

हो, तो उसने मिडवाइफ़ और डाक्टर आदि के साथ साथ रिलीजस प्रीस्ट को भी यह काम क्यों नहीं सौंपा है। मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उस ने इस सम्बन्ध में स्वीपर सम्बन्धी व्यवस्था को हटा दिया है। इस बिल में किसी एक जाति-विशेष पर यह जिम्मेदारी डालना एक बहुत अनुचित कार्य होता।

मैं ने यह संशोधन रखा है कि जो रिलीजस प्रीस्ट जन्म और मृत्यु के समय धार्मिक संस्कार करते हैं, उन पर भी जन्म और मृत्यु की सूचना देने की जिम्मेदारी डाली जाये। इस संशोधन को स्वीकार करने में यह बिल सार्थक हो जायेगा और सरकार के उद्देश्य की पूर्ति भी हो जायेगी। अन्यथा इस बिल में एक बड़ा दोष रह जायेगा। आशा है कि मंत्री महोदय मेरे इस संशोधन को स्वीकार करेंगे। पता नहीं किमी स्थान पर मिडवाइफ़ या डाक्टर हो या न हो अथवा घर वाले जन्म या मृत्यु की सूचना दें या न दें। परन्तु रिलीजस प्रीस्ट के जन्म और मृत्यु के समय अनिवार्य रूप से उपस्थित रहने के कारण उन का रजिस्ट्रेशन अवश्य हो जायेगा।

I beg to move :

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after line 7, insert —

“(a) religious priests who perform the religious duties at birth and death.” (15)

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : Clause 8 imposes a statutory responsibility on some persons to report birth and death. Under clause 10 persons who have knowledge about birth and death are required to report the matter to the concerned authorities. There may be cases when a person dies and he has no other members of the family to report the matter to the authorities concerned. Such a person may die in a hospital. There is nothing wrong if the medical officer or the attendant is required to give information. In such cases only they are required to give information. In cases where there is duplication, the registering authority will tally and verify the information. This is meant only to help have a counter check on information given.

It is true that the cause of death cannot be ascertained by certain people. It is not that everybody who informs the registering authority about death should report the cause also. Clause 2 is a different clause. Where the State Government thinks that facilities are available to get information about the cause of death, it is insisted upon in such cases and only on such persons who know about it that they should also give the cause of death in such form as may be prescribed in the rules. It is not that in every case, any person who reports the death of a person should also give the cause of death. It will not be a harassment to anybody. It is not possible to include purohits, maulvis and padrees in this category, as suggested by my hon. friend. I think I have answered all the points.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : All the amendments were revived and fresh notices were given; they were not there before. It is not very clear whether they had all been circulated. Therefore, it is not possible to put them to vote now. So, I shall put the clauses and amendments to vote on the next occasion.

12.55 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move :

“That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers.”

It is sometimes stated that this motion of no-confidence has become a sort of ritual in this House for every session. But you will find that the motion that I am moving is not that general omnibus resolution in which one can bring in anything. I have confined this motion to three specific events. I would like the House to decide whether these three important things that I have mentioned are just ordinary things or such serious things which are calamitous, if allowed to continue, for the entire country, for the unity of the country and for the demo-

cratic movement in this country; whether they are of such import that for omission to tackle these grave problems the Government does or does not deserve censure. That is the simple proposition which I want to place before the House.

I will take those three things not in the order in which I have given them in the motion. I will take first the Shiv Sena incidents. We all know what is happening in Bombay during the last one week; how property had been burnt - it is not a question of Government property alone - and how during the last one week the Shiv Sena mob was let loose upon a section of the people of Bombay.

Restaurants, not one or two, but nearly a hundred of them were burnt down. Thousands of ordinary workers not speaking the Marathi language have been rendered jobless and homeless and they are wandering in the streets. This is what happened in Bombay during the last one week, Rs. 25 crores worth of property have been lost.

AN HON. MEMBER : What happened in Calcutta ?

SHRI S. M. BANARJEE : (Kanpur) Calcutta, you have lost.

SHRI RAMAMURTI : Having had this drubbing from the people of West Bengal there must be a sense of shame and humility. I am surprised you have lost even that sense of humility.

As I said, Rs. 25 crores worth of property has been destroyed. Did it happen suddenly ? On 25th August, 1967, a similar orgy of violence was perpetrated throughout Bombay. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which was then in session in Madurai took note of the seriousness of the problem and deputed Mr. Umanath to go there. The Chief Minister of Madras at that time, the late Mr. Annadurai, also considered it a serious matter and deputed one of his party MPs, Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Both these MPs went to Bombay and conducted a detailed enquiry. It was not for the purpose of striking the headlines, but they wanted Government to take serious note of the Shiv Sena activities. They submitted a joint report to their respective parties. They

also came to Delhi. At that time Parliament was not in session, but we went and submitted the report to the Prime Minister and Home Minister. We requested them to look into the whole thing and see that proper action is taken; It is not a question of South Indians versus North Indians. We have no grouse against the Maharashtrian people and Maharashtrian working class. We know that they are foremost working class in the country and they united to fight that battle of capitalism. Unfortunately, in the name of the Maharashtrian people and the Maharashtrian working class, a vicious, pernicious, poisonous propaganda is allowed to procolate the public life of Maharashtra saying that the Maharashtrian people are not able to get jobs because some other citizens of this country-Tamilians, Keralites, Mysoreans and Kannadiga people-are taking away their jobs. This propaganda has been allowed to be continued for months and months.

Mr. Bal Thackeray ; openly incited the people from public platforms to attack the chawls and bastis where the poor South Indian working class live. He gave open notice that before such and such date if non-Maharashtrian workers and shop-keepers do not leave the city of Bombay bag and baggage, they will be attacked the next day. These were not whispered about but openly tom-tommed. Mr. Umanath and Mr. Krishnamoorthy culled out cuttings from their own paper. *Marmik* run by Shiv Sena. Those speeches are in cold print. The police who send their shorthand-writers to every meeting addressed by us are powerless before these people.

But the police kept quiet. Openly, these things were published in their own papers. Shri Umanath culled out all those cuttings and gave copies of those things to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister two years ago. May I just draw your attention to just one or two things. The major contributing factor for the continuation and accenutation of fear and insecurity amongst the South Indians is the deliberate conduct of the police services biased in favour of the Shiva Sena and bearing ill-will to South Indians as such, which takes various forms such as for instance ignoring requests for protection. Any amount of request may be made that they should be protected from these attacks, but the police just stands by when the attacks are taking place and just keeps on looking

on. This is the type of thing that has happened. Incidents after incidents of this type have happened. Then, they were not taking any preventive measures. May we ask what preventive measures they took? When openly it had been advertised that before a particular date if the non-Maharashtrian workers and the non-Maharashtrian middle class people and the non-Maharashtrian shopkeepers did not leave their place, their place would be attacked and burnt down, when openly notice had been given in that behalf, may we ask whether the Maharashtra Government lifted even their little finger to see to it that proper protection was given to the people and to the citizens of this country? We asked for nothing more than the protection that should have been given to the ordinary citizens of this country. But did the Maharashtra Government move a little finger even?

Thirdly, they were not taking preventive measures but they were looking on while incidents of assault and stabbing took place. Fourthly, on certain occasions, they colluded with the Shiva Sena in the assaults and murderous attacks on South Indians, and on certain occasions took advantage of the riots to wreak police vengeance on South Indians and beat them up and arrested them indiscriminately and tortured them in their lock-ups and foisted false cases on them. This was what was specifically done. Ordinary protection was asked for. But what action did the Government of Maharashtra take against all these kinds of activities? All these years, how many murders have taken place? The things started at the time of the election contest of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon. Shri Krishna Menon was a candidate during the last general elections. How could the Congress Government take action against the Shiva Sena? After all, this Shiva Sena helps them to win seats. It rouses the Maharashtrians against the non-Maharashtrians. Here is Shri V. K. Krishna Menon who is a non-Maharashtrian, and, therefore, they ask the people to vote against him and burn the houses and attack the non-Maharashtrian people who might support him. This was the type of propaganda. When the Congress Party wanted to wreak advantage of this propaganda, how could you expect the Congress Party and the Congress Government to take action against the Shiva Sena and its poisonous activities? Could Shri Y. B. Chavan tell us

what action the Maharashtra Government has taken against those people who had indulged in so many murderous assaults? How many people have been hauled up for arson when so many huts were burnt down? How many people have been hauled up in the courts for having indulged in murderous attacks on the common people, for having burnt down their houses and for having burnt down their shops? Has anything been done in this regard? Let him list out the number of cases where action has been taken. Let him also tell us the result of those actions. Why was it that the police of Maharashtra did not take up this questions energetically?

For example, even in a trade union struggle, even when a small thing happens, immediately they come out with stories of communist violence, this, that and the other or of non-communist violence, and come out against the workers. But here is a case when the people are being incited against a people, when fratricidal war amongst the people is being openly encouraged. I would like the Government to tell us what action has been taken by the State Government which belongs to their own party. Not a single piece of action has been taken. That is why today we are finding in Bombay the sort of thing that has happened there.

I would like to point out that it is not as if the Government was keeping quiet. Far from taking action against these people, what was the Government there doing? Here, I charge the Congress Party and the Congress Government as responsible for complicity with these attacks. I charge them with complicity because they by their open words and spoken words had encouraged the activities of the Shiva Sena.

The Shiva Sena conducts a paper called *Marmik*. For months it has been writing this kind of exciting stuff. It is not hidden. Nobody can deny that fact. Shri Y. B. Chavan cannot now come and show a single issue of the *Marmik* which did not contain this kind of incitement against the non-Maharashtrians, The Maharashtra Government know about this. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra must have known what stuff this paper was writing and also what type of activities the Shiva Sena was indulging in. But then he goes as the chief guest of the paper on the occasion of its anniversary; he

[Shri P. Ramamurti] goes there as the chief guest, as an honoured guest. The Shiva Sena conducts a drama; the name of the drama is 'The Blind man grinds and the dog eats away', meaning thereby that the blind man goes on grinding *atta* or some such thing but instead of his being able to eat it, somebody else, the dog of a South India comes and takes away or eats away the fruits of his labour. Advertisements were there about this drama. Shri Naik cannot escape by saying that he did not know what this drama contained. The drama had been advertised about very much. The advertisement that was issued about this drama was to the effect that the drama would make the outsiders feel one night in Yama's kingdom. If any outsider, that is, a non-Maharashtrian would see that drama, he would feel as if he has spent one night in Yama's kingdom. That was how the drama was advertised about. And our friend the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Shri Vasant Rao attends that drama as the chief honoured guest. He is there throughout the drama. So, he cannot say that he did not know what the drama contained. After seeing this drama which was nothing but vindictiveness and vituperation against, the ordinary people who are not big capitalists, what did he say? They are not coming out against the big capitalists like the Birlas and Tatas and Poddars who are not Maharashtrians, but they come out only against the ordinary worker and the ordinary poor hotel-keeper. Shri Vasant Rao attended that whole drama and at the end of it he blessed that organisation. He gave blessings to *Marmik* and he gave everything a blessing. In his speech which is published, he relates a story. When he was a young boy, in his village a man from the village started a shop. Unfortunately, the people of the village did not encourage him and that man ultimately went bankrupt, but then when somebody from outside came, by 'outside' is meant a man from outside that village the word used in Marathi is very significant; the word is *uparc*; it means somebody, who is an outsider, outside, the State, that is, non-Maharashtrian...

SHRI JAGANATHA RAO JOSHI (Bhopal): It may be a person from the north also.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: It may be so. When somebody from outside the

village came and started a shop, those very people encouraged him and that man built houses, two-storeyed houses and three-storeyed houses and he became prosperous. Relating this story, Shri Vasant Rao Naik said:

"The instance from my childhood goes only to show how we would not allow a man from amongst ourselves to have this shop. We brought all manner of difficulties in his way and made him go bankrupt, but when an outsider opens a shop, we behave with him as if he is some very big man, a good man who has come to make some favours on us. We should ponder over this experience of my childhood if any such things happen at our hands today. If we do that, many of our difficulties would be removed."

Where did he say that? In what context did he say that? He said that in the context of the anniversary of that paper, *Marmik*, a paper which is just spitting venom against the people who do not speak the Marathi language, the common people who do not speak the Marathi language. In that context, this man goes and talks like this. He cannot escape by saying that he was talking of something else. He further said:

"With all my heart, on behalf of the people who are the gods, I have my best wishes on behalf of you all; because my good wishes may not be enough, may the *Marmik*, every day progress, and may this cartoon weekly do good unto Maharashtra."

This is how the Congress Government there has been actively encouraging this fascist organisation, this organisation which seeks to wreak vengeance on the non-Maharashtrians, people, which seeks to rouse the basest passion of the Maharashtrian people against non-Maharashtrians, against 'outsiders' as they call and go on with violence day after day. This is what has been happening and the Congress Government in Maharashtra has been egging it on.

Next year you find the President of the Maharashtra Congress Committee attending the annual celebration of this very paper.

May I just ask these people to give me one quotation from their speeches where they come out with an open condemnation of the activities of these people? What is it that they do? May we also be enlightened about the action taken against the perpetrators of these crimes?

Therefore, what happened later is nothing to be wondered at. After all, you sought the help of this organisation because it was very handy. Big businessmen were behind it. I know one Mr. Poddar, a big businessman from Rajasthan addressed an organisation of graduate students in an area where there are workers from Rajasthan and he said: "Shri S. K. Patil is unfortunately played out; we must have other people to rely upon and therefore we must create a Shiv Sena". We also know that the *Indian Express* unfortunately had written an editorial condemning the activities of Shiv Sena and demanded from the Central Government firm action against them. Then there was a big businessman, I think Ramkrishan Bajaj, who immediately telephoned the office of the paper and asked them how they wrote such a kind of editorial. He told them that such editorials shall not be written. The paper then stopped writing such things.

We know which are the forces that are rallied behind this Shiv Sena. These are forces of big business in this country. They know with the continuing conditions the working class and the common people of this country are bound to unite and rise against their rule. They want diversionary activities. For these people it does not matter if people have to be killed, if properties have to be looted, if hotels have to be brought down, if small shops have to be attached. For these people it does not matter who attack them. They do not bother about law and order, sacredness of life and property. All that they are bothered about is the property of big business people. When it comes to the question of property of common people, the working class and poorer sections it does not matter for them. Sacredness of their private property is all that matters to them.

After all this we find a statement issued by a certain big industrialist of Bombay. In the *Statesman* it appeared:

"In a statement here before a meeting which was attended by prominent industrialists and businessmen it was said that this great metropolitan city has been a victim of senseless orgy..."

Very good. Who is to be blamed for that? Did they come out with a condemnation of the perpetration of this orgy, of the ideology of Hitler. After all, Bal Thackersey has been openly saying that he is an admirer of Hitler and he wants another Hitler to rise because, according to him, otherwise the problems of this country cannot be solved. Do they come out condemning the senseless hate propaganda that has been going on for years under the auspices of Shiv Sena? Nothing of the kind has been done. They want the Central Government to deal firmly. With what do they want the Government to deal firmly? The paper says:

"The representatives of trade and industry have today expressed the view that the agitation launched by Shiv Sena has been gravely exploited and taken undue advantage of by the Communists and other anti-social elements."

As far as big business interests are concerned, there is no selfish interest or exploitation in them; no, they do not indulge in exploitation; they are only engaged in business. For what purpose? An altruistic purpose nishkama karma. The biggest *nishkama karmis* are our businessmen. When this lawlessness was going on for days together, in spite of it, they did not come out in open condemnation of it. They simply said "the Communists are exploiting this". Probably, they would add that it is the Communists that have attacked them.

Then I cannot understand another thing. The funniest part of the whole episode is the Maharashtra Government getting a statement from him when he is inside jail. I do not mind their getting any statement from Bal Thackersey, I am not one of those who believe that people who are in detention or in jail should be prevented from issuing statements. But under the existing rules they are not allowed to issue any statement. When I was detained preventively so many restrictions were put on me. Even with regard to interviews with relatives restrictions

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were put on me. When one of my friends wrote a book on atom when he was inside jail, although the book was on atom, the Maharashtra Government on this very same Shri Vasant Rao prevented its publication although it had nothing to do with politics. Then we had to go to the Supreme Court to get a verdict that the Maharashtra Government have no business whatsoever to prevent the publication of such a book. Yet, here is a man, at whose instance such orgies of violence have been perpetrated, he is allowed to issue a statement, and that statement is allowed to be published. It is all right. But what does it say? It says:

"At any cost, our struggle should not be allowed to be exploited by the Communists".

This is the statement.

SHRI SHASHI BHUSHAN (Khargone) : It was Shri Madhu Mehta's draft.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Of course, I can understand my friends of the Swatantra Party being worried about it because after all it is one of their men, I think Shri Madhu Mehta, that probably drafted the statement. After the interview by Shri Madhu Mehta, a Stalwart of the Swatantra Party there, that statement was issued. I do not know whether he has anything to do with it, but this is a fact.

The point is this. Ordinary working class people are being beaten to pulp for days together. If such a thing had happened anywhere else, what would have the Congress Government at the Centre done? And the strange part of it is that here is the President addressing a joint session of both Houses of Parliament and there is not even a mention of this orgy of violence that took place in Bombay about four days before he addressed us.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara) : It was written earlier.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Can you find a single reference to what happened in Bombay in his address? Nothing whatsoever. So far as the President is concerned, absolutely nothing has happened. All that he would say was :

"Last year, I referred in my speech to certain disturbing trends in our national affairs. Parochial regional, caste and communal movements have caused tensions and violence in the country."

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : It will come next year.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I know, as a matter of fact I have very deep suspicion, that just as the Congress Party and the Maharashtra Congress utilized the Shiva Sena for its own purpose, for the purpose of winning a seat, for the short gain of winning a parliamentary seat, similarly, this party or some of its leading lights—I do not know whether the Home Minister is also part of that; I do not know but I have got my own deep suspicion—our this question of the border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore, since the Mahajan Report has gone against them, they are trying to utilize this orgy of violence in order to bring pressure on the Central Government to settle this border issue in their favour. I have my own doubts about it.

AN HON. MEMBER : Question.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : He may question it. But when this party, leading lights of this party can descend to such a low level, what else can I think of them? Otherwise, how is it that even today the Central Government have not come out very firmly against this?

I told the Prime Minister that we are prepared to co-operate, I said, "I know that it is a problem which cannot be tackled only by the administration; I know that it is a political problem and it is a question of spreading a false ideology among the common people this country". I offered to the Prime Minister—I do not know if I told so to the Home Minister; I do not remember that—let us jointly go out to Bombay, let the leaders of all political parties, who are opposed to this kind of senseless violence, go to Bombay, conduct a series of meetings and campaign against the spread of this poisonous propaganda. That offer was not accepted, I can understand why that offer was not accepted. How can the Prime Minister accept that offer when members of her own party are

openly and actively encouraging this kind of a thing ?

You are not able to settle the problem of Maharashtra *versus* Mysore because you cannot lay down any norms for settling these disputes. Here is a party which, after twenty years of independence, is not capable of laying down any democratic principles with regard to border disputes on the basis of which this problem can be settled. That is why a Maharashtrian Congressman will take up cudgels against a Mysore Congressman. Shri Nijalingappa is the President of the Congress and Shri Chavan is the Home Minister. Shri Chavan will say that this report must be rejected and Shri Nijalingappa will say, "No, not a single comma of this report can be altered." That is the party. What am I to do ?

Take the question of Telangana. I do not want to go into all the problems of Telangana, I know that Telangana has been a backward region but it is not the question of its backwardness that I am concerned with now. When the Vishal Andhra State was created there was an agreement signed by the leaders of the Congress Party from Telangana as well as the leaders of the Congress Party from the coastal Andhra areas. That agreement was okayed by the Central Government. A regional council was to be set up and for a certain period reservation of jobs in the Telangana area were agreed to. The Parliament enacted the law, Now it was the responsibility of the Congress Government at the Centre to see that this law was actually observed. They never bothered to see to it whether it was actually observed or not. That regional council that was set up consisted mostly of Congressmen, the stalwarts of the Congress Party in Telangana.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : All members from Telangana.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I know that there were other people also but I said that it consisted mostly of Congressmen. I know, Members of Parliament were there.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : Not all Members of Parliament.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Members of Parliament from Telangana were there; Minis-

ters from Telangana area were there and all the MLAs from Telangana area were there. I dare say that the MLAs consisted of the stalwarts of the Congress Party from the Telangana area. So, it was open to them all these years to point out transgressions of that agreement and to see to it that agreement was observed both in the letter and in the spirit. Nothing prevented them from doing that. Certainly something had gone wrong. Who is responsible for it ? The Congress Party and the Central Government are responsible for it because it was the responsibility of the Central Government to see that it was carried out. Today we are told by no less a person than the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Shri Brahmanand Reddy, that some disgruntled politicians are behind this agitation. Disgruntled politicians !

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Balarampur) Of : the Congress Party.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Of course. Who else can be disgruntled when the Congress Party is in power in Andhra Pradesh ? Disgruntlement comes when one is not taken in the Ministry. The disgruntlement is due to that and who can be disgruntled except some of the leaders of the Congress Party ? I do not know if Dr. Channa Reddy is responsible for it or Shri Vengala Rao is responsible. I can name half a dozen Reddys of Telangana who might be disgruntled; that is a different matter. But when such a serious thing has happened, when the Telugu-speaking people belonging to two different regions of the State are being encouraged to enter into a fratricidal war in this country, when thousands of people have fled from the Telangana area in fear, when murder, arson and looting has been taking place systematically for a number of days, is it not the elementary duty of the Chief Minister of that State, Shri Brahmanand Reddy, to identify those disgruntled politicians, announce their names before the public, pillory them and tell the people not to give any quarter to those people ? Why does Shri Brahmanand Reddy not do such a thing ?

Why does he not do it ? He does not do it precisely because these people belong to his party. I do not bother whether you are going to take any criminal action against these people or not. I would ask the Congress Party that here is the Party that dare not take even disciplinary action from the

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point of view of the Congress Party itself. You cannot even identify them; you cannot even send them out of your Party. And you say such a Party in the country is the only Party which is going to bring about millenium in the country, the stability in the country and so on. I am not making a joke. The Congress Party should have some introspection. If this is the type of Party you are going to build up, how long do you think this country is going to tolerate such a Party? Already the sings are there.

That takes me on to what has happened in West Bengal, in Bihar, in Punjab and in other places. Last year, in 1967, when the Congress Party got the drubbing from the people of this country, what was the reaction of the Congress Party? Anybody would have thought that a Party which had ruled this country for 20 years, which goes about tomtoming that this is the Party which won Independence for the country, would at least have sat up and have seriously gone into introspection as to why it is that the people of this country, by and large, who should have rallied round the Congress Party as a result of what it has done, should reject the Congress Party. They should have gone into introspection as to what it is they have done, what is wrong with regard to the policies that they have pursued, that the people are going against the Congress Party. That much introspection was expected. Did the Congress Party ever go into such introspection? I think the only introspection that was done at Jabalpur or somewhere, where the All-India Congress Committee met immediately after their defeat, was that they passed a Resolution—my esteemed friend, Shri C. Subramaniam moved a Resolution—saying, “We should now move much more quickly towards socialism.” He, at the same time, confessed that he did not know what that socialism is. Did the Congress Party ever consider what it is that led to their debacle and try to change them? Nothing of the kind. That is why we know what happened in West Bengal after the elections. For example, in the Special Correspondent Despatch of *Times of India*, I find a wonderful sentence. I quote :

“Let it be admitted at this distance of time, there was quite a bit of fantasy in the manner in which tremendous news

about events in West Bengal were manufactured and doled out.”

Manufactured by whom? Not obviously by the United Front there, not by Mr. Jyoti Basu, not by other members of the Communist Party or other people there. Obviously, these stories were manufactured here in New Delhi, in the Home Ministry of the Government of India. They manufactured Naxalbari stories—what a tremendous thing it was! About gheraos, they said too many gheraos had happened. After all, you went on doing propoganda that the Communists are responsible for the slow down of production because of the gheraos that have taken place. Your own statistics published by the Government of India's Labour Department show that the total number of man-days lost as a result of the gheraos in the whole country in the year 1957 was 67,000 whereas the total number of man-days lost as a result of lock-outs, not strikes, because the employers wanted to retrench workers and the workers would not agree to it, is about 3½ millions.

3½ million man-days were lost. That did not bother them. But when the communists wanted to prevent the retrenchment, then they started saying that the whole country's production was being lost; they were traitors and all that. (*Interruptions*) All these years the Hindustani-speaking workers of Bengal did not support us. Mr. Chavan went there, our Deputy Prime Minister went there, the Agriculture Minister also went there; everybody went there. They went there to increase the production (*Interruptions*) The Bihari workers had the experience of the Congress Government; after sending away the United Front Ministry, during the last nine months of President's rule which is the rule of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shree Chavan, 60,000 jute workers, all belonging to Bihar, had been retrenched and sent home. That experience was there. We, during our period, encouraged them and told them, ‘You fight’, and during that period, the retrenchment had been stopped as a result of the struggle. Therefore, what happened in regard to the Hindustani-speaking working class? It is no wonder that, in the entire industrial belt, not a single seat was won by the Congress party; in 24 Parganas, Hooghly, Howrah, Durgapur, Burdwan in the entire industrial belt not a single seat has been won by the Congress and yet, they

would say, 'Our INTUC is a recognised organisation'. I am not bothered about the results of the elections. What I want to point out is this.

In the period of 1967, every little thing was manufactured and magnified in to a huge thing and somehow or other the government was got rid of. They got the help of some of those defectors ; they wanted to get the help of Mr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. Ashu Ghosh. Now what has happened to Mr. P. C. Ghosh and Mr. Ashu Ghosh ?

In 1967, on the floor of the House, I moved a resolution saying, 'If you feel that the government today does not represent the people of West Bengal, let us go back to the people of West Bengal ; let us have an election ; we are prepared for it' and we said, "Please, for Heaven's sake, spare the people of West Bengal this violence by the police, the violence by the military ; do not impose your government ; let us go to the people and accept their verdict". But it was turned down categorically. Then, we know what happened. We know how a Minister was installed there with the help of beyonet, with the help of police, with the help of military. At no time in the history of our country since Independence did we have an occasion in any State where a Ministry had to be installed with the help of police. Only during 1937, when the Congress Party at that time refused to accept the office until certain assurances had been given, a certain caretaker government was installed in 1937 by the British, and at that time they had to resort to the help of police. This was the state of affairs in West Bengal ! When the people of West Bengal refused to accept that Ministry, how much of violence was used against them ! People talk of violence. A similar thing happened in other States. A similar thing happened in Punjab ; a similar thing happened in Bihar. Today the policy of this Government, the policy of installing the defectors and toppling the elected governments, subverting the will of the people, has been rejected categorically by the people of this country. In the face of this verdict of the people, any government would have shid, 'Yes ; my policy has failed' But nothing has happened. Even after all this, does this government think of changing their basic policies ? Absolutely no. The

Working Committee of the Congress Party met for 2½ days. Does it now consider that some of the basic policies which this government are pursuing, the policy with regard to Centre-State relations, the policies with regard to the economy of this country, the political policies which the Congress Government are pursuing, need a change ? Absolutely not.

All that the Working Committee is thinking of is to call those gentlemen from West Bengal, Shri Atulya Ghosh and Dr. P. C. Chunder to hear their explanation, 'We are stunned ; we do not know how this has happened. Possibly it is because 90,000 temporary employees had been confirmed by the UF Government and those employees must have somehow or other sabotaged the election.

This is the type of explanation offered. Therefore, I say a party which is incapable of taking this defeat seriously and undertaking an introspection, a party which is not capable of sitting down calmly and trying to change some of its policy, is incapable of delivering the goods,

We have, for instance, this Government's Policy towards the Central Government employees. In consequence of this policy against the Central Government employees, how do the Government expect the middle class employees to jump for the Congress Party ? I cannot understand, And yet here is the President who has this to say in his Address :

"As the hon. members are aware, the machinery for joint consultation and compulsory arbitration was set up on a voluntary basis with the object of promoting harmonious relations between Government and their employes...Government have full faith that the scheme of joint consultation and compulsory arbitration is the only answer to the problem of settlement of disputes..."

After all, the Central Government employees asked only for arbitration. Government refused that. Now Government have the check to say that they have full faith in the scheme of joint consultation and compulsory arbitration. Arbitration on what

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matters? On those matters Government choose, and not on other matter. This is the reality. As a result of the policy followed upto now, even now at least 10,000 Central Government employees are in the streets. When Government want to continue the same policy of attacking the common people and introduce no change in their basic policy, how can the people expect anything better from this Government?

Here is a Government which, in order to see that their policy of attacking the common people is perpetuated, are prepared to use the machinery of the Governors of States to dismiss elected governments by a very strange interpretation of the instrument of instructions and the Constitution. Here is a Government prepared to use the army and the police in order to thrust an unwanted Ministry on the common people of a State. In the bargain, here is a Government which uses the military and the police in such a way that hundreds and thousands of people were beaten, batoncharged, lathi-charged and tortured. Here is a Government that is prepared to resort to the worst type of violence in order that its policies may run in this country.

We know, for example, what happened in Assam. We know the attitude of some of the Congressmen of Assam on the reorganisation question. We know how they did not flinch from unleashing the activities of the Lachit Sena. We know that the police of Assam looked on when during the Republic Day celebrations the Lachit Sena trampled under foot the national flag. They will talk of honouring the national integrity and they will talk of patriotism and all that, but when it comes to a question of their own sordid, narrow interests, they have no hesitation in trampling under foot even the national flag. This is the type of Government we have.

Here is a Government which, in order to serve its sordid, base interests, is prepared to make one section of people fight another, and still looks on. Here is a Government whose important members have been encouraging such fascist ideologies in the country and have refused to take firm action against such organisations. Yet it talks of national integration and all that kind of thing.

Having seen this Government perpetrating all these things, I would only ask of every member to search his conscience and give the answer whether such a Government deserves the confidence of this House. I know that as result of the majority they have in this House, they may be able to have this motion rejected.

But there is a higher conscience the conscience of the people of this country. I know if tomorrow that conscience is appealed to, if we go to the people and ask their verdict on these very issues, there will be no doubt whatsoever that this Government will go lock, stock and barrel.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers."

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central) : It is but natural for the leader of the Communist (Marxist) Party to be very loud and vociferous in moving the motion of no confidence in the Government. I say naturally, because very recently they have won the elections in West Bengal and want to adopt a victorious attitude to the Indian politics and they are therefore prepared to any extent and accuse the Government here and bring in all sorts of fictions instead of placing facts before the House.

Let me come to the first point. They say that Congress was responsible for toppling the Governments formed by the opposition parties...*(Interruptions.)* I shall take up the points in the order in which they appeared in the motion. Now, what are the facts? Has this Government toppled down any SVD or UF Government? I deal with Bengal first because they are bound to be vociferous so far as the Bengal elections are concerned and they give that as an illustration and say that the Congress was responsible for toppling the Bengal United Front Government under Mr. Ajay Mukerjee. I hop my hon. friend moved the motion will not deny facts.

It is a fact that Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Food and Agriculture Minister in the Government of Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee went out...

AN. HON. MEMBER : In league with Mr. Jagjiwan Ram.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Whether in league with him, or whether you were responsible—all that is irrelevant.

It is a fact — and not a fiction that he went out. The second development was that when Dr. P. C. Ghosh resigned his ministership and went out of the Government, seventeen members of the legislature also went out of the Government along with him.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour) : That was decided in Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani's house in Delhi.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : I do not know whether it was decided in Delhi or whether it is coming out of the member's imagination. But seventeen persons went to the Governor and told him that they would not support the Government headed by Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee... (*Interruptions*) As a constitutional head of the Government, what had the Governor to do? He had to ask the Chief Minister, Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee, either to show the majority in the legislature and face the House or resign. What were the choices open to the hon. Chief Minister of West Bengal? They are now not proud of that Government of Shri A. K. Mukherjee. But even today they are considering whether he should head the Government or Dr. Jyoti Basu should head the Government.

Even today he is in their minds. He even after the Governor refused to do either of them. He did not resign, nor did he face the House at all. (*Interruption*) This is the report which we have discussed in this House. I mean the report of the Governor, submitted to the Rashtrapati.

SHRI J. M. BISWAS (Bankura) : The Hon. Member does not know the facts.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Be patient. The other side was patient when Shri Ramamurti was speaking. Please continue.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : When argument have fallen flat, naturally they are bound to create noise and turmoil. I am dealing with the report the Governor submitted to the Rashtrapati; it was discussed here. That report itself says that the Governor asked Shri Ajoy Mukherjee either to resign or to

face the House. And I, therefore, said that he did neither of them. What was the reason? The reason was that the United Front Government wanted to carry on the administration of the Government of West Bengal without the requisite majority which is the constitutional pre-requisite and constitutional pre-condition. In a sense they wanted to flout the constitutional provisions and, at the same time, speak loudly in the name of democracy. They committed a rape on the Constitution and, at the same time, the spoke very loudly in the name of the Constitution. That is exactly what had happened. Then the Congress there was asked to form the Government, The Congressmen, according to the constitutional provisions and principles, said that they would not; they were not in a position to form a Government. (*Interruption*) And it is not necessary. As a matter of fact, we have to take the political facts as they are. We are not to go by any analogy or examples which are not fitting in terms of the political situation that is found in this country. Is it not necessary to have a Government in the States? Should a State go without a Government? When other individuals are prepared to form the Government, is it right not to form the Government? Certainly, we are prepared to go to the people, and they have in fact gone to the people. They were not afraid to face the people; they have gone to the people and the people have expressed their confidence in them in the same that the Congressmen could get more votes now. (*laughter*) What is there to laugh at?

SHRI UMANATH (Padukkottai) : Dying man catching at a straw; (*Interruption*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Order, order. Is he is not free to draw his own conclusions from the result?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : These are the conclusions from the figures; they are not out of my imagination.

AN. HON. MEMBER : Laughing gas.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : They are not coming out of my imagination.

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These are the figures, which disclose clearly the trend. My friend has gone to the extent of saying that the whole of the working class went over to the communists and not a single Candidate of the U. F. was rejected. Let us go through the figures themselves in this region. You will find that in a number of constituencies, in spite of the fact that the opposition had a united front of all parties, the Congress had secured more votes than the candidates of the united Front. That is the position so far as West Bengal is concerned. (*Interruption*). I am talking of facts. (*Laughter*). What is the need to laugh ?

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA (Begnsarai) : Is he talking of 1967 election or the 1969 elections ? (*Interruption*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has quoted facts and figures. You could accept them or reject them.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : The facts are not palatable to them and therefore they are creating noise in the House.

When there were members of the Assembly who wanted to form a Government, it was but natural for the Congress to support the party which was prepared to form a Government. What was wrong about it ? I do not understand the logic behind the statement that the Congress should not have supported Dr. P. C. Ghosh at all. (*Interruption*). We have to consider these constitutional provisions calmly, logically and reasonably. If a party is in a position to form a Government singlehanded, certainly it has a right to do so. If the party which has the largest membership is not prepared to form a Government, it can certainly support the largest group, which is prepared to form a Government.

The opposition says that the Congress tried to topple the Government. On page 5 of his report, the Governor says :

"Shri Ajoy Mukherjee and Mr. Jyoti Basu urged that I should recommend to you President's rule, because if the President's rule could be introduced even for a day, they would withdraw the agitation."

So, Shri A. K. Mukherjee and Shri Jyoti Basu themselves requested the Governor to recommend President's rule; And, now they have the check to come before the House and say that it was the request of Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee and Mr. Jyoti Basu that President's rule was imposed. The U.F. Government was not toppled by the Congress at all. Let us come to Punjab. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Basu, please resume your seat. I have requested you several times. When Mr. Ramamurti was addressing the House, he was given a patient hearing.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : He knows how to address the House.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is not fair. Let us give a patient hearing.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : When I am giving facts and figures, they are creating noise. I do not know what are the facts I should give so that the doubt in their mind may be resolved.

I was coming to Punjab. There also, the Governor's report says :

"Sardar Gurnam Singh, the leader of the People's United Front, called on me this morning and advised me to recommend President's rule."

Therefore, when the U.F. leaders themselves ask for president's rule, is it fair to accuse the Congress of toppling the U.F. Governments ? They have fallen by their deeds and utterances.

Coming to the question of regional imbalances, it is not enough to take instances where the people express themselves very loudly because of certain regional imbalances.

Regional imbalance could be found virtually in all developed countries. Leave aside the question of under developed countries. Even in the developed working you will find people's wrath against Government because of the imbalance found in same areas. Why is there a vociferous demand for raising the question of imbalance in the development of a particular area ?

It is because there is "a revolution in expectations" of the people in under-developed countries. People all over the world expect too much. Therefore you will find that there is a revolution in the expectations of the people all over the world. Whether the country is very much advanced like France or any other underdeveloped country people do go against the Government for regional imbalance. Because certain promises were made and because of the economic position as is found in the country certain promises were not fulfilled due to inability. Can we, therefore come forward with a proposition that the Government has not been able to do away with regional imbalance and therefore the Government should resign. The opposition parties were in power in some of the States. They will be in power in Bengal. I doubt very much whether they will be able to do away with regional imbalance with the twinkling of an eye. It take a long time. It is not the Government but the development of economic position of the country that will do away with regional imbalance. If resignation of the Government alone will satisfy this proposition that is a different matter. That then is a demand for pound of flesh. I doubt whether the Opposition will be able to carry on the Government in West Bengal. It is a doubtful proposition. We have tasted the wine and seen how bitter it is. The Bengal people have already tasted it (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I come back to the point which is bound to agitate the minds of hon. Members of this House, and that is the orgy of Shiv Sena in the city of Bombay. I do not know whether the leaders of the Opposition who come from Bombay or Maharashtra are aware of the fact that right from the beginning I am one of the critics of Shiv Sena. I never supported it. I always opposed it. I always condemned it. Only on 26th January, our Republic Day, I had denounced it.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI (Poona) : What about the Government ?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : I am coming to that. Why cannot he have some patience so that he can hear and remove all misunderstanding that is embedded in his mind due to newspaper reports ? It is not fair to say that I am the General of the Shiv Sena. They have become so much blind that they can accuse any person they

like because they are not clear about the facts, they are not clear as to what has happened or what is happening in Maharashtra. They have criticised Vasant Naik for attending the first meeting held by Shiv Sena for inaugurating their paper. That was the time when the child was born. I do not know whether they are Jyotishis who can read and foretell the future.

SHRI S. M. JOSHI : I can.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Then Shri Joshi would have come with a *Panchang* I do not think he has come here with a *Panchang* That was the beginning. Whenever youngsters start an enterprise, it is but natural that elders should go and bless them on the occasion. But now after the Shiva Sena orgy what is the position ? My hon. friend has quoted what Shri Vasant Rao Naik had said on that day, which quotation is bound to create a wrong impression. It is wrong to say that it is only the southerners or the northerners who were the targets of attack by the Shiva Sena. I beg to differ from my hon. friends. We equally condemn the Shiva Sena as strongly as they do. We have done it in fact and We shall continue to do so.

I shall take them with me to the Worli area and show what happened. In fact, right from Worli to Prabhadevi, and I can show to them that not a single incident has taken place in the labour area, in my constituency or in my own area. I am prepared to take them with me to that area.

AN HON. MEMBER : Show it to Shri George Fernandes.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Even my hon. friend Shri George Fernandes is aware of it. Barring a few places, barring a few places which are few and far between where the Shiva Sena people have a stronghold along with bad elements have taken advantage of the situation, other areas were free from incidents (*Interruptions*) I do not know what my hon. friend Shri Kunte is trying to whisper or murmur. He can also come with me. It is true that there is apprehension in the minds of the minorities and almost all the people and even the Marathi-speaking people that such a fascist organisation is growing up and they all feel that such a fascist organisation should not

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be allowed to prosper or allowed to become strong and therefore everybody feels that all its activities should be condemned. This is the mind of Maharashtrians and the Marathi-speaking people and this is the mind of all the minorities. So, what is the use of taking that instance up and bring a no-confidence motion against this Government ?

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : A fire engine would have been better.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : We can certainly go to the people; all of us can go to the people and tell them not to encourage the Shiva Sena and not to encourage such parochial organisations. We can go to the people and tell them that it will take a long time to remove regional imbalances. Why do we not go and explain things to the people ? Why should the opposition take advantage of whatever happens and try to make political capital out of such isolated happenings ? It is as much the duty of the Congressmen as of the Opposition to tell the people to keep away from such parochial organisation. But instead of doing that, they have come forward here to bring no-confidence motions against the Government.

A no-confidence motion is a powerful weapon, and the Opposition must learn when and how to use it. Otherwise, it is a double-edged weapon and it will recoil on them. As soon as this motion is defeated it will recoil on them and it will show to the world that for no reason and for any reason whatsoever they bring forward a motion of no-confidence against the Government, more specially when they have no ground, no substance, no logic, no reason and no justice on their side. With these words, I oppose the motion.

SHRI N. DANDEKER (Jamnagar) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the House will undoubtedly want to know why we abstained from associating ourselves with this motion. We recognise that this has now become a kind of routine; and the futility of these routine operations is particularly evident from the sort of debate we have had so far on this censure motion. I suggest that first at present this is an empty ritual; particularly at the commencement of the budget session when repeated opportunities will be available both in connection with the President's

Address as well as in connection with the budget and also in connection with the various appropriations, for genuine criticism in relation to the merits of particular Government policies. But, of course, I did not expect, and I am not disappointed in this expectation, that this debate would be concerned with Government policies; for it has degenerated into a slanging match between the Communist Party on the one hand and the Congress Party on the other. I do not wish to participate at that level.

But the opportunity having been afforded to me, I would like to use this occasion to undertake a kind of review of the state of the nation from the point of view of the people as they see the state of the nation today, to give expression to the voice of the public in relation to the present state of the country rather than the cacophonous voices of political parties.

This year began with a message from the Prime Minister on the New Year's Day. A gist of the impression she made was reported by one of the correspondents present; she said or rather he has reported :

"On economic issues, she exuded optimism. On political issues, she displayed an aggressive self-confidence."

Not content with that, later on the 7th January, speaking to an Indian audience in London, she asked rhetorically 'who can deny that for 21 years a tremendous effort has been made to lift the country up, an effort that has largely succeeded?', I am sorry there was not anyone present there with sufficient courage flatly to deny that precise statement of the Prime Minister.

If one were to ask the ordinary man what he would think of this kind of speech as to the state of the nation by the Prime Minister, I feel sure he would agree with what a young brash German said in the early days of the Nazi regime; he wrote on the wall,— I shall first read the German version and then translate it into English—

"KEIN BROT, KEIN BUTTER, UND KEIN EI ABER EINE NEUE PEICHSK ANZELLE!"

It means :

“No bread, no butter, no eggs; but a new house for the Prime Minister ?”

A more sophisticated comment on the state of the nation and I am indebted to Shri M. R. Masani for having drawn my attention to it,—appeared in a poster that was stuck up in Bombay and could be read on the 1st of January, I have taken the liberty slightly to expand it, and this is how it reads :

“Income-tax, surcharge, special surcharge; wealth tax, gift tax, estate duty;—corporation tax, company surtax, sales tax;—P-forms and prohibition;—water shortage, housing shortage, power shortage, food shortage;—Water disputes language disputes, territorial disputes :—population explosion. Happy New year to you all.”

That is quite a succinct comment.

All that I shall endeavour to do this afternoon in the few minutes at my disposal is to elaborate just those comments into a coherent criticism of the rather incoherent situation today in relation to the policies which this Government have been following over the last few years. Sir, on the agricultural scene what we see is a somewhat mixed situation: There have been droughts, floods and famines. In Gujarat and Rajasthan, in parts of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore they still continue to suffer from these. In other areas, undoubtedly bumper crops have been harvested over a period of two years. Now, one would have thought this would have provided an opportunity to the Government, over the last whole year if not over a longer period, to really take stock of the agricultural situation and to do something about it. On the contrary, flood, famine and drought are being utilized or capitalised, certainly to my knowledge in Rajasthan, for political purposes. And the scattered prosperity of the farming community here and there is not leading, as you would have expected, to the abolition of food zones and food rationing but only to attempts to penalise the few prosperous farmers and the peasants by seeking to levy taxes and penalties upon their

prosperity. One such is agricultural income-tax.

Covering agricultural income-tax, it is said in justification of it that a level of income would exempt anyhow and only a few rich peasants and farmers will be touched. Reviewing the history of the rural parts of this country over the last twenty years, one may ask: have they been doing anything except distributing poverty to the large and small farmers anywhere in the rural areas? They have probably been the worst affected by almost all the measures that have been taken by government in relation to agriculture over the past twenty years; not having shared the prosperity, such as it has been, of the urban population of this country, they have been at the receiving end of the food control, agricultural price control, restrictions over the sale and movement of foodgrains and thing like foodgrains every compulsory procurement, etc. And now some of them have prosperity. The rural population of this country comprising the farmers, peasants and the landless workers, together with their families, constitute 80 per cent of the population of this country. Since we could not give prosperity to all, is it the desire that in the few parts of the country where some section of the rural population have prosperity they should be penalised for that reason? Do we not want that those who are having surplus resources should put them to use or plough them back into the land in the shape of all sorts of inputs that it is fashionable to talk about? It is not contradiction in terms for the Deputy Prime Minister to be standing up and saying when piloting the Banking Laws Amendment Bill “there is shortage of agricultural credit and I want the commercial banks to provide agricultural credit”, and to say at the same time “I am going to siphon off all surplus purchasing power from the rural areas for expenditure by government”? Does this make any sense, I ask you? I suggest, Sir, the agricultural situation, such as it is, is bad enough, I suggest, where there is prosperity it ought to be allowed to remain there. Only one of two things can happen to this prosperity wherever it exists: those who are wise will plough it back into the land; those who are not so wise will spend it. Even so, there will arise a broad-based genuine real demand for goods and services such as is necessary for reactivating the eco-

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nomy of this country and not mere money generated by government's deficit financing.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : May I caution the hon. Member that there is a specific motion before the House ?

SHRI N. DANDEKER : I am censuring the government for their policies.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Two specific points have been raised on the basis of which the motion has been allowed (interruptions) Let me finish.

SHRI K. K. NAYAR (Bahraich) : When Shri Bhandare was speaking about Bengal you did not object.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : The censure motion is in general terms and I am entitled to criticise the government for their inefficiency.

SHRI PILLOO MODY : Why is it that whenever any sense is talked in this House there is some objection ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : While illustrating your point you can certainly bring in certain other things, but it appears to me that you are concentrating on certain economic matters.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : I am concentrating upon censuring the Government for the state of the country today for which they are responsible.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : In the motion there are three points. Do you say that what you are saying is illustrative of any one of them ?

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Let him state why the Congress was voted down in Bengal. It was because of its wrong policies.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am suggesting to the hon. Member that he must look to the specific points and not extend the gamut of the debate too far.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : Now I will turn from the agricultural scene and the agricultural policies to the industrial scene.

The industrial scene is one of continuing stagnation. It has been one of continuing stagnation for at least two years. There have been political causes contributory for this situation, but undoubtedly there have also been a considerable number of economic causes. Everybody has been saying that industrial revival is just around the corner. I myself felt that was early last year, as I said practically in those terms to the shareholders of a company at a meeting over which I had the honour to preside. But we have not turned the corner. We are nowhere near the corner. We *could* be turning the corner but we have not.

I have been taking a survey of the number of industrial projects and industrial licence applications pending with the Central Government from Gujarat, Mysore, Maharashtra, Orissa and Madras, to quote a few. The inordinate delay in dealing with them have been complained against by the Chief Ministers and Finance Ministers and Industries ministers of those states. I have just visited Orissa the other day to make some survey about this situation. I would like to tell you, Sir, that from all over the country that something like 1,500 to 2,000 applications for new industrial enterprises, for diversification of existing enterprises and for expansion of existing enterprises are all pending and bottled up in the Ministry of Industrial Development.

I have also attempted an estimate of the amount of capital investment and capital formation that is involved, of the extent of employment opportunities that are involved and of the extent of regional diversification that is involved. The whole lot of this is so great that if we got on with it we ought to be turning around the corner, from industrial recession into brisk industrial revival. But we do not, because sitting at that corner is a gentleman of the name of Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. He, in charge of industrial development, either does not know what industrial development means, or does not want industrial development, or somebody is dictating from somewhere not to allow industrial development. I do not know what the answer is ; but the fact remains that industrial recession could be got over and industrial revival could be around the corner. And yet we are nowhere near it.

Today, procrastination is the watchword of the Government in all its economic ministries. I do not know about the other ministries but in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals, in the Ministry of Steel, in the Ministry of Industrial Development, in the Ministry of Commerce,—in all the ministries concerned with industrial and commercial development, and with economic development generally which give licences—industrial licences, import licences, any kind of licence, and Sir, as you know, without a licence you cannot put one foot forward,—the watchword of this Government has become “delay and indecision”. Even if somebody says, “For heaven’s sake take some decision, *any* decision”, they will not take a decision; they will refer the thing backwards and forwards until the state of affairs is still this, that Industrial revival is just around the corner! That is where it remain so long as industrial development follows the kind of procrastinating policies that the Ministry of Industrial Development has been choosing to follow.

Sir, let us take a look now at the political scene. I do not want to join in this match to exchange epithets partywise. I believe that what has happened in Telangana and Bombay are matters deserving of the utmost and downright condemnation.

In this connection I would like to read in order that there may be no doubt whatsoever since Bombay has been discussed at a particular length, some extract from a Resolution we passed only the other day in the National Executive of our Party concerning Bombay. I quote :

“The National Executive of the Swatantra Party views with deep concern the recurrence of violence in public life...

Whether it is inter-State border disputes or linguistic loyalties, these parties and groups appear to have come to the conclusion that violence pays because through violence alone can they secure their objectives. The overt commitment of some State Governments themselves to such disputes and the weak and vacillating policies of Governments both at the Centre and in certain States have contributed to such attitudes.

The recent outbreak of wide-spread violence in Bombay city when mobs looted,

burnt and destroyed both public and private property with impunity while the law enforcement agencies as first helplessly looked on, gives room for the suspicion that the State Government was at first half-hearted in its efforts to restore law and order. Regardless of the merits of the border dispute between Mysore and Maharashtra, the primary duty of Government was to have ensured the safety of its citizens, even if the Government itself were in sympathy with the alleged objective of the agitation. This duty the Government failed to discharge.

Meanwhile, the National Executive appeals to all political parties and organisations to adhere to democratic processes and constitutional procedures for the settlement of their grievances, nowever frustrating such efforts may seem in the short run. Anti-democratic parties are waiting for precisely such opportunities as was indeed made abundantly clear in Bombay, to create chaos and disruption in their grand design to overthrow the established order...”

Let there be no doubt about what our feelings are on the subject of the situation as it developed in Bombay.

I would like to turn now to some other aspects of political life in the country over the last 20 years, started by the Congress Party and taken up thereafter by all the other “agitational approach” parties. Politics has infiltrated into education, into educational institutions, into questions of language at the university level and even into the sports. The Government of India indicated the other day not merely that it would like the Indian Olympics Council to disassociate itself with the Mexican Games if South Africa were also admitted, but they went further and said that if the Indian Olympics Council, or whatever they are called, nevertheless did not obey, the Government would withhold subsidies, making it impossible for them to work. Then, there was the business about wrestling in which the Minister of State for Education interfered and so on. In arts and letters, there are less and less really genuine independent writers left. They are becoming official scribes; they are becoming the hired propagandists of Government in their

[Shri N. Dhandekar]

cacophony of propaganda for the Congress Party of which the most outstanding example, of course, is the radio and the television. I could go on saying a lot about all these things.

But one thing I would like specifically to mention is the latest example of the intrusion of political parties and, in particular, the Congress Party into what I can best describe as financial corruption at the highest political level. I say this with some knowledge of facts that there has been a considerable raising of funds in high ministerial authority for the Congress Party during elections...

15.33 hrs.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARE *in the chair*]

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Shame, shame !

SHRI N. DANDEKER : The Congress Party has its President; the Congress Party has its General Secretary; the Congress Party has also its Treasurer and so on. They have that not only at the all-India level, but they have it also at the State level.

MR. CHAIRMAN : How is it relevant here ?

SHRI N. DANDEKER : It is relevant here.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : It is very much relevant.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : I am talking about financial corruption at the highest level in political terms.

SHRI PILOO MODY : How does a question from the Chair become relevant ?

MR. CHIREMAN : Relevancy is to be decided by the Chair. Mr. Pilo Mody should know it.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : The highest ministerial offices in the Central Government have not hesitated, have not been free of brow-beating people into paying money or the Congress Party during the last elections.

SHRI RANGA : Into their own hands.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : Sir, I would now like to turn for a moment - this would be my last point - to the international situation. Immediately, in the current situation, what occurs to one's mind is the recent Commonwealth Conference, the Commonwealth Conference which the Prime Minister herself attended. We read, of course, in India wonderful accounts of what the Prime Minister and the Minister of State, Shri Bhagat, did; their wonderful attitudes; the wonderful things that they said and so on; we got the impression that India was really getting down to business in a tough way. But I do not know how many here had a look at what the British press had to say about the attitude and the performance of our Prime Minister there. This is with Mr. Robert Pitman, writing in the Daily Express, says about the contribution of our Prime Minister to the Conference :

"No pantomime dame could be quite so mulish as Mrs. Gandhi who wants to bar even India to Africa's Indians. Any one of them could probably run her country fifteen times more efficiently than she herself. The irony is that the Mahatma was, in effect, an Asian from Africa. If somebody like Mrs. Gandhi had kept him out of India, history would have been changed and she certainly would not be the Prime Minister today."

The fact remains that at this Commonwealth Conference the problems of British and African citizens of Indian origin, and the discrimination against them by the White and the Black alike, remain unresolved because our Prime Minister did not have the courage to speak up and fight for them at the Commonwealth Conference. So much for the Commonwealth Conference.

What about our nearer external situation Pakistan, China and South-East Asia ? Today what is going on in Pakistan is a kind of turmoil about which we had better take very serious notice, because it is customary for dictators, in the situation of this kind, to embark upon war-like adventures. When I think of Pakistan and China together and when I think of the undoubted fact that between the two of them there exists a pact, and when I think of the tragic situation, such as I know, of our defiance preparedness, I laugh

when the Defence Minister says that we can take both of them on without anybody's help, without anybody's assistance.

In this situation, it is a most remarkable thing that our Prime Minister is suggesting, hinting, that we should re-open negotiations with China with a view to coming to a settlement. The late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once said that he would not yield an inch of the soil to Chiha. Later, forced by circumstances, he climbed down, and the nation accepted that climb-down, when he said ; 'Colombo Plan ; nothing more, nothing less'. He said that if China was prepared to accept the Colombo Plan *in toto*, we could do a deal; but not otherwise. But now the present Prime Minister is willing, is responsive, to do a deal even on a lower scale than the Colombo Plan, so that we should be recognising as *de jure* not merely what is today the *de facto* situation but a worse situation than the *de facto* situation today.

What about the rest of South-East Asia ? What did she say when she was asked in the Rajya Sabha what view she had on the subject of South-East Asia in the light of certain known facts, that the British intended pulling out from there very soon and that undoubtedly the Americans would be pulling out from there too. This is the note that I have on the subject :

"Replying to a question from Mr. D. Thengari as to whether a joint Defence Scheme was not the best measure to fill up the power vacuum in the Indian Ocean following the impending British withdrawal and also to prevent other Powers coming into the region, the Prime Minister said that the power vacuum could only be filled up by Strengthening the countries of the region"— which was precisely the question he had asked.

"That strengthening implied..." to Mr. Main and the other Members of the Rajya Sabha...

"...something short of strengthening by military guarantees..."

To the question as to what stood in the way of the Government taking the initiative for joint defence arrangements with Singapore and Malaysia, She said :

"We do not think it well serve any useful purpose". Shri Rama Reddy then asked whether Government proposed to sit silently without taking any step to pervert effectively any super-power from coming in to fill the vacuum, and the Prime Minister had this gem of a non-answer :

"Whatever happens in our neighbourhood is of deep concern to us. We have to have our policy to meet any situation which may arise. We consider that there is no need for any country to have foreign military bases in other countries."

I do not know that this answer was answering ! I just do not know whether there is any appreciation in the External Affairs Ministry or the Defence Ministry or in any Ministry of the Government of India as to the position in South-East Asia *vis-a-vis* Pakistan, *vis-a-vis* China, *vis-a-vis* the British withdrawal and undoubtedly, *vis-a-vis* the impending American withdrawal.

I ask myself : Is this the state of the nation today in regard to the economy, in regard to agriculture and industry, in regard to the international situation ? I ask myself : Is this Government competent any longer to carry on the government ?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI N. DANDKER : I ask myself : Have they got any ideas for curing this state of affairs ?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No.

SHRI N. DANDEKER : I ask myself : Have they got any plans, any programmes, any policies, anything at all, except to go on delaying answers, whether it is to the territorial disputes, whether it is to industrial applications, whether it is to import licences— anything at all ? The great emblem of this Government is not *Satyameva Jayate*, but to on with "procrastination, for ever and ever— Amen !"

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO (Kakinada) : The preceding speaker, Shri Dandeker, has has already stated that this is a routine motion of the Opposition, whatever the circumstances and the context be.

[Shri Thirumala Rao]

I have the highest regard for Shri Dandekar, but am very much disappointed with the timing of his speech and the irrelevance of the occasion. He has mentioned in his speech what he thinks is the state of the nation. He has put on pose if he was the American President addressing the whole nation on the state of the nation coming out with a programme and policy before a general election. He could well have reserved this for the budget debate in which he has championed the cause of the upper echelons in regard to reduction of taxes and other privileges for the privileged class.

When I look at the members of his party, I see that most of them have come from constituencies far away from their homes, except my hon. friend, Shri Ranga, who has got his own home constituency. Now they put on an all-India look and pose as leader of all-India importance, because they could not find constituencies handy in their own localities. But there are certain adventitious circumstances that helped them to bag these constituencies far away from their homes.

Still I have got personal regard for many of them who would be good public men provided they find some support from other sides of the house. I would like to know how Shri Ramamurti would react to the proposals made by Shri Dandekar in his speech. Anyhow, they do not want to vote against the Government—that is small mercy to us as well to the country.

As for Shri Ramamurti, this is a combined celebration of those who have won a few seats in West Bengal and have lost everywhere else in the country. The SSP is also in this category. It has lost so badly in Bihar but still talks in terms of forming a Ministry there. They want to eulogise this sort of no-confidence motion. It has become a habit with them all along since they have come to this Parliament. They cannot let go an opportunity when a bare 50 member Stand in support of their motion. We saw how anxious their faces were till the Speaker counted 55 of their number. Of course, they are privileged to do this kind of thing they can have it. But what I want to say is: let there be some decency about these no-confidence motions.

They have almost become a dull routine; there is no purpose except to blow their

trumpet about their success along with the communist party. When my hon. friend Mr. Bhandare was mentioning the number of votes secured by the Congress in Bengal, my vociferous friend here as shouting him down. What is the percentage of votes that the Bengal Congress got in 1967 and in 1969? In Bankura in 1967 it got 45 per cent and 39 per cent in 1969. In Howrah it was 42 per cent and 41 per cent respectively...(*Interruptions.*) In Midnapore it was 42 per cent then and 57 per cent now...

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : May I make a submission ?

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO : I do not know whether Mr. Banerjee belongs to Mr. Ramamurti's group or not. But we listened to him with the utmost attention and respect. They should not try to hoot me down. I was referring to a newspaper report...(*Interruptions.*) Even in Punjab the percentage of votes secured by the Congress goes to prove what I was submitting. We are not sorry about the loss of power in one State. The basic question is whether the Congress as an organization with its ideals and programmes can survive in this country or not. In Bengal they have a majority now; there are of course various groups, But they have learnt their lessons from the past; nobody grudges that majority. They were very haughty before. In Kerala they have yet to learn their lessons. I am told that the Gopala Sena consisted of about 40,000 persons, well trained and in uniform and they were going about the State. Has the Congress Government or Mr. Chavan declared the Gopala Sena or the Marxist Communist Party an illegal group? If he cannot do that, how can he do so with regard to Shiva Sena? Here, let me make it clear that I am not supporting Shiva Sena or its activities. It is a painful fact that this country has not yet gone beyond the stage of communal loyalties and caste loyalties in politics. Let us take any party—Jana Sangh or Congress or Communists or the Swatantra. Invariably they put up candidates who can command the majority of the votes of the largest community in that constituency. And when the representative is elected and comes to power, he cannot forget his community. What about the New Ministry in Punjab? A person who was defeated in the elections has been made a

minister because he was Akali. The Akalis think that they have won that States as a separate Sikh State and irrespective of considerations of democratic propriety, they can appoint any person even though he has been defeated in the general elections... (*Interruptions*.) I come from that area and I know where the shoe pinches I was in Bombay on the 15 and 16th of this month, I have seen people who had suffered at the hands of the fanatics of the Shiva Sena. Whether it be Shiva Sena or any other agitation, the organisers of the agitation disappear when violence erupts and it is the goondas and antisocial elements who take charge of the situation. When violence erupted in Chowri Chowra, goondas took charge of the situation and Gandhiji had to fast. We recall those days and those movements. Shiva Sena is a bad portent and political problems cannot be settled by this sort of pressure tactics. It is for the Bombay Government to retrieve its reputation and see that proper security is guaranteed to the ordinary citizen and his property.

My friend mentioned the case of Mr. Krishna Menon and referred to that question Leave alone those old stories; there is no use quoting them. Sometimes, there are people who have been accepted as undisputed leaders of the whole country. People have got their own ideologies also. When a man is not wanted, and when he stands again for a second time, and foists himself on the people in that place, he is rejected. That way, our democracy is somewhat sound and has got a sound common sense. By and large, the verdict of the electorate is there. You must see how democracy in the villages works. You go and see the villages, and see how the villagers vote and how they decide as to who should be voted; they carry the biography of the candidate, the scandals and the good points of the candidates concerned. Democracy has worked to such an extent in our country. (*Interruption*). Therefore, though the uneducated electorate gives its verdict, one has to accept it.

In 1952, in Andhra Pradesh, all of us were defeated; everyone who had a head on his neck was defeated by the other parties, but within five years, we retrieved the position and the other people who had won earlier were sent back home. Therefore, what has happened now is just a swing of the pend-

ulum. The popular favour, or the popular will which favours or disfavors one or the other is hard to predict long in advance. Therefore, we will take whatever has fallen to the Congress. The Congress will try to improve; if it tries, and if it improves, it can again change the situation.

AN HON. MEMBER : Never.

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO : Nor can the Communists, I can tell him? What I say is this. There is no point in their bringing up this no-confidence motion against the Central Government.

With regard to Andhra Pradesh, there were some mistakes committed; there is no doubt about it. We were all parties; when Andhra was formed we were all parties, when Andhra was separated from Madras in 1953. In November, 1956, when the new Andhra Pradesh was formed, there was the agreement between the leaders of Telengana and the rest of Andhra Pradesh. (*Interruption*). I tell you, there were some people talking of a separate Telengana; that idea was scotched. It was not encouraged. Andhra Pradesh is one composite State, with one culture, one language, one civilisation. All our ancient books, and all our puranas in Telugu owe their origin to every part of Telengana, Rayalaseema and the rest of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, those people, the Andhras, who are fed by the food grown on the basin of the Krishna, the Godavari and the Pennar claim a common heritage. There may be political differences; there may be slight mistakes committed by those who are in power, but now they are going to rectify them. There is no question of a separate Telengana, a separate Rayalaseema or a separate Andhra Pradesh in that sense. It is all one thing : one Andhra Pradesh.

Even if Ministers have committed mistakes, they are liable to be corrected by the leaders, by their following there and by the people. (*Interruption*). What I say is, there is patience enough; there is good will enough, among the Andhras to settle these matters and rectify their mistakes that have been committed in the past and to see that the development of Telengana is taken on hand immediately and all the grievances are removed at once. I need not say anything more about it. There is no occasion for a no-confidence motion now. (*Interruption*).

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Who are the disgruntled politicians ?

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO : I define a disgruntled politician this way. If you are removed from your leadership and another man is made the leader of your party in this House, you become a disgruntled politician ! But then, it is not a good word; it is indeed a foolish word. There are these people who got into power to discredit the legitimate aspirants. They may be disappointed people (*Interruption*) You are changing the leaders on the very face of it, even in Parliament. (*Interruption*) What I say is, one man is something today; and he is some thing else tomorrow. But that is not the point. There are always some people who will associate themselves with some others, with the so-called disgruntled leadership. But, on the whole, the people are sound; they do lose their head for a time. But I am sure that with the guidance of the leaders of the country and with the sage advice of my friends like Shri Ramamurti who has got the good will of Andhra because he likes our Andhra food as well as the rasam and sambhar, things will improve.

He has eaten much in our jails. We understand each other. I would ask him to withdraw this irrelevant no-confidence notion and not to associate himself with the perpetual movers of no-confidence motions—the SSPs.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash) : Sir the previous speakers have touched upon the Shiv Sena activities. Shiv Sena is a Frankenstein monster created by the Congress. At the beginning, it was exploited by the Congress Party to defeat Mr. Krishna Menon in Bombay elections. Later, they used the same movement for their civic elections. This encouragement given by the Congress Party cost the nation so much very recently. Nearly 57 lives were lost. More than Rs. 15 crores worth of public and private property were looted and destroyed. More than 500 people were injured in four days. All this happened under the very nose of Mr. Naik, the Congress Chief Minister.

This is not a new or sudden problem. It must have been known to the Congress leaders long back. Newspapers reported two

or three years before that such a law and order problem is going to face the Maharashtra Government. For example, on 8th January, 1968, the *Statesman* wrote under the caption "A bigger arena for Shiv Sena battles—Potential threat to law and order in Bombay" as follows :

"The impunity with which the Shiv Sena brought display of its power to the streets of Bombay last week is as ominous as it is surprising—ominous because the Shiv Sena is unlikely to rest on its laurels and surprising for the passivity of the policy to the Sena's calculated acts of violence and defiance of law."

That is exactly what the previous speakers have pointed out. The state Government and the Congress Party directly and indirectly encouraged the Shiv Sena, which resulted in the loss of so many lives. Even the boycott or against Central Ministers was decided many days before this orgy of violence took place. In fact, there were posters on the walls of Bombay reading "Blood for blood. Until Bal Thackeray's bandh is there, Bombay bandh will continue" But the authorities did not take any action."

On 8th March, 1968, when our esteemed friend, Mr. Kandappan expressed concern over the welfare of South Indians in this House, Mr. Chavan, the Home Minister, declared emphatically :

"I can stand guarantee personally about it. The interests of South Indians will be protected in all the State.

But what happened to this assurance ? more than 50 hotels of South Indians were looted Many people were injured and so many lives were lost. The Home Ministry knew many days before that these things were going to happen. There were precautions. Even the State Government knew that these things are going to happen, but they did not take even a single precautionary measure like imprisoning the goondas.

16 hrs.

Sir, the *Indian Express* in its New Delhi Edition of 23rd May, 1968, wrote that judging by the free rein given to Shiv Sena for its many activities Shri Naik's administration appeared virtually having handed over its authority to these people to act as if they are free to intimidate law-abiding citizens if

they happen to be non-Maharashtrians. This clearly shows that the State Government run by the Congress Government is directly supporting this movement. That is why we charge this Government that it has the political motive to exploit Shiv Sena for its regional feelings for their own political ends. This has cost the nation so much. Unless this fascist activity is curbed, unless this is nipped in the bud the united India will not be there.

Supposing there is counter-action in other States what will happen to this country? There are thousands of Maharashtrians living peacefully in Tanjaur. There are thousands of Maharashtrians living outside Maharashtra. There are Maharashtrians in Kerala, Madhya, Pradesh and other places. If the people in those States also take it into their heads that no non-Tamilian or non-Keralite should reside in their States what will happen to the unity of the country? The Home Minister must definitely take some stand on this and instruct the State Government to curb this activity. When I say this I know for certain that law and order problem is the prerogative of the State Government. But if there is counter-action against the Shiv Sena movement throughout the country it will definitely become an all-Indian problem and it will pose a threat to the unity and integrity of this country. I would therefore like the Home Minister to take immediate action to curb such aggressive movements, such as parochial movements.

The recent elections held in the four States clearly prove that the ideology of the Congress Party and the past actions of the Central Government are not backed by the people. The people have thrown out the Congress Party in three states. Even in Uttar Pradesh where they say that they have maintained the *status quo* as in 1967. If there had been an alliance between Jan Sanha and Bharatiya Kranti Dal even there the Congress Party would have been thrown out. What happened in West Bengal? In Bengal and Bihar these people asserted that they were going to give a stable government. Now it has been proved that there is not going to be a stable government and if there can be a State Government it can only be formed by the United front and not the Congress. Now they are trying to woo the independents in U. P. They may do so even in Bihar. In Bihar the situation is very confusing. No party has got a single majority and they say that President's Rule may continue. But

the people's verdict should be respected and the Congress Party should not enter into horse-trading and purchasing people. Wherever there is a possibility of the United Front Ministry being formed the central administration should not interfere. The results of the four States clearly prove that whatever the people say should be respected and the Central Government using the Governor as instrument should not intervene and disturb the State Governments. If they now want to do such things in other non-Congress-government-States also they are going to receive the same results as they received in Bengal or in Punjab.

Regarding regional imbalances the previous speakers have pointed out mainly the situation in Telengana. I would like to stress that during the last fifteen years of planning instead of reducing regional imbalances they have increased them. They should have concentrated their attention on backward areas but they left them out. Even though the Third Five Year Plan points out that regional imbalances should be reduced many backward areas are still backward.

The Five Year Plans have proved that the rich can be made richer and the poor poorer. Since that is the result of the three plans, it is hoped that at least in the Fourth Plan the industrially and economically backward areas will be given priorities. Unless the regional imbalances are removed, there will always be fissiparous tendencies and violence.

I would again like to emphasize that people have come to believe that unless they agitate, unless they ransack and loot, they cannot get justice. This idea should be erased from the minds of the people. If a just demand is made, it should be considered on merits and not on the basis of the population behind that demand.

I do not come back to the Telengana issue. The people inside the State and, in the words of the Chief Minister disgruntled politicians may sit together and solve the problem. It need not be taken at the national level. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI SHANTILAL SHAH (Bombay—North-west) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the limitations of this debate have to be understood. We will soon have a debate on the Motion of Thanks to the President, which covers the

[Shri G. Viswanathan]

general policy of the government. We are going to have a debate on the budget during which almost every issue relating to the country can be discussed. What, then, is the relevance of this motion? How is it possible to avoid in this discussion subjects which will be relevant and important there, but here it seems to be repetition of the same thing which could well have been spared.

However, as the representative of the Swatantra Party has said, in the last few sessions it has been the normal ritual for some parties that there should be a no-confidence motion. For this no-confidence motion thanks are due to the fiftieth man; but for him they could not have brought forward this motion.

AN HON. MEMBER : There were 53 in support of it.

SHRI SHANTILAL SHAH : All eight, then thank the last four members. I do not mind if you say there were a few more.

I am not speaking on this motion on general subjects. I wish to confine myself only to Shiv Sena and the city of Bombay. In order to understand what the position of Shiv Sena is, that subject has to be divided into two or three categories. One is the attitude of the Shiv Sena and its general repercussions; what it stands for and what it does not stand for. The second is the attitude of the Congress Party to Shiv Sena, which I consider is relevant in this discussion. The third is the attitude of the Government of Maharashtra to what the Shiv Sena did. This is a subject matter for debate in the State Assembly, or in the municipal corporation of Bombay, but not in this House.

Now I will state my views about Shiv Sena. Firstly, I have no doubt that it is a fascist organisation. Shri Bal Thakarey, who is its head, has proclaimed very clearly in his writings that he believes in what was done by Hitler. Therefore, there is little to choose between those who believe in non-democratic methods, be it Communists or be it fascists. Some time ago when it was put to me whether a news-paper with which I have some influence would support Shiv Sena, I gave the reply that while it is true that the Shiv Sena and the Communists have a quarrel between themselves and that it is opposed to the Communists, I would not support the Shiv Sena, nor would my news-

paper do it, because it, because it is a fascist organisation. If I dislike communist dictatorship I also dislike fascist dictatorship.

Why are the Communists so keen in fighting the Shiv Sena? For the last 10 or 15 years, the Communist Party in Maharashtra, may be the right Communists or left Communists, have prospered on the local, parochial feelings, by trading on the narrow parochialism of some Maharashtrais.

The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Sampurna Maharashtra Samiti, made political capital out of that for their own party, to arouse political passions on narrow grounds and take political benefit out of it. It so happens that the Shiv Sena has stolen their thunder. Every political ground which the Communists put forward has been taken over by the Shiv Sena and the result has been that as far as the city of Bombay is concerned, the Communist Party, both the right and wrong ones, finds that in the city of Bombay they are nowhere. That is the reason why members of the Communist Party go to Bombay, make what they call investigations and submit a report which is all one-sided. It is not because the Shiv Sena is right or wrong but because they are losing their hold. This is a quarrel between the Shiv Sena, on the one hand, and the Communist Party, on the other. The Communist Party's main grievance is that the Shiv Sena is taking away their votes and their political influence.

Some time ago the Shiv Sena had no influence and even today it has none in Maharashtra. In fact, outside the city of Bombay and the town of Thana, the Shiv Sena has no influence in Maharashtra at all. It could not make any dent in the municipal elections in Poona and could not have any effect on the municipal elections in Nasik which are the two big towns nearest to the city of Bombay. In the rest of Maharashtra the Shiv Sena has nothing to do; it does not exist. Therefore, to say that the Shiv Sena is something which the Congress Party is supporting is wrong. If that were so, in the whole of Maharashtra the Shiv Sena would be there,

As I said earlier, the Shiv Sena is a fascist organisation. Up till now they lived

on one slogan: Employment to Maharashtrians—a legitimate demand. After some time they found that they had exhausted their political thunder and were in need of some new slogan. Therefore they said, "Now let us take up the border issue." The border issue was the one on which the Communist Party was catching its votes in the city of Bombay. Now the Communist Party finds that their vote-catching device has been usurped by somebody else and that is why they are angry.

Why do they bring in Shri Krishna Menon's name? Shri Krishna Menon was not defeated because of the Shiv Sena. The area from which Shri Krishna Menon was elected in the past is the past is an area which I know best. It is a part of the Bombay Suburban District Congress Committee. Shri Krishna Menon would have been defeated, Shiv Sena or no Shiv Sena.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade): You would have managed it even otherwise.

SHRI SHANTILAL SHAH: We need not have managed it. He deserved it. From the day he was elected from the Bombay suburban district till he stood again and was defeated, in the first five-year period and in second five-year period did he attend a meeting of the District Congress Committee, meet his partymen, discuss their grievances and hear them? After getting elected Shri Krishna Menon sat on a very high pedestal, untouched by the local electorate. That is why he was defeated. It was not the Shiv Sena that defeated him. The Shiv Sena, it is true, held some meetings in that part in which Shri Krishna Menon was standing. But they also addressed meetings in the part from which I was standing. In both these meetings, on his side as well as on my side, the burden of the Shiv Sena's song was, "Do not walk into the Communist trap". If that Communist trap was Shri Krishna Menon, it is unfortunate for him. The Shiv Sena had not affected the elections.

Therefore, as far as the Shiv Sena is concerned, I do not think any right-thinking man in the city of Bombay or in Maharashtra has any soft feeling for the Shiv Sena. That is a body of fascists which tries to impress by threats and incendiaryism. They have not got the capacity which Hitler had. They

cannot organise. The Shiv Sena is an organisation only at the top; at the bottom they have no organisation and have no following except that the goondas take up any agitation which they launch. Agitations by the Communists also were taken up by the goondas.

Therefore the Shiv Sena need not be given undue credit for all that has happened. The discredit does belong to them because they started the trouble which they could not control. But I would not go into all this. I only wanted to say two things. Firstly, it is wrong to say that the Congress in Bombay or in Maharashtra has supported or is supporting the Shiv Sena. Secondly, it is wrong to say that the Congress supported the Shiv Sena with a view to defeating Shri Krishna Menon. He had deserved it. It is correct to say that the Shiv Sena is a fascist body and I hope, the Maharashtra Government will take immediate steps and stronger steps than they have taken on the present occasion to curb their activities.

There are many things to be said about what has happened in the last few days. It is true that the Maharashtra Government was caught napping, that it did not take such Preventive measures as it ought to and could have taken. But that is not a matter of debate in this House—I will meet the Maharashtra Government; I will meet the political leaders when the occasion comes—and as far as this House is concerned, the Congress Party neither in Maharashtra nor B. P. C. C., has anything to do with Shiv Sena. The failure of the Government is due to causes which have nothing to do with the Central Government. Therefore I would only say that in this motion of No—Confidence Shiv Sena has been made an excuse by the Communists in order that they can say something about it, I want to make it clear that what Shiv Sena has done can not be defended. But one Party which believes in dictatorship cannot throw mud at another Party which also believes in dictatorship. In any political set-up, there will be persons who will dissent from the Government. But the dissentors are of two types. There are some who within the framework of the Constitution want to have their grievances remedied. As to those, one must meet, argue and challenge. But to those who say they dissent because they want to destroy democracy, be they Shiv Sena or no Shiv Sena, they should be fought by everybody who believes in democracy.

[Shri Shantilal Shah]

This motion has been sponsored by parties who do not believe in democracy, that is, by Communists and S. S. P. and, therefore the discussion here is not about Shiv Sena but the discussion here is democracy or anti-democracy. With these words, I have no hesitation in saying that the House should throw out this motion so that it will be a proper reply to all the anti-democratic forces.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North East) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to accord my support to the No-Confidence Motion and I do so without hesitation, without a hint of an apology, in regard to this Motion being immediately not quite called for.

I have heard friends from the Congress Benches and also not unexpectedly Mr. Dandeker on this side referring to this Motion of No-Confidence being something like a ritual performance which we are repeating to no advantage whatever. Rituals, anyhow, are a feature of parliamentary life. Only yesterday, we had the President's Address accompanied even by a certain pageantry which many times in this House has been described as being out of keeping with the Republican atmosphere of our country. But we do not dismiss normally the President's Address and the ceremonial ritual connected with it as a Fatuous ritual. In a parliamentary set-up, it is not a matter of ritual that the Opposition has the duty and the obligation of bringing forward a motion of No-Confidence. From day-to-day, we call for Divisions. They are, generally, fore-doomed to defeat. But we call for them nevertheless. What has happened recently is such that we owe it to the country and to Parliament to discuss the basic significance of certain events.

Certain events like the miniature General Elections which have taken place, which have shown the creative possibilities of our people, and certain other events like the Shiv Sena exorcism which have shown how this Government is tarred with the same brush which the Shiv Sena wants to paint Bombay with. It is, therefore, very important. At a time when in a region inhabited by some two hundred million of our people, eighty million people have voted and given the Congress Party the order of the boot, it is surely important. Something has happened which is qualitatively important. A new change

in our political life is indicated. Even the conservative pollsters like those who specialised till the other day in advertising their statistical knowledge and were giving all kinds of forecasts about what would happen during the General Elections, have described it as a political revolution. What has happened in the four States of northern India is a matter which has brought about a qualitative change in the political atmosphere of the country. And, in spite of Mr. Dandeker if the Opposition in this House does not perform its duty of reflecting that change in the country, it would not be doing its duty. Therefore, ritual or no ritual... you may or may not like rituals; some of us do not like the ritual which we had yesterday and the mumbo-jumbo which goes along with it; we do not like but we do not make a grievance about it; we do not shout too much about it... here was a political obligation which the Opposition had, and that is the obligation which we are trying to perform.

As a result of the General Elections in west Bengal, Bihar U. P. and Punjab, as I just said, the Congress has got the order of the boot. Only in U. P., the drowning man is trying to clutch at a straw. In west Bengal there has happened an effulgent victory of the people. In Punjab also the Congress has been humiliated. In Bihar, which has always been the pocket-borough of the Congress organisation, the writ of the Congress does not run and will never run again. That is the hand-writing on the wall, and if Government does not choose to see it, well, the country sees it and that is why it is for us to point out what has happened recently.

16-23 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the chair*]

In 1967 we had the General Elections and then panic overtook our friends on the Treasury Benches. As I said, they did not like to see the hand-writing on the wall and what they began doing was to start a game of ousting the non-Congress popular governments, not by a political struggle which we welcome, not by ideological controversy which we can take to the people, but by bribery by deliberately organized defections and the grossest employment of the Centre's power in their partisan interests and on the dictates

of the monopolists, whose servants they happen to be, in the administration. That is what happened in 1967. And let us not forget for a moment, in spite of my friend, Shri Shantilal Shah, trying to suggest that this is not the forum...he suggested that the Shiv Sena matter should be discussed in the Bombay Assembly or the Bombay Corporation; that is the kind of perspective which the leading Congress members chosen for their perspicacity for this debate happen to have...that the mid-term elections, centred round very important issues which directly involved the Central Government. The Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the whole lot of them were involved, and everywhere the verdict has gone against. This is a matter of such importance that we have got to take notice, and that is the relevance of the no-confidence motion. Shri Shantilal Shah may not accept, but it is that kind of relevance which is important to us.

What has happened in West Bengal ? The Congress is routed. The United Front has 214 seats out of 280, the Congress a beggarly 55. Never in the palmiest days of Congress leadership of the country did the Legislative Assembly of that State have this picture. In Bihar, they made a miserable show. In UP, they have no majority, despite the multiple contests among non-Congress parties. In Punjab, they have lost. They have fallen, like Lucifer, never to rise again.

When important and crucial issues are involved in elections, parliamentary propriety requires that the Government which has received the people's censure should resign. In the UK, there are many instances where, even on the results of one bye-election, the Government has resigned. These friends of ours in this Parliament are never tired of citing British precedent. But they do it only when it suits their book. I can say if something like this happened in Britain which is supposed to be the paragon of parliamentary excellence, the only thing to do in parliamentary propriety would have been for the Government to get out.

The electorate has given its verdict against the policies of the Central Government, policies which have been described as

'Operation Topple', to topple those Governments which had been formed. And the people have given this slap in the face, the kind of answer which the Government so richly deserves.

We have found bigwigs in the Congress speculating, making all kinds of pronouncements. We have discovered the Congress President, Shri Nijalingappa, unable to clear himself of accusations publicly made by a fellow-Congress stalwart, the Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission and the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in this House—unable to clear himself of charges publicly made by a fellow-Congress stalwart—who struts about the stage and says it is a mystery which he cannot unravel. A veritable horde of Central Ministers journeyed to Bengal and elsewhere. The Prime Minister says in her innocence that she is mystified because she saw enormous crowds coming to her meetings and she had thought that the result would be different. What blessed innocence she has ! She does not seem to know that people like a show, a circus, a sensation. After all, she is the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, and a woman Prime Minister to boot. After all, she knows that wherever in a Zoo there is a Rewa white tiger, people crowd round it to have a look.

She could not politically estimate—and her colleagues there could not lend her a hand in estimating—what was going to happen. And so they are driven, like Shri Bhandare and also Shri Thirumala Rao over there, to producing figures of how many votes they got. Most amazing :

Today in *The Times of India*—I am sorry I have not got it with me—there is a cartoon by Laxman, one of the country's top cartoonists, which has the caption :

"Here is the analysis ; though we are routed again, there is a clear improvement in our position ; we have won six more votes than we did in the general elections....."

They are quoting figures. They are too clever by half they do not know that they are routed. It does not lie in the mouth of the Congress Party—Shri Shantilal Shah

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

as a veteran Gandhist should remember it—it does not lie in the mouth of the Congress Party, which has been ruling this country since 1952 on the basis of a minority vote in the country, to try and point out today that they got six more votes this time than in the general elections.

Let them satisfy themselves. They tried trickery in 1967 and afterwards. Trickery did not work. The members of the Cabinet with their sanctimonious pomposity, who paraded their virtue and specialised in political trickery have been shown up by our people. That is the voice of our people in the elections which have taken place.

I say so because there is no doubt about not only the clumsiness but the political criminality with which they moved in the case of West Bengal, the State from which I come. What was wrong for the United Front in West Bengal in November 1967 was right for the Bansihal. Congress Party in Haryana in December 1968.

They got their man, Shri Dharam Vira, to act. I do not wish to say anything about him. We had a motion in this House last year asking for his dismissal and now the demand is : sack him straightway ; he should not be there. I do not want to talk much about him because he as their man and it was not his fault. He happens to be a Government servant of long distinction. They chose him and they got him to act and the performance ugly as it was, has recoiled on them and Shri Dharam Vira's performance has written the epitaph of the Congress Party in West Bengal. That is what has happened and if they do not know it, God help them. The electorate has given Shri Dharam Vira a slap in the face. The demand is that he must go and that Raj Bhawan must not be the centre of more mischief.

Even on the eve of the elections, what happened ? I am going to Rashtrapati Bhavan from this place to attend a meeting of the National Gandhi Centenary Committee and there I am going to say certain things and so I am not saying these things in more detail but I know about the publication in Calcutta in a particular newspaper of an article which was, according to that paper, sent to them by the Press

Information Bureau of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting ; a communal situation was developing and it was being fostered in particular ways. Two of our colleagues Shri Badrudduja and Shri Jyotirmoy Basu went to work for peace and they were man-handled by the police who were trying to put the situation in a very different context. I am not going to refer to it in more detail because, as I said, I am going to raise this matter in the National Gandhi Centenary Committee. This has taken place and it is the sort of person like Dharam Vira still there ruling the roost or claiming to preside over the destinies of a State which has given him the order of the boot already—that is how this Government behaves and that is why we want this Government to go.

The camouflage of a minority puppet Government in West Bengal which was the only political stragem left to them just did not work. The Central leadership advertised political scabs as the paragons of democratic virtue and the Home Minister—I am sorry he has left ; he is very patient listener—even spoke of Prafulla Chandra Ghosh along with Rabindranath Tagore and Subhas Chandra Bose as greatsons of Bengal. He could not trick Bengal by this blasphemy ; the P. C. Ghoshes and Humayun Kabirs had been kicked by their own people into the dustbin of contemporary history. That has taken place and if this Government has any sense or any idea of the feelings of the people, they should know that they have provoked a mass revulsion in large parts of the country and the struggle took place in West Bengal that no repression could daunt. That is why the mid-term elections were wrenched from the unwilling hands of the people here. During those months and years after 1967 they did a stupendous job in manufacturing and doling out horrendous news about West Bengal suffering under the United Front rule with gheraos and what have you. That is the sort of propaganda which they conducted. We have had the delectable spectacle of our friend the Home Minister Mr. Chavan making a song and dance about Naxalbari and Pulpalli. But what about Shiva Sena which, I hope my friend Shri Shanti Lal Shah would agree with me, is a blasphemy of Siva and a monstrous malignment of the memory of Shivaji ?

In regard to Shiv Sena, he has been remained a stolid statesman ; mums the word ; he does not open his mouth and not a word to condemn their ugly activities. But this is the Government which claims national leadership ; it is a Government which faces Parliament after these elections in North India and has the gumption to tell us through their representatives that this no-confidence motion is uncalled for ; that it is a repetitive performance of a ritual ; it is mumbo-jumbo. They say this not in elegant words because they cannot muster it ; but they say it. This is the kind of political picture we have had.

Sir, the people have voted to condemn the Central Government's policies. It is not a matter to be discussed in the Bombay Corporation. The people have voted - 200 million people living in a region and 80 million people exercising their franchise - in order to condemn the Central Government's policy, the policy of engineering defections. Where are the defectors in West Bengal ? And where are those people whom they always utilise, whom they like to utilise ? At least they hope to utilise the Shiv Sena. Where are the Amra *Bengali* in West Bengal ? "We are Bengalis," they say. But not one of them has won ; let alone winning ; they lost their deposit. Every manjack of them lost. This is what happened. That is how the people condemn defection. They practise political bribery, bribing persons in order to perform 'topple' operations. That has been the speciality of the sanctimonious Government of this country. The Congress methods are such that today the country is fed up, exhausted. Can this Government heed the people's voice and renounce its subversive, anti-democratic policies that are being practised ? Here, I join issue with Shri Shantilal Shah. We are discussing real democracy, and not the kind of formal theoretical democracy which we try to play in Parliamentary parlance. We want real democracy. But Government cannot listen to the people's voice ; it has forfeited its right to be at the Centre.

West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Bihar Orissa, Kerala, even Madhya Pradesh, is out of its orbit. Andhra Pradesh is riven by the problem of Telengana and it is all due to the fact that the Congress house has gone down, the house that was built by so

many of our people for whom we still have some affection, and we are most aggrieved when even the shade of that which was once great has passed away. The Congress is riven by Telengana and in Maharashtra also this is the picture that we see.

In Bombay, what has happened ? It is so terrible. It is so terrible that something has to be done, and the fact of the matter which we are discussing today is that this Government is to be held responsible because nothing really positive has been done. There should be an investigation of the failure of the Government to protect the life and property of South Indians particularly and of other people also ; those who were the targets of the Shiv Sena attack.

For days, Bombay, one of our greatest cities, was held to ransom in organised disorder and the palladins of national integration were doing nothing at all. We have said so many times about the RSS and its role in so far as the engineering of the Hindu - Muslim disturbances is concerned, about which nothing is done. But in regard to Shiv Sena they have shown the kind of attitude which has got to be condemned absolutely.

I was glad to hear Mr. Dandekar saying something about his not quite approving of the Shiv Sena, but I discovered only this morning in the latest issue - 14th February—of a journal very friendly to them, the journal called *Himmat*, a weekly of the Moral Rearmament Group, the following. It writes editorially :

"Even parties like the Swatantra joined the Shiv Sena volunteers in the heroic feat of scrawling anti-Mao slogans on Bombay walls. Well-known industrialists, formerly backing the Congress, have worked to divert funds to the Shiv Sena to beat the Communists with."

This is the kind of thing which has been going on. I need not go into the details of the Shiv Sena atrocities and the enormity of the jolt to national integration which has taken place. But I would remind particularly Mr. Shantilal Shah that like Calcutta, Delhi and Madras, Bombay is India's city and what happens in Bombay—for there are non-Maharashtrians there in large numbers—Keralites and other South Indians who have

[Shrs H. N. Mukerjee]

been special targets of attacks—what happens in Bombay is the concern of the Central Government and the failure of the Government there is surely justification for a no-confidence motion.

But the Prime Minister has been very busy, busy house-hunting in Delhi, busy examining the claims to consideration of such "family friends" as Shri B.M. Birla, whom I do not know from Adam except that I see his name in the papers from time to time. He made a statement, after his visit to Raj Bhavan in January, when she was round about that place that he wanted particularly to meet her, because she was a family friend of the Birlas. I am not inclined to disbelieve it, because I find that there was a study made in the Department of Company Affairs—; poor Mr. Fakruddin Ahmad is not there he was Mr. Dandekar's target—and that study seems to have brought out that three big business houses—Tatas, Birlas and Mafatlal Group—in a brief period of three years, got a very large amount of money from the country's resources in order to have their own business expansion. Very probably, it is on account of family friendships, on account of some responsibility arising out of obligations of a different character than political that Government have shown their refusal to investigate the charges against the Birla group, which have been brought up by their own member in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. Chandrashekar, and even after giving an assurance, which they are very prolific with from time to time to make a gesture, they have not started making an investigation. Today there was an answer to Unstarred Question 66, where it was said that no investigation is being made.

We find that this Government, which last session was in the pillory on account of the attitude it had shown in regard to Central Government employees, has got to be now accused again. The reason is, even now more than 9000 employees who, according to the assurances given, should have been reinstated, have not been reinstated and worse than that, from the point of view of principle, a new Bill has been announced which would ban strikes permanently and disarm the working class. You cannot take away the rights of the people like that the Central Government employees have been treated so

shabbily and they naturally know what is the real character of the Congress administration.

Sir, the Government has lately been reshuffled like a pack of cards. I do wish the ministers would conceive of themselves as something better than a pack of cards. I do wish they could muster sufficient manliness. If they could face up to the verdict of the people in the mid-term poll, they should have on their own gracefully made some gestures. But they do not do it. On the contrary, they try to perpetuate the kind of conduct which has made them so absolutely unacceptable to our people. They want to go ahead in the same way. That is why the only parliamentary step open to us is to express the desire of the people that they should go. As Mr. Ramamurti said, if they have moral courage, if, following the precedents which are common property in Great Britain, after the kind of elections which have taken place, they have taken the cue, they would have gone to the country. If they go the country, as I said, the hand-writing is on the wall before them. The write of the Congress will not run again. The people have given them the order of the boot and sooner rather than later, they will have to obey it.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the learned professor with all his rhetoric and command over the English language tried his best to present a very weak case and asked this House to accept the no-confidence motion. In this connection I would like to congratulate the other political parties for having displayed statesmanship and wisdom in not associating with this no-confidence motion. Leaving alone the Congress Party even the opposition parties who constitute 240 Members have virtually voted no-confidence against this no-confidence motion. I would like to read out a remark on this no-confidence motion that has appeared in today's paper :

"Some Opposition parties have their work cut out for them. No sooner does the session of the Lok Sabha open than they get busy trying to be in the limelight. And the first thing they think of as if by rote is a no-confidence motion. They know that nothing will come of it. They

also know that having little new to say they will have to repeat what they have probably said a score of times before. But then it gives them the opportunity to get rid of the bile which has accumulated in their system during the weeks the Lok Sabha has been in recess. By getting rid of it in the House they can at least make sure that some of it finds its way on to the front pages of newspapers. This is no small comfort to parties whose only hope of making their presence felt lies in their being in the news. The only way they can be in the news is to make as much noise in Parliament as they can. They may have only a few seats in the two Houses. But if they can only find some pretext to snipe at the party in power every day they can grab more than their share of the space in newspapers."

It has been very succinctly put.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : What is that paper ?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : This is *Times of India*.

AN HON. MEMBER : How much extra newsprint quota have they been given after the strike ?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : This is the sum and substance of the purpose behind this no-confidence motion. If the same sagacity that has been displayed by the other political parties is shown at the national level also I think the day is not far off when these anti-democratic forces that are raising their heads in this country are shown their rightful place. The no-confidence motion, which is the most irrelevant as many hon. Members have already pointed out, says :

"The rebuff by the electorate of the Central Government's policies of toppling the elected governments and reversing the popular verdicts in West Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab.

The encouragement of aggressive regional movements such as Shiv Sena, Lachit Sena etc.

Failure to promote balanced development of different parts of the country and different parts of individual States."

Dealing with the first point I would tell Hon. Members to go by the results of these elections. What has happened in these elections ? I can point out to them that it is the Communist Party, both Left and Right, and the SSP who have been thrown out into the dust bins of history. What is their performance in Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh and in Punjab. The topmost leader of their Politburo has been kicked out by the electorate in Punjab and thrown into the dust bin. This is the performance of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party and they have got the cheek to challenge the performance made by the Congress Party.

In this election a disquieting phenomenon has come out which has to be taken note of and that is the emergence of regional parties. This is a factor which has to be borne in mind by every political party which believes in parliamentary democracy, whether it is in UP, Punjab, Bihar or even in West Bengal. Of course, in West Bengal I can understand the election results going in favour of the United Front. It is a reflection of the impact of the Peking-Pindi axis on the West Bengal people.

SHRI UMANATH : Slandering our own people...(interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Is he not free to draw his own conclusions ? This interruption is not fair...(interruptions)

SHRI UMANATH : Just because the Congress is trounced in that State, he has no right to slander the people.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : Sir, they do not have the patience to listen to me. I have the greatest respect for people ; in fact, more respect than what you have got. You do not believe in parliamentary democracy. I quite understand the Muslim League lending their support to the no-confidence motion, because they are partners in the United Front in Kerala. At one time this is the very party which castigated us when we entered into coalition with the Muslim League in Kerala. Here is a party

which has done much worse than what we are accused of doing.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : They are on CIA pay rolls. They get money from PL 480 funds.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : We are Indians and not the agents of any foreign country. We believe in parliamentary democracy.

Now take the voting results. The total percentage of votes polled in favour of the Congress in 1967 was 37.46. This year it is 39.28. Leave Punjab alone, where because of certain combinations and other factors Congress votes were pitted against Congress votes. There were also certain organisational lapses and deficiencies in our organisation, as in other parties. But what is the performance of Jan Sangh ? Their seats have been reduced from 9 to 8 in Punjab. Of course, that is not the point under discussion. This government has been charged that the popular verdict is against it. I emphatically deny that statement because the facts are otherwise.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : That statement makes us laugh.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : In Bihar Congress has emerged as the single largest party. SSP, which was the second largest party in 1967, it is nowhere near the Congress now in this election. Its performance has been very dismal and the people have shown that party its rightful place. In U. P. our position has improved from 199 seats to 208. Can our friends deny all this ?

Then, what is the relevance or sense of bringing this sort of motion before Parliament ? I would appeal to all the learned members of CPI (Right) not to associate themselves with this frivolous and flimsy no-confidence motion. Shri Hiren Mukerjee, with all his political background he is also one of our freedom-fighters. I am sure he is the most sorrowful man these days ; perhaps, at the dictates of his party he has to perform the most unpleasant duty which he otherwise does not want to do.

Coming to the other points that have been raised by hon. Members, the activities

of Shiv Sena have been condemned not only by the opposition parties which have taken part in the debate but also by Congress members. It is the most unhappy situation and none of us support the activities of Shiv Sena. But what about the para military and fascist organisations that have been nurtured and brought up by Communist (Marxists) in this country ? ...(*Interruption*)

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : On a point of order, Sir. I have been hearing this story going round. I do not want a party to be slandered unless they are prepared to face the facts. Let them show that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in this country has reared a para-military organisation. Let there be a parliamentary inquiry. If it is disproved let him resign his seat. There is no such thing. These kinds of deliberate lies I cannot tolerate. Prove it. But lies against other parties would not be tolerated.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : It should be expunged.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : It is a slander against a party which cannot be tolerated.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There is no point of order.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Do you allow this to remain on record ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : In a debate many arguments are advanced from this side and from that side. Many statements are made. I have given Shri Ramamurti an opportunity.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I have never said that the Congress Party has reared the Shiv Sena. Such kind of an allegation I have never made. I am a responsible Member and when I make allegations I make them with a sense of responsibility.

SHRI P. VENKATATUBBAIAH : By implication it was there.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Here is a statement which says that the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which is today a part of this Parliament, or some members of it are rearing a para-military organisation

in this country. Either the hon. Member withdraws that statement or he proves it. That is all the question. I am prepared to face a parliamentary inquiry.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Speaking on a point of order you have made a categorical statement contradicting what he has said.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : It should not be allowed. Such an allegation should not be allowed to be made.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You will have to follow the procedure. It is unparliamentary that I should expunge it? There are some rules for expunction. It is not unparliamentary. Your contention is that it is an unfounded allegation. Your statement goes on record, violently refuting what he has said, and there it stands.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हमने पार्लमेण्टरी डिमार्कमी को काबूल किया है और साथ-साथ यह भी जान लिया है कि पार्लमेण्टरी डिमोक्रैसी पार्टीज के जरिए से ही चलनी है तो फिर इस तरह से किमी पार्टी पर एस्पार्शन करना बेकार और गलत होगा। अगर इस तरह से आप एस्पार्शन करने देंगे तो क्या वह पार्लमेण्टरी प्रैक्टिस और डिगनिटी के हक में हागा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is expected of every Member that he substantives whatever statement he makes if it is challenged. But in the heat of debate something is said from this side also. All statements made from this side will not stand scrutiny.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा कहना यह है कि जब एक मेम्बर यह कबूल करता है कि पहले इसकी इन्क्वेरी की जाय तभी हम इसको मानेंगे; और फिर अगर आप यह कहें कि अगर कोई एक गाली देता है तो तुम भी गाली दे दो। यह बात कहां तक मुनासिब है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have not said that). I have first observed that every Member is expected to make a statement when he is sure of his facts. In the heat of the debate some allegations are made. He will explain it further ; let him have an

opportunity to do so. As I said, both statements are on record.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : It is no allegation.....(*Interruption*)

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO : I want to draw your attention to the fact that Shri Ramamurti made a statement that Shri Vengal Rao and Shri Channa Reddy were involved in the Telangana affair. Can he prove it or does he withdraw that ?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Let him read the transcript of my speech. I only asked, "Is it Channa Reddy or Vengal Rao ?" Whose that person ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You had cast some doubt about it. Anyway, let us stop it here.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : Shiv Sena, Lachit Sena, Gopal Sena...(*Interruption*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have given an opportunity to Shri Ramamurti. Whatever Shri Venkatasubbaiah said has been challenged by him. Now let Shri Venkatasubbaiah continue.

Now that matter stands closed.

.17 hours.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I rise on a point of order.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : They do not want to discuss the No-Confidence Motion.....(*Interruption*)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I rise on a point of order. Rule 352, sub-section (vii) says :

"A member while speaking shall not—

* * *

(vii) utter treasonable, seditious or defamatory words ;"

It is quite clear. He has defamed a party and, therefore, he has violated the provision of Rule 352, sub-section (vii). I want your ruling on that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is, though not direct allegation, some suspicion was definitely made while making the speech.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I want your clear ruling on that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There is a Rule here in regard to those who are not present in the House to defend themselves, if you make any reference to their names in such a manner that would cast some aspersion. He has made a certain statement and what Mr. P. Ramamurti has said has also gone on record. Both the statements stand. Now, he may continue his speech.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I want a clear ruling on that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have given my ruling.

SHRI UMANATH : You are making a package deal, I think.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Let him continue.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU ; No, Sir. You will have to give a clear ruling on my point of order. He has violated the provision of Rule 352, sub-section (vii). What Mr. Ramamurti said or so-and-so said is not the point. I want that that should be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Regarding expunctions, there is a separate provision. Unless it is unparliamentary or undignified, nor keeping with the decorum of the House, I cannot expunge a remark. The only thing is, I have allowed Mr. Ramamurti to have his say and it has gone on record. That is enough. So, your point of order is over-ruled.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I rise on a point of order.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : On a point of order, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Under what rule ? Both of you, show me the Rule.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Sir, the business before the House is the No-Confidence Motion.....

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : I have also risen on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will give you an opportunity.

MR. S. M. BANERJEE : While speaking speaking on the No-Confidence Motion, my learned friend, Mr. Venkatasubbaiah, has mentioned a particular political party of which Mr. Ramamurti and others are members. It is a recognised Party. It has won elections in West Bengal and defeated the Congress to the hilt. He has mentioned that they are maintaining a para-military organisation. Sir, I may remind you that there were similar charges made by a Member of this House against a particular Minister, Mr. Humayun Kabir, Sardar Hukam Singh was the Speaker then. The matter was referred by the Speaker to a Committee. It was not a personal case but a particular charge was made that Mr. Humayun Kabir was associating himself with an organisation which was communal and so on. An inquiry was made. Here, the demand of Mr. Ramamurti is simple. If the charges made are found incorrect.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is all. I have shown enough patience.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Allow me to finish.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have tolerated enough. I will have to say, nothing will go on record.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Kindly allow me to finish.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has made a point.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : What is the point ? Kindly allow me to finish.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If there is anything in that statement, I will examine it. Off-hand, I cannot give a ruling on that.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह तो हमारे ज्योतिर्मय बसु जी ने कहा कि डिफेमेटरी है तो नहीं होना चाहिये। अब अगर वाकई डिफेमेटरी है तो आप क्या रेमेडी दे सकते हैं वह भी तो बताइये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have over-ruled it.

श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी : मान्यवर, हमारी बात तो सुन लीजिये...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Banerjee may please resume his seat.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Only one word. Suppose, in this House, I say that you are maintaining a Birla-Sena, will you accept it ? Will you not immediately say, 'We are not maintaining any Birla-Sena' ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : On this question, a lot of tolerance is required. You must also show some tolerance.

श्री शिवनारायण : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राम-मूर्ती जी लीडर हैं उन्होंने बम्बई के चीफ मिनिस्टर का नाम लिया ।

This is no-confidence against the Government. But Mr. Ramamurti was condemning the Congress Party ; he took the name of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra ; he took the name of Mr. S. K. Patil. He was condemning Shiv Sena. No number of Shiv Sena is present here...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He may please resume his seat. Mr. Venkatasubbaiah may please continue.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : I was only trying to bring to the notice of this hon. House that those political parties which profess that they believe in democracy and also in Parliamentary democracy do not want to follow it in the normal course when the debates have to take place in this House in a cordial atmosphere. As a matter of fact, when Shri Ramamurti was speaking about Shiv Sena and the implied reference of the association of Shri V. P. Naik and also of the President of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, we, the members of the Congress Party heard with great patience. But when we speak about the part played by the SSP and by the Communist Party—Mr. Shantilal Shah has very eminently illustrated the manner in which the Shiv Sena has been encouraged by these organisations—they feel that this weapon has been taken out of their armoury to use against them, they are up against us. Whatever it is, from whichever quarter it may come, this sort of regional fanaticism must be condemned in the strongest possible terms, and I hope, the Maharashtra Government will take active steps to curb this sort of regional fanaticism.

At the same time I would make a request to all the political parties, including my PSP friends, not to associate themselves with such of those activities which run counter to our national integration and national interest...

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : I fully endorse this view.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : I thank him for having accepted my view.

I was speaking about the emergence of regional parties. As some of our friends have been rightly pointing out, this is a disturbing phenomenon in our national politics. Parties based on caste, community and religion are the very negation of Parliamentary democracy and go against our national integration.

Our friends have been levelling charges against us on the score of giving encouragement to defectors and supporting minority governments. It is I, who has the proud privilege of belonging to the Congress Party and of woving a resolution to prevent defections. This August House was good enough to give it its wholehearted support. The Government had also appointed a high-level committee to go into the question and their recommendations are before the Parliament. So it is not the Opposition parties alone who are concerned about this disturbing phenomenon in our political life. Every right-thinking person who believes in parliamentary democracy and the integrity and unity of this country must search his heart and see that such things do not happen.

Then again, what has happened to the defectors ? Whether they defected from the Congress Party to the Opposition or *vice-versa* the electorate has taught them a good lesson. In the mid-term elections, they have been completely routed, except one or two here and there who may have come by their personal popularity or due to certain other circumstances prevailing in those constituencies.

As regards the charge made concerning regional imbalance—the no-confidence motion also mentions it—this is a curse of our national life. In whichever form it exists, it has to be fought. Take the case of the unfortunate Telengana incidents. I come from Andhra Pradesh to which I am proud to

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

belong. Andhra Pradesh had been formed on a principal that was agreed upon in pre-independence days. It was formed on the sacrifice of self-immolation of a great soul. It was his sacrifice that brought about the linguistic re-distribution of the country.

I also feel sorry that even after 12 or 13 years of the reorganisation of States, such distortions exist here and there. They are more on the level of economic inequalities rather than on any other basis. That should caution the governments at the Centre and in the States who should take steps to see that these regional imbalances are corrected.

There is one point I want to project here in this connection. That is with regard to employment opportunities to the local people. Of course, grievances on this score should not be taken to the street and settled there by resort to violence. But the grievances are there, whether it is Bombay or Andhra Pradesh or Punjab or anywhere else. This is due to the stranglehold of the bureaucracy sitting on our head. If a general manager is from a particular place, the moment he gets there he tries to recruit all his relations, kith and kin, to the concern. That gives rise to resentment among the local people. This has been happening anywhere. This aspect must be gone into. This has to be looked at from a different perspective instead of putting the blame at the door of Government. This is an in-built deficiency in our bureaucratic set-up which is eating into the very vitals of our national economy and is going against national integration. This has to be borne in mind, more particularly by the Government at the Centre when they think of having central sector projects in various places.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati) : How can he eradicate bureaucracy without cutting up the Government ?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : Coming to the Telengana issue, I have got a better right to speak on this matter because I do not come from either of the two regions involved ; I come from Rayalaseema. I could speak with some objectivity about things that have happened there. Nobody is happy at what has happened. There are various other forums where we could settle

these matters amicably instead of resorting to violence. Speaking about the incidents in Andhra. I feel that there has been some distortions here and there. Not only the Congress Party but all the other political leaders were associated with the gentleman's agreement that had been arrived at. I hope that this agreement will be implemented in letter and spirit and that not only the Congress Party but other political parties also will make it possible in a cool and calm atmosphere to implement decisions arrived at after thorough deliberations and mature judgment.

Our hon. friends have been trying to bring into focus the performance of the various political parties in the mid-term elections. It is the sacred duty of every political party, to whatever ideology they may belong, to fight elections on ideologies rather than bring in personal factors. I find that Mr. Dandekar's speech is nothing but criticism of our taxes. He spoke about taxes and taxes. I am sorry that the Swatantra Party is drifting away from the public life of this country. It is not able to grasp the aspirations of the common man ; the members of that party still live in glass houses. Regional imbalances are bad but imbalances within society are worse. It is the foremost duty of everybody to correct these imbalances in society and I do not know why the Swatantra Party should be allergic to correcting these imbalances.

SHRI UMANATH : They are drifting towards you for a coalition.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : You are also trying to do the same. I feel that the Congress Party has not done badly, with some exceptions, particularly in West Bengal. Its ideologies and policies are in tune with the aspirations of the people. That it is so had been proved time and again. But for a party which has been in uninterrupted power for twenty years, it is but natural that certain deficiencies should develop and even the opposition parties are not free from these defects. The United Front in West Bengal has not been able to elect a leader unanimously so far. I understand the difficulty and I sympathise with them. But then let them not point their accusing finger at the Congress. The malady is with all of us. What tactics they are going to adopt to get Mr. Jyoti Basu elected as the leader is their

internal matter. I have no quarrel over that. I am only illustrating the point. I can also give an illustration from the United Front Ministry in Kerala.

There are public allegations which have been made by one Minister against another Minister. The CPI (Rightist) Minister makes certain allegations against the Marxist Minister, and the Praja-Socialist Minister, Shri Kunju, has been subjected very much to personal criticisms on the floor of the House. It is a House divided against itself. It is also there, and it is much more so than it is in our rank. So, it does not lie in their mouth to say that their parties are perfect and we are riven with factions and mutual rivalries.

I therefore appeal to the House to throw out this no-confidence motion lock, stock and barrel.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Vishakhapatnam) : Mr. Deputy-speaker, Sir, let me thank you very much for the early opportunity you have given me. The points raised in the non-confidence motion do not deserve to be thrown out lock, stock and barrel. Last time, it was all right when it was a three-line motion and everybody had his say, and naturally the Congress party could show it up. But today, specific points have been raised. Points have been raised which have been responsible for the present debacle in our national life.

It is true we are sitting here comfortably in this hall, but things are not so easy; things are not so rosy when we go into the country. It is the failure of the Congress. The failures of the Government bring trouble not only to their party but they bring trouble to the entire nation. That is our trouble. The one reason why, strength or no strength, a non-confidence motion is sought to be moved, strength or no strength, points are brought and motions are made against the Government. These should draw the attention of the Government so that in time they could rectify matters. If only the Government with its huge majority, which they had some years ago, with the great aura they had, if only they attended to some of their points which are on being raised, when their attention was drawn to them some years ago, possibly the country would not have been in this difficult position.

Time after time, people from different areas were saying "Please see that there are no regional imbalances." Then, the high horse was ridden and it was said, "Do not talk about regions; talk about India only." It is good that we talk always of India; it is because we want India to be prosperous, because we want India to be united, but because we want to see that there are no areas which are dissatisfied, that these points are raised. If some years ago, the Government had only attended to it, the fanatic regionalism would not have raised its head in this country.

The whole trouble is this: first, when we come to know that there is a deficiency, the Government ought to attend to it. Instead of attending to it, they talk of big theoretical things. The result is what we see today. Therefore, it is in a very unhappy frame of mind that some of us here rise and speak in this great House. If not here, there is no other place where we can express our grievances. Even now the Government commands some majority. If not throughout the country, and even here, the Government could take certain steps, but they have not. That is exactly what the no-confidence motion has pointed out. It has pinpointed four things: the question of regional imbalance, and the failure to see what is happening throughout the country.

Some political, economic and other matters also mentioned there. This is why some of us, who do not belong to any recognised parties, want to draw the attention of Government to these points not for any favour. By the good fortune the Minister acquired in these previous lives, they are ruling this country now; let them not bring trouble to the people by omitting to do the right thing at the right time and trying to do the wrong thing at the wrong time. Two years ago, they went on horse-trading and tattered duly constituted governments.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor) : You were also involved in horse-trading for sometime as Finance Minister in Kurnool.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : I cannot blame my young friend, because he knows very little about me. That is another matter.

What was done after the 1967 general elections is responsible for the present debacle of the Congress in the four States. Would Government see the writing on the wall, as Prof. Mukerjee said, not merely for the sake of the Congress Party, but for the sake of the nation? If you do not do things correctly, the entire nation suffers. Why should the people in Andhra or Bombay suffer on account of your omissions? That is why we are pointing out these things. The ministers think that we in the opposition do it for the sake of opposition. It is not so. Being in office, the Ministers are not always able to feel the pulse of the people. Being outside office, we are in better touch with the people. Therefore, the Government should listen to us and not brush aside our remarks saying, "What else can the opposition say?" The sooner the Government changes its attitude the better it would be not only for them but for the nation. I am not speaking from any party point of view. It is immaterial who is in Government provided they behave well. Difficulties arise only when those in office do not behave well, when those in majority do not have broad-mindedness. They deprive themselves of the capacity to listen once they get into power. I appeal to the Ministers to listen to our criticisms and not give answers trying to score debating points. There is no use saying that the Communist Government was no better. Such allegations and counter-allegations do not help the cause of the country. We want economically to prosper. We want that all sections of people should share the produce of the country in an equitable manner, so that everybody feels that the fruits of his labour which is responsible for developing the wealth of the country is returned to him in an equitable manner. The Directive Principles and other constitutional provisions say that the wealth shall be shared equally. But those principles are not followed. Even the present Constitution, if implemented, is capable of giving the greatest satisfaction to the people.

But the difficulty is, it is not followed. Several things have been said. I can repeat them. Everybody knows them. I need not repeat what Shri Mukerjee said. I do not want to repeat but only underline what he has said. It is better that this Government sees these things more correctly.

Because of the general background of dis-satisfaction and discontent the slightest

reason makes people go into the streets. Things which should be settled at the conference table or on the floor of legislatures are now generally taken away to the streets. Therefore, the Government should have more intelligence. The primary duty of a Government is to maintain law and order. Whether it is the State Government or the Central Government, when buses are burnt, when property is looted, when houses are pulled down, the people are not going to ask you whether it is the responsibility of the State Government or the Central Government to protect them. There is no use reasoning on this fine distinction between State and Centre. The State and Centre have a joint duty and responsibility. They are partners in a joint venture and that is to make India happier and better. The Central Government should take a higher responsibility. Wherever they get some intimation, whether it is the State Government or the Central Government, that something is brewing their intelligence must work. I am told that in the State from which I come the Government had a nearly three months' warning that something was about to come. I am also told that the Government did not take any care about it. The Government think that all these threats and agitations are merely politically motivated. Politics there may be but the real background of it would in most cases be economical and want of employment.

Therefore, when unemployment is rising, when the number, particularly, of educated unemployed is rising, it is time for the Government to see what could be done. A number of times during the budget debates reference is made to unemployment and to the increase in the numbers of unemployed. What is the attention that Government are paying to that? If for ten years the Government had only cared to see that proper employment opportunities are given to all, not merely Government employment but also employment in industry or otherwise, possibly the present troubles would not have arisen.

My suggestion to them is to see that they give employment opportunities or self-employment opportunities to the greatest number of people. There is no use simply increasing the number of employment exchanges and say that it is not possible for Government to find employment for everybody. They

must create employment opportunities. My first suggestion would be, for Government to improve employment facilities, to see that so far as consumer industries are concerned they make it a point to get small-scale machinery redesigned and give plenty of opportunities to those who can run their own industry. Thousands of people who have been trained in polytechnics and engineering colleges are getting unemployed. Why should their knowledge be wasted? Why don't you give them opportunities for self-employment? Why do you use your controls only to enrich those who are already rich and deprive others even the use of their knowledge?

17.34 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

If the hon. Finance Minister and the Home Minister would care to listen to what I am saying: if they want to solve the question of discontentment in this country, they know the depth of this discontentment and they realise it as much as I do—they must release as much as possible the industrial potential for self-employment to the people. They must redesign the machinery for small scale industry and throw open all their consumer goods industries without any controls or restrictions. They must use their controls to help the small men and not to enrich the rich men. They may say that these things have been said a number of times; but they have not been listening. My appeal to them is that for the sake of 50 crores of people of this country let them listen to us, listen to the Opposition more than to other people who approach them for favours. We want to save this country from a great debacle. We know we are sitting in a volcano. A bit of the volcano was seen in Telengana in Andhra Pradesh or in Bombay. Last year it was seen in Assam. In a number of places we are seeing bits of it. These two years we have been seeing small eruptions. So, why don't you take some urgent action? There is no use of brushing it aside and giving unctions to our soul by saying that things will be all right. Things may be all right for a time, no doubt, because we have got well-organised army, SAP and police we can maintain law and order for some time. But at what cost? What is the cost of the property and lives lost.

Therefore, I want the Government to think in a constructive way. Unless you in-

crease the employment opportunities, self-employment opportunities to the people of this country who are getting educated and technically trained, you cannot solve this problem. More than that, without going into the theories or technical points, whenever there is break down of law and order, it is the primary duty of the Central Government to take the initiative to go into the root of the matter and try to solve it. They should not wait till some message comes from the State and then try to act; in the meanwhile much valuable time will be lost. Once a glass is broken, you cannot make it into one.

So my appeal to you is this. Do not always say that law and order is a State subject. It may be a State subject. Even then you must be active and alert. It may be a State subject for the first hour. In the second hour things may become so complicated that it ceases to be a State subject. Unless law and order is maintained, nothing else can be maintained. One reason why this no-confidence motion had some appeal for some members is that it refers to law and order probably in the whole country.

I am not suggesting that the Centre has deliberately wanted to avoid taking any action. But my appeal and request is that the Centre must adopt a new approach. In these days, particularly when tempers are running high, when people are getting irritated by the smallest thing, against the background of great discontent, growing unemployment and stark poverty of millions and millions of people, it is the duty of the Centre to take the initiative and not to wait for the State to make such a request to the Centre. It is the duty of the Finance Minister and the Home Minister to see what is happening, take the initiative, call the concerned State Minister and say "my dear fellow, this is the thing which you ought to do, because it is our country" instead of saying it is a State subject and all that. It may be that for the sake of convenience of administration subjects have been divided between Centre and States. But when houses are burning or looting is taking place, to say "we will not interfere because it is a State subject" is not correct.

I repeat, I am not saying that the Home Minister has deliberately remained silent

[Shri Tenneti Viswanathan]

or anything of that sort. But the Home Minister should take greater initiative in the maintenance of law and order. He should call his colleagues in the States and tell them "we can give you all help but it is your duty to enforce law".

Similarly, the Finance Minister also, while exercising financial discipline, must have that amount of imagination which is necessary to see that the money goes where it is needed and the money is taken from the place from where he can take it. He must be like a master mind with the control of all the sluices of financial flow in his hand so that the money goes where it is wanted. If the Home Minister and the Finance Minister act in this way by taking the initiative in the maintenance of law and order and distribution of assistance, I am sure that Assams, Bombays and Telenganas will not be repeated.

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हाउस के सामने जो नान-कान्फिडेंस मोशन है उसमें कतमन कोई जान नहीं न सिर्फ इस वास्ते कि मैं कहता हूँ बल्कि खुद अपोजीशन पार्टीज में बड़ी भारी इम्तियाज है इस बात पर। वह भी समझते हैं कि इसमें कोई जान नहीं है। असल में इस तहरीक पर मुझे रहम आता है। इस तहरीक को यह लोग सवारी समझते हैं कि कान पकड़े और चढ़ गए। खोती समझा हुआ है नान-कान्फिडेंस मोशन को कि जो भी आया उस पर चढ़ गया। नान-कान्फिडेंस मोशन की कोई संजीदगी होती है, कोई उसकी कीमत होती है। कहीं साल दो साल पाँच साल दस साल में जा कर एक नान-कान्फिडेंस मोशन आता है। पहले प्राइम मिनिस्टर होते थे, मेरे ख्याल से, अगर मैं गलत न होऊँ, दस पन्द्रह साल में एक नान-कान्फिडेंस मोशन आया। अब यह जितने सवार हैं सभी इसी बात में अपनी बहादुरी समझते हैं कि नान-कान्फिडेंस मोशन की दोड़ है, कौन इसमें पहले आए। और यही वजह है कि आपस में जेलसी है अपोजीशन में कि नो-कान्फिडेंस में कोई जान है नहीं, थोड़ा सा मोशन ले आए, प्रचार हो जायगा सारे देश

में, अलबत्ता में नाम आ जायगा। सूवर का नाम आएगा और सारे देश में जिक्र हो जायगा। यह समझ कर नो-कान्फिडेंस मोशन यह लाते हैं और नान-कान्फिडेंस करता कौन है? वह करते हैं जिन से पूछिए कि जनाब आपका क्या ध्येय है, जो खुद मयखार हैं, जो खुद शराब के आदी हैं वही हम को नसीहत करते हैं। वही लोग ला एंड आर्डर तोड़ते हैं, जो तेलंगाना के जिम्मेदार हैं, जो केरल के जिम्मेदार हैं, जो सारे ईस्टर्न हिन्दुस्तान को पाश पाश कर के रख दिए हैं, जो लोग इम्तियाज फैला रहे हैं, वह लोग यहाँ आ कर हमें नसीहत देना शुरू करते हैं। यहाँ आ कर कहते हैं, गवर्नमेन्ट से हम ने कहा था, सबसे पहले बोलने वाले राम-मूर्ति जी ने कहा था कि मैंने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को लिखा था कि आइए बैठें और यह चीज करें। हम आपको अच्छी तरह से समझते हैं, आपकी चाल को हम समझते हैं। यहाँ ही नहीं बाहर देशों में भी जो फ्रंट बनाते हैं वह फ्रंट बनाने वालों को ही मारते हैं। आप बड़े डाक्टर बने फिरते हैं, हमें पता है कि आप के अन्दर कितना पानी है और आप को अपोजीशन भी जानने लगी है। आप को जनसंघ खूबी से समझता है, स्वतंत्र पार्टी वाले भी समझते हैं। कम्यूनिस्टों को कौन नहीं जानता है? थोड़े से बावले हैं शोशलिस्ट जो पीछे लगते हैं, वह भी जल्दी समझ जाएंगे।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ यह इस देश को इन्फ्लेव का अखाड़ा बनाना चाहते हैं और फिर यहाँ आ कर होम मिनिस्टर से भिड़ना चाहते हैं। होम मिनिस्टर ने तुम्हें ऐसा रगड़ा दिया एक बार नहीं छः बार कि तुम भी याद करोगे। मैं मुंह पर अधिक कहना नहीं चाहता। तुमने जो चाल चली केरल में, जो कांस्टीट्यूशन को फूँकने की, अंडे को जलाने की चाल चली उसके बाद तुम्हारे साथ हमदर्दी होगी किसी हिन्दुस्तानी को, किसी इम्बलवतन आदमी को जो तुम कर रहे हो, नक्सलबाड़ी में जो कुछ किया, सारे देश को पता है। तुम्हारा सिर शर्म से झुकना चाहिए। बंगाल में तुम ने क्या

किया ? रगड़ा तुम्हें ठीक चढ़ाया चाहें होम मिनिस्टर ने चढ़ाया चाहे सरकार ने चढ़ाया । देश की जो हालत तुम बनाना चाहते हो वह सब जानते हैं । और यहाँ आकर अपने मुँह मियां मिट्टू बनना, अपने मुँह से अपनी तारीफ शुरू कर दिया । अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन लोगों को देश बड़ी अच्छी तरह से जानता है । हमारी तरफ एक मसल मशहूर है कि एक कुम्हार कुम्हारी से गुस्से में आता है लेकिन गधे के काम एंटना शुरू कर देता है । इनको निराशा हुई है । यह हरयाने में साफ, पंजाब में साफ, यू०पी० में साफ, बिहार में साफ, हर जगह से साफ हो गए हैं । एक छोटी सी पंज-हजारी मनसबदारी मिली है बंगाल में और चूहे जैसे अकड़ रहे हैं । एक चूहा शराब की बेरल में गिर गया और बेरल से निकलने के बाद दोनों पंरों पर खड़े हो कर कहने लगा कि श्हेयर इज वि कैंट ? इन को भी थोड़ा सा नशा हो गया है बंगाल का, बंगाल में थोड़ी सी हुकूमत मिल गई और फिर यहाँ पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर आते ही कहने लगे श्हेयर इज वि गवर्नमेंट, श्हेयर इज वि होम मिनिस्टर, श्हेयर इज वि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ? अरे, दिमाग सही कर देंगे । यह तुम्हें मीका दिया है । दो चार महीने चला कर देखो । हमने तुम्हारा इम्तहान ले कर देख लिया है । केरल में तुम से गवर्नमेंट नहीं चली । केरल में तुम्हारी सरकार फेल हुई । अगर केरल में दुबारा एलेक्शन हो तो तुम्हें जड़ से उखाड़ कर फेंक देंगे । बंगाल में लोग जरा गरम मिजाज हैं । मैं बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ क्योंकि बंगाल के लोग, बंगाल के लोग ही हैं । बड़े बड़े लोग वहाँ हुए हैं । कोई बात नहीं इन्क्लाबी हैं । लेकिन यह अक्कड़ क्यों ? चूहे की तरह से थोड़ा सा नशा प्राया है और सारे हिन्दुस्तान को हिला देना चाहते हैं । अरे क्या टक्कर लगे चव्हाण से ? क्या टक्कर, लगे गवर्नमेंट से ? 19 तारीख को तुम इन्क्लाब लाना चाहते थे देश में । ऐसा रगड़ा तुम्हें कि मिजाज साफ हो गया, छठी का दूध याद आ गया । अब आकर फिर ऐसी बातें करते हो कि अजी माफ कर देना, अजी, जो

थोड़े से सस्पेंड हैं उन को ले लो, जो थोड़े से नौकरी से बाहर हैं उन को वापस ले लो । क्या बातें करते हो ? यही लोग एक्सप्लायट करते हैं, जितनी भी गुनाहें होती हैं, यही लोग करते हैं । ये लोग जो आज महाराष्ट्र की बात कर रहे हैं, यही लोग वहाँ गड़बड़ करवाने वाले हैं । ये लोग चोर को कहते हैं "ला" और शाह को कहते हैं "जा" । इधर प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कहते हैं कि मीटिंग करो, उधर शिव-सेना के बड़े भारी यार हैं । इन के दांत हाथी की तरह से दिखाने के कुछ और खाने के कुछ हैं । सियामत में जो भी घटिया ने घटिया रोल हो सकता है, ये लोग उस रोल को ध्ले कर सकते हैं । ये लोग शिव-सेना के भी दोस्त हैं, मुस्लिम लोग के भी दोस्त हैं, पंजाब में अकाली दल के भी दोस्त हैं, लेकिन सब के दुश्मन भी हैं । आप चव्हाण साहब को क्या कहते हैं - अरे तेल देवो, तेल की धार दखो । तारीख को याद करो, वर्ना कांग्रेस सरकार और चव्हाण साहब का ऐसा रगड़ा पड़ेगा कि केरल और बंगाल को छोड़ कर भाग जाओगे ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इन लोगों की क्या तारीफ करूँ, पिछले नो-कान्फीडेंस मोशन में और इस मोशन में कोई फर्क नहीं है, इन लोगों के पास कोई मसला ही नहीं है, जिस को उस में शामिल कर सकें । कोई मसला हो या न हो, लेकिन नो-कान्फीडेंस मोशन ले आते हैं । अध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले 6 महीनों में इस कांग्रेस सरकार की बदौलत आज शेख अब्दुल्ला का नाम लेने वाला कोई नहीं रहा, पानी देने वाला कोई नहीं रहा । काश्मीर की जो हालत पहले थी, आज उस से बहुत बँटर है । नागालैंड में, स्पीकर महोदय, इस सरकार की बदौलत इलैक्शन हुए और 97 फीसदी लोगों ने वहाँ पर इलैक्शन में हिस्सा लिया और जो वहाँ पर इन्क्लाब लाने वाले लोग थे, राममूर्ति साहब के चेले और प्रो० मुल्जर्जी के चेले, जो कहते थे कि हम माथोस्तेलुंग के चेले हैं, देश में प्राग लगा दें, उन लोगों के दिमाग ठीक हो गये । जो चीन और पाकिस्तान से हथियार

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

लाते थे, वे सब ठण्डे पड़ गये। इस कांग्रेस सरकार के क्या कहने - २० साल से नागालैंड के लोगों में जो गर्मी थी, वह अब शान्त हो गई है और उनके दिमाग ठीक हो गये हैं। एक भाई पाकिस्तान की बात करते थे, वहाँ भी अब सोशलिज्म का नारा लग रहा है, वहाँ भी इन्कलाब आयेगा। आज हिन्दुस्तान में कांग्रेस ने सोशलिज्म और नेशनलिज्म का जो एक्सपेरिमेंट किया है, उस को देख कर ये लोग बीखला उठे हैं, जनसंघ को हिन्दू धर्म में खतरा दिग्वाई देने लगा है, कोई रिजनलिज्म की बात करने लगे हैं - चों-चों का मुरब्बा इकट्ठा कर रखा है। लेकिन कांग्रेस ने दुनिया के सामने एक सिद्धान्त पेश किया है - वह सिद्धान्त जरूर कामयाब होगा और एक वक्त आयेगा जब हिन्दुस्तान के प्रवाम भाई-भाई बन कर रहेंगे।

एक भाई चीन की बात करते थे - चीन के साथ हम बाते करने जा रहे हैं। अरे, चीन के साथ तो अब अमरीका भी बातें करने लगा है, रूस भी बातें करने लगा है, हम ऐसे काठ के उल्लू नहीं बनना चाहते कि उन से बात ही न करें। सियासत के अन्दर जो प्रादमी बदलता रहे, हालात के मुताबिक बदलता रहे, वही कामयाब होता है—

जमी जुंबद, न जुंबद गुलमौहम्मद

२० साल पहले हमारे बाप-दादा कहते थे, हम उन की बात मानेंगे, अब वह नहीं चल सकता। हर रोज सियासत बदलती है, बड़े बड़े लोगों के दिमाग ठीक हो गये हैं। हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर की तरफ से जो तहरीक चली है - अगर उस से उन के दिमाग ठीक हो गये हैं, माओत्सेतुंग और चू-एन-लाई अगर यह महसूस करने लगे हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान भी कुछ है, हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया और एशिया में एक ताकत है और हमसे बात करना चाहें तो हम बात करने को तैयार हैं, लेकिन हम तुम्हारी नहीं चलने देंगे, उन के जो चेले यहाँ बैठे हैं, अगर वह यह समझते हैं कि उन की मारफत बात

हो, वह हम नहीं करेंगे। केरल, बंगाल और आसाम में जो गड़बड़े हुई हैं, अब हम उन को नहीं होने देंगे। होम मिनिस्टर यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, कांग्रेस सरकार मजबूत हो कर बैठी हुई है, ऐसा रगड़ा चढ़ायेंगे कि सात पुश्तों तक याद रखोगे।...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यहाँ रगड़ा चढ़ाने की बातें हो रही है, ऐसी बातों को सुनने की एक सीमा होती है। मैं व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाना चाहता हूँ।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : मैं ईल्ड नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER : He has risen on a point of order. The hon. Member has to yield.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, नियम के अनुसार भाषण ऐसा होना चाहिए जिसमें सभी दलों के प्रति प्रतिष्ठा के शब्दों का प्रकटीकरण किया जाये। सदन में बैठ कर यह कहना कि होम मिनिस्टर हमको रगड़ा चढ़ायेंगे यह किस प्रकार से उपयुक्त होगा ?... (व्यवधान)...

MR. SPEAKER : You have done very well till now. The whole Opposition could not slow you down. Will you now conclude ?

श्री इसहाक सम्भली (अमरोहा) : मेरा भी प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है। अभी अभी चौधरी साहब ने फर्माया कि डंके चलायेंगे और डंडे से ठीक कर देंगे। क्या ये अल्फाज पार्लिमेन्टरी हैं ? मैं इस पर आपकी रूनिंग चाहता हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER : It is a violent language, not to be encouraged by anybody, anywhere, but it is not an unparliamentary language.

श्री रणधीर सिंह : स्पीकर महोदय, मैं अपने इन बुजुर्गों की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ और उनका एहताराम करता हूँ। मैं सिर्फ इतना ही

कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपके दिमाग में तो सारी बातें कांग्रेस के खिलाफ ही चलती हैं। अगर इस देश की इज्जत के खिलाफ कोई बात होती है तो उसके लिए हमारे पास फ़ौज है, हमारी पुलिस है, सारे हिन्दुस्तान की गवर्नमेंट की ताकत है और सारी जनता की ताकत है।

आखिरी बात यह है कि जहाँ जहाँ पर, यू. पी. में, बिहार में इन लोगों की हुकूमत थी या जैसी मध्य प्रदेश में थी, वह हुकूमत ढेंचू ढेंचू करके चल रही है; ऐसी ही इनकी हुकूमत बंगाल में थी। जहाँ जहाँ भी इनकी हुकूमत थी वहाँ वहाँ, जैसी कि ममल है कि लंका में सारे के सारे 52 गज के। जनता ने 9 महीनों में इन सारी पार्टियों को देख लिया और इनका इलाज भी ठीक ही कर दिया, इनको हराया और अब ये रो रहे हैं। कांग्रेस ने तो इनको पूरा मौका दिया। चाहे अग्नी-कल्चर के प्रोग्राम को ले लीजिए या इन्डस्ट्रीज को ले लीजिए, इन लोगों ने वहाँ पर कुछ भी नहीं किया। ये सारे के सारे इकट्ठे होकर भी कांग्रेस के सामने टिक नहीं सकते। इसलिए मैं समझना हूँ कि इन्होंने जो रेजोल्यूशन पेश किया है उसमें कोई तत्व नहीं है। आपस में ही इन में काफी डिफरेंस है इनके स्पीकर्स की जवान से ही जाहिर है कि जो कुछ बहस ये करते हैं उसमें कोई वजन नहीं है। जिस तरह से कोई वकील बहस करे और उसकी दलील में कोई वजन न हो तो फिर उम मुकदमें का भट्टा बँठ जाता है। इसी तरह से इन लोगों के जो वकील हैं वे खुद महसूस करते हैं कि जो इनका प्रस्ताव है, नो-कान्फिडेंस मोशन है, उसमें कोई वजन नहीं है। आपस में ही इनका काफी भगड़ा है। मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि इन दो-चार लोगों को छोड़ कर, बाकी सारा हाउस यूनानिमसली इस मोशन को श्री-प्राउट कर देगा।

मैं आपका मशकूर हूँ कि आपने मुझे इतना समय दिया।

श्री सिक्करे (पंजीम) : अध्यक्ष जी, पार्श्वीय भाषा में एक कहावत है जिसका अर्थ

यह होता है कि जहाँ देवदूत प्रवेश करने से डरते हैं वहाँ शैतान और बुद्ध आसानी से प्रवेश कर सकते हैं। कभी कभी शैतान भी मुंह में बाइबिल की भाषा बोल कर और बगल में छुरी ले कर जाते हैं। मैंने यहाँ पर भी देखा है कि ऐसे ही कोई शैतान मुंह में बाइबिल की भाषा बोलकर और बगल में छुरी लेकर इस नो-कान्फिडेंस मोशन पर बोले। ... (व्यवधान) ... आज बराबर इस सदन में मैंने सुना कि हर-एक पार्टी का मेम्बर, चाहे वह कम्प्युनिस्ट पार्टी का मेम्बर हो या स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का मेम्बर हो ... (व्यवधान) ... चाहे बीच वाला मेम्बर हो, जैसे कि फ्रान्स में ड्राइफस केस में जेक्यूज जेक्यूज कहते थे, वैसे ही यहाँ कहने लगे। जेक्यूज तो कोई भी कर सकता है, इल्जाम तो कोई भी लगा सकता है लेकिन इल्जाम लगाने के पहले आत्म निरीक्षण करना भी जरूरी है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप लोगों ने पिछले 20 साल में कभी आत्म निरीक्षण करने का प्रयत्न किया है या नहीं? मैं कहूँगा कि महाराष्ट्र के बारे में आपने कभी भी आत्म निरीक्षण नहीं किया और इसका अब प्रायश्चित्त भोगना पड़ रहा है बम्बई की जनता को। आप जानते होंगे कि बम्बई में संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र प्रजा परिषद स्थापित हुई और आप जानते हैं कि श्री एस. के. पाटिल जो कांग्रेस के एक प्रमुख नेता हैं वही उनके प्रमुख नेता थे, शंकर राव जी देव भी एक नेता थे। महाराष्ट्र का जो केम था बम्बई के बारे में और बेलगाम, कारवार और गोवा के बारे में भी वह सुलझा नहीं सके और उसके बाद वह प्रजा परिषद छोड़ कर गये। प्रजा परिषद छोड़ने के बाद एक बँकुभ्रम तैयार हो गया और संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र समिति की स्थापना हुई और संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र समिति ने उन को मौका मिला उसका उनको फायदा मिला और कांग्रेस की डिफ़ीट हो गई। बात यह है कि जब भावनाओं के प्रश्न होते हैं और उन्हें सुलझाने के लिए प्रयत्न नहीं होता, समस्या खरम नहीं करने का जब प्रश्न होता है तो कोई ऐसा भी प्रयत्न नहीं होता है प्रश्न ले कर

[श्री शिकरे]

आगे आती है और जनता की भावना भड़का सकती है। आप जानते होंगे कि संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र समिति बेलगाम, कारवार का प्रश्न या गोआ का प्रश्न मुलभाने के बारे में असफल हुई। और उसके बाद क्या हुआ? उसके बाद सम्पूर्ण महाराष्ट्र समिति स्थापित हुई और यह सम्पूर्ण महाराष्ट्र समिति भी, जिसमें कम्युनिस्ट, प्रजा समाजवादी और संयुक्त समाजवादी दोस्त थे, वह प्रश्न नहीं मुलभाने के और एक बार वैकुण्ठम क्रीएट हुआ और ऐसा एक आदमी आया जो एक सिम्पल कार्टूनिस्ट है— बाल ठाकरे— श्री प्रेम में एक कार्टूनिस्ट था और एक सीधा मादा आदमी है। और वही कार्टूनिस्ट, जिसके बारे में हर एक वक्ता ने कहा, वह डिक्टेटर बन गये हैं। क्यों बन गए? कौन सी परिस्थिति का निर्माण हुआ जिस वजह से वह डिक्टेटर बन गया। किस ने वह परिस्थिति निर्माण की जिस से बाल ठाकरे-भ्रान्दोलन शुरू कर सकता है। और मैं एक बात पर स्ट्रेस करना चाहता हूँ कि वह भ्रान्दोलन पिछे भी ले सकता है। बम्बई में जो हिन्सावादी भ्रान्दोलन हुआ उसको हम सब कन्डैम करते हैं। भ्रान्दोलन उन्होंने शुरू किया, लेकिन वह जो भ्रान्दोलन बन्द हुआ वह गाली-वारी की वजह से नहीं हुआ, यहाँ मैं यशवन्त राव चव्हाण, साहब से बड़ी नफ़रत से कहूँगा और नायक साहब से भी कहूँगा कि जो उन के पुलिस कमिश्नर ने कहा कि चूँकि हमने गम्भीर उपाय किये इस वजह से भ्रान्दोलन बन्द हुआ, यह बात सत्य नहीं है। सत्य यह है कि बात ठाकरे जी ने जो जेल से स्टेटमेंट किया उस के बाव ही एक क्षण में वह भ्रान्दोलन बन्द हो गया में डरता हूँ, भ्रान्दोलन शुरू करने की शक्ति से नहीं, बल्कि उस शक्ति से जो भ्रान्दोलन वापस ले सकते हैं। लेकिन हमें जानना पड़ेगा कि जो हो रहा है उसका इलाज क्या है? इलाज एक ही हो सकता है कि जो समस्या वहाँ है उस बारे में हम आत्म निरिक्षण करें। हम सब लोग केवल इलजाम न लगायें। मैं जानता हूँ कि जो विषय यहाँ लाया गया है उस का उद्देश्य केवल एक ही है और वह हमारे

चव्हाण साहब पर इलजाम है। यह मंत्री मंडल के विरुद्ध भ्रविश्वास नहीं है, बल्कि चव्हाण साहब पर है। क्योंकि बात यही है कि वह निपक्षपाती हैं और वह दीखाना भी चाहते हैं। बात यह है कि वह राष्ट्रीय नेता हैं, वह निपक्षपाती हैं लेकिन भारत में ऐसी परिस्थिति है कि भारत में कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष भी पक्षपाती बनते हैं। मंत्री बहुत ऐसे हैं जो अपने प्रान्त के बारे में पक्षपाती बनते हैं। लेकिन यशवन्त राव चव्हाण जी पक्षपाती नहीं बनते हैं। इसलिए मैं कहूँगा कि गोआ में जो हमारे महाराष्ट्र-वादियों की पराजय हुई उसका कारण हमारे चव्हाण की निपक्षपातता है।

अगर यहाँ पर यशवन्तराव चव्हाण गृह मंत्री नहीं रहे होते और उन की जगह पर लालबहादुर शास्त्री या नन्दा जी गृह मंत्री होते तब हम जीत जाते। जब गोआ में पब्लिक प्रोपीनियम पोल हुआ तो हमारे ऊपर अन्याय हो रहा था लेकिन कोई भी सुनने को तैयार नहीं था। वहाँ कांग्रेस का मंत्रीमंडल होता तो वह प्रोपीनियम पोल के लिए अपना राजीनामा देता? हमें कहा गया कि हम राजीनामा दें। हमने राजीनामा दिया, इस्तीफा दिया और वह प्रोपीनियम पोल लिया गया। 80,000, आउटसाइड्स मोस्टील साऊथ इण्डियन राइट ऑफ वोटिंग दिया गया। उस के बाद हमारी पराजय हुई, लेकिन हमारी पराजय गोआ-वासियों ने नहीं की बल्कि वह 80,000 लोग जो कि बाहर से आये थे उन्होंने करवाई। इस का उल्लेख मैं इसलिए कर रहा हूँ क्योंकि वह निष्पक्ष रहना चाहते हैं और निष्पक्ष रहना भी अपितु निष्पक्ष दिखाना भी चाहते हैं इस वजह से यह हो रहा है।

18 hrs.

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण ने 2 साल पहले शिव सेना की जो ऐक्टिविटीज हैं उनको कंडैम किया था और उसके बाद अभी भी जो भ्रान्दोलन हुआ उसे भी उन्होंने कंडैम किया है। स्वतंत्र पार्टी के एक नेता आज राज्य सभा में बोलने थे कि उनका जो कंडैमेशन का स्टेटमेंट मराठी पेपर्स में आया था उसे लोगों ने नहीं

पढ़ा। वह कहने लगे कि हम मराठी पेपर्स नहीं पढ़ते हैं। हम राष्ट्रीय पेपर पढ़ते हैं। अब मैं आप से निवेदन करूंगा कि जनता की जो इस तरह की एक क्षेत्रीय भावना रहती है वह यह जो भाषा आदि को लेकर इलाकाई उपद्रव होने हैं वह क्षेत्रीय भाषा में ही दिखा सकते हैं। अब इस बारे में उन का जो स्टेटमेंट पेपर्स में आया वह उन्होंने नहीं देखा क्योंकि वह देखना ही नहीं चाहते थे। मैंने जो कहा है शुरू से कि हम आत्म निरीक्षण नहीं करते हैं वह दरअसल वास्तविकता पर आधारित है। बम्बई में जो हुआ है वह इसी का परिणाम है। कम से कम 50-60 आदमी मारे गये होंगे। यहां कहा है कि बम्बई की सरकार ने खम्भीर उपाय योजनाएं नहीं कीं और इस लिए यह सब आन्दोलन हुआ और प्राणहानी व वित्त की हानी हुई लेकिन सन 1955 में कितने लोग मारे गये थे। महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने खम्भीर उपाय योजना की थी लेकिन सन् 55 में काफी लोगों का 105 आदमियों का महाराष्ट्र के रास्ते में खून बहाया गया था। अभी भी आप कहते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने खम्भीर उपाय योजना नहीं की। लेकिन ऐसा तो वही कह सकता है जोकि वास्तविकता से अपनी आंखें मूंद ले। दरअसल महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने जितनी खम्भीर उपाय योजना की है कि जरूरत ही नहीं थी। मैं तो कहूंगा कि महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने एक ही गलती की है कि वह जो उनके नेता है उन को यरवदा जेल में डाल दिया है इसलिए उनके फालोअर्स बगैर नेता के होकर नियंत्रणहीन हो गये हैं और नेता की भी अगर वह जेल में बन्द कर दिए जाते हैं तो उनकी जबाबदारी खत्म हो जाती है। अगर नेता को बाहर ही रखा जाता तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वहां पर जो प्राण हानि व वित्त हानि हुई है वह न हुई होती।

मैं आप का ध्यान कई घटनाओं पर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जब पिछले दो सप्ताहों के पहले महाराष्ट्रीयों पर हमले होते थे तब किसी ने अपनी आवाज नहीं निकाली। सब चुप बैठे थे पर जब बम्बई के रास्तों पर खून बहाया गया, वित्त हानि हो गई, प्राण हानि हो गई तब आवाज आती है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब बम्बई के रास्ते पर खून बहता था, वित्त हानि होती थी, प्राण हानि होती थी, तब आप कहाँ थे? क्या आप का कर्तव्य नहीं था कि वहाँ जा कर जो लोग आन्दोलन करते थे, लूट मार करते थे, उन से कहते कि यह सब बन्द करो? लेकिन कोई नहीं गया।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वहाँ पत्थरों का डर था।

श्री शिंदरे : जब नेता लोग पत्थरों से डरते हैं तो लोगों में कार्य कैसे करेंगे ?

मैं कहूंगा, जैसा शुरू में कहा, कि सिर्फ दूसरे को एकपूज करके से काम नहीं चलेगा। इल्जाम लगाना तो आसान है, लेकिन कुछ आत्म-निरीक्षण करना भी जरूरी है।

18.06½ hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Twenty-eight Report

**SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR (Sam-
balpur)**: I beg to present the Twenty-
eighth report of the Business Advisory
Committee.

18.07 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven
of the Clock on Wednesday, February 19,
1969. Magha 30, 1890 (Saka)*