Muslims, Christians, Communists, Socialists and others who were Hindus in name only constituted 50% of the total population. If prompt action were not taken to set things right, Hindus would be rendered a minority and the administration of the country would pass from their hands. The Hindus would then become aliens in their own country."

Is it not a shame on those people who claim that India belongs to Hindus only? This is the reason why 15 million Christians are agitated. Now, the Home Minister says: I am surprised why these citizens of this country are agitated; why they are crying. I want that this attitude should be changed.

With these words, I support the motion.

SHRI A. R. BADRI NARAYAN (Shimoga): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the no-confidence motion so ably moved by our leader, Shri Chavan Saheb and ably supported by Shri Stephen.

When the motion was mooted I felt whether it was really necessary in the present existing circumstances. The edifice of the Janata Party was showing signs of crack for some time and its crumbling was already visible as the number of members forsaking it is everyday growing. The thinking and patriotic members amongst them were feeling impatient that the performance of the Party belied its promises to the people. Shri Raj Narain fired the first shot of dissent and more and more members of his way of thinking began to follow suit. They felt they arrived on the scene after the elections, giving the people promises of a better state of affairs, giving hopes of a better deal. Even when the Janata Party was formed, right thinking people felt that they could not deliver the goods they promised, constituted as they were, a conglomeration of various units with differing and diverse ideologies each in conflict with the other. It was an assemblage of elements so opposed to each other that they did not have a common and united course of action either in ideology or principles or programmes. One wanted a socialistic approach, another an urban and capitalistic approach, and yet another a theocratic approach, some the Gandhian approach and so on and so forth. It was like bringing together a lion, a lamb, an elephant, a crocodile and a serpent in a common game, the performance of which, however shrewd the manager may be, would ultimately fail. Thanks to the dexterous way in which our Prime Minister performs his managerial functions, he could play the game so long and so well.

He has done quite a dangerous tight rope-walking exercise, and the acrobatic performance in the natural course has to come to an end. It has come to an end and the onlookers of the game have become disgusted. That is why I stated that the whole structure is crumbling and disillusionment has set in within the party. Things being what they are, and at a time when the tree is falling by its own weight and its decayed roots, one wonders whether any implement was necessary to fell it. So it is that one felt whether a No-Confidence Motion was necessary.

Disillusionment had set in within the Janata Party. A texture of the feelings of the members could be visible in the impassioned speech of the Socialist M.P. Shri Kalyan Jain. When I congratulated him, he said that his heart was speaking and not his head. No arguments were necessary to substantiate the No-Confidence Motion and the soul of the Janata Party was speaking of its own performance and the disgust it had produced on those to whom the party had given solemn promises.

The effort of the leader, Shri Chavan, I felt, was to beat a dying horse or a dead horse.

However, the idealist Gandhite Professor Ramji Singh was at great pains and struggled very hard, quoting an instance here and an instance there of individual acts of munificence. I wish he had looked at the matter objectively, as I expected he would look at the overall and integrated performance of the party.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta, the champion spokesman of the Janata Party, battled hard to bring home the varied performance of the party, but ended in narrating only the usual rigmarole of complaints against the previous Government. In this effort his wit and wisdom failed and vituperation prevailed. This made our veteran statesman, Shri V. P. Nayak, remark that words spoken by men indicate the culture they possess.

15.58 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Sophistry in language or statistical figures are often used to camouflage what has not been achieved. The performance of a Government, or for that matter of any institution, is judged by how the beneficiaries talk and feel. Their yardstick is simple. Every citizen who is a beneficiary of Government reacts in his own rustic way what he thinks of his Government. For him no figures are necessary. His needs are simple. He wants a roof over his

head; he wants a living for himself; his children should have free and good education, his daily needs of food, clothing and other necessities should be available at reasonable rates, his peace should not be disturbed by violence and insecurity and his agricultural effort should be suitably rewarded.

Judged by these standards, the common man feels that he is sadly neglected, that his daily existence has become burdensome and that no one is interested in his welfare and that he has none that cares for him.

This apart, the unity, the integrity and the security of the country is in jeopardy. The unity of the country is under threat the integrity of the country is torn as under and the security of our great country is in a precarious condition.

16 hrs.

There is no law and order. There is no security for women and children. Even in daylight crimes are committed. Discipline in the services has been shattered. As very rightly stated by Shri Kalyan Jain, the fountainhead of power, the very source or discipline and decorum, has become polluted. No wonder the indiscipline, corruption and nepotism has trickled down to the lower levels. The very powers to which people look to for protection and help in distress have been warring with each other because persons in authority have not had a dialogue with those concerned and diagnosed the cause of the disease and looked at the problem with a human approach. Chaos is ruling the country. The students are frustrated that the right type of education is not imparted to them. The labour is restive because with the soaring prices their living has become a daily problem. The peasants who form 70 per cent of our population are unhappy that their economic condition remains the same as it was before freedom and the fruits of self-government have not reached them though our Finance Minister, who is a champion of the rural folk, diverted his attention to some extent to the neglected rural areas. The minorities are in perpetual chaos fear of being victims of the domination of the majority communities. The Harijans and Girijans are treated no better than chattels and objects of servitude. The intellectuals are unhappy as scope for their talent is unrecognised.

In short, there is no field of activity where any one could say that things are in order.

●  
Inside the Party, outside the Party,  
ide the country and out side the country,

1488 LS—9

everywhere there is dissatisfaction that the Government has failed to rise to the occasion and march forward towards the goal of an egalitarian society free from hunger and free from want.

Our leader has rightly said that the no-confidence motion is brought in to fulfil a national duty with a view to restore confidence and trust of the millions of our countrymen who have placed us in charge of their welfare and happiness. We cannot play with the lives of the people who have reposed implicit trust in our ability to do the right and proper thing. There is no purpose in sticking to power when we cannot wield it to the benefit of the millions. The party is greater than the individual and the country is greater than the party.

We need to set our house in order—a house which has been badly mismanaged. Nature is so kind and bountiful to us in this great country. It is an irony that while water is available everywhere, there is not a drop to drink. That is our unfortunate position.

May I, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in view of all that has been said by well-meaning persons, emphatically urge on the Council of Ministers that this Parliament has no confidence in them and that they in their wisdom resign from their places of power and allow those who can do better to take the reigns of Government? The people have waited too long and they cannot afford to wait any more.

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT (Jaunpur): I rise to oppose Shri Chavan's no confidence motion. Before I deal with him, I would like to talk about my friend Mr. Stephen who is a good Christian and has read his Bible properly. He has charged us, the Janata Party, as being a criminal party, political criminal as he calls it. I have been trying to understand what he means by a political criminal. I have been trying to recollect facts. Where does this charge actually stick?

Did the Janata Party impose an emergency by its own will? Did the Janata Party shoot people and kill people, and put them in prison for no reason whatsoever? Was that a criminal or judicial action? I am sure Mr. Stephen's definition varies from time to time as it suits his political complexion.

I have got a cutting here from which I would like to read a few lines, with your permission. You have been an eminent Judge of the Supreme Court. I would not like you to pronounce a judg-

[Shri Yadvendra Dutt]

ment here, but I am sure you will agree where criminality, political criminality, lies.

"Narrating the regrettable incident, Mr. Tulsi Ram said he was forced by two Andhra Pradesh Ministers yesterday to meet Mrs. Gandhi. He had come away after saying to her, 'Sorry, I have to part company with the Congress (I).'"

But he was forced to join it. Who forced him? May I ask you as a legal luminary: does not forcing a man against his will tantamount to kidnapping? Is that not a politically criminal action by this great Sultana?

Very recently Delhi witnessed a very highly moral political action on the streets, when Mr. Stephen's Crown Prince was leading a demonstration. What was it? Ultimately it was utter violence, utter goondaism and hijacking of a plane. Was that, Mr. Stephen, a very ethical act, I wonder. But Mr. Stephen is a laudable man.

AN HONE. MEMBER : Who was that person?

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: Sanjay Gandhi. Congratulations on your understanding. I can give them the idea, I can give them the logic, I cannot give them the brains to understand it.

I respect Mr. Chavan very much because at times he has displayed some principles, however belated they may be. He was a Minister then. Who arranged the shooting of Jayaprakash Narain when he was leading a procession in Patna? Was it not the Youth Congress people, and was it not from the house of a Congress(I) MLA? Was it a very ethical act? I am amazed, Mr. Stephen, at your brilliant understanding.

Mr. Stephen has called us, the Janata Party, the Whited Sepulchre, quoting from the Bible. What is the Whited Sepulchre? It is a dead mausoleum enshrining the bones of a certain gentleman. What was the rule of 19 months? It was worse than the Whited Sepulchre, and I am sure you are responsible, and I am sure that if Christ were to come to this world again, he will repeat the same lines, which he said on the cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" This is Mr Stephen's swan song or dying song. Mr Stephen has called the Janata Party "a party dominated by RSS" I am amazed at it. Mr Stephen has no experience of the RSS. I know it from 1943 and I am proud to be an RSS

man. I do not hide the fact. I am not ashamed like your leader. When he spoke for the first time in 1977 March, he said "hang her, I don't mind it." But the leader's position changed his mind. What a wonderful change? It is a change by the chair, not by his intellectual capacity. I wonder how the RSS has dominated the Membership of the Janata Party. I will give you two examples. The day I entered politics, I was asked by the RSS to resign from the office that I held and I had to resign. Today, I am only an ordinary RSS member. They talk of dual membership? Where is the dual membership?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN: You are a Member of the RSS.

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: Yes. I am proud of it. I am not one of those who pin Stalin medal or Lenin medal and go round like a pouting pigeon. RSS office-holders will have to go out if they come into politics, and they talk of RSS domination. RSS has nothing to do with politics. They talk about us as communal. I will give you two examples. When the entire India was burning after the partition, my place, Jaunpur, was free from all communal riots. Why? I challenge you for that..

AN HON. MEMBER: You were a Maharaja then.

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: I might be Maharaja or ex-Maharaja, whatever it is. People are still there.

One day in Banaras, we had some discussions with our Muslim brethren and at the namaz time, it was the RSS that called them to come and offer their prayers in a temple. Did anyone else have the courage to do that? You had none. You are sheer hypocrites, if I may use that phrase and yet you say that we are communal. I am amazed that so many intelligent men, posing as great leaders, are saying like this. Mr. Chavan I may be forgiven, if I say that I know a number of people there who had gone and given Gurudakshinas to RSS for their political ends. I can tell the amount of money that they gave. I am sure, Mr. Chavan will agree with me.

SHRI A. PALA PAJANCCR: How much?

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: Let those people ask, I will say. You don't worry about it. I know of a great gentleman who is posing as if he is for secularism,— I would not name him because he is not present here now—he said to me "if my voting block and the RSS cadre join, we can turn the whole country."

Then the RSS was good. In quest of that, he went to Kanpur, when the head of the RSS came there and he fixed an appointment with him at 5.21 p.m.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: At 4.20?

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: You may be a 420.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR: You have a lot of 420s with you. You are 420s.

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: You call us whatever you like. We have nothing to say about that. I know what he talked with the head of the RSS. He did not go on his two feet; he went on his four feet. The RSS was good then. When Mr. Raj Narain offered prayers and sat with Mr. Nanaji Deshmukh and hugged him like brother, then the RSS was good. It is talking with two tongues...

श्री चन्द्रशेखर सिंह: यह इन का डबल स्टैंडर्ड है। एक जेन्टिलमैन नहीं है तो नाम नहीं लेने और दूसरा जेन्टिलमैन है तो उस का नाम लेते हैं।

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: He is his alter-ego.

So, if it serves one's political purpose, the RSS is good. If it does not serve one's political purpose the RSS is bad. This is down-right damn hypocrisy and hypocrites have no right to call themselves ethical or moral.

May I ask—he is a great moralist—in whose Fiat car he ran round in Uttar Pradesh? Who was footing his telephone bill of Rs. 10,000 a month? The Deputy-Speaker is not here. He was also one of Mr. Raj Narain's followers. I happened to be the leader of the U.P. Jana Sangh Party and the Leader of the Opposition. They were short of 12 votes for getting him elected to the Rajya Sabha. Mr. Raj Narain came and said, "Brother, you give us 12 votes." We were then very good. Now we are bad. What a sudden transformation! Sir, if you will permit me to use Hindi phrase:

दो जवान से नहीं, छः जवान से बोलते हैं। दो जवान का काटा बच सकता है लेकिन छः जवान के काटे से लहर भी नहीं आएगी।

Mr. Sathe was very pleased to say that if the Janata Government lives, the country will disintegrate. I wonder what country. He did not define. Probably, Bearar may disintegrate and go against Mr. Sathe and his Empress. But the country will not disintegrate. This country has a sense of patriotism; this country has a sense of strength. There is an inherent

strength in this country. Those who talk of disintegration, I am afraid, are not patriots. They may be anything else. May I remind Mr. Sathe and Mr. O. Subramaniam about their first speech when the Janata Government came in power in March, 1977 in this very House? I was amazed, when my hon. friends pose as patriots, they tried to arouse the feeling of north versus south. It may have been unfortunate, it may have been an accident that north went Janata and some parts of south went Congress. But was it necessary to arouse that feeling? The very fact of arousing that feeling in this House shows that disintegration lies there. Disintegration does not lie here.

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT. I have not yet dealt with the organ-grinder. Let me deal with the organ-grinder himself. Mr. Chavan has been pleased to call us, shall I say, the tyrants of the Harijans and the backward classes. May I remind him what happened in Marathwada? The killings in Marathwada whose mock Chhatrapati he is were worse than those in any other part of the country. Those killings took place under his great *chela* who was the Chief Minister. Then, Mr. Chavan has charged us that the Janata Party is with money bags. Has he forgotten the charge: Who is with the sugar barons of Maharashtra? Mr. Chavan has to answer that.

Sir, there are a large number of points which I wanted to deal with. But I do not think you will allow me more time. I will only say this.

सहसा धैर्यरितां प्रियाम्  
अविबेका परमां पदाम् ॥

Mr. Chavan wants to form an alternative Government with defectors and people who have no ethical or moral standard. He is not passing a judgment on this Government by this No-Confidence motion; he is passing a No-Confidence on democracy. Remember this and, before you take any action, think about its consequences and the loss that flows from it.

Therefore, Mr. Chavan, you said it was your national duty to move this Resolution: I appeal to your sense of national duty to withdraw the Resolution—not because we are afraid of it but because the consequences that flow from the Resolution are dangerous—and beyond imagination—for this country.

In the end, may I tell you and all my friends that the ethos of this country—the tragedy of the ethos of this country—was egoism. Egoism produced Mahabharat; egoism produced Jaichand; egoism is producing deserters. If you go on hunting, I am sorry you are in for a disillusionment

[Shri Yadendra Dutt]

Our point of view is pure and simple and, in the end, I will remind you again of a couplet from the Mahabharat:

मर्जुगस्य प्रतिज्ञेन हि न दैव्यं न पलायनम् ।

With these words, I oppose Mr. Chavan's Resolution.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM (Palani): When I was listening to the debate, I had a sense of sadness creeping over me because, today, what is at stake is our democracy, what is at stake is our secularism, what is at stake is social justice and also the very integrity of our country.

The Janata Government started with all the advantages in their way. They had a fund of political good-will and, if I may say so, there was a good bit of my personal good-will also because I thought this might perhaps lay the foundation for a healthy democracy in our country: another Party had come with an absolute majority and if only that Party would function in the proper way, then, more than anything else, this would lay a sure foundation for our democratic functioning. Apart from the political good-will, they had all the positive economic factors—a food-grain reserve, a growing foreign-exchange reserve and, more than that, a dynamic industrial structure. If you look into the history of particularly the public sector industry, I had been in charge of it and I know what vicissitudes it had to pass through, but we thought we had got over these problems and I was proclaiming in this House that we were in a position to say that the public sector was much more efficient than the private sector. That was the achievement. In addition to that, may I say they also had the advantage of seasoned and experienced leaders. There was a person like Morarjibhai to lead them; there was Babuji and there was Shri Charan Singh. They are all seasoned hands. But not only had they seasoned hands but they had new talent also—I see sitting before me the mercurial George and various others. In spite of this, within two years, what is the picture today? Can they honestly say they have improved their position?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Yes.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: This is the illusion they are still under!

Can they honestly say they have maintained their position, I ask, with all respect to my friend Mr. George who says it has improved. I hope that would be answered

later on: I do not want to go into it now. But then, leave above the various sections of people which my Leader mentioned, have they maintained the confidence of their own Party, I ask. Why is it that today so many people are coming out of that Party? I am sorry I do not find the President of the Party here. Can the President of the Party stand up and honestly state here that he has confidence in this Government that it will deliver the goods? He cannot. This is unfortunately so whether they realise it or not. If there is some self-realisation, then there is some hope. I want to tell them that their credibility is at the lowest ebb.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA (Serampore): That was so during the last regime, during the regime of Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Might be. You may accuse us. But they should do better than what we did.

Why has this happened? We should look into it. First of all, the initial mistake was to consider themselves as an integrated party instead of realising that they are a coalition. A Coalition Government has to function with certain norms and conditions. A single party government with acknowledged and accepted leadership has to function in a different manner altogether. But unfortunately they thought that they had got themselves integrated and, therefore, they started functioning as a single party government with accepted and acknowledged leadership while, as a matter of fact, they were still a combination of various Parties and various Parties continued to maintain their identity—even as late as a few days ago, Mr. George Fernandes had called a meeting of the Socialist Party members. What has happened because of this? If you apply the norms of a single party government to a coalition government, it is bound to create difficulties and it has created all the difficulties. I have a great admiration for the people who belong to the Jan Sangh and the RSS. They are very clever people, and they took advantage of this position: they wove themselves round the Prime Minister and began to get all the political advantages. Whereas the gubernatorial jobs which mean nothing had been monopolised by one Group...

AN HON. MEMBER: Cong. (O).

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Whoever it might be. The Jan Sangh—of course, the RSS, for all practical purposes, they say, is outside the game of the Janata Party; that is another clever move—took full advantage of the position and was going on gaining more and more political



advantages. And that was the fear which had taken hold of—leave alone the minorities and others—the other sections of the Janata Party, wondering what would this lead to in the next general elections, whether they would at all survive or they would be dominated by the Jan Sangh. Unfortunate developments took place. The Prime Minister almost became a captive Prime Minister of persons belonging to my hon. friend who is walking in now, Mr. Vajpayee. If you analyse many of the difficulties that had arisen within the Janata Party, you would find that this is the main reason. I submit this because we have to learn by experience; we should understand the realities of the situation instead of imaging that something had already happened, the integration had already taken place. This is one thing which will have to be kept in mind.

Then, the other thing which is creating difficulties for them and which will continue to create difficulties for them is that they promised everything to everybody and, therefore, everybody expected everything to happen not in the course of time but as quickly as possible and for each section in the community there are patrons in the Janata Party government in various groups.

Naturally, even if God, as Mr. Morarji Desai believes, is with him, it is impossible to fulfil the expectations and aspirations of all sections of the people or even a small section of the people. Therefore, what they have created is a disappointment in every section of the community today and that is what we are finding today—the unfulfilled aspirations and expectations coming up and boomeranging against them. They have not forgotten the fact that they are in government today and, therefore, they have to play the game of the government. Instead of that, even Ministers, have started addressing meetings saying, 'Yes, you may go on strike and I am prepared to back you up'. How can such a thing happen? This is the real difficulty. And Morarji Bhai claims himself to be a disciplinarian. If this is the sort of discipline which is being maintained at the Cabinet level, it is no wonder that indiscipline is seeping through the entire community today. Take any section of the community today—where is the discipline? Start from the Parliament downwards or from the Cabinet downwards—everywhere today we have this indiscipline sweeping through and how can an undisciplined nation come up and particularly, a developing nation? In that, who is to provide an example for others to follow? No doubt all of us have got that responsibility, but, certainly, the Cabinet has the first responsibility because they are governing the country. But they have proved themselves as an undisciplined lot, each

accusing the other and then quitting. And because for that very indiscipline you give him a higher status, then naturally everybody else thinks perhaps this is the way to get advantages. And that is why the pressure groups have started functioning .....

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA**  
Pressure groups by whom? Under the leadership of Shri Raj Narain?

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM** : And the pressure groups—initially they are all children they have given birth to—all these problems and it is no use blaming us and whenever this pressure comes, immediately the Prime Minister takes a strong attitude—'I will never yield to this.' Take the bank employees who are at the highest level of the wage structure. When they wanted to create difficulties, naturally he took the attitude, 'Nothing doing'. But what happened? Within a few days, only Rs. 32 crores were given away to them. 'Within this Rs. 32 crores you must be satisfied.' Is this a small sum? Naturally, the best way to obtain any concessions or to have any demands met, just for the asking, whether it is just or unjust, is to apply pressure and that pressure is being applied in all spheres. This is the dilemma today.

Somebody, put a question—what is your attitude to bonus? It is not a question of giving bonus or increased emoluments. But should we not have some relation to performance or productivity? Can we go on increasing wages by way of bonus and other concessions? That is their demand—without reference to performance or productivity. Therefore, as far as bonus is concerned, it should be a bonus for better performance and for better productivity. Therefore, let us have some norms and let us have a national consensus on this.

Every person has to perform at least at this minimum level. Over and above that, if there is performance and, if you think in terms of providing more incentives for the better performance, do it. But, what is happening today? The performance is going down; but the payment is going up and up. This is the surest way for inflation. If what you have got down for Rs. 100/- now you have to pay Rs. 120/-, it is the surest way for devaluing the rupee. If the cost of a product produced earlier was for Rs. 100/- and if it costs now Rs. 120/- To that extent, you have to devalued the rupee. That is the inflation.

Therefore, it is not the problem of the Janata Party Government but it is a national problem also. Are you approaching this as a national problem? Are you even approaching it as you party problem or

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

cabinet problem? No. It is all individual minister's problem under the Cabinet of Mr. Morarji Desai. This is the real difficulty. And this is what we are now asked to face. The Industries Minister says that 'I have injected dynamism into the industrial sector and so, production is going up.' Somebody said that he is a Minister for Bye-elections and Bonus. I think we should add one more thing—Statistics—Manufacturing statistics. (Interruptions). Apart from any other thing, what is important is not mere growth alone but the content of growth is also important. Today you want coal. You say that you have improved the production of coal but coal is not available.

Coming to power it is claimed that you have put up 2,000 M. W. extra during the last year and another 3,000 M.W. extra this year. But power is not available. Then you immediately blame that this is due to the previous Government. No, you do not know how to maintain or how to service what you have and how to get the best out of what already exists today. This is the real difficulty. There is underutilisation of capacity everywhere. That is the main difficulty. Immediately you are going to import two million tons of steel. (Interruption) And everything has got to be imported. Coming to transport, the Transport Minister is not here. I now find that Shri Sheo Narain, Railway Minister, is here. He says that transport—rail transport—is working on its speed. When I say railway, it includes ports also. The Coal Minister blames the Railway Minister and the Railway Minister blames the Coal Minister and the Steel Minister blames both of them. Where are we? Can you not bring about some coordination between these three ministries under your control? Can you not have some sort of rationale Coordination so that there is production of coal and transport of coal and there is availability of the same at the point where it is consumed?

We have had a lot of committees at the official level. There is a cabinet Sub-Committee. But, what is the position today? Everywhere you are paying that where there are power projects, coal is not available or where there is coal availability, you say there is no power project. I think there is completely no infrastructural facility anywhere. But the Industries Minister goes about saying

'I have done a miracle.' He always boasts. Take the National Textile Corporation. For the first time we have earned a profit. But, does he know the state of textile industry during the last two years? Even the worst mills were making huge profits. And your 101 and odd mills have made a profit of Rs. 3 crores only and you boast as if these are minting money. As far as textile industry is concerned, they never had it so good but you are getting only a small fraction, pittance. But you say you have done a miracle in the National Textile Corporation.

But the most unfortunate thing here is the non-realisation of the realities of the situation. And if you go in this way, what would happen? Take for instance agricultural sector. You are all claiming that you are now producing 125 million or 120 million tonnes. The success has always many fathers. But a failure becomes an orphan! I do not want to claim that I have done it or, after me, Babuji has done it. Even, if it be so, that it is only the Janata Government which has done this miracle. But you should realise today as to what is happening in the agricultural sector. What is the price that you are giving to the farmer? You have fixed Rs. 100 and odd for wheat. But you go to U.P. market where in fact the farmer is selling it at Rs. 60/-. It is the trader who is getting it and perhaps passing it on to F.C.I. with a big margin as profit.

Take various agricultural commodities. In my own state they were not even able to harvest onion and, therefore, they just allowed it to go waste. In the same way potatoes. Therefore, increased productivity is now giving decreasing returns to the farmers. Sugar industry is in a mess today. We thought it was in great surplus. I tell you if the things go on in the same way without being mended very soon, will you have shortage of sugar in our country. This is how the economy is being managed but still the general illusion they go about generally saying that we had never had it so good. We are doing the best possible. But individually you ask the Minister he will say as far as he is concerned everything is going alright whereas everything else is going to dogs. Therefore, do not have a double face. In one place say one thing and coming to Parliament to defend yourself say completely other things. This is the real difficulty today.

Sir, it is not for the first time but even during the Budget Session I said that for God's sake perform better. Come together in the interest of the country and I said we were all interested in your success. But what has happened. You are dis-integrating and we have just seen a dis-integrating system, what a threat it could be. A dis-integrating skylab was a global threat. A dis-integrating Janata Party is a national threat. The skylab threat got removed only when it fell to the earth. In the same way it is only by the fall of this government that this threat could be removed and, therefore, when hon'ble Members appeal to us that we should withdraw the Motion in the national interest the national interest truly today is that this dis-integrating system should come to earth as early as possible and something else should crop out of it. The nation has a little more confidence left in our political system today and therefore, I would appeal to the Prime Minister—after all he is a senior politician who has made a great number of sacrifices—to set an example and that example could be for the betterment of the nation as a whole and, therefore, we are expecting something big from him and let him give a new lead and a new direction where we efface our self-interest and look only at the national interest. It is in this context that we have moved this motion and I have no doubt in my mind that every party here and every individual here with national interest in his heart would vote for this motion to ensure that this dis-integrating system—brought to the earth as early as possible.

**THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY (SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES :** Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Subramaniam has made a very fervent appeal to the Opposition to vote this government out and to bring in its place an alternative which will be better than what we are. I presume this is the alternative.

Sir, people who were voted out of power by the people of this country less than two and a half years ago—two years and three and a half months to be precise, I presume—that is the better alternative that Mr. Subramaniam has in his mind.

Sir, when the hon. Leader of the Opposition moved the No-Confidence Motion, he said this, that he was doing a national duty. Sir, I did not know at what point of time the hon. Leader of the Opposition decided that he had to perform a national duty—a national duty in the context of the failures of the Janata Government and the kind of situation which, according to him, the Janata Government had created during the last 2 years and 3 months in which it has been in existence. He listed out the

failures—political, economic and social. Well, Sir, I presume that success and failure are invariably related to a certain achievement at a certain level. In other words, you have a benchmark, against which you measure success or failure. I would like to ask the hon. Leader of the Opposition : What is your bench mark against which you are going to judge the success or the failure of my party's Government ? *(Interruptions)*. I shall discuss with you the spirit of 1977. That spirit is very much alive in this country. I shall discuss it with you. Let us come to the vital issue.

**MR. SPEAKER :** Let there be no interruption. Let him proceed. Don't get excited.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES :** I did not like to speak because I know it hurts them. Sir, what is the bench mark against which they are going to judge our performance and say that we have failed ? In 1975-76 and 1976-77—during those two years,—when we had the emergency, I was in the underground for about a year and it was during that period of time that you—most of you who are now seated there—were celebrating what you call 'the dynamic decade' of economic achievement...

**AN HON. MEMBER :** Dynamite decade. *(Interruptions)*

**MR. SPEAKER :** Kindly allow him to proceed. What is all this ? Let the debate go on.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES :**... 'the dynamic decade' of economic achievement led by a person whom the present Leader of the Opposition called, 'My Captain and my Doctor.' He said, 'My Captain and my Doctor.' I was sitting there right in the opposition. I was sitting right there, just behind where he was sitting earlier. He got up and said 'My Captain and my Doctor'. That was in the Fourth Lok Sabha. I was shocked to hear him say 'My Captain and my Doctor'.

**SHRI YASHWANTRAO CHAVAN (Satara) :** She was the head of the team and captain of the team. She was my captain. What is wrong in it ? What is the use of saying it now ?

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES :** Sir, I am indeed happy that the hon. Leader of the opposition has recalled or recollects the fact that he said that the person who headed the dynamic decade was his Captain. And I presume that he would want to judge us by the performance of that dynamic decade.

Now, Sir, what is that dynamic decade's performance against which he would like to judge us ? Sir, we have been

[Shri George Fernandes]

in power for only 2 years and 3 months so far and we could not have shaken the Himalayas. We could not have done that.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN : (Idukki)  
Ask Babuji.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Babuji will give reply to you at the appropriate time. Babuji is capable of taking care of himself and taking care of all of you. Let us discuss the achievements of the dynamic decade because, I presume, Sir, that my Government's performance will be judged against the performance of the predecessor Government. I am not giving the performance of five years or six years or even two-years of Emergency performance, but I am giving 10 years of your dynamic decade. And my Government has been in existence for two years and three months and the kind of thing that has been said here since yesterday, if you see the debate.....what were the terms used by each one of them? Of course, Mr. Stephen has a great talent for the use of the English language. He can develop from one alphabet a philosophy though that can also hurt him because his name also starts with 'C'. Yesterday you said that the country was going ahead with a momentous speed. I am quoting you. You said 'momentous speed'. Then these people came in, that is, we, on the basis of the former momentum, for one year it went on and then what happened? I would again quote Mr. Stephen.

"You have converted a galloping economy and development into a complete under development and you have put it in backward gear".

Now, Sir, here are the statistics. I know you like the statistics when it suits you. These are not my statistics. These are your statistics. After all it is so beautiful to be general and it is so hard to come to the specific. It is so beautiful to say "you have not done what we expected you to do". But it is very difficult to be reminded of what you did. What you did during the 10 years of dynamic decade? What did you do? Where shall we start? Since you are going to decide, since Mr. Subramaniam has given a call now for overthrow of this Government and its replacement by a great new Government consisting of you all the hon. gentlemen over there, I would like to know where you want to start? With your dynamic decade....? Under the leader of the opposition? Under your captain and doctor and leadership began, the number of people who lived below the poverty line was 240 million. When

your dynamic decade ended the number went up to 420 million. These are not my statistics. These are your statistics. Your leader was captain, she was then the Chairman of the Planning Commission apart from being the Prime Minister and dictator. These are your statistics and.....when I mention 'statistics' you all started making noise. You dislike statistics. Statistics started since when? It is not my own statistics, but it is your own. My statistics are yet to come. These are yours. These are Emergency period statistics, the observation of the dynamic decade during the course of which you spent several crores of rupees to mislead the people, to deceive the people to fool the people, about your performance of your dynamic decade. When you started, 240 million people were below the poverty line and when your dynamic decade brought to close, 420 million people were below the poverty line. Is that you are going to judge? Is that the bench-mark? I would like to know. Where do you want to go? You want to talk about what you fed the people of India, how you clothed the people of India, how you look after the basic simple economic needs of the people of India. Is that where you want to start?

The people of this country depend on pulses for their protein needs. You know what happened during the dynamic decade. The availability of pulses fell down from 60 grammes per day to 42 grammes per day. This is the decade of achievement. That was your care of the poor. It is so easy to glibly refer to the poor, to the hataoing of the garibbi, etc. It is very easy to say so. This is what you did and how you performed.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Why do you suppress the fact that pulses is one commodity which was in shortage during that period.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Then, we have improved and increased the output during the last two years.

What about cloth? How did you clothe the poor of this country? When the dynamic decade began, on an average, 15.5 metres of cloth was available per head per annum and in ten years, you brought it down to 13 metres per head per annum. This is what you did. I wish, you gentlemen, at least should be willing to be educated since you have got to run the Government, as Shri Subramaniam would like you to do.

Then, sugar. You may, of course, say that the poor do not eat sugar. It is only meant for the rich. You may say that if you want. We have brought the price of sugar down and we have produced more sugar than you ever produced. This is what we did. And what did you do? When the dynamic decade began, the *per capita* sugar production in this country was 7 kgs. per annum, and when the dynamic decade ended, it came down to 6 kgs. per annum. And in the last year for which the production figures are available, we have been able to raise it to 10 kgs. per annum.

Then, how did you make the people walk about? Do you know the figures relating to the footwear, rubber or leather, you produced in terms of number of pairs? When the dynamic decade began, you produced 6.9 crores pair, leather and rubber, of footwear. Of course you can say that you do not expect the poor to wear footwear. That is not our concept of the poor; you may say that. When the dynamic decade ended, you brought down this figure of 6.9 crores to 5.4 crores pairs of footwear, leather and rubber. What was the result? Assuming that one pair of footwear was used by a person for year, whereas 41 crores of people had nothing to wear when your dynamic decade began, and when it ended, 54 crores of people had nothing to wear.

It is necessary for me to point out all this to you, because you have been discussing about our performance. I shall come to our performance later. I am laying the bench mark. Shri Vasant Sathe, you must understand this; you have studied a little bit of economics, others may not have. You made a very beautiful speech; I was genuinely moved by your speech.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** From where have you manufactured all these statistics?

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** I will tell you; it is necessary for me to answer this question. These statistics are all available in the Parliament Library and the books from which you can get them are: A Decade of Achievements, 1966-75 published by the DAVP, Government of India and which was on exhibition near the Janpath Hotel, organised by a very close personal lieutenant or Assistant of the then dictator and which even while I was underground, I was to visit and collect personally, for your information. Then, these figures are taken from India, 1975 published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in the year 1976. These figures are taken from the Statistical Pocket Book published by the Central

Statistical Organization of the Government of India in the year 1976. You can get them from the Library. I am giving you these ready references; I am saving you the bother.

17 hrs.

Then, they talk of infrastructure. Shri Subramaniam spoke today and Shri Naik also said many things yesterday; I do not see him around, I have to tell him something. Yes. I shall come to "Small is beautiful", and to Mr. Naik. Or, should I say it right now? Mr. Naik would not understand the meaning of "Small is beautiful" and he would not understand the meaning of *takli* and *charkha*, about which he joked and laughed yesterday. It was from Gandhiji that we got "Small is beautiful." It was Gandhiji from whom we got *takli* and *charkha*. He was telling this nation, "We do or die", and went with these *takli* and *charkha* into the prison at Yeravada in Maharashtra. In the same Maharashtra, in Pussar, Mr. Vasantrao Naik was recruiting soldiers for the British Army and raising money for the War Fund, as the Chairman of the National War Fund district committee. How can he understand it? So, he jokes here; he jokes about our industrial policy, Small and Cottage industries, and about the industrial policy which is taking jobs to people who never had jobs. I am sorry I had to say this, Mr. Stephen; you will forgive me for having said this, if you want to.

I was terribly taken aback, to say the least, yesterday when hon. Members, particularly those who have been a part of the freedom struggle and part of the Gandhian tradition, applauded Mr. Naik when he talked on *takli* and *charkha*. They applauded him yesterday. I was here, listening to his speech.

**SHRI SAUGATA ROY:** He joked about your concept of *takli*. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** I will explain my concept. Don't worry. Please have some patience. The less you obstruct me, the more you will hear from me. Because you talked about the inadequate infrastructure—Railways, Ports and what have you; you talked about all this—how steel is not available and so on and so forth.

You know what happened, Mr. Subramaniam, the hon. former Minister of Industry.

**SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:** I don't claim as much knowledge as you do.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** Thank you very much. You know what happened. When the dynamic decade began, you were producing 9.3 Kgs. of steel per head per annum. When that dynamic decade was put to an end, you started producing 7.8 Kgs of Steel, *per capita* per annum. This is what you did and created. (*Interruptions*)

**AN HON. MEMBER:** You are importing it now at double the price.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** It is against this back-drop that I hope they will judge our performance. What is our performance. We shall come to our performance. (*Interruptions*) Last year, our industrial growth was 8%. In the current year, there were problems. In March, April and May we had severe problems. In spite of those problems, we have been able to maintain an industrial growth rate of 5%. I want to assure the hon. Members on the Treasury benches and those in the Opposition, that we shall achieve, even during the current year, a growth rate of 8%, and we shall try to improve on the growth rate of 8%. (*Interruptions*)

Yes; we had problems of power. In Koyna, where they were generating 640 megawatts every day, it came down to 50 megawatts. The lakes went dry. We had problems in West Bengal. Our comrades from the CPM will be able to explain those problems. And they will tell you that they are problems of your creation. They will tell you that.

**SHRI JYOTIMOY BOSU:** Absolutely.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** We have problems; but we shall overcome those problems. And when we talk of the growth rate, it may concern industry or agriculture. Now about agricultural production. Yesterday, one of my hon. colleagues mentioned, while participating in the debate, that we shall not take the view that when we have a good harvest, it is due to our Prime Minister; and when it is bad harvest, it is due to the failure of the monsoon. We shall not take that position. Last year, agricultural production was a record 126.5 million tonnes; and this year agricultural production has surpassed all records, and we are at 130.5 million tonnes. We shall improve on this. You do not like statistics. What can I do? How will you learn? 43.5 per cent of the total public expenditure in this country will go into the rural sector, agricultural sector, village sector of our economy. That is what our economic results are showing today.

**Mr. Gopal, I find that you are finally getting interested in statistics.**

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur):** It is very good for Choupaty beach, not for Parliament.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** When it hurts, it becomes Choupaty. I can see that.

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN:** Perhaps he will teach you tomorrow.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** I am always willing to learn. That is why I am here. Since you are not willing to learn, that is why this has happened.

**SHRI VASANT SAIHE:** His master has not helped the Janata Party students.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** When I said 43.5 per cent of the total plan outlay in the next five years is going into the rural sector, agricultural sector, it is Rs. 33,000 crores in monetary terms. Rs. 33,000 crores going into the rural sector, agricultural sector means 1-1/2 times the total outlay in that sector in monetary terms that you had put there for the last 30 years. Of course, the value of rupee has gone down; and how much during the dynamic decade alone it has gone down. Let us start from 1947. The hon. Leader of the Opposition was the Finance Minister for a short while. It started during the dynamic decade with 54 paise. Its value was 54 paise in ten years and with doggedness and perseverance your captains had brought it down to 25 paise. So, you had a problem. I agree that the value of the rupee has gone down. But taking all these factors, the fact is that Rs. 33,000 crores which is 1-1/2 times the money which you had put in the rural sector in the last 30 years is going there. 1.7 crore hectares of land will be brought under irrigation in these 5 years.

Yesterday, Mr. Nayak was very eloquent on how the irrigation programme was started very early and how it was fructified much later. Of course, that was your tradition. We are not doing that thing. We have gone into the small and beautiful, which he does not like. He is so fascinated by large. From Pusa to Bombay, I know that it is a long distance. But, somehow, or the other, he is so accustomed to Bombay and its largeness that he has forgotten Pusa which is small, which is beautiful.

I am sure, Mr. Vasant Sathe will agree because he is not very far from Pusa.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I say Pusa is beautiful.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Thank you. During the last two years 5.1 million hectares of land was brought under irrigation in small projects, in beautiful projects; and this is what has contributed to increase food production: and food production will continue to go up. Where will you compare your bench mark. When you say about our economic performance, you say from this galloping rate of growth, we have taken the country back. Mr. Stephen, which was the galloping rate of growth during the dynamic decade? And I tell you something about how that galloping rate of growth was. The gross national product *per capita* income when the dynamic decade began was Rs. 331.1 per head per year; and in ten years, Mr. Stephen, you galloped so far and your captains and your leader did so well—the Leader of the Opposition—that we reached Rs. 337.5. In other words, in ten years, the increase was exactly Rs. 6.90..... (Interruptions)

SHRI K. GOPAL: What was the population then?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: We are discussing *per capita* income; that is the trouble with them; they refuse to learn. I think in planning one always takes care of the increase in population. However, I shall give you the statistics about your galloping rate of growth. In 1971-72, the growth rate was minus 0.9 per cent—galloping; in 1972-73 it was minus 3.6 per cent, further down. In 1973-74 it was plus 2.9 per cent, in 1974-75 it was minus 1 per cent. In 1975-76 with two years of emergency with you it was plus 6.8 per cent. In 1976-77—what was it, emergency fruits, gains of emergency—when the gains of emergency started coming in the growth rate fell down by 0.06 per cent. In 1977-78, the very first year of the Janata government, the rate went up by 5.2 per cent. Last year despite all the problems, with 8 per cent industrial growth rate and 3 per cent agricultural growth rate, we have been able to maintain a growth rate of 3.9 per cent. This is the achievement. I should like to know, when the hon. Leader of the opposition is going to reply to the debate, what his bench mark so far as our economic performance is concerned. Will you weight this against the dynamic decade and its performance and the galloping rate of growth of Mr. Stephen; will you compare us to that and then say that Janata government's performance is dismal and the industrial and economic scene is all going bad.

We have problems in the economic sector; we have problems. Despite these problems we are doing well. Mr. Subramaniam told us, appealed to the Prime Minister to see that the growth was balanced. It is a balanced growth. We have done extra-ordinarily well. I am proud of the achievements of the Janata party in the last two years in so far as management of the economy is concerned. We have problems and believe it or not, they are problems of a fast rate of growth. Hon. Members are speaking about steel; I know there are questions about steel. Cement, yes, there are questions about cement. There are shortages in a large number of essential commodities. How do those shortages come in. They had planned for annual growth of about 3—5 per cent. Currently, as far as cement is concerned, steel is concerned, the basic inputs in industry are concerned, the growth rate is between 10 and 15 per cent. have problems; the infrastructure is unable to meet the growth. They had planned for agricultural decline, but we have boosted agricultural production. Take the problems of transport. They did not care for the ports. What was their investment in ports, I ask Mr. Subramaniam. What was their investment in the railways, I ask Mr. Subramaniam. What was their investment in transport infrastructure. Look at the production of the transport sector. Their production was 35—40,000 commercial vehicles for the last, God knows how many years. The first thing that we did was to improve that SECTOR. Last year in the transport sector, automotive sector, production went up by 35 per cent in 1977-78 the production went up by 42 per cent last year we produced 60,000 commercial vehicles in this country and put them on the roads. We are maintaining that rate of growth this year our target is to produce at least 80,000 commercial vehicles in this country, double the number of what we inherited only 2 and half years ago; that is what we are up to.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: This is a socialist convention.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: This is not a socialist convention. I suppose it hurts you to discuss Socialism. Does it hurt you to be educated on socialism? (Interruptions)

So, whereby economy is concerned. I want hon. members to realise that all their arguments are hollow, they are baseless in terms of output, in terms of production, in terms of growth. The Janata Government's performance is an excellent performance and we are proud of that performance. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: This is not the question answer session.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** We have been told that in terms of the political management of the country there are problems. Our party has been under attack. We have had problems in our party. Everybody knows this. I do not want to discuss my party problems on the floor of the House. We have problems in our party. I am conscious of the fact and I am sure the House is conscious and the Nation is conscious of the fact that we came from six different streams to form one stream. We came from six different streams. 2 1/4 years ago we belonged to six different parties or groups. There were four parties and all other organisations that came into existence. We came from these six different streams to converge to form one main stream. We were ideologically differing temperamentally, differing people. Of course, we have ambitions. Why should I hide the fact? After all one is in politics, one is in public life. If there were no ambitions which is also coupled with an element of altruism, one would not be in public life. If one were only altruistic person, then one would be a hermit. One would be doing service in some rural areas. One would not be in public life in the manner in which a politician is. If one were merely ambitious, you take the country where you and your leader took it. And all of you accepted it on June 26, 1975. When ambition and altruism blend in a proper mix, that is where you can really run democratic politics and where a democratic party, Mr. Sathe, please listen.....

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** Both things combined.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** I thought you are proud of your fortitude. Be proud of it. Do not brush it black. So, this is where we are a democratic party and with powerful personalities, with clashing ambitions, with ideologically different and differing backgrounds, we have our difficulties. I am not trying to brush those differences or difficulties under the carpet. We have that.

If hon. members of the Opposition were to speak about different voices in which we speak, for instance, about bonus question to speak that only in my party there are differences on this question, what are your views on this question? I am not asking to-day's views. In the year 1974 at 2.30 in the night, you sent Border Security Force Aeroplane to Lucknow to arrest me and bring me and put me in Tihar Jail at 5 O'Clock in the morning and there was adjournment motion moved in this House and on the 8th May, 1974 the Railwaymen struck work, and on 9th May, 1974 there was No Confidence Motion moved in this House. May I request all of you, hon. members of the Opposition to please go to the library and read what

your leaders spoke on the bonus issue, on the workmen, on their demands and all that they said? Will you also go through the newspapers and find out all that your police, your military, your Territorial Army, your Border Security Force, every repressive organ of the State did? Will you please find out what they did? Will you please go through the newspapers what hon. members of the Opposition said? Will you go through the newspapers and your speeches?

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN:** You brought about strike on this. For the last 2 1/2 years you have been in power. What have you done about that?

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** I will come to that.

I thought the hon. Mr. C. M. Stephen was also concerned with certain philosophical discussion because he is very philosophical in speeches. I read his speeches of 1974. They amused me, the kind of the speeches that he made, the way he wanted strike to be suppressed, the way he asked for the strike to be suppressed and to-day he supports the demand for bonus, Mr. Stephen!

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN:** I ask you to redeem your pledge or get out. That is what I say.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** We will redeem our pledges. We shall redeem our pledges, Mr. Stephen; we shall. But since each one of you day in and day out in this House and outside talk about the differences among us on the bonus question, I am only trying to test your own sincerity and your own conviction. Are you men of conviction or are you opportunists? What are you? In 1974 you suppressed the railway strike and today you say, "Are the railwaymen getting their demands?"

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** You are a great opportunist. Why don't you ask this question to yourself?

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** So, Sir, we have our differences and we are trying to reconcile them. As I said, we have come from different streams and we are trying to reconcile the ideological, personal and other differences that exist between us. But on the other hand, what happened to you? You went to the polls as one party. How many are you today? What is the latest country from Kanyakumari to Jammu and Kashmir? How many are you?

**AN HON. MEMBER:** They do not know!



**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** They do not know! That is the alternative Mr. Subramaniam wants—"Throw the Janata out and bring this in". Is this the alternative you are speaking of? Is this a better alternative politically and economically? I showed you your bench-marks. Politically is this the alternative you are speaking of?

The hon. Leader of the Opposition was to speak about the social situation. He said—his words were very moving—"Where the Harijans are concerned he live in the same neglected condition."

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA:** You are doing one disservice to the people and to the nation by uniting them together—the two black sons of the Congress!

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** As I said, the hon. Leader of the Opposition was to speak about the same neglected condition in which the Harijans are. In other words, there is no bench-mark, Mr. Subramaniam, for a better Government. Your own Leader of the Opposition was to say yesterday that the Harijans are in the same neglected condition. But are they really? You talk of atrocities on Harijans. Do you know the number of atrocities against Harijans in 1971? Do you care to remember? According to your own statistics, the number of atrocities against Harijans was 2127 in 1971, 2384 in 1972 and 2758 in the first six months alone of the year 1974. (Interruptions). Then why do you speak of them? What is your bench mark when you talk of a better alternative for the Janata? Where do you want to draw the line?

**SHRI C.M. STEPHEN:** See your election manifesto.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** I am on my own manifesto and I want to promise the hon. Leader of the Opposition. I want him to know that consciously and deliberately we have seen to it that the Harijans get a better deal in this country; that it is not reservation only in terms of the class IV service. This is what reservation has come to mean in this country. It is not merely job reservations in class IV sector as sweeper. No, Sir. It is providing them with opportunities across the country. We are setting up special corporations and making available resources for them. We are making money available to them. The entire thrust of our industrial policy is moving into the rural areas. This is where we are providing them with opportunities. Last year we trained 60,000 young boys and girls belonging to

Harijans, minorities and backward communities to weave carpets. This year we are training another 60,000. This is where we are making them economically self-reliant. The entire thrust of our economic policy through the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, the Handlooms Board and the Handicrafts Board is aimed at ameliorating the conditions of the Harijans, the backward and the poorest of the poor in the rural areas. Last year we produced 11 per cent more cloth in the handloom sector. That much of more money went in the hands of the rural poor and not in the hands of the big people of whom Mr. Vasant Naik is the great admirer. They are poor people, backward people, minority communities people. Then what exactly is your bench mark against which you want to judge us?

You spoke about the Christians. You spoke about the Freedom of Religion Bill. I am glad, you spoke about it. I am glad that Mr. Stephen referred to it. I am glad that the hon. Leader of the Opposition has referred to it. And this is one other issue where you have, perhaps, found us speaking differently. My friend, my colleague in the Cabinet, Mr. Mohan Dharia, for instance, very emphatically said in Cochin—in your own home State, Mr. Stephen—a few days ago that as long as there are people like him in the Janata Party and Janata Government—and he was speaking for himself—the Freedom of Religion Bill shall not be passed. He has said it. But what have you done? A Private Member's Bill, across the country you have tried to project it as a Janata Government or Janata Party Bill. Is this honesty?—I ask the Leader of the opposition, I ask hon. Mr. Stephen.

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** The Prime Minister has supported it.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES:** The Prime Minister never said it. I am sorry, you cannot be unfair to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has never said that it is the Government's policy or a Government Bill. The Prime Minister has expressed his personal views which you have used for your personal purposes. (Shall I for the benefit of the hon. Member from the North-Eastern part, who said that we are treated as fourth class citizens, make only two submissions? Today, there are three Chiefs of Staff who are concerned with the defence of the country—the General of the Army, General Malhotra, I do not need to tell you his community or religion, the Chief of the Air Force, Air Chief Marshal Latif; I do not need to tell you his community and religion; he is a Muslim, and the Chief of the Navy Admiral Pereira, a Christian.) What greater proof do you want? The defence of our motherland is in the hands of three

[Shri George Fernandes]

top Generals belonging to three different communities. The Janata Government did it and this has happened for the first time.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : Are you suggesting that you superseded some people to achieve this or what is it?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : I tell you this. I know Mr. Sathe you are a very clever man and you think that you always put very clever questions. We did not supersede anybody. You used to do that in order to prevent the Muslims..... (Interruptions). The point is, if the Janata Government were anti-Muslim, anti-Christian and anti-minority communities, then, Sir, the Janata Government should have superseded Admiral Pereira and Air Chief Marshal Latif. This is the proof if proof is needed, of the secular character of the Government.

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN : You are not.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : We know what you did. We can produce any amount of evidence if you like.

They talk about this Bill. Have you forgotten the Madhya Pradesh Bill, Mr. Stephen ?

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN : That Bill was when the Jan Sangh Government was there..... (Interruptions).

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Please correct your information.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : May I request the Prime Minister to keep the Services out of politics?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : The whole thrust of the Opposition has been to call my Party a communal Party. The Opposition inside this House and outside has called my party as an anti-Christian Party. I come from the Christian community.... (Interruptions). I am trying to clarify the position.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANOR : Be clear on the Bill. Do not try to defend it or try to confuse us by giving a different angle.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Then the question about the law and order situation was arisen. It was mentioned by Shri Naik and others that this is the first time in the history of India that the army and police clashed. What has happened is very unfortunate. But have you forgotten 1973? Have you forgotten what happened in Uttar Pradesh?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN : The Chief Minister resigned as a result of that.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : The Chief Minister was promoted as Union Minister, Mr. Stephen. Do not forget your history; at least remember your history.

What happened in 1967, when the present Leader of the Opposition was the Home Minister. Was not the Border Security Force moved in? Did the Border Security Force not drop tear gas shells? ..... (Interruptions). The man through whom you operated is Commandant-General Shri Rustamji and I am reading his document.

"It was the 14th April, 1967 and just by chance I happened to be in the room of the Home Secretary when the problems of the Delhi police came up. The Delhi Administration was in favour of taking strong action to arrest some of the policemen who had shown offensive conduct. For three years they had been agitating for removal of their grievances, and none had listened to them. They had put up posters, organised public meetings, refused to take their pay, once, and worst of all they had shouted slogans. All because their Union was not recognised, and no redress could be secured."

Then what happened? They organised a satyagraha. He says :

"The satyagrahis ran through the lane and collected in front of the house of the Home Minister (Shri Y.B. Chavan) where they sat down according to the standard plan of satyagraha, while their leaders addressed them."

Then what happened the next day?

"The next day the BSF encircled the Satyagrahi group tightly and meekly led them away. This was all that happened as far as the Delhi Police strike was concerned. Newspapers highlighted the imaginary dangers, all types of rumours and reports circulated in the capital."

Then you dropped tear-gas shells a few yards away from Tin Murti, much to the dismay of the wives and children of the people residing there, created a smoke screen and took away the possessionists.

As for the bullets the hon. Members on the other side should at least keep quiet. I think they owe it at least to their party to say what happened during their regime. So far as UP is concerned, again Commandant Rustamji says :

"The next morning the Defence Secretary (Shri Govind Narain) and I were asked to go at once to Lucknow. The P.A.C had resisted disarming, the shooting had started Army and police shot it out in several places. In Banaras, Sultanpur, and Kanpur,

there were open battles. The first day's tally seemed to indicate that there were between 100 to 150 casualties, mostly in the police, though the army suffered a few losses too. The army had obviously bitten off more than they could chew, and several battalions of army and police had to be moved by air all over Uttar Pradesh to support the units in the field."

You know how many hundreds were killed, Shri Saugata Roy. This is how bullets were used then. This is what happened then. So if one discusses the law and order situation, this was the law and order situation.

So, it is your bench mark against which you are going to judge the performances of the Janata Government. Your economic, social, political and law and order arguments against the Janata Government are hollow. I agree we have our problems, I agree that we need to perform better, I agree that the people had tremendous hopes and expectations on the Janata Government. The people voted us to power two and a quarter years ago, so that their expectations and aspirations will be fulfilled. And I want to assure the House that it shall be the duty of our Government to see that all the pledges that we gave to the people, every one of the pledges that we gave to the people are fulfilled. For two and a quarter years we have laid the foundations, we shall proceed further and see that these promises are fulfilled and I only hope that the House, and particularly the Opposition, will give us all the support that we need to see that these pledges are fulfilled.

With these words, I oppose the motion that the hon. Leader of the Opposition has moved and I urge the House to reject it.

श्रीमती मोहसिना कब्रवाई (आजमगढ़) : अध्यक्ष जी, चद्दाण साहब ने जो नो-कांफिडेंस मोशन मूव किया है, उस की तारीफ करने के लिए मैं खड़ी हुई हूँ।

श्रीमती जार्ज फर्नान्डीस साहब ने बड़े जोरदार भाषण से कोशिश की ताकि वे कागजी आंकड़ों से सदन को प्रभावित कर सकें और लोगों को यह बता सकें कि जनता पार्टी के एक्जीक्यूटिव क्या हैं। यह बात मैं आप के सामने कहना चाहती हूँ कि जार्ज साहब ने जो बड़ा जोरदार भाषण किया, तो मुझे याद आया कि चिकमंगलूर में भी इन्हीं बातों को ले कर, हू-ब-हू इन्हीं चीजों को ले कर और इसी अन्दाज में भाषण किया था। इसी तरह के भाषण कर के उन्होंने वहाँ के लोगों को यह बताने की कोशिश की थी कि जनता पार्टी ने क्या क्या किया है।

मैं दो, तीन बातों का जवाब उन से पूछना चाहती हूँ। अभी बहुत जोरदार तरीके से उन्होंने

कहा कि मैं 0 लतीफ एयर चीफ मार्शल आजकल हूँ। बड़ी खुशी की बात है लेकिन इस पोस्ट पर वे आप के अहसान से नहीं हैं। वे वाई वरचू आप देयर सीनियरिटी उस पोस्ट पर हैं। यह चीफ चिकमंगलूर के इलेक्शन में भी कही जाती थी कि लतीफ साहब को जनता पार्टी ने एयर चीफ मार्शल रखा है। इसी तरह से यह बात भी कही गई कि यूनिवर्सिटी पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन का चेयरमन जो है, वह एक मुस्लिम है और हम तरह से माइनोरिटीज के लिए वे क्या कर रहे हैं, यह उन्होंने बताया। मैं जार्ज साहब से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि जहाँ रोजमर्रा माइनोरिटीज का गला घोंटा जाता हो, जहाँ रोजमर्रा जमशेदपुर बनता हो, जहाँ रोजमर्रा अलीगढ़ बनता हो और जहाँ रोजमर्रा नादिया बनता हो, वहाँ पुलिस थानों में कितनी कांस्टेबलरी को भर्ती किया है, इस की आप जांच कराएँ।

17.39 hrs

[SHRI N K SHAJWALKAR in the chair.]

जार्ज साहब, आप जा रहे हैं। मैं चाहती थी कि आप मेरी चन्द बातों का जवाब देते जाते। बड़ा जोरदार भाषण आपने दिया है। मैं उन से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि पुलिस कांस्टेबलरी की हर एक थाने में जरूरत होती है। कितनी आप ने वहाँ पर माइनोरिटीज के लोगों की भर्ती की है, कितने ईसाइयों को वहाँ भर्ती किया गया है और कितने मुसलमानों को वहाँ पर भर्ती किया गया है।

तजक़िरा यह किया जा रहा है कि हम ने इण्डस्ट्रीज के लिए यह कर दिया और वह कर दिया। मैं खास तौर से हैण्डलूम सेक्टर के बारे में पूछना चाहती हूँ। मैं खास तौर पर यह पूछना चाहती हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के बुनकरों का क्या हाल है? कभी आपने यह सोचने की कोशिश की है? आपने बनारसी साड़ियों पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी, परचेज टैक्स लगाया। उसकी वजह से कारीगरों का क्या हाल हो रहा है इसको भी आपने देखा है। सूत के मनमाने दाम बसूल किए जा रहे हैं और उगकी वजह से बुनकर फाँके करने पर मजबूर हो गया है, रिक्शा चलाने पर मजबूर हो गया है। क्या आपको मालूम है कि रंगों के दाम कहीं पट्टूच चूके हैं? आप कागजी आंकड़े यहाँ दे कर अक्वाम के भूखे पेट को नहीं भर सकते हैं। मैंने सेक्शन 377 में एक मोशन दिया था लेकिन आज तक आपने उस पर कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की है। मेरा चार्ज है कि यह सरकार सरमायेदारों की सरकार है, इसने हमेशा बड़े बड़े सरमायेदारों को ही देखा है, छोटे आदमियों की तरफ नहीं देखा है। आप हैण्डलूम सेक्टर की बात करते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में जा कर आप देखें कि वर्कर्स की क्या हालत है। सुबह अगर सौ रुपये में उसको बंडल मिलता है तो शाम को 108 में मिलता है। यह सरकारी मिल की बात मैं कर रही हूँ। मैं लिख कर भी दे चुकी हूँ। आपने तकलीफ भवारा नहीं की है कि मेरे पत्र का उत्तर भी दें।

### [श्रीमती मोहिनिना किवर्दी]

आप गांव गांव में इण्डस्ट्रीज ले जाने की बात करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि इन दो सालों में कीच सी ऐसी आफत आई है कि न कोयला मिलता है, न मिट्टी का तेल मिलता है, न सिमेन्ट मिलता है, न रा मटीरियल मिलता है और न ईटा मिल रही है। देहातों में जा कर आप इण्डस्ट्रीज खोलेंगे तो जब रा मटीरियल ही नहीं मिलेगा तो कैसे काम चल सकेगा। फिनिश गूड्रूज वहां से बाहर नहीं जा सकती है। मार्किटिंग का कोई इंतजाम नहीं है। अगर आप तीन हजार नहीं चार हजार करोड़ भी इण्डस्ट्रीज लगाने पर खर्च करें तो भी गरीब आदमी का वहां भला नहीं हो सकेगा।

बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। कल कंवर लाल गुप्त जी ने बड़े जोर से कहा कि हमने माइनोरिटीज कमिशन बनाया है। क्या उसको बना देने से माइनोरिटीज को उनका गला कटने से आपने बचा लिया है और क्या आप उनको बचा सकते हैं। कमिशन को छः महीने तक दफ्तर नहीं मिला। यह आपकी सीरियसनेस थी उसके बारे में। मसानी साहब जब चेयरमैन थे तब की यह बात है। आप उसकी सिफारिशों को किस दर्जे तक मानते हैं यह भी आप बरा हमें बताएं।

आपने कहा है कि एप्रिकलचरल प्रोडक्शन बढ़ती चली जा रही है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि जो हमने इनफ्रा स्ट्रक्चर बना दिया था उसी की बढौसत क्या आप चल नहीं पा रहे हैं। हमारी आप से शिकायत है। हम समझते हैं कि इससे ही आपको चाहिये था कि आप प्रोडक्शन को दुगुना कर के बताते। इसको आपके निकम्मेपन और नाग्रहली ने नहीं होने दिया है।

किसानों की हालत को आप देखें। बरनाला साहब यहां कृषि पंडित के इनाम वांटते फिरते हैं। लेकिन किसान की हालत क्या है? पंद्रह दिन पहले तक किसान आलू को ले कर मारा मारा फिर रहा था, रो रहा था और उसका आलू 17 रुपये और 20 रुपये क्विंटल बिक रहा था और इस भाव पर उसने उसको बेचा। लेकिन जैसे ही किसान के घर से आलू निकल गया उसके दाम 45 रुपये क्विंटल हो गए। आलू का एक्सपोर्ट पहले हुआ करता था। लेकिन बैंगन नहीं मिले और उसका एक्सपोर्ट नहीं हो सका। आपने बैंगन नहीं दिए और किसान का आलू सड़ गया। गेहूं की हालत आप देखें। गेहूं को भरने के लिए बारे नहीं मिल रहे हैं। सड़क पर गेहूं पड़ा है, सड़ रहा है, भीग रहा है। आपने खरीद के कुछ सैन्टर खोले हैं। लेकिन उसका गेहूं वहां खरीदा नहीं जा रहा है क्योंकि आप बारे प्रोवाइड नहीं कर सके हैं।

किसान का गल्ला सत्तर रुपये में बिक रहा है। बेचने वाले को 30-35 रुपये घांटा हो रहा है। फायदा न कंप्यूटर को हो रहा है और न प्रोड्यूसर को, फायदा हो रहा है सरमायेदार को। आपकी सरमायेदाराना पालिसी है। किसान का गेहूं भाड़-

तिया 70 रुपये में खरीद लेता है और आप से वह 115 रुपये कीमत ले रहा है। खाने वाले को वही 130 रुपये में मिल रहा है।

किसान ने आपना गन्ना तीन रुपये क्विंटल बेचा है। आलू 17 और 20 रुपये क्विंटल बेचा है। यही हाल पौधी का है। जो प्रोड्यूस करता है उसको आप सही कीमत नहीं दे सके हैं, जो खाता है उसको सही दाम पर चीज आप मुहैया नहीं कर सके हैं। फायदा किन को हुआ है? शूगर मिल मालिकों को, बड़े बड़े सरमायेदारों को ही फायदा हुआ है। आपने खुलेआम इम्पोर्ट लाइसेंस देने शुरू कर दिए हैं। अब हर चीज का इम्पोर्ट हो रहा है। मैं आपको अपने सूबे की धांके बताती हूँ। चूक सिमेन्ट फैक्ट्री खर-कारी फैक्ट्री है। हमारे जमाने में उस में कैपेसिटी का प्रस्ती परसेंट पैदा होता था और आपके जमाने में बीस परसेंट ही रह गया है। धांके आप कुछ नौ जमा कर बता दें लेकिन हर जगह यही स्थिति है।

पिछली सरकार के जमाने में ईट नब्बे रुपये हजार मिल जाती थी और आज दो सौ रुपये हजार में मिल रही है। सीमेंट की बोरी 21 रुपये है लेकिन वह 42 और 45 रुपये में भी न कहीं ढंके नहीं मिलती है। आज मिट्टी के तेल की कमी है। कोयले की बजह से फ़िरोजाबाद की सारी इण्डस्ट्री खत्म हो गई हैं। आपकी मिनिस्ट्रीज में कोई कोमार्शिनैशन नहीं है, और आप यहां कह रहे हैं कि हमने दो साल में यह प्रचीवमेंट किया है। उत्तर प्रदेश का इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोष 1975-76 और 1976-77 में 8 और 10 परसेंट पट्टूच गया था और 12 परसेंट पट्टूचने की उम्मीद थी, इसलिए आपने बता दिया कि कुछ परसेंट प्रचीवमेंट हुआ है।

माननीय जाज फर्नांडीज साहब गांधी जी का नाम ले रहे थे, जहां आपका परपज सूट करता है वहां गांधी जी नेता बन जाते हैं, और मैं समझती हूँ कि गांधी जी का ही नाम ले कर के प्रधान मंत्री ने अमद मन्नी साहब को जो चिट्ठी लिखी है उसे मैं पढ़ना चाहती हूँ।

### 'PM's protest to Jamat Ulema-i-Hind

The Prime Minister, Morarji Desai has objected to Jamat Ulema-i-Hind using Mahatama Gandhi's name for their current Satyagraha against the Government's policy."

कितने शर्म की बात है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री सब से बड़े गांधियन हैं, शायद गांधी जी का ही नाम ले कर जमदेशपुर में, झलीगढ़ में दंगे हो रहे हैं। इसी तरह शायद बेलची में भी कहा था गांधी जी ने कि हरिजनों को जिन्दा जसा दो। कहा गया कि हमारे जमाने में भी दंगे हुए। मैं मानती हूँ कि दंगे हुए, लेकिन उन दंगों के पीछे कोई न कोई दो कौमी नकारिया नहीं था। लेकिन आज पूरी किशा को फिरकेबाजाना बनाया जा रहा है जो मुल्क के सेक्यूलर कैरेक्टर की

चलें कर रही है और मुल्क को तहसनहस कर रही है। मैं समझती हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की हिस्ट्री में पहले कभी भी हमारे ईसाई भाई प्रोटेस्ट के लिए सड़कों पर नहीं निकले हैं। लेकिन आज वह भी हो रहा है। देश की पूरी हिस्ट्री में हमारे मुल्क के मुसलमान रिफ्यूजी बन कर बांगला देश में भापके जमाने में गये। इन सब बातों से भ्रंदेशा होता है कि जनता पार्टी ने फ्रासिस्ट ताकतों को ताकत दी है, सरमायेदारों-ताल्लुकेदारों के निजाम को पिर से लाने की कोशिश की है। इसलिए जनता पार्टी के खिलाफ जो नोकाफिडेम का प्रस्ताव ध्राया है, वह सही ध्राया है। और पूरे हाउम से अपील कर्हंगे कि इस मुल्क से फ्रिकेवारियन को हटाने के लिए और मुल्क को सोशलिज्म की तरफ लाने के लिए, मुल्क के सैक्यूलर फोर्स को मजबूत करने के लिये पूरी ताकत से इस मोशन का समर्थन करें और जितनी जल्दी हो सके इस मुल्क के भ्रवाम की भलाई के लिए इस सरकार को हटा दें।

**श्री चन्द्र शेखर सिंह (वाराणसी) :** मभापनि महोदय, सर्वे प्रथम चह्वाण साहब जो विरोधी दल के नेता हैं उन्होंने अपना भाषण शुरू करते हुए कहा कि मुझे खुशी नहीं है, बल्कि मैं राष्ट्रीय कर्त्तव्य का पालन कर रहा हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले ढाई साल के कार्यकाल को देखने के बाद और जो जनता ने अपने दिल में इनके प्रति प्रेम पैदा किया था और जिस भाशा का संचार कर के मार्च, 1977 में भेजा था, उन सारी भाशाओं पर पिछले सवा 2 वर्ष में तुषारापात हो गया। मुझे इस बात का दुःख है कि जो माथी आज जनता पार्टी (एस) बना कर निकले हैं, वह माथी आज से पहले क्यों नहीं निकले और इतनी रही और फ्रंट हुकूमत के खिलाफ भ्रविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाने में इसके पहले पहल क्यों नहीं की ?

आज पिछले सवा दो वर्ष के राज्य के चलते जितने झांकड़े यहां पेश किये गये, या जितने माथी उधर से बोले, उन्होंने झांकड़ों की दुहाई दी और यह बताने की कोशिश की कि कांग्रेस राज्य निकम्मा था। कांग्रेस राज्य निकम्मा था, चला गया, आपको जनता ने मार्च, 1977 में इसलिए बैठाया कि उन निकम्मों के निकम्मेपन को दूर करें, हिन्दुस्तान को भ्रादर्श और गांधी-वादी तरीकों के अनुरूप बनाने की तरफ आप इस देश को ले चल सके, लेकिन सवा दो बरस पर दृष्टिपात करेंगे तो मार्च, 1977 में जिस हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज को, जो मुजफ्फरपुर की जेल में बन्द थे, लाखों वोट से जिताया था, उसी हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने मई, 1977 में विधान सभा के चुनाव में 20 फीसदी वोट कम कर दिये हैं। यह सबूत बताता है कि जनता का प्यार जनता पार्टी की नीतियों को कार्यान्वित न करने के कारण उससे छिनता हुआ चला जा रहा है।

जनता पार्टी अध्यक्ष ने भी अपने बयान में कहा है कि आज जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में विश्वास का संकट है, आर्थिक, सामाजिक व राजनीतिक चाल-चलन में विश्वास का संकट है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उन दोस्तों से, हमारे जिगर के टुकड़ों से, कहां

चले है श्री उपसैन ? मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप डिफेन्शन के ऊपर हमसे कहते हो कि डिफेन्शन पर इस्तीफा दे कर चुनाव लड़ो ? उपसैन अगर कहीं हो तो चुल्लुभर पानी में डूब मरो, जनता पार्टी ने मार्च, 1977 में जब श्री शेख अब्दुल रहमान को काश्मीर से टिकट दिया था, उसके बदले में जनता पार्टी बनने के बाद भी जनसंघ के लोगों ने बलदेव सिंह को खड़ा किया और जिता कर लाये और उसके बाद फिर बलदेव सिंह को जनता पार्टी में शिरकत कराया। जनता पार्टी के उम्मीदवार श्री शेख अब्दुल रहमान को हराया और फिर बलदेव सिंह को यहां जनता पार्टी में शिरकत कराया, क्या यह बलात्कारी के माथ शायदो रचने जैसा प्रस्ताव नहीं था ? जिसने जनता पार्टी के उम्मीदवार को हराया, उसी भ्रादमी को फिर जनता पार्टी में शामिल कराया, यह उसी तरह का है कि कोई मरी मां के साथ बलात्कार कर दे और फिर उसी बलात्कारी के साथ हम शायदी रचाने का प्रस्ताव करें।

मर्ज बढ़ता गया, ज्यों-ज्यों दवा करते गये। 6, 6 डिफेन्टर ध्राये। श्री रघुवर्मया, डा0 सरोजिनी महिषी जैसे इन 6 लोगों को जब आपने लिया था, उस समय डिफेन्शन के बाद चुनाव की बात आपके दिमाग में वही ध्राई ? मैं डंके की चोट से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं बनारस से अपनी सीट से इस्तीफा देने को तैयार हूँ अगर मोरारजी भाई अपनी सीट गुजरात से इस्तीफा दें और चुनाव हां जाये। जनता का जो फँसला हो, वह मान लिया जाये।

यह विश्वास का संकट क्यों हुआ, आज एक बड़ा सवाल है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** कुर्सी नहीं मिली इसलिए।

**श्री चन्द्रशेखर सिंह :** कुर्सी का भी चिक्क कर्हंगा, उस पर भी ध्राना चाहूंगा। यहां बहुत कहा गया कि जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में विश्वास का संकट है। यहां तक कि मंत्रि-मण्डल में विश्वास का संकट है और इतना ही नहीं, दो मंत्री कहते हैं कि बोनस के मामले पर हम मंत्रिमण्डल से हट जायेंगे। प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं कि बोनस के सवाल को हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। आज इस जनता पार्टी (सी) के मंत्रिमंडल में तालमेल नहीं है। मेल तो खत्म हो गया है, केवल ताल ही ताल बाकी रह गई है। केवल ताल बज रहा है, इसमें मेल का अभाव है।

प्रधान मंत्री, श्री मोरारजी देसाई, मेरे लिए भ्रादरणीय हैं, बुजुर्ग हैं, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने खोसला कमीशन के सामने बयान देते हुए कहा था कि जिस समय महात्मा गांधी की हत्या हुई, उस समय मैं बम्बई का गृह मंत्री था; मुझे बताया गया कि गांधी जी की हत्या होने वाली है, लेकिन मैंने उसे मञाक समझा। आज मैं इस सदन से, और इस देश के लोगों से, कहना चाहता हूँ कि

[श्री चन्द्रशेखर सिंह]

श्री मोरारजी देसाई के मजाक और गोडसे की गोली से हिन्दुस्तान का राष्ट्रपिता इस दुनिया से उठ गये। आज वह उन्हीं लोगों के साथ मिल कर हिन्दुस्तान को साम्प्रदायिकता की भट्टी में झोकने का काम कर रहे हैं। श्री मोरारजी देसाई के मजाक और गोडसे की गोली ने हिन्दुस्तान के दीपक को बुझाया था। मैं अपने बड़े भाई, श्री जाजं फ़र्नाण्डीज़, की याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने मेरे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में भाषण देते हुए कहा था कि दीपक जलाने वाले आज दीपक से कर भाये हैं, मगर इन्हीं दीपक जलाने वालों ने हिन्दुस्तान के दीपक को बुझा दिया था।

बड़ी चर्चा की जाती थी कि इस देश में लोकतंत्र नहीं है—केवल तंत्र रह गया है, लोक गायब हो गया है। वह सरकार डेढ़ आदमी की सरकार थी। हमें खुशी है कि वह डेढ़ आदमी की सरकार चली गई। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज डेढ़ से बढ़ कर पीने दो आदमी की सरकार हो गई है। बाप बन जाता है सरकार का मालिक और बेटा बन जाता है चुनाव-कोष और जनता का भाग्य विधाता। यह कैसी राजनीति है। आज राजनीति और व्यापार का गठबन्धन चल रहा है।

साथी मधुलिमये, ने 9.4 लाख रुपये के बारे में कहा है। जब मैं श्री राजनारायण के यहां बैठा हुआ था, लंदन से बालमुन्दहयम् का फ़ोन आया कि चार स्मगलर्स ने मई, 1977 में कान्तिभाई देसाई को 20 करोड़ रुपये दिया था। उसी में से 9.4 लाख रुपये चन्द्रभानु गुप्त को दिया गया। मैं एक शेर कहना चाहता हूँ :—

हिफ़ाजत ऐसी न हो कि हफ़िज़ गायब हो जाये  
दवा ऐसी न हो कि मरीज़ गायब हो जाये,  
कद्रदानी बड़े, चरण पड़े चांद पर,  
तारीफ़ ऐसी न हो कि तमीज़ गायब हो जाये।

—और गरीब की बची-खुची कमीज़ भी गायब हो जाये।

18.00 hrs.

यहां पर बड़े आकड़े रखे गये—आंकड़ों की भूल-भुलैया में डालने की कोशिश की गई। (व्यवधान) इन लोगों का तो लोकतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं है, उनके पास कोई तक नहीं है। नागपुर से जो फ़रमान आयेगा, उनके लिए तो वही फ़रमान असली है, मगर उस फ़रमान के कारण लोकतंत्र नहीं चल सकता है।

यहां पर कहा गया कि जब उत्तर प्रदेश में कमलापति त्रिपाठी का राज था, तब सेना के द्वारा पी० ए० सी० के जवानों पर गोली बर्षा की गई थी। अगर कांग्रेस राज में गोली चलाई गई थी, तो मैं कैसे कहूँ कि जनता राज में पी० ए० सी० के जवानों पर जो गोली चलाई गई, वह फूलों की बर्षा थी? अगर कांग्रेस राज की गोली गोली थी, तो जनता पार्टी (सी) के राज की गोली भी पुष्प बर्षा नहीं है।

कहा गया है कि श्री राज नारायण जो कैसे जनता पार्टी से चले गये, वह कल तक नानाजी के मुंह से मुंह मिला कर बोलते थे। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ डा० लोहिया की, 1963 की कलकत्ता कांग्रेस में डा० लोहिया ने कहा था कि कांग्रेस के कारण देश में अविश्वास पैदा हो गया है, कोई कांग्रेस को हटा नहीं सकता, इसलिए इस सांप का कुचलने के लिए शौतान से भी हम हाथ मिलाने को तैयार हैं और हम ने जानबूझ कर के २००००००० के शौतान से हाथ मिलाया। लेकिन आज समय आ गया है कि उस शौतान को भी कुचलना होगा और एक अनिरीपेक्ष नीति, समाजवादी नीति, समता की नीति और एक ऐसी नीति चलानी होगी जिस के चलते राष्ट्र आगे बढ़ सके। इसकी कल्पना के साथ मैं अन्त में इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जिगर के टुकड़े चले गए, वह ऐसे टुकड़े हैं, उन को इतना इश्क हा गया कि इस सड़ी लाश से भी इन को बदबू नहीं आती। गालिब का एक शेर कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ :—

इश्क ने गालिब निकम्मा कर दिया,  
बरना ये भी आदमी थे काम के ॥

यह कहते हुए मैं इस अविश्वास प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

Mr. Chairman: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 a.m. tomorrow.

18.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, July 13, 1979 | Asadha 22, 1901 (Saka).