

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot go back to any item unless the House decides it. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: In protest, I walk out.

[Shri K. S. Chavda then left the House.]

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: As a protest against the Government's attitude towards Harijans, we walk out. (Interruptions)

[Shri S. M. Banerjee and some other hon. Members then left the House.]

10 hrs.

श्री मधु लिमये (बांका) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हरिजनों और धार्मिकवासियों पर जो अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, उस के बारे में मैंने एक काम-तोको प्रस्ताव दिया था, लेकिन आप ने उस को यह कह कर स्वीकार नहीं किया कि घनटचेबिलिटी सम्बन्धी बिल धाने वाला है। सरकार ने सीसा को प्रेसिडेंट दे कर इस बिल को नहीं लिया, मैं इस के विरोध में समा-त्याग करता हूँ।

[Shri Madhu Limaye then left the House.]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): To put the records straight, this Bill was on the Order Paper for three days. I was here on all the three days but nobody came forward to discuss the Bill. I had moved it also. Now they have walked out, but this has been on the Order Paper for the last three days.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI BUTA SINGH): It is nothing but cheap tactics of the Opposition.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या बिलकमन के टाइटम वगैरह के बारे में कोई फैसला हो गया है ? यह 12 बजे से पहले खत्म करना होगा।

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: You suggested in the morning that it should end at 12.00 p.m. and that should be observed. The Prime Minister may be called at about 10.30 or 10.45 so that by 12.00 o'clock the debate is over. We accept that suggestion of yours.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

10.00 hrs.

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

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour). Sir, I beg to move:

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

We have to bring in a No Confidence Motion which my friends opposite have been calling 'habitual'. But a friend of mine—also from that end—told me that a No-Confidence Motion was almost like a hand-pipe added to a man-hole,—possibly belonging to the Government. This is done to serve as a warning to this Government because vices, failures, corruption and improprieties are mounting at very great speed. Perhaps never before was there a Government so corrupt, so unscrupulous, so unprincipled, so deceitful and so apt in robbing the exchequer and compensating it by levying more and more taxes every year. Our utterances are not meant merely for Mrs. Gandhi or her Congressmen, but for the people. Surely a time will come, sooner or later, when they will throw out this Government lock-stock and barrel.

We don't expect to defeat them here through press-buttons immediately. Sir, a Coterie occupying the country for 28 years has landed this country into this misery of ours. In any bourgeois democracy, can you show us any other example of a coterie holding the country?

One of the secrets is, 'talk of democracy, talk of socialism and do the opposite'. Their own personal interest comes first and the country's interest is always lost sight of. Since 1967, when the Congress opposed forces came on the surface, the erosion of democratic norms and values has been taking place much faster. And, today, we see a very special type of Indira's grand socialism. A glaring example of it, I have on hand. On 25-4-1975 in the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, Mr K K Birla (both have been sailing in the same boat) opened his speech with a full throated compliment to the Prime Minister for her imaginative leadership. And, Sir, Smt. Indira Gandhi, in return, praised K. K. Birla. She welcomed the change in the attitude of businessmen towards social objectives of Government's economic policies and complimented them and Mr Birla's speech as by and large constructive. You can judge what sort of socialism she discovered in K K. Birla, of all persons in this country. That is why, she has heavily fallen back on them and people are being exploited. The examples are as follows—

The aggregate assets of monopoly houses in 1971 were Rs 4,137.12 crores. You are moving towards socialism, my young friend! The figure comes to Rs. 4,535.99 crores in 1972; and it again shoots up to Rs. 4,999.07 crores in 1973. In three years the aggregate assets of the monopoly houses increased by Rs. 860 crores.

Look at the profits. Foreign companies: The Indian Tobacco Company 1972-73 Rs 6.65 crores, 1973-74 Rs. 9.15 crores; Dunlops Rs. 2.51 crores in 1972-73, and next year Rs. 5.02 crores. The Indian companies: Mafatlal Rs 1.31 crores in 1972-73 and Rs. 3.53 crores in 1973-74; there are so many of them; Gwalior Rayon Rs. 4.72 crores in 1972-73 and Rs. 12.26 crores in the next year. We are moving towards socialism under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership at Super Concord speed! There is no doubt about it.

The Congressmen are now desperate and are not afraid of public identification and are fighting with their back on the walls to stick on to power and are selling the interests of the millions to a few for sticking on to power—giving open and hidden massive concessions at the cost of the exchequer, thereby robbing the people in a very fast manner. For almost each and every concession, a substantial monetary concession is there. Such shady big deals—either negotiated or approved or both—have been done by no other person than the Prime Minister herself.

There are hair-raising examples. One recent case is the importation of ethyl alcohol. In 1972-73 the total customs revenue realised was Rs. 857 crores. Exemptions were given for a total of Rs. 344.08 crores. This was revealed because an Under Secretary made the mistake by making it public. Otherwise, it would never have seen the light. Today that amounts to 40 per cent of the net customs revenue of Rs 857 crores. Can you imagine that? Of these two firms, one is a foreign firm, Alkali Chemicals Corporation of India of ICI, hundred per cent British company, and the other is Indian, Synthetic and Chemical's of Kulachand. They along got—or purchased for consideration—exemptions of Rs. 232.19 crores. Can you imagine this? Within one year these two

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bose]

companies were given customs exemption of Rs. 232.19 crores. It may be even more. How was this engineered? In 1972-73, a proposal was mooted, a conspiracy was hatched—and amounts were paid in advance against promises; elections are coming and the needs are great; here the gap between promise and performance is not much; the gap will have to be filled; otherwise next time it would not come—to bestow a big gain to the conspirators, the monopolists. In all this, the Prime Minister has been involved. I am very sorry to say—of course, for a very handsome consideration. In 1972-73, these two industrial alcohol-based industrial companies came in for a game or a bargain—a source of exploitation and for a windfall of money. The source of exploitation would be importation of un-denatured ethyl alcohol. Undenatured, you must understand, is consumable, which could be easily diverted for tremendous profitable products like production of alcoholic drinks, drugs and similar items. On paper artificial scarcity was cooked up, and the Prime Minister's Secretariat, in collusion with the Petroleum Minister and some government officials of U.P. Government and West Bengal leadership—I do not remember whether Mr. Gokale was the Minister at that time—cooked up the figures and a deficit of eight million litres was shown in West Bengal—this is December 1971—January 1972. Artificial shortage was created and they said, 'The factories would stop functioning if you do not allow us to import'. After knowing everything, I am positive and confident that there was no shortage at all, because the opening stock for next year in U.P., the carry-over stock, was about 84 lakh litres, and the ICI, in its letter dated the 25th April, 1972, have revealed or confessed or admitted that the distilleries in U.P. held adequate stocks of alcohol. There was no shortage. And

the Kilachand Synthetic Chemicals at Bareilly had a very urgent need and the Kandla imports had to be arranged, although the imported commodity did not move to the factory, if at all it moved in reality, before 18 months.

They had produced documents. Commodities moved after 18 months. Urgency was great, shortage was genuine. It is most surprising that the Kilachands twice insisted for permission from the Government to re-export or divert the undenatured ethyl alcohol. Diversion, of course, took place, because the habit of drinking is increasing in the country and profits must be made. Figures of storage and movement were cooked up most fictitiously. Even the Petroleum Ministry's letter confessed that these demands were inflated. Direct advantages were received by the parties through over-invoicing. There was lot more of over-invoicing than what was paid for ethyl alcohol to the seller in UK and America. They highly inflated the bills and the money that was in between was retained there in black foreign exchange and it was all tax free. And they could bring anything other than what was prescribed and use the same for purposes other than specified.

Like for manufacture of drinks, the import duty for ethyl alcohol importation undenatured was Rs. 60/- a litre or 200 per cent *ad valorem* whichever was higher, but what did they pay, Rs. 2/- and something. This is next to nothing. This is how, it worked out to 230 crores of customs duty in one year. Here, of course, the exchequer got next to nothing.

For Kilachands, 10,000 tonnes and 88.2 lakhs of rupees in foreign exchange were released and for ICI, 18 million bulk litres out of a total 25 million bulk litres were allowed. Foreign exchange released figures were not available. Everything was done to rob the country and pay a few people. Everything moved at a

break-neck speed. The ICI representatives met the Petroleum Minister on 25.2.1972 and the very next day, that is, 26.2.1972 the order was out. No other record or minutes of the meeting were kept. That is very interesting. In the case of ICI, I take it that Shri Gokhale was the Minister. I would like to be corrected, if I am wrong. The meeting was held on 25.2.1972 and I think, he had a clear indication from above.

In the case of Kilachanda, the meeting was held at the supreme place, in the Prime Minister's Joint Secretary, Mr. Tandon's room. This deal, as the practice is, was finalised there, the give-and-take part of it was decided there, take so much and give so much. In this room, many such deals and plots have been done. The meeting took place on 14.8.1972 at 11.00 a.m. No agenda, no record was drafted for circulation. Everything was secret except for the donor or the donee.

This is very interesting. This speaks for itself because the assessment of requirements of alkali raw material is wholly and finally the business of the Petroleum and Chemicals Ministry. They are the final authority. But, in big deals, Prime Minister perhaps does not trust others and, in any case, the Ministers are no more than a mere rubber stamp in this country to-day. So, the avenue was the Prime Minister's Joint Secretary's room. Mr. Janeshwar Misra has brought the letters about the Private Secretary but the Private Secretary is a mere cog in the wheel. That is all. Nothing else. But the prime energy or the power is somewhere else. And no doubt, the Kilachanda, the donors, were also present in the meeting. People can draw their own conclusion as to what happens. It also shows how the Prime Minister operates through subordinates over the heads of other Ministries. My information is that from ICI alone was collected a sum of Rs. 3 crores...

(Interruptions). I will tell you how much of this was in foreign exchange and how much in Indian currency....

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): The hon. Member cannot make such wild allegations without any basis or evidence. It is absolutely fantastic.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: She will have enough opportunity.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN (Kangra): On a point of order, Sir. There is a rule that no allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature can be made by a member against another unless he has given previous intimation to the Speaker and also to the Minister concerned so that the Minister may be able to make an investigation into the matter for the purposes of a suitable reply. The hon. Member is making certain allegations. He is making allegations against the Law Minister. He is making allegations against the Prime Minister. As no previous intimation has been given to you and to the Minister, I humbly submit that these allegations should either be expunged or the hon. Member should withdraw them.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The Prime Minister is here. She is able to reply. Do you want us to reveal what we are going to make in a no confidence motion? If you think so, you are simply living in a fools' paradise.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Mr. Mahajan has raised a very fundamental question which you should dispose of first.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The member is present here. The rule applies only to a person who is not present in the House... (Interruptions)

I shall not mention by name. I will go by designation.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: The rule is very clear. He has to go by the rules.

MR. SPEAKER: It is very essential that the Member who levels the allegations takes upon himself the responsibility.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: That is not the rule. May I make my point clear?

Rule 353 says:

"No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a member against any person unless the member has given previous intimation to the Speaker and also to the Minister concerned so that the Minister may be able to make an investigation into the matter for the purpose of a reply."

So, there is no question of the member taking up the responsibility. He has to give previous intimation to the Speaker and the Minister concerned. That is one condition.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: He is wasting the time.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: He cannot just make wild allegations like this. These remarks must be expunged and I request you to give a ruling on this point.

श्री सच्चु लिखये: (बांका) : मेरा भी एक प्वाइंट थाप धार्डर है। इन्होंने जो धधी नियम पढ़ कर सुनाया है उस का मतलब बिलकुल साफ है कि जो इस सदन का सदस्य नहीं है ऐसे किसी व्यक्ति के बारे में धारोप नहीं लगा सकते। उस में शब्द परसन है। यह मेम्बरों के लिए या मंत्रियों के लिए नहीं है। प्रधान मंत्री जी यहाँ बैठी हुई हैं।

MR. SPEAKER: "No allegation.. shall be made by a member against any person..." So the term 'person' includes Members and Ministers also. So, please don't give me a wrong impression.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: To avoid any quarrel, I will not mention the name. I will go by designation.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD (Bhagalpur): You cannot do that, You cannot go like this.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: He cannot make an allegation without notice. Therefore, I submit that the charges which he has made must be expunged. (Interruptions).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Take it that it was out of sheer love; don't take it otherwise. (Interruptions).

Another strange thing. The Kila-chand of Bombay had very very urgent import, but they did not even place indents with Railways for tank wagons for whole of 1972-73 because in the meantime, I suspect, the imported ethyl alcohol found its way into drink bottles at a profit of 500 per cent on the landed cost. At Calcutta, on less than 28.20 lakh litres had been fraudulently diverted for making alcoholic drinks. Now having been caught in one case of Customs Department, about Rs. 25 crores were raised. And at what price the Prime Minister settles this, we shall wait and see that. (Interruptions)

श्री विमलसि सिन्धु : (मोतीहारी) : पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी में यह बात नहीं आई थी। पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी में प्रोइम मिनिस्टर का नाम नहीं धाय था।

MR. SPEAKER: The propriety demands that being within his knowledge he should refer to them.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I am only quoting from the Reports that have been placed on the Table of the House.

हम तो कल मर जायेंगे, धाप उस को पड़िये न। टपकन साहब से पूछिये नीटिम हुई थी या नहीं।

This was done to help Prime Minister's socialist friends and help affluent Congressmen and for vote catching. Of course, Nagarwala's money also came from similar source. That was tip of iceberg.

Now I come to another scandal—the rag scandal, import of good woollen garments in garb of rags, one of the biggest frauds perpetuated on people of India in disguise. I went to Bombay Dockyard at a considerable risk. I went to galleys and lanes of Ludhiana to find out the facts and I found out the facts. Hundreds of lakhs, I should say, hundreds of crores of rupees were lost in foreign exchange, in customs duty, in Income tax in this shoddy deal. And worst economic offenders made a rich harvest in collusion with the people in power.

18.23 hrs.

[Dr. HENRY AUSTIN in the Chair]

One Srikrishna Woollen Mill—a blanket cheat I would call him—for defence supplies—got a national award from the Government even after the publication of the Public Accounts Committee Report asking for vigilance inquiry against him. Most malpractices swell around election year; that you can find out. For example, import of these garments, replenishment—

Necessity is the mother of invention. Need was there. These were meant in theory to be only the raw material of shoddy industry. The shoddy industry's total capacity is 4.425 million kg. on one shift basis and quantity allowed to import in 1972 was 15.01 million kg. and next year it was 17.5 million kg.

These are only paper figures which are far too low. That is because the price of procurement abroad was grossly understated through underinvoicing. That was to suit the S.T.C.'s stipulation who were importers on paper. These importers under the very nose of the Government amassed a great foreign exchange fortune abroad and bought these good garments at a much higher price than shown in the invoices. It even went upto ten times the price. If it is shown at Rs. 2 a k.g. in the invoice, they are paid a price of Rs. 20/-. The price calculation in Indian rupee of Rs. 4.28 crores for one year is only a fraction—may be a very little fraction. But, I must tell you, gentlemen, here that the whole thing is contraband because importation of garments is prohibited under the law. It attracted a total customs duty of over 260 per cent. The price of one year for the import would be about Rs. 54 crores. Not only these smugglers were not prosecuted or, the goods or vessels confiscated but these were released free of duty and penalty on the Prime Minister's personal order—15,000 bales of them. Can you imagine that? No doubt there was some consideration that was there. I do not know the amount involved. The loss to the exchequer was immense and manifold. According to my modest calculation, I have come to the conclusion that the income tax loss plus penalty comes to Rs. 20 lakhs. Firstly, for 1971-72, alone, the loss of customs duty and penalty was Rs. 125 crores. These garments are very good ones and so they gave a huge profit. This black money that has been generated has been practically left untouched which ran into hundreds and

1969-70	Rs. 34 lakhs
1970-71	Rs. 31 lakhs
1971-72	Rs. 428 lakhs

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bose]

hundreds of lakhs of rupees because, theoretically, these were rags for use in shoddy industry. Hardly anybody entered them as garments in their books of accounts. So, the money was unseen. And, thirdly, the drainage of foreign exchange was very substantial. Underinvoicing was done to the extent that in one year, to my mind, it was to the tune of Rs. 50 crores. This contraband, a big part of it, was generator of so many economic evils. I regret to say, was released under the Prime Minister's orders. She released the economic offenders. Contraband is a smuggled commodity which has been banned to be imported. The Public Accounts Committee took up for consideration para 16 of the Report of C. & A. G relating to irregular release of woollen garments imported under misdeclaration as rags. It was stated by Member (Customs) that decision in this regard taken at the inter-ministerial meetings held in the Cabinet Secretariat was conveyed to the Central Board of Excise and Customs. This had the approval of the Prime Minister. There is no doubt about it. Here everything is allowed for a consideration at the cost of the exchequer and the people.

Handling of sugar tycoons is another scandal. This is a sugar rebate scheme—a benefit intended for growers on paper, was actually meant for producers. For the purpose of levy of excise duty—look at this interesting thing—the tariff on which excise duty was calculated, was fixed at Rs. 320 per quintal in October, 1974 while the free sale market price for that month was Rs. 585/- per quintal. That way we are losing excise duty of almost of Rs. 265/- per quintal. They showed that they are also for a consideration. Otherwise how will the Congress machinery run to win the election? Rs. 60 lakhs are for the support to get 130 candidates elected. So, some money has to be found from whichever source it is available.

Besides, there are recovery figures. This is a fraud of sugar rebate scheme which cost the exchequer Rs. 1331.41 lakhs in 1972-73. The rebate was given to factories which had not produced any sugar at all during the base period. You cannot touch them and, in the name of export promotion—cash assistance—in three years, they doled out Rs. 150 crores and if one goes into it, I can tell you that 3/4th of the money has been swallowed by the exporters, who had a share—equity partnership here in front of the poor.

Sir, so far I have talked about one type of corruption, namely, through robbing the exchequer. Now, I come to another type of corruption. Of course, in Shrimati Gandhi's regime it has become an accepted way of life. A Congress Chief Minister of South had to pay Rs. 75 lakhs to his Congress MLAs for his throne. The money was mainly collected by a Central Minister from big landlords. What were the promise given to them? They were promised that no land reform would be made effective.

Now, I come to Shri Bansi Lal, Chief Minister of Haryana which is next-door to Delhi. You cannot check Shri Bansi Lal but if you read Comptroller and Auditor General's report on State Electricity Board it is very revealing. After going through it, I have come to the conclusion that people have been robbed at least at the tune of Rs. 12 crores. In police records Shri Bansi Lal is stated as a man of doubtful character. Police also lists him as belonging to RSS cadre.

Now, a word about Shri Devraj Urs of Karnataka. A number of written complaints by the legislators against him have come but Shrimati Indira Gandhi is sitting over them. As usual the Prime Minister is dragging her feet but as far as Akalis are concerned even one memorandum would be taken cognizance of and it was done within

one day. Today, I am told, the Punjab Revenue Minister has cheated worth Rs. 1,50,000 in foreign exchange and the Enforcement branch has given a report but nothing happens.

Now, I ask Mrs. Gandhi what happened to the Lok Pal Bill?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Sir, I rise on a point of order. Here is a motion of No Confidence against the Government of India. My friend has added to the allegations that he previously made to which objection was taken. He is now going on from State to State and Chief Minister to Chief Minister. The Resolution before this House is a motion of No Confidence against the Central Government. There are two grounds no which I am objecting. Firstly, the allegations against the Chief Ministers or Ministers of the different States are absolutely irrelevant for the purpose of discussion. Secondly, allegations made against people who cannot defend themselves on the floor of the House and without giving notice to the Speaker and without furnishing details and documents, are completely objectionable according to the well laid-down procedures. If those allegations are made they have got to be objected to and they have got to be expunged. Therefore, the Member must be prohibited from making such allegations on the two grounds specified by me and those allegations be expunged from the records.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusaral): May I refresh the memory of the hon. Member that this matter about the transactions of the State Electricity Board had been raised on the Floor of the House and the objection was taken to the fact that the Comptroller and Auditor General of the Government of India was being used to give him a clean chit. The Finance Minister had replied to the debate. Now, the report has been submitted by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India and the report

says, in effect, that he has swindled money to the tune of Rs. 12½ crores.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Sir, reference has been made to Shri Devraj Urs and other State Ministers regarding which no records have been placed before the House. Secondly, it is absolutely irrelevant to the motion of No Confidence which is against the Central Government. Absolute irrelevance is the ground and prohibition of allegation.

MR CHAIRMAN: You have made your point.

श्री मधु लिचये : सभापति महोदय, मैं जब तमिलनाडु के दौरे पर गया था तो लिचनापल्ली में भारत इलेक्ट्रिकल्स के कारखाने में गया था। यह कारखाना केन्द्र के अन्तर्गत आता है। वहाँ के मैनेजर ने मुझे से कहा कि स्टेट इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्डस ने 100 करोड़ रु० हमारा नहीं दिया। जब 12 करोड़ रु० की चोरी धकेले हरियाणा में होगी तो भारत इलेक्ट्रिकल्स का दिवाला नहीं निकलेगा? क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार उन को पैसा देती जायगी? आप यहाँ चोरों की बकालत कर रहे हैं?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर) : सभापति जी, मुख्य मंत्रियों के विरुद्ध भ्रष्टाचार के आरोप लगाये जाते हैं। उन के आधार पर यहाँ पर प्रश्न करने की इजाजत होती है। सरकार की धर से उन के उत्तर दिये जाते हैं। प्रधान मंत्री को स्मृति-पत्र पेश होते हैं। उन का हवाला न केवल सदन में दिया जाता है बल्कि आप को याद होगा कि कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी की बैठकों में उन स्मृति-पत्रों पर क्या कार्यवाही हुई इस के बारे में सरकार की धोर प्रकाश डाला जाता है। अब जिन प्रश्नों की सदन में चर्चा हो सकती है, क्या केवल ध्वनिमात्र प्रस्ताव शीघ्र

[सदल बिहादे बाजपेयी]

बिचार, कीन हे इसलिये उन मामलों को नहीं उठाया जा सकता है ?

इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि इन के बाइत बाक बाईर में कोई बन नहीं है ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have listed to the point of order made by Mr. C. M. Stephen and also the observations made thereon by hon. Members. I would like to point out to Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu that he should observe certain norms which have been accepted by the House, that is, when we bring in the names of persons who are not present here and about whom there have not been any allegations or any discussion here, we should be careful. We are bringing in the names of persons who do not have the opportunity to reply. When you bring in fresh allegations, it will not be in tune with the precedents followed in this House.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: This allegation was contained in a memorandum which was submitted to the Government of India.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What about the allegation against Mr. Devraj Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka? I would therefore, suggest that you should not try to bring in....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The matter was an agenda item in the Home Consultative Committee meeting on 5th. You have seen the wide Press coverage. The Prime Minister is expected to keep the morals of the Chief Ministers in the country in good shape. Therefore, this House cannot be deprived of giving her any requisite advice in performing her duties. Therefore, I am only trying to render a service. I come back to the subject—the Lok Pal Bill. Sir, if it had been kept in cold storage, it would have become a rotten commodity by now. It has been kept in a deep freeze specially built for the purpose.

Why is it that the Prime Minister is not included in that? I do not know. Sir, this must have gone into an eternal sleep.

What about the public declaration of Ministers' assets? Why is she dragging her feet? Look at the reply. Is it worth the stationery which has been used for this? On 26th March, in reply to a question, she said:

"The question of making public the assets and liabilities of Ministers is under consideration. But, pending a decision on this question, it would not be appropriate to disclose the details of the statements such as variations in assets of Ministers after their assumption of office."

Why this sort of reply? I asked her 'Since when it is under consideration?' She said 'It is under consideration for some time. Nobody remembers the exact date.' Very inconvenient thing to remember. One should not remember inconvenient things.

I do not remember the date of the meeting. This is also inconvenient, because a specific question has to be given a specific reply. So avoid it this way, putting some grease on your pot and you can easily sleep. That is the tactics she is adopting.

As regards public declaration of assets, I know somebody is possessing a Sable coat which is valued at a million dollars, which used to be worn by the Czars. It may be worrying some. That may be known to many people. I do not know. This is the first time, unfortunately, that in this country the Prime Minister is being seriously charged with malpractices. The Hindalco firm Rs. 5 lakhs obseques has made it crystal clear. Since it has gone to the Privilege Committee, I am not going to make a debate of that now.

Let us take her son's case. We have been trying to raise a debate on Maruti since January 1973. The last debate we had was in December 1972. Only a few years ago, this boy had no assets. He is a millionaire today. I can say that He is owning or controlling, or doing both, how many firms? Maruti Pvt. Ltd., Maruti Technical Services Ltd., Maruti Heavy Vehicles Ltd., Drilling Equipment Pvt. Ltd., and so on and so forth. I do not know the total equity value or authorised capital or paid up capital of the whole thing. I have not been able to get hold of that information.

श्री राम प्रकाश (यम्शाना) : मर्णा
निर्णयनात्तन्नी दय मायणा ?

MR CHAIRMAN Are you on a point of order?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU No he is not. I do not expect anybody to be canvassing a point of order.

MR CHAIRMAN That is not the question.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Do not take it seriously.

The 'socialist' Birlas have substantial money in all the ventures, how much of course I do not know. I am told that this boy has a technical consultancy agreement, with Maruti Technical Services Pvt Ltd, under trade mark 'Maruti' and a lump sum of Rs 5 lakhs was given—I would like to be corrected. People are writing to me and telling me repeatedly. There is a fee of 2 per cent on net sales which will amount to over Rs 110 crores a year when the car comes into full production. Of course there is a stipulation of a minimum amount of Rs 25 lakhs a year.

Therefore, the total remuneration that this young friend of mine is earning at the present moment is

about Rs. 24,000 or Rs. 25,000 per month, which used to be the salary of the British Viceroy in this country.

These companies are congregations of economic offenders. Economic offenders have been forced to come to these companies and buy shares. In reply to an unstarred question No. 1431 dated 1st August 1973 which was replied on 20th October 1974—it took them one year and two months—it came out there are 8 charges, 4 by CBI and 4 by the Directorate of Enforcement. It is continuing. The charges include smuggling evasion of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, black money etc.

I do not want to talk about the land acquisition affair, which is one of the worst crimes in recent times. About 100 acres of fertile land were snatched away not illegally and improperly—I charge the Prime Minister with doing this—at a nett price of about Rs 9000 per acre which was worth at least Rs 75000 per acre. All the poor farmers were deprived of Rs 2 crores. And what are the payment terms of the Harvana Government?—How can Bansa Lal be attacked here?—18 years instalment at 7 per cent interest.

MR CHAIRMAN You are allotted 45 minutes.

SHRI JHYOTIRMOY BOSU One hour.

SHRI RAM PRAKASH I was the Minister there at that time. I know the price of that land.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Squadron Leader Mahadev Singh officer in charge in the Defence Ministry, two Air Marshals and many other officers also objected. 1500 peasants had been uprooted. But everything was ruled out.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

The Prime Minister addressing a meeting in Lucknow said 'I am not worried about an inquiry' But when I kept on writing to her she said No, an inquiry cannot be held' They are not even prepared for a debate on the floor of the House I demand a parliamentary probe into the whole affair How can she touch Bansi Lal who did oblige her so much'

MR CHAIRMAN You are allotted 45 minutes If you want 10 minutes more I can give it but I will reduce that time from your reply time

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU What about the points of order asked I do not want any point of order

MR CHAIRMAN I will give you 10 more minutes

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Besides this there are many other things about steel, cement dealers deposits, etc The letter of intent was given by the Cabinet Sub-Committee which was presided over by the Prime Minister herself Now of course the duty on car is being reduced by Mr Subramaniam Let us see what happens to that Even the Income tax Act was changed to give some sort of exemption to the royalty that was given to the Technical Services Limited

Another big ticket fraud that they have committed is that if they have said we have not imported any machinery This is most untrue I have got a photograph of a letter which I shall read out to the House and anybody can examine it if he likes if you want I can lay it on the Table of the House This is from Killick Nixon Limited addressed to Maruti Limited Gurgaon Road Palam Har- yana The letter is dated 16 August 1973

"Attention—Wing Comander R N Chaudhary (Retired)—

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter No dated 7th instant and also copy of your letter No of 6th instant

addressed to M/s. Blue Star Ltd ..."

A dummy company

"As required by you we enclose a copy of our General Scheduled of rates for attending to clearance and forwarding booking"

If they were not importing, what clearance did they require

which we shall allow a special discount of 30 per cent on the agency and transportation charges as mentioned in our letter dated 3rd June, 1973"

Of course they have to allow this if they want to survive

"We are still awaiting the documents from Messrs Blue Star Ltd as per our letter dated 2nd August addressed to Messrs Blue Star Ltd, New Delhi

Thanking you and assuring you of our best attention at all times

Your faithfully

Per Pro Killick Nixon Limited
Encl Schedule of rates

Carbon copy to Messrs Blue Star Ltd Machine Tools Dept, Blue Star House 24 Ring Road, Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi 21 ATTENTION MR K J BHATIA We refer to our letter dated 2nd August 1973 and shall be glad to receive the import documents at an early date to enable us to attend to the customs and clearance formalities So and so Steamer is now expected to arrive here on or about the 15th August 1963 We are enclosing a further copy of our General Schedule of

Rates in case we had overlooked to enclose the same with our letter of 2nd August.

Copy to Messrs. Blue Star Ltd., Instrument Dept., Sahas, Bombay...."

Yet they say that they are not importing and we have to accept. They have been importing machinery.... (Interruptions).

श्री राम प्रकाश : मेरा प्वायन्ट ब्राफ़ झार्डर है। उस टाइम पर जब भीन की कीमत थी श्री श्री ज्योतिष्य बसु ने जो कीमत बताई, वह सही नहीं है। अगर यह बात न हो, तो मैं रिजाइत करने के लिए तैयार हूँ बरना ये रिजाइत करें। ये झूठ बान रहे हैं।

श्री ज्योतिष्य बसु : तुम्हारे बोन रह हा।

They have become big dealers in licence. Tul Mohan Ram story. What happened when it was brought to the surface? I can claim a little credit for it in March last year. Of course Blitz had done a good job. In the Monsoon session Cabinet Ministers say here: they promise that they would get it enquired into and bring it before the House before they go to a court of law. What did they do? In the winter session, on the very first day, if I remember aright on 11th November, they go, rush and hurry to the court to make it sub-judice. You know that I cannot quote things because members of the perusal team are not supposed to quote. I am not quoting. But the term of the reference was given to the CBI to establish the signature of the M.P. referred to. Item 27 was to establish that the signature of the M.P.'s in the licence application were forged. That was the job given to the CBI and they had done it very well. Of course I can say many things but it is not very nice. But it has come to such a height today that it is a challenge to the very existence of man in this country. They talk of democracy; they are talk-

ing about electoral reforms. I do not want to live in a fool's paradise; all these meetings, I call them Coca-Cola party. On the one hand Anti-defection Bill; on the other engineering defections. Take Nagaland. What have they done? According to the Constitution what is the position of the Governor? On the one hand there is anti-defection Bill and on the other hand they are engineering defection and so the Government failed because they do not want to listen.

As a Congress President, I have heard her. The present Prime Minister did not hesitate—she was not a Minister then, she was the Congress President—to write to Himachal Pradesh Lt. Governor that the Congress candidates' election should be looked after by him using the official position. I want to ask one simple question. What business the Lt. Governor, an official, had to write a letter to the Congress President, a political party leader? While you knew things could go wrong, everything went on well. Even the minimum recommendations made by my friend Mr. Jagannatha Rao three-and-half years ago who headed the Parliamentary Committee, which were cheered by you, had been thrown into the waste paper basket. The minimum they wanted were: Multi-Member Commission, equal time in the Radio for all political parties and an Expert Committee to examine the proportional representation and the List System. Correct me, if I am wrong.

My next point is with regard to the delaying of by-elections and holding the elections and it is a great tricky business. You know in Trivandrum by-election was to be held on 4th January to fill up the seat caused by the demise of Mr. Krishna Menon. At that time she was going to Laccadives. Before that when she arrived at Trivandrum my friend Shri Vayalar Ravi and his party had said "if you

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

go for polls now, you will be defeated". So an order was immediately issued stating that there would be no election then. What has happened to the seat of late Kamal Nath Tewari?

(Interruptions)

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: You instigated the NGOs to go on strike. That was recalled.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, we have seen what they are capable of doing in Barpeta. In West Bengal it is something different. But in West Bengal, reform or no reform, as long as reign of terror is there, no election is possible. It is a good thing that Mr. Morarji wrested it out in Gujarat. This is what the position is today.

Sir, they are talking about Emergency. In regard to Emergency, in the original Proclamation of December, 1971, what was the grave emergency which existed whereby the security of India was threatened by external aggression? I want this question to be replied to categorically that whether today the grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened by external aggression. They are talking about this and allowing American Army Research Team to make research on biological chemical warfare for the last seven years and they have got all the details required from this country. If you read the Report of the P.A.C. you will find this—the chemical and biological warfare charge is ready not only for us but for our neighbours like Russia and China. They have drawn up the whole scheme but it is too late for you. They have been functioning for the last 7 or 8 years. What the Defence and the Health Ministries are doing? What right have these two

Ministers got to sit here? They should have resigned if they have any sense of honour and sense of job.

Mrs. Gandhi talks about grave emergency. Tiru Karunanidhi has rightly pointed out, if the danger is from the sea, as long as the Indian Ocean will remain, emergency will remain and you cannot touch it. There is danger from Pakistan. All right. Here is a recent paper clipping of April, 30 which says: "Prospects of trade between India and Pakistan have improved following the 10-day visit of a Pakistani trade delegation which ends tomorrow morning". Here is the photograph of Prof. Chattopadhyaya with the members of the Pakistani delegation. On the one hand, you talk about aggression. On the other hand, you are having a trade delegation. Madam Prime Minister the other day said—I am reading from this paper clipping—"PM rules out souring ties with US on issue of arms sale to Pindi". So, Pakistan is out; America is out. Who is there? You bring a MISA Amendment to prove that there is threat in Mizoram and Nagaland from China and to keep the emergency alive. A very convenient thing. We understand it because we have been to Nagaland more than once. I do not know which tune you sing. You sing one tune this morning and another in the evening.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Who wrote down that speech for you? Which company?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: C. M. Stephen Cashew Exporters Limited! They want to keep the emergency to have a controlled democracy. It is more stringent than what it was when the Britishers ruled the country and is as bad as it was in the Nizam's time.

I come to erosion of civil rights. You read the judgment given by the Andhra High Court to know what type of democracy is functioning in the country today. Six months have passed and Government have not decided on the judgment. They are still considering it because it is inconvenient for the semi-fascist mental attitude they have got. Permissions are withheld for opposition meetings or are disrupted. You say, that stadium cannot be given to J. P. and that stadium is booked for PM's meeting. The treatment given to J.P. in Calcutta makes us hang our heads in shame. They did not hesitate to throw bricks at him. They did not hesitate to put a girl on the roof of his car! What shameful things! We do not agree with all the things he says, but that does not mean that we shall put a girl on the roof of his car. There are detentions without trial. There is torture and killing in jail so frequently. Read the reports of Amnesty Internationale. There is repression of minorities and Harijans and Tribes. In spite of promises, MLAs are arrested. Communal incidents are increasing. The number of communal incidents was 198 in 1967, 242 in 1973 and 248 in 1974. The performance is superb! In Gujarat, it was 1 in 1967, 17 in 1973 and 25 in 1974. In Maharashtra, the number was 16 in 1967, 23 in 1973 and 36 in 1974. In U.P. it was 18 in 1967, and 42 in 1974. In West Bengal it was 14 in 1967 and 26 in 1974. That is the wonderful performance you have been having.

They talk about right reaction. But fascists are their friends. Mr. Sudhir Joshi of the Shiva Sena was supported by the Congress on the understanding that the Shiva Sena will support Mr. Ramrao Adik, Congress, in the last bye-election to the Lok Sabha. I want to know whether this is true or not. Mr. V. P. Naik, who

was a patron of Shiva Sena, used his police to help Shiva Sena to fight Dalit Panther near Delhvi Building. They were caught red handed. The congress candidate Late Bharve thanked Shiva Sena, according to Marmuk dated 19th March, 1967, which is a Shiva Sena paper.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly cooperate and conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Yes, Sir They talk about right reaction. I have got a piece of document which shows that money was liberally given to Ananda Marg, 25-A, Southern Park, Calcutta-28. The amount given was Rs. 12.85 lakhs. The amount for which they have given no account comes to Rs. 2,82,855. This is the Government. We understand these things. We understand also the story of Padmabhushan.

19.00 hrs.

The Congress is running with the hare and hunting with the hound. By trickery they cannot go for long. It is better that they may go.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

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

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI (Calcutta—South): I have heard the speech of the mover of the Motion to-day—Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu—a Member from the Opposition, who is now not only the liability of the CPIM but liability of the entire House and for the Parliamentary Democracy.

The mover of the Motion, in his usual fashion, whenever he comes on the first day of the House and when he goes on the last day of the House tries to do something for his own satisfaction. The members of the House, therefore, never take him seriously!

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsil]
Whatever he speaks, he contradicts himself also.

A member, group or the entire opposition, whenever they like to move any No Confidence Motion, they do so not with the intention to establish anything against Parliamentary democracy or the Government or to overthrow the present Government. Directly or indirectly, this No Confidence Motion is nothing but a ritual and this is performed by this or that group. But, unfortunately, this unpalatable task is always given to Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu because the Opposition consider him a liability of this House.

The mover of the Motion—Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu—has categorically made certain points and charges against our Government. Of course, our Government will reply in this regard, I would only like to highlight the points that Mr. Bosu has expressed.

I express my deep regret for the inefficiency and immaturity of Mr. Bosu who out of ignorance, not fully knowing what he speaks, does so in this House on No Confidence Motion or any other subject. He has certain favourite words like alcohol, ether etc which are used by him in all his speeches, may be on the Railway Budget or on No Confidence Motion. I do not know whether there is any psychological link of those things with him. I always find that he gets temptation to use these words in all his speeches.

In his speech Mr. Bosu has cleverly omitted two great names from the list of corruption—one is the famous Maharaja of Jaipur and the other is the Management of Indian Express. He has also spared Shri Jayaprakash Narayan.

He has not said much about the polls in Gujarat because this is not of much gain to him.

He has said 28 years rule of coterie. I know Shri Shyamnandan Mishra will not agree. He will say so from 1989 and not from 1949. Some other friends may say so from the period of say five or ten years. The period will be quoted as it suits to their convenience. But I would like to say we rule the country or we get an opportunity to serve the country as per the wish of the people. We are at the mercy of the people and not the Marxists. It is the people who sent us here and will do so to-morrow or in future.

You could have smelled the motive of the mover of the motion today. After the Jubbulpore bye-election results there was spirit of exhilaration and jubilation among the opposition parties all over the country. But, after the Madhya Pradesh elections, the opposition is not so happy today. They are moving the motion just as a ritual.

What we have done during 28 years of Congress rule cannot be questioned or doubted by anybody. If not Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu himself, at least his party knows that during the 28 years of Congress rule, the Government did something, especially for the preservation of democracy. The strength of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu's party rose from 2 to 15, 15 to 20 and 20 to 25 in this House, which itself is a proof of the existence of democracy in this country, of course with the cooperation of the people.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu said that after 1967 political parties which were opposed to the Congress came to power in some of the States and though they tried to do something they could not perform it. Whose

fault was it? History will keep a record of who was responsible and who was not. It is better to be clear on this point. From C. B. Gupta to Charan Singh and from Charan Singh to Jyoti Bosu, for whose fault were they overthrown? It is not my duty to deal with that.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has chosen to accuse our Prime Minister of addressing the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which was presided over by Shri K. K. Birla. As we all know, the Prime Minister, apart from being the leader of the Congress Party, is also the head of the Government and, in that capacity, has to perform certain functions and discharge certain responsibilities in the course of running the Government. Though Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has kindly chosen to mention the name of Shri K. K. Birla in this context at the present juncture, he should not forget the past. I would like to remind Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, if at all he is not psychologically at the moment liked up with alcohol or ether bottles etc.... (Interruptions). Shri K. K. Birla is the enemy of not only Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, or of Shrimati Indira Gandhi but, as the leader of a monopoly house, is the enemy of all socialist forces. But I would like to remind him, through you, Sir, that Shri K. K. Birla attended the meeting of the Indian Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in public, in the presence of the people, and the Prime Minister addressed the meeting in public, not in camera, and whatever she has said appeared in the press. In 1969, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu will perhaps remember that the very same Shri K. K. Birla had a secret meeting in the private chamber of the then Advocate-General of Bengal with Jyoti Basu, when Shri Jyoti Bosu was ruling in West Bengal. At that time the press people wanted to know.... (Interruptions). When the press reporters

went to Shri Jyoti Bosu and wanted to know what was the conversation between him and Shri Birla, Shri Bosu, who was then Home Minister, not only abused the press people but tried to threaten them through his goondas and the press people had to leave the place. It is on record.

After discussions between Shri Jyoti Bosu and Shri K. K. Birla, what happened? The Hindustan Motors, which is a monopoly house of Birlas, paid the employees some 4 per cent bonus only, after entering into an agreement with the CITU, thus depriving the other trade unions in Bengal the right to fight and to get more for the workers. This is exactly what has happened in West Bengal.

Then he has charged the Central Government that during the Congress regime the monopoly has increased. We do not deny that fact. Our administration has not been efficiently or sufficiently geared to take over everything in the public sector. Yet, we are taking over more units from the monopoly houses. We have made a beginning with coal mines, banks general insurance and the Indian Iron and Steel Company. Slowly and slowly, we are taking steps to take over more and more units in the public sector. Of course, we do not claim that we have completely succeeded, but we have made a beginning. But, is it not a fact that when the party to which Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu belongs was in power in Kerala in 1958 and 1959, Shri Namboodiripad invited Shri G. D. Birla to establish a paper industry in his State and gave him concession after concession in bamboo and other things? I do not say he has done wrong. For solving the unemployment problem he had to do certain things. He is talking of monopolists. Who is against monopoly and who is in favour of monopoly does not come

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsal]
 out from what a person is doing inside the House, but from what he is doing outside the House. In Texmaco, Hind Motors and Kesoram Mills, which are the biggest units, the performance of his party is ridiculous. The working class there got only 4 to 6 per cent bonus while others are getting 20 per cent. I say with all confidence that a Member of this House, his party, not only collaborates, with monopolists but also surrenders. Lala Charat Ram's Jay Engineering Unit was looked after by his party for eight years and they made an statement surrendering the right of the working class to launch any movement and to get any benefit for five years, which I have broken last year. (Interruptions).

You go on shouting, you betrayers. I make this charge. You bring action against me. This is your nature.

Coming next to Aminchand Pyarelal, another famous personality in the world of monopoly houses, and also a very close friend of C.P.I.(M), is it not a fact that Jyoti Bosu and your party leader Promod Dasgupta favoured APJ by giving a licence to him in Park Hotel for five years. They have committed bank dacoities in public. This is their only picture. I understand their irritation and the reason behind it. I am sorry for it. I repeat I am not disclosing the entire truth, only half of it. If I disclose the entire truth, people may see them with different eyes.

I now come to other issues, the charges which they have made against us. Jyotirmoy Bosu has efficiently elaborated about the Kilachand group case with regard to alcohol. I do not know why he has avoided mentioning the Shaw Wallace group, possibly because it happens that person or a great personality of this country is involved. He has entered the socialist or democratic movement,

with the background of having served British monopoly. A person who has served British monopoly may sometimes pose to be a revolutionary indirectly to protect some American or British monopoly. I do not know why he has chosen to avoid it. Before abusing Mrs. Gandhi and her Government, you must know yourself.

Lastly, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has also explained something as to what is going on in the Prime Minister's Secretariat; and this Secretariat and that Secretariat. I really praise him for his tremendous talent for collecting information. In the last month we have seen in some foreign journals that the United States require some Information Officers having a big political background. I do not know by taking whom they will fill up their vacancies. Seeing that he is collecting so much information, I really praise the wisdom of Jyotirmoy Bosu and I recommend his name for this purpose.

In this modern age people are specialising in various subjects. Bertrand Russel specialised in philosophy, somebody else in nuclear science or literature, but Jyotirmoy Bosu has chosen to specialise in scandals and nothing more. This scandal specialist of this House, I think of the entire sub-continent, comes to the House always with a scandal. He has talked about Maruti, Tul Mohan Ram, the rag scandal and all these things. Everybody knows that when running an administration, something may be in favour of the Government and something against the Government.

But, Sir, today, I again quote. You might be remembering the great patriot of our nation, Tagore; he was not only a patriot but also a poet. Tagore always said that we should judge the history of a country by its

achievements and aspirations and not always by its black spots. In his article on history, he says that should Indians consider how Moghuls and Pathans came, how they fought and came to be killed by each other? But the manner in which our history should be written—how Gange's flows and how stream of people come to build up our country.

Sir, one Tulmohan Ram or one rag scandal cannot frustrate the whole progress, performance and the desire of this Government which began in 1969 and which is continuing since then. The Opposition is not taking the achievements of the Government into account. A responsible Opposition should cite the case of Tulmohan along with that of the Jaipur palace; it should cite the rag scandal and the Hind Motor, scandal together; it should cite this scandal and the scandal of the Shalimar together

We have held the price line. Can Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu quote any price index outside India? Let him quote the price index of Ceylon, Pakistan, Burma or of Japan. We can prove that it is only India, among the developing nations of the world which has held the price line in spite of so many troubles and mischievous efforts made by this Opposition and the rightist conspirators here. Is it not praiseworthy? For achieving your political purposes in Gujarat, you abuse us. I understand for your political purposes, you condemn our Prime Minister and all of us. But to raise the fringe of the nation in the eyes of the world, is it proper for the Opposition everytime to deprecate either inside the Parliament or in the political parties? Japan and Bangla Desh have changed their entire administrative and constitutional arrangement. Ceylone is still facing a crisis. It is only India and India alone, which has been able not only to hold the price line, but has been

able to unite this country, in spite of the conspiracy launched by Opposition groups whether it is in Bihar or in Gujarat. Is it not to the credit of the people? Is it not to the credit of the Congress Party?

We being a responsible Government did desire and wish to have the co-operation of the people. It is the people who gave us their co-operation. We are grateful to them and not to Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and his allies.

We have started operations against the hoarders and the smugglers. We have amended laws in that direction; we have promulgated MISA in that respect. What campaign did they conduct?

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: I agree with you. If the country is living below the poverty line, it is not only you and I who have to fight for it, but the entire nation should fight for it. But do not forget the contribution made by your leader in our economy, that is, Mgrarji Desai. History should remember it. Sir, we have fought for it. Galloping inflation has been resisted, if not, wholly, at least to some extent.

Sir, as far as the employees in the factories are concerned, private or public, may be that they are suffering at the moment, to some extent, by industrial recession, but their emoluments, their wages have largely increased. Let us take the case of jute industry. I am only citing one industry where they have been paid Rs 150. I agree with their demands that they should get more; they have crossed the limit of Rs 300. I am not saying that they are satisfied. I only say that the Government is keen to see that the people prosper and all the sectors make progress and

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi] march towards it. But it requires all the parliamentary co-operation, co-operation of the political forces.

When wheat trade was taken over by the Government in the country two year's back, did Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and his party go to the villages and ask the middle peasants to talk about it? No. He was saying, "let it be a failure; then we will bring a No Confidence Motion in this House." A constant saboteur, a constant informer, a constant, what I should say, scandal expert, cannot build up a democracy or a temple of that democracy in that fashion of the people's desires and demands.

What I want to submit is—this is his habit and quality—on every occasion, every time, they do it and manage it. He has now brought the No-Confidence Motion against our Government. I am sorry to say, the mover has chosen to bring it—against the mover the people have no-confidence from 1967 and against whose party the people have no-confidence. Unfortunately, he has chosen to bring the No-Confidence Motion against the Government on behalf of the Opposition, the irresponsible Opposition behaving irresponsibly outside the Parliament.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has also chosen to speak something about election reforms and our dictatorial pattern of rule in every State, as to what sort of dictatorship we have established in our country. We have neither deprived anybody from going to any part of the country nor we have deprived anybody from addressing public meetings, from organising rallies, etc. The only thing in our country is that there is consciousness of the people. It is not made by law. If anybody wants to create a mischief, the people do not tolerate it. Whenever somebody wants to pitch some-

thing against the interests of the people, it is the people who try to resist it. The task of the Government is to maintain law and order. The task of the Government is not to suppress the will of the people, the consciousness of the people, the sentiments of the people. If that happens, the democracy goes automatically.

They have been addressing public meetings in every part of the country. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has been able to go to Nagaland. He frequently goes there. Nobody prevents him from going there. But he has been going on arguing to establish his own mania. In 1968, you remember, the engineers went on strike in Kerala. It is Mr. Namboodripad who invoked the Emergency to arrest engineers. Is it not correct Mr. Bosu? Am I wrong? Sometimes, to maintain law and order, the Government has to do it. I say, Mr. Namboodripad was correct in doing that. The Government has to take a particular stand. It is not dictatorship. When Mr. Morarji Desai was the Chief Minister of Bombay, hundreds of people were shot down. I do not justify it. This is wrong. (Interruptions). I am not justifying it. We have not killed anybody by our own private guns. You have allowed the police to be neutral and you have taken the guns of the police in your own hands. (Interruptions). It is the Navnirman Samiti who compelled us to resign. We did not heed anyone. But, unfortunately, they are divided now. Are they with you? No. (Interruptions).

Coming to our industrial development, you take up coal production. It is going up. You take our export performance specially in sugar. It is not only a remarkable thing. It is a great thing that we have achieved in the last one or two years. I agree we have to do something

more. I entirely agree that this achievement is not an achievement which the people will appreciate. But we must understand the difficulties. From 1971 to 1975, in spite of all the odds prevailing in the country, the best achievement of this Government today is that India is united and, from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, democracy is everywhere. That is the best achievement and the symbol of that is that they are sitting opposite peaceful without any injury, without any trouble. Whatever they are doing outside in the name of parliamentary democracy, if that goes against the parliamentary democracy and democratic practices, it is the task of the people to oppose it and it is the task of the people to resist it.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu is a staunch Marxist. He has chosen to be with J.P. This is another wisdom, not only his but his entire party's. He referred to the Calcutta incident. I have spoken in this House about it. I do not want to repeat it. I want to say to him and through you, Sir, to the friends of J.P. that next time, whenever J.P. goes to Calcutta, please take a signed agreement from them. Otherwise, their habit is to please J.P., come and organise everything but they will betray J.P. Next time, I hope they will send the people and join hands with J.P. This time, it was not our fault. It was their fault that they did not send the people. Nobody was there to listen to his speeches. So, there should be a signed agreement between J.P. & CPI(M).

I now come to the main issues raised by him. It is a fact, I think, that after independence it is the first time that in the last two years—or if not two, at least one year—this Government is determined to root out corruption at all levels. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu and his group and a

few of his followers in this House don't try to see corruption from the social point but from the personal point to vilify the political parties and the characters of some great leaders.

About Maruti, our Industries Minister and the Defence Minister have, for the last two years been replying to all questions and queries in the House; but even then, they like to build it up as a myth and campaign in all the villages and streets of the country.

I would like to say that to be the son of a great lady or a great man, to be the son of a Prime Minister or a Chief Minister is not a sin. If somebody is capable of establishing himself by his own wisdom and talents, if you say that merely because somebody is related to somebody it should be a bar to his career, I do not know what the future of this democracy is going to be. Of course, if there is a fault, it is the task of the Government to find out.

It may help you to malign the Prime Minister; it may help you to malign a particular political party, but I tell you that history will not corroborate it. You will suffer yourself.

Because the names of the sons and children of the leaders are known to Jyotirmoy Bosu, he can call them names. But we Members on this side don't know even who is Chakravarty, who is Chatterjee, who is Mohammed and who is Ram Singh. I don't want to bring up those cases because they are insignificant; nor have I developed that taste for scandals which Jyotirmoy Bosu has. I would like to say that this is his practice on every occasion. But this is a practice which will only draw the attention of the people and make

[Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi] them so, how naked, how narrow and how insincere to the practice of democracy this Opposition is. It shows only that and nothing more.

As Chairman of the PAC how much loyalty and how much Parliamentary dignity he maintained is known to the House. I would like to say that such irresponsibility and insincerity is the pity of our Democracy. Today, our democracy's pity is not that the Congress is ruling the country; the democracy's tragedy is that insincere and irresponsible people make irresponsible utterances and claim to be pioneers of democracy. The country's tragedy is nothing else; that is the only tragedy.

(Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down (Interruptions).

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: I would like to get the company of this young friend.... (Interruptions).

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: Incidentally, Sir, he is not from Rajasthan or Madhya Pradesh and he is a young man, a noble-hearted revolutionary (Interruptions). I appeal to this young man that he should help me.... (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: He is a friend of mine. I am not angry with him. I only want to correct him. He has said that we are all electric poles. I agree that we are electric poles. But the young friend should know that the electric pole carries current and he will get the shock if he tries to touch us.

I appeal to this young friend from Jabalpur, being a revolutionary in

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's company, being a patron and a pioneer in fighting corruption on behalf of the youth, I make this appeal to him. Let the Government take the responsibility to find out the hidden treasures in Jaipur Palace, but let him take the responsibility to find out the hidden treasure in Gwalior. Nothing more. He belongs to Madhya Pradesh. That is why I say this. Nothing more. I hope he will accept my offer. I will accompany him.

The no-confidence motion which has been piloted today and moved by the hon. Member of the Opposition, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu is not only a ritual but I consider it as his usual vomiting or his indigestion. We can prescribe a medicine for this indigestion, not in medical science, but in Parliamentary democracy, and that is, the Party and the entire House should take some responsibility to cure him immediately. Otherwise, this great talent of this country will be lost, and if that is lost, the whole Parliamentary democracy will suffer in future!

श्री प्रियानन्द झा : (जयनगर) : सभापति, जी, यह बहुत ऐसे समय में हो रही है जब कि समस्त एशिया के लिये और एक मने में अपने देश के लिये एक प्रयास का प्रयत्न हो कर दूसरे प्रयास का प्रारम्भ हो रहा है। बहुत वर्षों के बाद अमरीकी साम्राज्य की सब से बड़ी आक्रमणकारी शक्ति हिन्दू चीन में पराजय खा कर विदा हो गई है और हमारे देश में जो सड़को पर विद्रोहको को पकड़ कर, उन की सभाओं पर हमला करना, व्यक्तियों पर हमला करने की पिछले एक साल में जो शक्ति उभरी थी, वह पीछे हट गई है, अब उस का फैसला राज्यों के चुनावों में होगा, उस रास्ते पर वे लोग चल पड़े हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि

बन्द कर देता है और बाजारों में कृत्रिम मंहवाई पैदा करता है, सप्लाई और डिमांड का कानून लागू करता है और उस के बाव ज्योड़े और दुगने दाम पर बेच कर जनता को लूटना है, सारे मूल्य के चूल्हों पर अपना नियन्त्रण रखे हुए है। तो फिर क्यों नहीं इस वर्ग को खत्म किया जाता है? उन में जो योग्य लोग हैं और जिन को काम दिया जा सकता है, नौकरी दी जा सकती है, उन को दूसरे कामों में लगाया जाय। लेकिन जो निरर्थक पैसा है, जिस में लगे हुए लोग देश की इकैक मनी को बढ़ाने के जिम्मेदार हैं, उस को समाप्त क्यों नहीं किया जाता। इस लिए आवश्यक यह है कि थोक व्यापार को, कम से कम आवश्यक वस्तुओं के थोक व्यापार को सरकार अपने हाथों में ले। लेकिन पूंजीपतियों का इसना पड़ा अंतक और दबावना इस सरकार पर है कि इस में यह हिममत नहीं है, राहुस नहीं है कि वह उन के खिलाफ को कदम उठाये खास कर आज जो स्थिति चल रही है उसमें तो इस सरकार के लिए ऐसा करना सम्भव नहीं दिखाई देता है, अब तक कि कोई बड़ा अटक कोई जन-आन्दोलन उसे मजबूर न कर दे। यदि आप के लिए यह सम्भव नहीं है तो क्या यह भी सम्भव नहीं है कि कम से कम बैंकर में जो सरकारी कोष था रखा है, थाभ जनता का रखा है, यह थोक व्यापारियों को न दें। जिन को थोक व्यापार करना दो, वे अपने रुपये से करें। अगर वे ऐसा करेंगे तो जो कानून धन उगाँवें छिपा कर रखा हुआ है, वह बाहर आ जायगा, उस से भी देश का फायदा होगा। नहीं करना चाहेगा तो उन की भरती है। कम से कम इस सदन को तो जकर उठाना चाहिए आप ने सूद की रकम बढ़ाई है, उस से षोडी रोक लगाई है, अगर उन को रुपया देना बन्द कर दें तो यह कोई मुश्किल बात नहीं है। उन को अपने रुपये से व्यापार करने की आजादी दीजिए। अगर

उन को यह आजादी दे दी जाय, तो सभी भी थाव और ज्यादा नीचे आ सकते हैं और इस से समास मजदूरों को, चाहे फावड़ा बचाने वाला मजदूर हो, हथियारों का मजदूर हो या बोझा डोने वाला मजदूर हो, सब को सही दामों पर चीजें मिलने लगेगी और वे शांति में अपनी जिन्दगी बसर कर सकेंगे।

बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण आप नें किस लिए किया था? थोक व्यापारियों को रुपया देने के लिए बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं हुआ था। सरकार थोक व्यापारियों को पब्लिक का रुपया देकर देश के हित के खिलाफ काम कर रही है और इस का बुरा असर सब को भुगतना पड़ रहा है और आप भी भुगतना पड़ेगा। सरकार को इस तरह फौरन ध्यान देना चाहिए।

समाप्ति महोदय, इसी तरह में इजारेदारों का मामला है। कई बार ममतियां बनीं, सरकारी नीतियों का निर्णय हुआ। पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू के समय में प्रथम तक जितने प्रधान मंत्री हुए सब ने देश का प्रावाहन किया कि वे इजारेदारों के खिलाफ हैं—लेकिन तरीजा क्या हुआ—इजारेदार घरानों की संख्या में वृद्धि हुई है, उनकी रकम ति में वृद्धि हुई है, निर्यात की सम्मति में वृद्धि हुई है तथा खुले आम यह वृद्धि हुई है। यह बात सचिव करती है कि यह सरकार नपुंसक सरकार है, इजारेदारों के खिलाफ मोनोपोलिस्ट के खिलाफ बोलने को इस सरकार में ताकत नहीं है या यह साफ साफ बोलें कि इस ने उस राष्ट्रीय नीति के खिलाफ जाने का फैसला कर लिया है, उन नीतियों के मुताबिक इजारेदारों को नियन्त्रित करने की इस में शक्ति नहीं है। या तो सरकार अपनी बदली हुई नीति या नीयत का ऐलाज करे, नहीं तो अपनी नपुंसकता का ऐलाज करे कि उसमें ताकत नहीं है।

बहुराष्ट्रीय अमरीकी कम्पनियां हमारे देश में फिर बढ़ रही हैं। उन की कारगुजारी हम ने त्रिली में देखी है। खुद प्रधान मंत्री ने चेतावनी दी है, मगर फिर भी बम्बई के पास तेल वाले मामले में, जब सारी कामयाबी हम ने हासिल कर ली है, तो सौदेबाजी चल रही है उन को शामिल करने के लिए। इस से हमारी आजादी को खतरा पैदा हो सकता है। प्रधान मंत्री स्वयं इस बात को जानती हैं। पाई साहब ने कहा था कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में इस साल शेयर खरीदने के लिए छूट दी जायेगी। लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर ऐसी चीज नहीं है कि कोई मिनिस्टर आवे और किसी करोड़पति के हवाले कर दे। देश इस को वर्दाशत नहीं करेगा। संसद भी इसकी स्वीकृति नहीं दे सकती कि पुरानी नीति का उलंघन किया जाय। अगर पाई साहब को बहुत मुहब्बत है तो टी० आई० एस० को० को जॉइंट सेक्टर में चला दें, टाटा का भी हिस्सा रहे और पब्लिक को भी शेयर दे दें। हिन्दुस्तान मोटर्स को जॉइंट सेक्टर में दे दें। 21 साल से देश के लोग छोटी कार का इंतजार कर रहे हैं लेकिन भारत सरकार कुछ नहीं कर सकी। माहती पर बड़ा हंगामा हुआ कि वह बड़ी कार हो गई, सस्ती नहीं रही। देश के बड़े लोग माहती के नाम पर चोट करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ उस को हड़पने के लिए कोशिश कर रहे हैं, और वह करीब करीब कामयाब भी हो गए हैं। क्या आज ऐसी स्थिति नहीं आ गई कि एम्बेसेडर, फियट, स्टैण्डर्ड और माहती का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लिया जाय। देश में जैसा संदेह का वातावरण पैदा हो रहा है इस में यह बात ठीक है कि नहीं।

विड़ला के ऊपर बहुत से मुकदमों की जांच चल रही थी। बहुत से अफसर विड़ला के साथ नरमी करना चाहते हैं। बदामी

आदि अफसर जो थे, उन का तबादला कर दिया गया। सेन्ट्रल बैंक के चेयरमैन श्री तनेजा का तबादला कर दिया क्यों कि उन्होंने कुछ कायदे के अनुसार करोड़पतियों को कर्जा नहीं देने दिया और इसलिए उनको हटा दिया गया, पंजाब नेशनल बैंक का मामला, एक्सप्रे रूप की बात आई थी, सी० वी० आई० ने सिफारिश की थी कि गायन्का को कर्जा न दिया जाय, लेकिन फिर भी वित्त मंत्रालय के आदेश से उनको कर्जा दिया जा रहा है। जिस पर तीन, तीन मुकदमें चल रहे हैं, 406, 409, 430 के ऐसे लोगों को कर्जा दिया जा रहा है। यह क्या प्रकट करता है कि इजारेदारों का कितना असर है। माननीय ज्योतिर्मय बसु बहुत सी बातें कह रहे थे, मैं सोच रहा था कि वह गायन्का का नाम लेंगे। लेकिन उन्होंने नहीं लिया।

श्री श्याम तन्दन मिश्र : और आप ने उनके नाम लिये जिन्हें उन्होंने बताया ?

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा : मैंने माहती का नाम लिया और पूरे राष्ट्रीयकरण की मांग की है। जब तक देश में इजारेदारी रहेगी तब तक भ्रष्टाचार रहेगा ही। यह किसी के लिये आविष्कार की वस्तु हो सकती है, लेकिन हमारे लिये नहीं है। कोई भी करोड़ों की सम्पत्ति बिना बेईमानी के नहीं पैदा कर सकता है। यह हमारे लिये ध्रुव सत्य है। जो कहते हैं कि इजारेदारी, पूंजीवाद को कायम रखें वह चाहे या अनचाहे भ्रष्टाचार को चलाने की बात करते हैं। हमने इसीलिये थोक व्यापार और इजारेदारी को खत्म करने के लिये कहा था, और इसलिये कहा था कि वगैर इसके भ्रष्टाचार नहीं मिट सकता है। जो हाल में अभी पैदा हो रही है उसमें सरकार मुख्य प्रश्नों पर झुक रही है। जन-विरोधी तत्वों

के सामने सरकार झुक रही है जैसे इजारेदारी, मुनाफाखोरी और बड़े बड़े जमींदारों के सामने सरकार घुटने टेक रही है। अभी हाल में आपने पुनः डिबिडेंड पर छूट दी है।

1973 में भूमि सुधार सम्बन्धी कानून लागू करने की बात कही गयी। लेकिन अभी तक सरकार उत दिशा में कुछ भी कारगर उपाय नहीं कर सकी है। क्या आप बड़े भू-स्वामियों के बल पर बूयों पर कब्जा करके जनतंत्र को समाप्त करना चाहते हैं? इस प्रकार आप जनतंत्र पर कुठाराघात करेंगे। क्या आप उनके साथ रहना चाहते हैं? या उनकी फालतू जमीन लेकर गरीबों में बांटना चाहते हैं? आज आप हरिजनों और गरीबों को बेदखल कर रहे हैं और जहाँ वे खड़े हो रहे हैं कानून को लागू कराने के लिये वहाँ उनका दमन किया जाता है। मेरे मधुवनी जिले में 10,500 किसान और मजदूर हैं, उन पर मुफ्त में चल रहे हैं, इसलिये कि हम भूमि सुधार कानून लाना चाहते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने एक कदम उठाया है जिसके तहत एक एकड़ तक जमीन वालों को कर्ज मुक्त कर दिया तो बड़े बड़े जमींदारों का तबका वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्रियों को हटाने की कोशिश कर रहा है। इस पड़यंत्र के पीछे किसका हाथ है इसका पता सरकार को लगाना चाहिये। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने भूमि सुधार के लिये कुछ बड़े बड़े लोगों को नोटिस दिया है जिनमें कुछ मंत्री और बड़े अधिकारी लोग शामिल हैं, इसीलिये माननीय बहुगुणा को हटाने की बात हो रही है। क्या आपने हाथों के दो तरह के दाँत रखे हुये हैं कि धाने के और दिखाने के और। इसलिये मेरा आग्रह है कि जो स्थिति पैदा हो गई है देश में उसमें देश के मेहनतकश लोग चुप नहीं रहेंगे। महंगाई के खिलाफ और अव्ययक बस्तुओं के समुचित वितरण के लिये देश-व्यापी अभियान ए० आइ० टी० यू० सी० और दूसरे संगठन शुरू करने जा रहे हैं। या तो

[श्री मंगेश झा]

सरकार मुनाफाखोरों के खिलाफ कदम उठाये, और नहीं तो मुनाफाखोरों और चोर-भ्रष्टाचारियों के समर्थन में खुल कर न चाये, और चुप हो कर बैठ जाये तथा पुलिस राइफल का सहारा मुनाफाखोरों को न लेने दे। शक्ति-शर-तीय किसान सभा और भारतीय श्रेत मजदूर यूनियन के नेतृत्व में 25 जून से श्रेत मजदूर और गरीब किसान जमीनों पर कब्जा करने जा रहे हैं, हदबन्दी कानून हम लागू करने जा रहे हैं। और चाहे वह किसी पार्टी के हों, हम उनके समर्थन में कब्जा करेंगे। हम चाहते हैं कि सरकार किसानों का साथ दे। और अगर नहीं देती तो चुप बैठे और राइफल लेकर जमीन चोरों की सहायता में न जाये। आप हम री भूमि सुधार कानून लागू करने में सहायता दें।

एक साल पहले दत्त बिहीन जनतंत्र का नारा देकर जा दलों को खत्म करने का अभियान शुरू किया गया था उसका आइड संस्कार गुजरात में शुरू हो गया। मेरा ख्याल है कि माननीय बाजपेयी जी इसने खुश होंगे क्योंकि श्रमस्था उनका भी दीया गुल होने जा रहा था। जो फासिस्ट मनोवृत्ति बढ़ रही थी दलों को खत्म करो। तो गुजरात में उसका दाह संस्कार हो रहा है। मैं चाहूँगा कि अमरीक साम्राज्यवाद और देसी इजारेदारों की जो शक्तियाँ हमारे खिलाफ काम कर रही हैं उनके खिलाफ हम एक साथ होकर आगे बढ़ें ताकि देश को तेजी से खुशहाली की तरफ ले जा सकें और जनतंत्र को मजबूत कर सकें। इसलिये दल और पार्टी के बंधे से निकल कर हम सबको आगे बढ़ना चाहिये। और इस पृष्ठभूमि में मैं समझता हूँ कि जो फासिज्म पर विजय का 30वाँ वर्ष है और तीसवीं वर्षगांठ हम मनाने जा रहे हैं, यह संसद् के लिये एक गौरव का दिन है और मैं चाहूँगा कि संसद् के सभी लोग मेरे इस विचार से सहमत होंगे कि 30 वर्ष पहले जो फासिज्म पर विजय प्राप्त की गई थी, भारतीय संसद्

इस बात का प्रश्न है कि दुनिया में कासिराम
की पत्नयने नहीं देने और न बड़ने देने और
जनतंत्र को बिजली बना कर रहे हैं ।

इन सवालों के साथ में अपनी बात समाप्त
करता हूँ ।

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Mr. Chair-
man, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion.
It is a matter of tragedy that the
budget session of this House has to end
in this pathetic and melodramatic
note—anti-climax as far as the Oppo-
sition is concerned, abortive of mes-
sage as far as the nation is concerned
and completely devoid of any message
for the people of the country as far
as Parliament is concerned.

So, Sir, the one hour speech that
was delivered by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu
was—I need not state it—an exercise
of futility—a scurrilous exercise of
imaginative tales playing out of
imaginative tapes. I, for one, have
got a particular reaction to various
Leaders of the Opposition. When
Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee rises, I
listen to him with respect; when Shri
H. N. Mukerjee rises, I listen to him
with respect and when Shri Samar
Mukherjee rises, I listen to him with
great respect, that a genuine and
sincere revolutionary deserves. But,
may I submit that when Mr. Bosu
rises, my reaction is one of absolute
contempt for a bogus dramatic per-
formance?

Now, Sir, his speech can be divided
into two sections—one was the tales
from foreign firms that are given
here. That part of the speech was
read out by him. It is not that he is
incapable of making extempore or
offhand speeches without any reference
to his note. He is capable of doing it.
But that sort of stuff he gave to
Parliament was obviously something
which he owed in contract to some-
body to write up before he delivered

that to Parliament. The text was
handed over to him. And obediently
and faithfully he read out the text
before the House. The second part of
the speech was his own. Therefore,
he did not have the necessity to
resort to any notes. He spoke out
without even referring to notes. The
first part referred to charges. He
spelt out names of the companies and
made allegations against the compa-
nies. I would like to know the brief
of which company he was holding.
(Interruptions). Well, Sir, you may
be thinking about that. I have got
before me the autobiographic aspect
of this gentleman. I have with me
Who is Who of Members of Parliamen-
t. In this *Who is Who* we find
wreckers of patriots giving narration
of the great tales of woe they under-
went during the period of Indepen-
dence Struggle. That is why, when I
read Shri A. K. Gopalan's autobiog-
raphy or Shri Subrata Mukherjee's bi-
ography and quite a number of gentle-
men's biographies belonging to the
CPI(M). I read them with respect.
But, here we know we gave a state-
ment about which we all feel hurt.
Here is the statement which Mr. Bosu
has given.

Sir, his record is magnificent. This
gentleman today is fifty-five years.
He was born in 1920. Therefore, at
the time of Independence he was not
a school-boy. He was an adult. He
was a youngman who could contribute
to the Independence struggle of
India. Where was this gentleman
then! I will read out. He was grant-
ed a Commission during the World
War II. (Interruptions).

I am reading his own statement.
Later as a Battery Captain with the
853 Heavy Anti-Aircraft Regiment and
353 Field Regiment, Royal Artillery,
London, 1952-54 worked as Tea
Taster, Assessor and Value (trained
in U.K.); was senior grade Covenant-

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

led Officer in British Firms in Europe and India (left in 1959). Kindly remember here that he left in 1949. Upto 1949 and during the pre-Independence he was an ideal representative of foreign firms in U.K., Europe and India.

Then, it is stated, came in contact with the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1952 and with the Communist Party of India in 1955. I seek your permission to stop for a while here. In 1952 he comes in contact with the Communist Party of Great Britain and then he was an artillery officer and all sorts of captain etc. In 1955 he came in contact with the Communist Party of India and then worked as Tea Taster, Assessor and Valuer and was a representative of British firms in Europe and India.

Sir, we have heard of conspiracy cases during the Independence struggle. We discovered that the British people had their agents in the inner circles of the revolutionary movement of this country. Against this background I make an allegation that this gentleman is an agent of foreign firms in the Communist movement of this country and those foreign firms have handed over to him a speech to be made here on the Floor of this Parliament. This he has been doing all along. He pretends to be a revolutionary. In 1955 when he was 40 years old the spirit of revolution dawned on him. Upto the fourteenth year he lives in service. He writes in bold letters.

'Officer in British firms'. 'Covenanted Officer'. Not a small officer but, a covenanted officer in British firms in Europe and in India Well, Sir, the question is, whose interests was he serving? Was he serving the interests of the foreign firms or was he serving the interest of the Communist Party? Was he a communist man serving the inner circle of foreign

firms or was he foreign agent serving in the cells of the Communist Party? I am putting the question to him.

20.00 hrs.

Now, Sir, I recently read an article about this gentleman. He has got a family house in Calcutta, I was told. That family house is now being used as a hotel, much more than a hotel. The hotel develops into something after ten O'Clock in the night. The charges are high because the service is not ordinary. The service is something which will attune to the nocturnal character of the hotel. This gentleman develops into a revolutionary.

MR CHAIRMAN: Mr. Stephen, let us come to....

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: In the whole of his speech, there was no point to reply to Only the obnoxious personality of this gentleman projected out of his speech. Nothing else came out of it. That is how, he has developed. Let us understand this gentleman He speaks about corruption. I leave this untouchable gentleman aside and I proceed to the Marxist Party. I hope, Sir, the CPI(M), with all the differences of opinion we have got with them, has now degenerated to the extent of owning a spokesman like this, a bundle of farcical performance. Let him be left alone.

But, they speak about corruption. Forget not the fact that there was a period when you were in the administration in Kerala. Mr. E. M. S. Namboodripad was the Chief Minister of Kerala. May I just mention, what happened? Certain differences of opinion developed between them in the United Front. They kicked

out the Community Party of India. What did they do? They have done in the same manner in which he is doing. They cooked up certain charges against Shri T. Thomas and Shri M. N. Govindan Nair and on the basis of the charges, on a sudden morning referred the matter to a judge, a judge of their own choice. Subsequently, charges were levelled against Ministers belonging to the Marxist Communist Party, Mr. Embichi Bava, Mr. Willingdon of KTP and Mr. Krishnan who is still a Member of this House and the Assembly passed a Resolution to institute an enquiry against them. Protesting against the resolution of the House that an enquiry be instituted, Mr. E. M. S. Namboodripad resigned and got away. What happened subsequently? The judges who were appointed by them conducted an enquiry. They acquitted, the enquiry commission acquitted, Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair and Mr. T. V. Thomas belonging to the CPI and with respect to the other three gentlemen, an unqualified finding was given that they had committed acts of corruption, misappropriation, nepotism and misuse of official position undeserving of the position they were occupying.

Here, I find, the CPI(M) coming in as votaries against corruption. They know what it is, Sir. We know where to find the worm. If you want to find the worm, go to the pool of dirt, if you want to find a nasty thing, go to the body of the corpse, if you want to find Jyotirmoy Bosu, go and seek a tale of fancied and fabricated corruption charges because he is the votary of it. He knows how to indulge in it. He has been trained not only for tea testing, but, for manipulating corruption and for profiting in corruption. He is the master of it. Now, Sir, this is the background of the CPI(M). This is the background. May I remind him

of one thing more? Mr. E. M. S. Namboodripad had a son. When he was the Chief Minister, that son was appointed in a high position in the transport corporation of Kerala without conforming to the rules. The appointment was challenged in the Courts saying that the appointment was absolutely corrupt. The appointment was struck down and that man had to be removed. This is on record.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA (Cochin):
On a point of order.

It is the general rule of this House that when a member of the House levels charges against any person who is not a member of this House, he usually gives prior notice to the Chair, to the Speaker.

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD:
Judgment of the court has been quoted.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: He should take the permission of the Speaker, and then only he can make charges against a member who is not present in the House. He is making a charge against Shri Namboodripad.

SHRI BHAGAT JHA AZAD: His son.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: I want a ruling on the point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This point was raised when Shri Bosu made his opening speech and the Speaker made an observation. Kindly refer to it.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I accept full responsibility. I will produce the judgment of the court and the report of the Inquiry Commission.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): I support Shri Mahajan's point of order with retrospective effect.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: That is all I have got to say with respect to that.

Coming to another thing, I am at a loss to understand the purposes of this no-confidence motion. Let us remember we are in the budget session. We had the opportunity of surveying the activities of Government in a most unrestricted manner in the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address. Then all these matters were discussed. We had the opportunity during the general budget debate for the same sort of discussion. Then item by item the Demands were taken up and we had the opportunity to put all these cases. When the Budget is passed, it is elementary parliamentary procedure and principle that it is a vote of confidence in the Government; when the Motion of thanks to the President is passed, it is parliamentary convention that it is tantamount to an expression of confidence in Government. Finally, when we are about to rise, here comes a no-confidence motion. I thought something would emerge out of it. But it is the same thing. In 1952, when the Prime Minister was President of the Indian National Congress, something happened; therefore, in 1975, the Prime Minister must resign.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: Correct your record.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: In 1971 something happened; therefore, in 1975, the Prime Minister must resign. In 1962 something happened; therefore in 1975, the Prime Minister must resign. A very fertile brain indeed! Where are you going, Mr.

Bosu? He will run away. That is the character of the man. (Interruptions).

I submit nothing new has emerged out of this. I make an allegation here. This no-confidence motion is not without a purpose. The purpose is to stall the Untouchability (Offences) Bill. Now I make this allegation. Let us see how they have been behaving. I do not charge every member of the Opposition with this nefarious motive. But there are persons who had this nefarious motive. For three days now, the Bill was before the House. The Home Minister has been here attending to move the Bill. On the first day, it was stalled by resorting to procedural questions on irrelevant matters. Then the MISA question came, procedural points were raised and another day was lost. Now finally on the last day here comes out of the blooming hat of the embodiment of corruption in this House, the agent of foreign firms, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, a motion of no-confidence. He is under brief, under arrangement with the vested interests of the country, to see that the Untouchability (Offences) Bill is not passed.

He says we are dealing with Mr. K. K. Birla. Mr. K. K. Birla is, of course, a human being. He may or may not be good. But with whom are you dealing, my dear friend? Look around your new-found friends and elements. You have got on your right the Jan Sangh. Of course, I have the highest respect for their leader, Shri Vajpayee, and many of the friends who are there.

About his party, we have got our assessment; they agree with our assessment; you may disagree. With that also. But your right hand is in their left hand. CPM has got it; the

Jan Sangh is touching the tail of the CPM. We find a magnificent revolutionary going by the name of RSS behind your tail; you have got the RSS and in Kerala you have got the Cong.(O), a new found ally for leading the revolutionary movement of the country, which are the interests they are representing? They asked us about our association. They have now become what? The hallowed red flag which inspite of difference of opinion I must admit, has stood witness to the revolutionary struggles of the workers and toiling masses, that flag is now being lent by the CPM cover the sins of reactionary and rightist forces of this Country.

Now having done that, they want to stall the Untouchability Bill, whose interest was it to stall that Bill? It is the interest of the Jan Sangh. (Interruptions) Only for that purpose at the far end of the session, they have brought this no-confidence motion which is absolutely abortive.

We have got many serious problems in this country. In the Parliament of India it is the policies of the Government which must be attacked. Mr. Jha made a speech and made certain remarks with which I differ but certainly I must acknowledge that he made relevant remarks, relevant to the no-confidence motion because he made a reference to the policies, what he considers to be aberrations in the policies of the Government. I have got a reply to what he said but I would rather take some other opportunity.

I would try to draw a distinction between the type of speech that was made by Mr. Bhogendra Jha and on the one hand and by Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, on the other. (An Hon. Member: He is your ally). The question is whether with respect to the national challenges and dangers which the nation is facing on the economic, political, international and domestic

fronts, the Government are or are not trying to grapple with the problems. Any responsible element even in the Opposition should acknowledge that the Government is trying as best as it can; may be they failed, may be they faltered, may be they did not succeed to the whole extent; their endeavour to tackle those problems had brought the situation under control. Acknowledge that and then criticise. Criticism will be listened to with respect. Even in criticising policies, if you make it a daily or yearly practice to indulge in irresponsible talk, it becomes absolutely nothing and nobody is going to listen to that. People of this country are watching on the one hand how the Government is behaving and on the other hand how certain elements in the Opposition are behaving. They will form their judgement. I have absolutely no doubt that the rejection of this no-confidence motion by this House is a rejection not only by this House but is symbolic of the rejection by the entire country also. You have brought the Budget session to anti-climatic end, melodramatic performance, a sort of pathetic end. It should have been a source of inspiration, source of message to the nation to go ahead and face the challenges of this country. Mr. Bosu has done the biggest disservice to the country by moving this illtimed resolution. I am not sorry because nothing better could be expected from that person with the antecedents of Mr. Bosu. I oppose this Resolution.

श्री प्रदल बिहारी बाजपेयी (स्वा-
लियर): सभापति महोदय, बड़ी की नई पुटी
बूम गई है। देश भाव फिर से झपने भविष्य
के तिराहे पर आकर बड़ा हो गया है। प्रश्न
यह नहीं है कि देश में पूंजीवाद चले, या सत्ता-
रुद्ध बल की कल्पना का समाजवाद आये।
प्रश्न यह है कि देश में शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से
सुनिवादी परिवर्तन हों, या देश पूरी तरह से
भराजकता की तरफ जाये ?

[श्री. ब्रह्मन् विहारी धारगुप्ता.]

जिसे बैंकों का समूह बन करके और राजाओं का जेब खर्च बन करके प्रशासक मंत्री ने बाला ब्राह्मणी के मन में यह बातला जगाई थी कि वह उसकी दलत सुधारका चाहती है; और यदि एक बार तत्प्राकृतिक क्रिष्णीकेड को हटा दिया गया तो प्रचति का एक प्रकलस हो जमेगा। किन्तु प्राज स्थिति क्या है? राजाओं के विरुद्ध विष वमन करने वाली पार्टी गु रात में अपनी डूबती हुई नैया को बचाने के लिये बड़ीबा के गायक-बाड़ की शरण में जाने को सोच रही है।

जहाँ तक राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों का सवाल है, सरकार सदन में यह स्वीकार कर चुकी है कि राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों का सबसे अधिक भ्रष्ट बड़े-बड़े घरानों को मिला है। 5 बड़े बैंक घाटे में हैं। यूनाइटेड कमर्शियल बैंक के हिसाब-किताब में—यह उसका एक नुका वल्लावेज प्राप्त करने में सफल हो गया है—31-12-1973 को जो बैंड-बैट्स बलसये गये हैं, उनकी राशि 1 करोड़ 69 लाख 51 हजार 674 रुपये 32 पैसे है। इस बैंक के पास जो स्टिकी एकाउन्ट्स हैं, उनके बलसे में उसमें 63 लाख 96 हजार 657 रुपये 29 पैसे का ब्याज मिलना चाहिये था, जिसका घाटा हो गया है। फिर भी यूनाइटेड कमर्शियल बैंक के चेयरमैन, जिसका कार्यकाल समाप्त हो गया था, 3 वर्ष के लिये एक-टेशन पा गये। किस केन्द्रीय मंत्री का उनकी एकसटेशन के पीछे हाथ है? किस कार-मुजरी के लिये उनको पुरस्कृत किया गया है? राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों को जागीर बना दिया गया है। जवला की गाड़ी कमाई का पैसा दोनों हाथों से उलीचा जा रहा है।

सेंट्रल बैंक प्राज इण्डिया में स्थित और भी खराब है। साजों रुपये का गोलमाल है, घोषणाबड़ी है। मैं दो उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। कर्नाल प्राञ्च के लिये 20 लाख रुपये एडवान्स किये, जिनमें से 10 लाख रुपये

ऐसे हैं, जिनकी वसूली सम्भव नहीं है। बैंक का बजान्नी कर्मचारियों की प्राथिक स्थिति बड़ा बड़ा कर पेश करने का घोषी था, मगर उसे सजा देना तो भलग रहा, उसे तरकीबी दे दी गई है। वजह यह है कि उसे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नियंत्रण में बलसे वाली एम्प्लोईज एसोसिएशन का विश्वस प्राप्त है।

बारंगल शाखा में 25 लाख रुपये के कर्ज दिये गये, जिनमें से 10 लाख रुपये डूब गये। बैंक के ऐजेंट तथा एग्जिक्यूटिव फिनांस आफिसर के विरुद्ध जांच हुई थी, लेकिन एम्प्लोईज एसोसिएशन के दबाव पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं करने दी गई।

धर सेंट्रल बैंक प्राज इण्डिया में हालत यह है कि कर्मचारियों की नियुक्ति मैनेजमेंट नहीं करता है, एम्प्लोईज एसोसिएशन करती है। हैदराबाद में जगहें खाली हुईं, प्रार्थना-पत्र मंगाने गये। वे प्रार्थना-पत्र हैदराबाद से मद्रास भेजे गये, मद्रास में निर्णय हुआ, वे फिर हैदराबाद लाये गये और 250 की जगह 300 नये कर्मचारी नियुक्त किये गये हैं, जो किसी-न-किसी रूप में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से या तो सम्बन्धित हैं, या उसके द्वारा अनुगृहीत हैं। अगर सरकार जांच करे, तो मैं सारे सबूत पेश करने के लिये तैयार हूँ।

“गरीबी हटाओ” का नारा लगा कर लोक सभा में दो तिहाई बहुमत प्राप्त कर लिया गया। बंगला देश की मुक्ति ने प्रवेशों में सरकारें प्रदान कर दीं, लेकिन प्राज स्थिति क्या है? देश में गरीबी बढ़ी है। प्रदेशों में राजनीतिक अस्थिरता व्याप्त है। उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री को कौन हटाना चाहता है?

श्री इयाकान्धन सिन्हा: गफूर को किसने हटाया?

श्री ब्रह्मन् विहारी धारगुप्ता: गफूर की भी इस समय याद काली होगी। लेकिन

बहुपुष्पा के समर्थन में जो स्वर उठा है, वह सत्कारुण्य दल के किसी सदस्य का नहीं है, श्री भोयेन्द्र झा का है। यह सबोग नहीं है, अन्तर्विरोधी से बरा हुआ दल, सत्ता लोचुपता से घस्त, येन-केन प्रकारेण हकूमत हाथ में रखने के लिये आज अपने बोझ से दब रहा है। विरोधी दलों को दौध देने से काम नहीं चलेगा। जय प्रकाश नारायण के आन्दोलन को बलि का बकरा बनाना अब विफलताओं पर पर्दा डालने में कामयाब नहीं होगा।

सदन का अवमूल्यन कर दिया गया है, ससद अपनी उपयोगिता और गरिमा खो चुकी है। लोकतन्त्र का एक स्तम्भ, जनता का सबसे बड़ा प्रतिनिधि समूह आज शोर-शराबे के केन्द्र में बदल कर रह गया है।

प्रधान मंत्री मदन की नेत्री है, मगर वह सदन की कार्यवाही में रुचि नहीं लेती। वह यदा-कदा दर्शन देती है, मगर अधिकांश समय कमरे में बैठ कर मत्ता की कले घुमाती रहती है।

क्या यह लोकतंत्र है, जिसमें विरोधियों को लाइसेंसकांड पर बहस कसने के लिये अख्यत महोदय की कुर्सी घेरनी पड़ी? क्या यह लोकतंत्र है, जिसमें लाइसेंस कांड के बारे में सी० बी० आई० की जांच के कागजों को देखने के लिये मत्प्राप्त ही धमकी देनी पड़ी? क्या यह लोकतंत्र है, जिसमें गुजरात में बरमात से पहले चुनाव कराने के लिये श्री मोरारजी देसाई को जान की बाजी लगानी पड़ी?

अभी दो दिन पहले केन्द्रीय सरकार भीसा में सम्बोधन करना चाहती थी। क्या इसके लिये दो दिन हंगामा कराना और बाद में झुकना जरूरी था? अगर देश के किसी भाग में नेशनल इमेरजेंसी है, व्यापक पैमाने पर उपद्रव है, तो क्या विरोधी दलों को विश्वास में लेने की प्रक्रिया का अवलम्बन

नहीं किया जा सकता है? सिचिकम के बारे में अपने निर्णय पर मुहर लगवाने के लिये विरोधी दल प्रधान मंत्री द्वारा धार्मिक किये जा सकते हैं, मगर व्यक्तिगत स्वाधिनता पर अक्रम सगामे का जब सवाल पाता है, तो विरोधी दलों को विश्वास में लेनेकी जरूरत नहीं समझी जाती है।

सच्चाई यह है कि प्रधान मंत्री ने विरोधी दलों के साथ वार्ता के सारे पुल तोड़ दिये हैं। आज सरकार और प्रतिपक्षा के बीच में कोई सेतु नहीं है? इसका कारण यह है कि सरकार विरोधी पक्ष का समादर करना तो अलग रहा, उसे सहन करने के लिये भी तैयार नहीं है। मतभेद को शत्रुता मानते हैं। लोकतंत्र में मतभेद रहेंगे। मत-भिन्नता को शत्रुता मानकर उसे समाप्त करने की कोशिश की जाती है। देश के किसी भी कोने में कोई भी कांड हो जाये, चाहे वह समस्तीपुर का बम कांड हो, या इलाहाबाद के हाई कोर्ट में पिस्तौल-धारी नौजवान का सहसा प्रकट हो जाना, या दिल्ली में सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस को गाड़ी में हथगोरो फेंका जाना, सबके लिये विरोधी दल जिम्मेदार हैं।

क्या कारण है कि अभी तक स्वर्णय ललितनारायण मिश्र के हत्यारों का पता नहीं लगा है? अगर तथा कथित फासिस्ट शक्तियों का उसमें हाथ है, जय प्रकाश नारायण के आन्दोलन से सम्बन्धित दल उसमें जुड़े हुये हैं, तो सरकार उनमें से किसी को पकड़ कर कटघरे में खड़ा करे।

मैं कल पटना में था। मुझे बिहार के एक ऊंचे अधिकारी ने बताया—यहाँ पर उनके नाम का उद्घाटन नहीं हो पाया है। सी० बी० आई० बिहार में खाल रही है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी

मानवमार्ग बोधी है, तो उन लोगों को विरफ्तार किया जाये ? किसने बम विस्फोट किया है, अभी तक पता नहीं लगा है। वह बाबा कहां गये, जो श्री ललित-नारायण मिश्र के साथ थे और जो बार बार दिव्य में आकर साइ-फूक किया करते थे, और तब से अन्तर्धान कर गये हैं ? उन्हें किसी ने पकड़ा नहीं है।

उस दिन के उद्घाटन समारोह के 44, 45 फोटो लिये गये थे। मगर उनमें जो आदमी दिखाई देते हैं, अभी तक उन से भी पूछताछ नहीं की गई है। उस दिन के सारे कांड में प्रत्यक्षदर्शी पत्रकार थे। पत्रकार मंच के पास थे, मगर सी० बी० घ्राई० ने किसी पत्रकार से नहीं पूछा। क्यों नहीं पूछा ? इसका अर्थ यह है कि सी० बी० घ्राई० सबाई का पता लगाना नहीं चाहता, या वह सबाई जानता है और उस पर पर्दा डालने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है।

श्री गोविन्द मिश्र एक समाचार-पत्र निकालते हैं। उसे केन्द्र और प्रदेशों के विज्ञापन मिलते हैं। वह पत्र कभी-कभी प्रकट होता है, मगर जब प्रकट होता है, तो बड़े बड़े विज्ञापनों सहित बाजार में घाता है। उस दिन मेरे मित्र श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र ने उचित सवाल पूछा था कि श्री गोविन्द मिश्र उस स्थान तक कैसे पहुंचे, जहां मेटल डिटेक्टर के द्वारा पता लगा कि उनके बैग में पिस्तौल है ? वहां तो सुरक्षा का कड़ा प्रबन्ध था। वहां बिना पास के कोई जा नहीं सकता था, कई रोकें थीं। सारे बाधाओं को पार करके श्री बहुगुणा के चुनाव में काम करने वाला नौजवान, जो कहता है कि मैं कांग्रेसी हूँ, मेरे पूज्य पिता जी कांग्रेसी थे, उस ऊपर तक कैसे पहुंचा, जहां प्रधान मंत्री की गजालें थीं ? क्या कोई जवाब है ?

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : एक देवी जी उनको ले जा रही थी।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह सही है। वह उत्तर प्रदेश के सूचना विभाग की अधिकारी थीं।

तीसरी घटना नई दिल्ली की है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस दिन दहाड़े हथगोलों के निशाने बनाए गए। किसने हथगोले फेंके ? हथगोले फेंकने वाला कहां है। रिसर्च एंड एनैलिसिस विंग पर यह सरकार 100 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करती है, इन्टेलिजेस प्रलय है। इतने रुपये खर्च करने वाली सरकार अपराधी का पता नहीं लगा सकी। सब से ज्यादा ताज्जुब आप को यह सुन कर होगा कि दिल्ली की पुलिस के कुछ लोग गए उस चौराह के पास रहने वाले एक भूतपूर्व संसद सदस्य के घर पर और उनके नौकरों में कहा कि तुम बयान दो कि तुमने उम आदमी को यहां से भागते देखा। वह संसद सदस्य अकस्मात् लौट कर घर पर चले आए और बयान नहीं हुआ। नहीं तो दिल्ली की पुलिस नौकरों से यह बयान लें जाती कि हमने देखा था। हत्या करने वाले चप्पल पहन कर भागा करते हैं ? हवाई चप्पल पहन कर आए थे और चले गए। दस हजार का इनाम घोषित किया गया है। सरकार अब तक पता नहीं लगा सकी। किम तरह से बदनाम करने की कोशिश की जाती है यह इस बात से पता लगता है कि यह कहा गया कि हथगोले जिस अखबार के कागज में लिपटे हुए थे वह बंगला अखबार था। . . . (श्वच्चाप) . . .

देश में एक हवा पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है कि बिरोधी दलों के द्वारा लोकतंत्र खतरे में है। इसलिए प्रधान मंत्री ने जो असीमित अधिकार अपने हाथ में केंद्रित कर लिया है वह उचित है। किसी भी लोकतन्त्रवादी देश में वहां के प्रधान मंत्री को

इतने अधिकार कभी नहीं मिले। प्रधान मंत्री सबसर्वा हैं। यह मंत्री है ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी। अगर यह मन्त्रालय का जो जासूसी विभाग है वह प्रधान मंत्री के अन्तर्गत है। सुरक्षा मंत्री हैं सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह। अगर उनके अन्तर्गत जितना इंटेलिजंस है उसका संचालन प्रधान मंत्री करती है। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर है सुब्रह्मण्यम और रेवेन्यू इंटेलिजेंस प्रधान मंत्री के पास है। एक्सटर्नल अफैयर्स का भी यहीं हाल है। प्रधान मंत्री का सचिवालय एक पैरलल गवर्नमेंट बन गया है और उसके बाद भी प्रधान मंत्री अपने को असुरक्षित अनुभव करती हैं कि लोग मुझे हटाना चाहते हैं। तो कौन सा गुनाह करना चाहते हैं? क्या लोकतन्त्रवादी देश में प्रधान मंत्री को हटाना पाप है, अपराध है, एक साजिश है? मैं यह समझने में असमर्थ हूँ कि सदन में इतना प्रचण्ड बहुमत, असाधारण अधिकार सफट काल में उत्पन्न असीम शक्ति, इस सब के बावजूद प्रधान मंत्री और उनके नेतृत्व में चलने वाला दल तथा उम दल की बनी हुई सरकार देश के जीवन में बुनियादी परिवर्तन क्यों नहीं ला पा रही है? कोई उत्तर है?

एक माननीय सदस्य आप होने दे तब न?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी हम होने दें? फिर बलि का बकरा बूढ़ निरा। प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि अग्रोजीगन कहा है? उसके पीछे जनता कत्ता है?

एक माननीय सदस्य सबमुच बात है यह।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सब बात है तो हम रोक थाम नहीं कर रहे हैं आप का। फिर कहीं आप का पाप आप के पाप में बंजीर बन कर जकड़ रहा है। दोनों बातें एक साथ नहीं चल सकती।

आज सफट काल को बनाए रखने का क्या औचित्य है? दिसम्बर, 1971 में पाकिस्तान का हमला हुआ। शांति हो गई। जीती हुई जमीन हमने वापस दे दी। अपने से अपना भूभाग भी दे दिया। हम बड़े उदार हैं, भूदानी हैं। युद्ध बन्दी छोड़ दिए। गिमला से समझौता कर लिया। पत्राचार प्रारम्भ हो गया है, व्यापार प्रारम्भ होने जा रहा है। अब सफट काल कहा है? तो कहा जा रहा है कि आर्थिक सफट है। आर्थिक सफट सरकार की देन है। यह कई साल रहने वाला है। तो अब प्रधान मंत्री ने सूर बदला है। कहती हैं कि खतरा मौजूद है। भारत के चारो तरफ जंगी तैयारियां हो रही हैं। समुद्र में भी हमला हो सकता है। चीन करेगा समुद्र से हमला? रूस तो कर नहीं सकता। वह तो हमारा मित्र है और हम उसकी मित्रता की कद्र करते हैं। वह सफट के समय हमारे काम आया है। हम उसके आभारी हैं। यह बात अलग है कि हम उसे अपने बरेलू मामले में दखल नहीं देने देते और मुक्त आपत्ति है कि फासिज्म से लड़ने के नाम पर दिल्ली में जो सभा हुई जिसमें भ्रष्टियों ने भाग लिया, कांग्रेस पार्टी के बड़े बड़े नेता गए, उसमें 32-33 साल पहले जो फासिज्म की लड़ाई हुई थी उसका ही उल्लेख नहीं किया गया, रूसी प्रतिनिधि की उपस्थिति में यह कहा गया कि हिन्दुस्तान के भीतर भी फासिज्म फिर उठा रहा है। हम लड़ेंगे। घरे, लड़ना है तो अपने बल पर लड़िए। रूस को अपने बीच में बसीटने की क्या जरूरत है? यह भारत और रूस की सच्चि के खिलाफ है। हम रूस को अपने बरेलू मामलों में दखल देने की इजाजत नहीं दे सकते।

लेकिन मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि रूस तो हमसा कर नहीं सकता। वह हमारा मित्र है। चीन में इतनी शक्ति नहीं है मौसिना की। फिर चीन से जमीन लुब्धी हुई है।

श. छत्तल बिहार: बाबूशेरी:

उसके बाद बच गया अमेरिका। क्या अमेरिका से भापको डर है? जो अमेरिका बियतनाम से, कम्बोडिया से विस्तर जोरिया बांध कर बं ब्राबर होकर वापस जाने के लिए बिवन हो गया वह इतने बड़े देश को चुनीती दे सकता है ?

कि : अगर कोई वास्तविक संकट भा जाय तो एमरजेंसी का एलान हो सकता है। मगर क्या कारण है..... (श्वषा)..... यह कहा जा रहा है कि हम स्पगलस के खिलाफ कायदाही चाहते हैं इसलिए असाधारण अधिकार चाहिए। 8 मई को एक सवाल के जबाब में यह बताया गया कि 323 लोग जिन पर तस्करी का आरोप है फरार हैं, अभी तक पकड़े नहीं गए। भारत प्रदेश में 2, बिहार में 8, पंजीगड़ में 1, दिल्ली में 3, गोवा, दमन तथा दीव में 8, गुजरात में 22, जम्मू काश्मीर में 1, कर्नाटक में 7, केरल में 1, महाराष्ट्र में 130, पंजाब में 2, तमिलनाडु में 31, उत्तर प्रदेश में 5, पश्चिम बंगाल में 19। राज्य सरकारें इन व्यक्तियों को गिरफ्तार करने में विफल रही हैं। इतना ही नहीं उनकी जायदाद भी जब्त नहीं कर सकी है। भाप तस्करों से सच्चाई में लड़ना नहीं चाहते। असाधारण अधिकार लेने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इन का परित्याग कर दीजिए।

पहले भी कांग्रेस पार्टी चुनाव लड़ने के लिए चन्दा इकट्ठा करती थी। कम्पनीज को चन्दा देने की इजाजत थी। अब वह इजाजत रोक दी गई है। अब करोड़ों रुपये इकट्ठा किए जा रहे हैं। मगर किस ढंग से किए जा रहे हैं? मेरे पास एक नया मामला थाया है। मंसर्स जयराम प्राइवेट लिमिटेड, इसके मालिक हैं संत प्रकाश भगवान दास, ये रेलवे को काउन बैट सप्लाई करते हैं। इसमें सप्लाई बिभाग भी शामिल है और डाइरेक्टोरीट जनरल धाफ डिप्लोमल भी शामिल है।

1971 में 28 लाख 65 हजार 704 रुपयों का काउन बैट नवर्नमेंट को दिया। 1972 में 18 लाख का। 1973 में बढ़ कर यह रकम 3 करोड़ 69 लाख हो गई और 1974 में 1 करोड़ 78 लाख हो गई। अभी तक इस कम्पनी से 5 करोड़ 93 लाख 77 हजार 442 रुपये का काउन बैट खरीदा जा चुका है। पहले नियम था कि तीन तीन चार चार महीने में टेंडर मगाया जायगा। छोटी छोटी कम्पनियों को भीका दिया जायगा। बाद में यह नियम ताक पर रख दिया गया और एक कम्पनी को मोनोपली दे दी गई। यहवहीबदनाम कम्पनी है जिस ने अफगानिस्तान में फारेन एक्सचेंज दिखा कर पोलिस्टर फाइबर और सिन्थेटिक फाइबर का लाइसेंस प्राप्त किया था। यह क्या हो रहा है देश में ?

दूसरा मामला है लखनऊ की पी रामाउंट इंजीनियरिंग वर्क्स का। 69-70 में 2 लाख के इम्पोर्ट लाइसेंस इसको दिए गए और 70-71 में 65 लाख के। वह कम्पनी बीगस साबित हुई। श्री चट्टोपाध्याय का पत्र मेरे पास है जिसमें उन्होंने लिखा है कि हम जांच कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मुझे सन्देह है कि जांच पूरी होगी क्योंकि हर जांच किसी न किसी उच्च पदासीन व्यक्ति को जोड़ती है और जब जांच किसी बड़े व्यक्ति को जोड़ती है तो फिर जांच स्थगित हो जाती है।

देश में छोटे उद्योग चलते हैं। उनका एक सेन्सस किया गया। 2 लाख 32 हजार 794 छोटे उद्योग हैं मगर उन में से नाट-ट्रेसेबल हैं 24109 उद्योग और कुछ ऐसे हैं कि ट्रेसेबल हैं लेकिन परमानेन्सी बसोउड हैं। उनकी लादाव है 53148। ये छोटे उद्योग ऐसे हैं कि जो लाइसेंस पर धामात करते हैं, कच्चा माल लेते हैं और ये उद्योग काबज पर रहते हैं। ये किस की कृपा पर चलते हैं ?

केवल अधिकारियों के भर्षा त्र गठबंधन से नहीं, कहीं न कहीं राजनीतिक नेता इन उद्योगों से जुड़े हुए हैं, इस विषये चर्चते हैं और देश की जनता पर बौद्ध बने हुए हैं।

सभापति महोदय, मैं अब समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ—प्रधान मंत्री जी ने नवम्बर 27, 1972 को एक पत्र लिखा था—यह पत्र एक सख्त सव्य को लिखा था—

"As you know, there is by now a very well settled procedure to examine such memoranda against a Chief Minister."

प्रोसीजर क्या है ?

"He should furnish his comments to me in confidence in order to enable me to determine whether or not there is a need for a commission of enquiry."

क्या प्रधान मंत्री इसका निर्णय करेगी ?

एक माननीय सदस्य . तो क्या आप करेगे ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मिश्र जी, हम करने लायक होते तो आप यह सवाल नहीं पूछते। न्याय करना काफी नहीं है, न्याय किया जा रहा है, यह दिखाई भी देना चाहिये। अगर उसी दल के मुख्य मंत्री के विरुद्ध आरोप है जिस दल की प्रधान मंत्री हैं, तो प्रधान मंत्री कैसे जांच कर सकती है ? मैं मिश्र जी को पं० तारिका प्रसाद मिश्र का स्मरण नहीं दिखाना चाहता हूँ। कोई प्रक्रिया होनी चाहिये, ऐसी प्रक्रिया जिस पर कोई भ्रमूली न उठा सके, जो आरोप हो उनकी जांच हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आरोप और प्रत्यारोप के लगाने का सिलसिला बन्द होना चाहिये। अगर इसका एक ही उपाय है कि आरोपों पर पर्दा न डाला जाय। इस मामले में मैं केरल की सरकार की तारीफ़

करना चाहूंगा। उन्होंने कहा कि जो आरोप लगायेगा, वह 500 दामा जमा करायेगा, उस पर कमीशन बनेगा और जांच होगी। यहाँ जिन पर आरोप लग रहे हैं, उन को प्रशंसा पत्र प्रदान किये जा रहे हैं राजनीतिज्ञों के बारे में अविश्वास बढ रहा है।

सभापति महोदय, सारी व्यवस्था टूट रही है, एक शीराजा बिखर रहा है यह सत्तासूट दल पर प्रतिपक्ष का हमला नहीं है, लोकतान्त्रिक ढांचा चरमरा रहा है। लोकतन्त्र एक नैतिक व्यवस्था है, अगर इसमें अपवित्रता रहैगी तो सत्य कितना भी महान हो, वह देश में सही परम्परा कायम नहीं कर सकता है और न देश की जनता को अनुप्राणित कर सकता है। इस सरकार की सब से बड़ी विकलता यह है कि इन्होंने देश में अविश्वास का संकट पैदा कर दिया है और इसी विषये हम अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लेकर आए हैं।

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. Vajpayee....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This is a great discourtesy to him because some Congress Members are going out.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Chairman, let us have a break for five minutes because some Congress Members are going out.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: You be there Mr Chairman, Sir, Mr Vajpayee has a powerful voice. He can use a powerful expression like a very powerful juggler. He can very strongly support with his powerful voice and expression a weak and a bad case. He can certainly create some kind of an atmosphere when he speaks. But then the atmosphere evaporates and the truth comes out. I entirely agree when he said. "that the clock has taken a full round" and he posed a question. He raises a

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

fundamental question. He says, "why is it not being answered?" And the fundamental question, according to him, is the transformation of the society, what he and some others have been calling it "a total revolution." I entirely agree that the clock has taken a full round and the clock is ticking. The great Messiah of the total revolution, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan himself says "that the total revolution for Jan Sangh only means that Mr. Advani should become the Prime Minister." The total revolution by other parties which have brought today this Motion of No-Confidence means that their leaders should become the Prime Minister. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee said, "today, there is a crisis of confidence." I want to tell him one thing with great humility and respect. He is a good gentleman; he is a powerful parliamentarian. Personally speaking, I would like him to continue in Parliament. I believe, this Parliament will become poorer by his going out. I want to tell him that J. P., their Messiah, the harbinger of their new revolution, has expressed total lack of confidence in his party and in all the parties which have today supported this No-Confidence Motion. Could there be a greater proof of the pudding than this?

It is these parties which are responsible for creating a crisis of confidence. If you could not convince J.P., excuse me to say so, you are living in a fools' paradise if you think you could convince anybody else. Who is, therefore, responsible for creating this crisis of confidence in the country?

AN HON. MEMBER: Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: You will continue to suffer from the phobia against Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She will continue to suffer from the phobia with the support of millions of people of India.

Who is responsible for this atmosphere? My respected friend, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, was saying that there is political instability and that there are internal contradictions in the Congress party. Well, there are internal contradictions in the Congress party. There have been contradictions in the Congress party. It is a great party; it suffers from internal problems and contradictions. It is in power in most of the States and at the Centre. Some internal problems and contradictions are very natural. I want to ask him, "You had a little power in a small Corporation. What happened to your party? How is it that the leader of your party had to commit suicide from the top floor of your own Jana Sangh building?"

I have great respect for him; I listened to him with rapt attention. Is it not because of internal contradictions? How is it that your Dal cracked under the weight of its own corruption in the Corporation? You are going to teach us about this. It is you who have been trying to create political instability. It is these parties which are trying to create this atmosphere which have brought forward this No-Confidence Motion. It is absolutely an exercise, a tactical exercise, on the last day of the session, of a retreating army. If I may say so, it is like an exercise of a retreating army. I cannot call you an army because most of your generals are without soldiers. It is like firing your last shells. But still I ask you, "Did anyone of you fire any new shell?" No. You talked of Sant Prakash Bhagwandas; you talked of some other people. Your colleague said the same thing in the Rajya Sabha. You have said nothing new today on the No-Confidence Motion. We thought you were going to say something new. We thought you might save some new material. But it is

the same repeat performance of what you have been saying or your colleagues have been saying here and there.

I can understand your frustration. The fact of the matter is that you have brought the No-Confidence Motion precisely for this reason that in this session also you have been a failure. Secondly, you know that your movement to demolish democracy by use of extra-parliamentary means, extra-constitutional means, has been repulsed by the people of India. You know that you have been defeated in this game. You want to hide your failures. I will not say about Mr. Vajpayee. But I will say about some other people who have spoken and, certainly, about Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu who is an expert in using invectives, adjectives and vituperative abuses. He wants to make up everything by the use of these expressions. Mr. Vajpayee said that the Prime Minister controls the intelligence services in the country. Then should you control? What is wrong with that? The Prime Minister is the leader of the nation. Mr. Vajpayee, I believe you are a very reasonable person—but sometimes you also indulge in politics; I do not blame you because we are all in politics—you tell me. There is a persistent campaign by a section of the Opposition to denigrate the Prime Minister on this or that excuse. We heard our friend, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu. Like a mini, fictitious James Bond he was talking—a deal took place in the Prime Minister's office at 11.00 a.m.; Mr. Tandon was there; Rs. 2 crores were settled. Like the proverbial juggler, he turned himself into a pigeon and sat on the dust-bin lying behind the table of Mr. Tandon. What a fantastic, ridiculous and non-sensical thing for an hon. Member of this House to stand up and talk in this way! We have, certainly, the freedom of speech in this House. But our own rules say that we must

attack with a basis. During his long, vituperative speech of one hour, there was not even an ounce of evidence in support of his allegations.

Now he has chosen Mr. Tandon as the butt of his attack. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, you have attacked him twice. You did once the other day and you have done it again today. I am really very sorry. I know Mr. Tandon longer than you. Before he came to the Prime Minister's secretariat, he was the District Magistrate of Delhi, and I can say that he is one of the most honest, conscientious and capable officers, and it is very unfair of the hon. Member to attack him in this way...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: On a point of order. If you listen to the tape and go through the record, you will find that I have never accused Mr. Tandon of dishonesty or corruption. I have only said that Kalachand's import licence for ethyl alcohol was finalised in his room—if I remember the date—on the 14th August at 11.00 a.m. I take the responsibility to establish that. The meeting took place. I have never said that he took the money.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: The explanation makes it worse. Now he accuses him saying that he was present, in his presence the deal took place. Yesterday, he tried to raise a question of privilege. I do not want to comment on that. A letter was written by Mr. Tandon, but he said that the letter was fabricated.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu is a good friend of mine. But all that he does in the House is, I feel, something horribly bad. After listening to him, it appears to me that he has become desperate; I think, he feels that he is not going to be in Parliament next time. That is what I suspect. He has developed that feeling and he is suffering from

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

nervousness. That is the reason why he talks like this. Mr. Vajpayee, about you, if you try, you may come, though we will not let you come easily; but if you try, you might come. But it looks to me that, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has lost all confidence.

As I was saying, they try to denigrate the image of the Prime Minister. The image of the Prime Minister in its way, has to be considered dispassionately. Mr. Vajpayee, I am making this appeal to you. The image of the Prime Minister is not only an asset of the Congress Party but an asset of the whole country. A big country like India, with all kinds of diversities, cannot be governed by a mere Prime Minister; it can be governed only by a leader of the nation. The Prime Minister cannot become leader of the nation by your calling her so or not calling her so. She has become the leader of the nation by carrying the country through a period of trials and tribulations, in which some of you have also participated. Therefore, to make an attempt in season and out of season to blame the Prime Minister for everything is not correct. Mr. Bosu is making all kinds of senseless, wild, mad and baseless charges, and I am surprised how a responsible Member of this House can make these charges on the floor of this House without an ounce of evidence in support thereof. Therefore Sir, what I am respectfully trying to submit is that this Motion of No-Confidence is only a futile exercise. I can understand Shri Vajpayee's frustration. He knows that the so-called total revolution has failed. Mr. Jayaparkash Narayan knows it. He also knows that they do not expect to win the elections.

My dear friend, Shri Vajpayee, was saying, what is this democracy in this country? In order to get elections in Gujarat, Mr. Morarji Desai had to go on fast. I tell you, this is the

Indian democracy, the beauty of Indian democracy, the democratic approach of the Government that because of fast of one man against their judgment, against their better sense of thinking, against the conditions in Gujarat, it was agreed. Now all of them realise that Morarji Desai has landed them in a soup. It was the democratic sense of this Government which conceded the elections because of Shri Morarji Desai's fast. This is not an undemocratic approach, but a democratic approach. You were totally wrong, when you say that there is no democracy in this country. You said, that in order to get CBI reports, you had to do so much. I would like to ask Mr. Vajpayee, are you entitled to see the CBI reports? You know, you are not, yet the reports were shown to you. This again shows that there is democracy in this country.

My dear friend, Shri Vajpayee, was saying, where is the danger to this country. He says, America is beaten, Russia is not going to attack us, and Pakistan is, more or less gone and what is the danger? Mr. Vajpayee, you have been in this House and your party through your newspaper has been off and on saying that there is very big danger to this country. If there is no danger, why are you asking for a nuclear bomb? You have been asking for this. I think, if there is any jingoist party in this country—and you have been charging us with jingoism—it is nothing like Jan Sangh. You have been propagating like this that there is great danger. You all go on talking of emergency, as if emergency is some kind of a surge with which you can swim through. What is happening in this country? You have the liberty of the press. Don't you have? See your paper, Motherland. You disowned it, because you found that it was printing rubbish and violence. You said, that there is no liberty of the press, but how is it that you are holding meetings everyday

and talking anything sensible, sometimes without sense also? Where is the question of democracy not being there? Where is the question of emergency not being there? All these charges are being made fantastically.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu quoted the report of the Public Accounts Committee. I do not know, what were the findings of the Public Accounts Committee, but if the Public Accounts Committee has made some findings, is Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu responsible for it? Who is responsible for it? They are the collective findings of the Public Accounts Committee, of which the Congress Members form the majority. He stands up and says something as if he has discovered something. And in certain matters, members of the Public Accounts Committee challenge him. The report will come before the House. Action would be taken and for him to stand and make it the subject matter of No Confidence Motion against the Government is fantastic in the extreme. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu went on quoting. Nobody can stop you, you can go on. God knows, what is correct? Of course, you do not believe in God, you have no fear of God. Therefore, you go on talking fantastic nonsense in this House—excuse me to say—and go on making absolute wild allegations against everybody. Allegations have been sent against Mr. Urs? Then, what allegations are made against anybody and everybody? I do not believe. Some allegations are made against Mr. Bosu. I do not believe in them. I do not take them seriously, personally speaking. For example, allegations have been made against Mr. Bosu. Therefore, it is wrong. Allegations have been made against this Government. Therefore, it is correct. You are trying to denigrate democracy. In fact, I honestly believe that the Communist Marxists do not believe in parliamentary democracy. Therefore, you have been doing it as a matter of design.

21.00 hrs.

You are talking of civil liberties, democracy and progress. Mr. Bosu talks of monopoly houses. I ask him: has any one of you—if you have a conscience, answer it. You have put so many questions, you have made so many speeches. I want to ask you. You are all responsible people. Has any one of you raised the question relating to the income-tax raid on the Jaipur palace? Why not Mr. Vajpayee?...

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS
MUNSI: They cannot do that.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Not by Mr. Bosu. He is a friend of vested interests. How can you? Your difficulty, I can understand, because, if you ask about Jaipur palace, the question of Gwalior will arise. That is your problem.

Therefore, I ask my friend, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu—I am not saying anything about Gwalior—how many questions you have raised about how many monopoly houses? How many of them have you explored? Nothing...
(Interruptions).

Mr. Huda is my friend. Please sit down.

Now, Mr. Bosu gets up in this House every time about Maruti. He is suffering from a Maruti-phobia. Absolutely Maruti-phobia. I want to ask him. Is it a small thing that one of our youngmen who happens to be the son of the Prime Minister is manufacturing an indigenous car? If he does not suffer, he should stop it now. He can go and see that the car is already ready and he can have a good ride if he likes. I myself have gone and seen it.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: Price—
Rs. 30,000.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: The difficulty with him is that he is not prepared to see the truth. Therefore, with respect, I wish to say, that we have not forgotten what they did in Bengal, killed hundreds and thousands of people. The memory is still fresh. I went to Calcutta that the time of the AICC session. I heard all the tales of what you have done there and the horrible atrocities you have indulged in.

The most important thing is that it is a tragedy for this country—Mr. Vajpayee raised a million dollar question—that this revolution is not coming. I am raising a ten-million dollar question—how is it that during these 27 years of the alleged Congress mis-rule, nepotism, corruption and with all your rallies, demonstrations and papers, that an alternate to the Congress is not developing? That is the ten-million dollar question. I tell you that it is not developing because you are not behaving like responsible parties trying to grapple with the problems that face us. During this period, what is your performance? The performance is abuses, tactical exercises, this thing or that thing, trying to hold up proceedings and other things. During the past six months the Government has some creditable achievements to its credit. The price rise has somewhat been halted. Inflation has been somewhat controlled. Sikkim has been brought closer to India. We have our Indian satellite in space. We are making progress in oil exploration. Power and energy position has eased. The position regarding availability of essential commodities has somewhat eased. These are the problems of the people. The long queues have disappeared. I know you wanted them to lengthen because that suits you. These are very solid and no mean achievements of this Government. I am sorry, as against this, you see your credit entry. Do you have any credit entry?....

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Hoshiarpur): No, no.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Have you anything? Abuses, demonstrations, rallies, dharnas, intimidation, bombs, hartals, strikes in this crucial time. That is what you are doing. That is the reason why people are not prepared to accept you as an alternative in spite of being disappointed with the Congress because they do not have faith in you. In the words of Prime Minister 'you forget thinking about Congress, think about yourself'. With these words, I conclude.

***SHRI A. DURAIRASU (Perambalur):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, On behalf of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, supporting the No-Confidence Motion under discussion, I wish to express my views.

If the Opposition parties which are in minority in this House want to focus the attention of the people of the country on the faults and failures of the majority ruling party and its Government, the sharpest democratic weapon available to them is this No-Confidence Motion. I need not say that the Opposition parties are as essential to democracy as the ruling party. Yet, Shri Raghuramaiah, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, wanted to scuttle this debate. He was determined to finish this discussion in half-an-hour. When the Opposition leaders raised the question whether this is the manner in which the ruling Congress Party wants to foster democracy in the country, the wisdom dawned upon Shri Raghuramaiah and he grudgingly gave his consent for a six hour debate. I wonder how Shri Raghuramaiah thought that discussion, deliberation and decision—the three pillars of democracy—could be held in just 30 minutes.

We in the Opposition know the fate of this No-Confidence Motion.

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

This Motion will ultimately be defeated by the brute majority of the ruling Congress Party. Yet we wanted to discharge our duty enjoined upon us by the Constitution. The exhibition of hesitation on the part of the ruling party today in regard to allotment of time has confirmed our suspicion that the ruling Congress Party has no deep-rooted faith in democracy. Yet, we appreciate the belated realisation on the part of Shri Raghuramaiah that this Motion must be discussed in sufficient details. I would like to say that this kind of hesitation on the part of the ruling party in allowing such a discussion should not become a precedent.

During the past 27 years, the Congress Government at the Centre have not implemented the assurances given to the people of the country. The Five Year Plans which are the basis of all economic development have not met with success. The Central Government have belied the hopes and aspirations of the people of the country. The Central Government have also miserably failed in discharging their duty towards the people. It is not that I from the Opposition say all these. The former Minister of Central Government, Shri Mohan Dharia, stated all these things on the floor of this House. There is no wonder if the Opposition Parties express their lack of confidence in this Government through this Motion.

Sir, India is acclaimed as the biggest democracy in the world. Shri-mati Indira Gandhi's progressive policies are being hailed in many parts of the world. But the real situation inside the country is that the Constitution has become the manifesto of the ruling Congress Party. The constitutional provisions are being utilised for the perpetuation of the ruling Congress Party hold on the people of the country. On December 3, 1971, the National Emergency was proclaimed

on the ground that Pakistan had committed aggression. The war with Pakistan continued only for a fortnight. After that Simla Pact was signed with Pakistan. Normalcy returned to the country immediately after establishing friendly communications with Pakistan. Now even trade relations have been established with Pakistan. Even after 40 months of normalcy within the country and of no immediate threat from outside, the National Emergency is being continued. The fundamental rights of the people have been abrogated. A man who is arrested has no right to justice. The Emergency seems to have become a permanent law of the country, while the common laws seem to have become temporary phenomena. I am afraid that the National Emergency is being persisted with in the interest of the ruling Congress Party. It has become a useful tool for stifling dissent. The members of the Opposition are put behind bars so that the Congress Party can stage a walk-over victory in the coming elections. I would like to know when this constitutional impropriety will end.

Sir, it has to be regretfully mentioned that during the past 27 years of continuous Congress rule the poverty, instead of being eradicated, has become endemic. Not even 25 per cent of the villages in the country have got electricity. In 80 per cent of the villages in the country there is no facility for pure drinking water. The Gulati Commission gave its recommendations many years ago in regard to the drinking water supply to Madras City. The neighbouring States also agreed to the implementation of drinking water supply scheme in Madras City. Now when the entire Madras City is getting parched, when there is acute scarcity of drinking water in the city, the hon. Finance Minister at the Centre says that drinking water will not come even if adequate money

[Shri A. Durairasu]

is given for implementing the scheme. He wants to get a foothold for the Congress in the City by giving an impression to the people that the Central Government had given money, but the State Government under D.M.K. had not utilised it properly. Our Chief Minister, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi, has refuted this sinister allegation by giving facts and figures as to when the Viranam drinking water was sanctioned, when the Central Government released the foreign exchange required for this project, etc. The negligence on the part of the Central Government in implementing the Gulati Commission recommendations and the unconscionable delay in sanctioning financial assistance for Viranam Project have led to the present drinking water crisis in Madras city.

The D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu with its pragmatic approach to the problems did achieve many significant result in seven years, which the Congress Government in Tamil Nadu could not do in seventeen years. Tamil Nadu had Green Revolution. Tamil Nadu was always self-sufficient in foodgrains, but under D.M.K. Government it become surplus in foodgrains. When Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi wanted to rush food grains to drought-afflicted areas in the country, the Central Government become a stumbling block and prevented Tamil Nadu from sending foodgrains to drought-hit areas. Now, the situation is reversed. The whole of Tamil Nadu is facing unprecedented drought on account of the failure of monsoon. The Tamil Nadu Government wanted the Centre to rush foodgrains so that the people of the State could be saved from starvation. If that was not possible for the Centre, the State Government stated that it could be permitted to purchase foodgrains from the surplus states. The State Government also suggested that, if necessary, adequate quantities of foodgrains like rice must be imported and supplied to Tamil Nadu. Unfortunately all the urgent

pleas of the State Government have fallen on deaf ears of the Central Government. I have to condemn the attempt of the ruling Congress Party to discredit the D.M.K. State Government even for natural causes. Even with the sum of Rs. 7.50 crores sanctioned by the Centre for drought relief in Tamil Nadu, which itself is comparatively small when compared to the drought relief assistance given to other drought-hit States, the Central Government want to pose before the people of Tamil Nadu that the ruling Congress Party is their saviour and not the D.M.K. Government in the State. I am sorry that the misery of the people is also traded for political benefits.

When the Central Government nationalised the major commercial banks in the private sector, when the Privy Purses were abolished, when the General Insurance was nationalised, we from the D.M.K. extended our full support to the progressive measures of the Central Government. Yet the progressive policies of the D.M.K. Government have become an eyesore for the ruling Congress Party at the Centre. When such progressive measures of the Central Government have not yielded any benefit to the common people, when the common people are disillusioned with the ruling Congress Party, the target of attack for the Congress Party is the Opposition Parties. This approach of the ruling Congress Party is not conducive for the healthy growth of democracy in the country.

Before I conclude, I would refer to the pitiable plight of 18 crores of our countrymen belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Today we saw the sorry spectacle of the Untouchability Offences Bill being postponed by the Government. If untouchability is to be eradicated, the only way out for the Government is to alter the status of the Fundamental Right to Property which has now become the right to exploitation. Then

only the social and economic justice which we talk about in the Preamble of our Constitution can become a reality for these oppressed people. Sir, when the Sikh converts of S.C. and S.T. get all the facilities and concessions from the Government, the Christian converts of S.C. and S.T. are denied these concessions on the ground that they belong to an advanced community. Is this the symbol of our secularism? When the economic backwardness alone should be the criterion for awarding such concessions, why should the Government spear-head such communal feelings?

Sir, in Tamil Nadu, Periyar E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and Arignar Annadurai were the pioneer social reformers. Their dream was that Untouchability should be completely eradicated from the country. Arignar Anna implemented the constitutional provision in regard to Prohibition. Today, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu are the two States having total prohibition. The Central Government do not want to replenish the loss incurred by these two States on account of introduction of total prohibition. I refer to this to indicate how tenuous is the commitment of the ruling Congress Party to constitutional provisions.

In conclusion, I would appeal to the Central Government that adequate financial assistance must be given to Tamil Nadu for tackling the unprecedented drought prevalent in Tamil Nadu and substantial quantities of foodgrains and essential commodities like rice must be rushed to Tamil Nadu if the people of Tamil Nadu are to be saved from this serious drought. In this human problem, political polemics should not substitute immediate executive action.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री मधु लिम्बे · सभापति महोदय,
मेरा व्यक्ति का सवाल है, सेन्ट्रल हाल

इस सदन की लाबी है। वहाँ उत्तर प्रदेश के एम० एल० ए० अपना गन्दा कपड़ा धोने का काम कर रहे हैं धोबी घाट खोल दिया है। प्रेस काफ्रेन्स कर रहे हैं
(व्यवधान)

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहबाद) सेन्ट्रल हाल कांग्रेस पार्टी का दफ्तर नहीं है। एम० एल० ए० उस का इस तरह इन्तेभाल करता है, तो मर्यादा का प्रस्ताव भ्राना चाहिये।
.. (व्यवधान)

श्री शंकरबहाल सिंह (चतरा) · गढ़े कपड़े की बात से ही भ्रादमी जानते हैं।
(व्यवधान)

श्री मधु लिम्बे · सभापति महोदय, मेरी बात सुन लीजिये। यू० पी० के एम० एल० ए० हमारे साथ बैठ कर काफी पिये, चाय पिये, बात करे। लेकिन धोबी घाट नहीं बनाना चाहिये।

सभापति महोदय मैं दफ्तर में बहूना कि इस के बारे में पता लगाये।

श्री हरि किशोर सिंह (पुपरी)
सभापति महोदय, मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ जब श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने यह विश्वास का प्रस्ताव इन सदन में पेश किया। आश्चर्य इसलिये हुआ कि उन्होंने ने इन सत्र के अंतिम दिन यह अविश्वाम प्रस्ताव पेश कर जो एक नाटक खेलने का प्रयास किया है, नाटक मैं नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन इस की आवश्यकता में मैं बहुत कुछ सहमत नहीं हूँ। यह हो सकता है कि चूँकि यह सेशन बहुत ही शांत रूप से, गभीरता पूर्वक चला है, इसलिये इस के अंतिम दिन इन्होंने कुछ आतिशबाजी दिखाने, कुछ कलाकारी करने की जरूर चेष्टा की है। इस से हम लोगों का कुछ मनोरंजन भी हुआ है।

मुझे पता नहीं कि कब से इन्होंने ने यह एक प्राइवेट जासूसी एजेंसी खोल रखी है, या ये किसी कंपनी के काफीडेंशियल मैनेजरी

[श्री हरि किशोर सिंह]

हैं, या इन्होंने कोई पार्टी का एकलव्ये न्त की फर्म खोल रखी है, जिस से इस तरह के साधन में सदन के पटल पर रखते जा रहे हैं। और, उन की सूचना का कोई भी आधार हो सकता है। लेकिन इस तरह की सूचना, जिस से न सदन की गरिमा बखरी हो, न देश का ज्यादा कल्याण होने वाला है, उसे महा रखने से कोई फायदा भी नहीं होता है।

हमारी हाल ही में जो उपलब्धियां हुई हैं। एक तो हम ने जो सर्वसम्मति पर अतिरिक्त में कार्यभार छोड़ा है और उस में हमें जो वैज्ञानिक सफलता मिली है, चायद उस से हमारे इन विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों को कुछ नाराजगी हो। दुनिया के अन्य देश, अन्य वैज्ञानिक और बहुत बड़े प्रसिद्ध वैज्ञानिक उस की प्रशंसा कर रहे हैं। क्या उन्हें इस से कोई एतराज है? या अभी जो राष्ट्र-मंडलिय प्रधान मंत्रियों का सम्मेलन भारत की प्रधान मंत्री ने जिस सफलता से इस देश का प्रतिनिधित्व किया है, उस से कोई एतराज हो गया है, जिस से वह असंतुष्ट हो कर इस क्षेत्र में अंतिम दिन में यह भविष्यवासी का प्रस्ताव लाये हैं?

दूसरी चीज एमरजेंसी के सम्बन्ध में बार-बार कही जा रही है। अभी हमारे डी० एम० के० के भाई अपना भाषण दे रहे थे। उस से लग रहा था कि वह सरकार को इसलिये नहीं रखना चाहते हैं कि इस ने एमरजेंसी का प्राविजन लागू कर रखा है और इस प्राविजन के अन्तर्गत कोई अधीरिटेरियन रूल इस देश में लागू करना चाहती है। हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के बहुत से सख्त और प्रसिद्ध सदस्य हैं। जिन देशों में अधीरिटेरियन रूल लागू है भयवा तानाशाही है, उन देशों में क्या होता है? बहा इस तरह की स्वतन्त्रता नहीं होती है।

हो सकता है कि सरकार ने कुछ कमियां ही उस नियम का सुव्यवहार भी होता ही। इस देश में कुछ सरकारी कर्मचारी ऐसे

लोक हैं, जो इस का सुव्यवहार कर सकते हैं। लेकिन उन छोटे छोटे सुव्यवहारों के आभार पर सारी व्यवस्था को अधिनायक-बाध की जंझा देने का जो प्रयास किया जा रहा है, वह गलत है। मैं श्री वाजपेयी जी की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि आज इस देश में अर्थ व्यवस्था को संकट पैदा हो गया है। और एक भविष्यवासी की दृष्टि से हमारी सारी व्यवस्था देखी जा रही है।

हमारी संसदीय प्रणाली बहुत ही संकट-कालीन स्थिति से गुजर रही है, लेकिन उस संकटकालीन परिस्थिति में देश की राजनीतिक और संसदीय प्रणाली की मर्यादा को कायम रखने के लिये क्या विरोधी दलों की कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं होती है? सरकार से गलती हो सकती है। जो सरकार दो दशकों से सत्तारूढ़ ही, उस में कुछ कमजोरियां भी आ सकती हैं, यह मैं मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ। लेकिन क्या विरोधी दल अपनी उस भूमिका को भ्रष्ट करने में सक्षम हो पा रहे हैं, जिन की कि उन से इस देश की ऐतिहासिक परम्परा के अनुकूल भाषा का जाती है।

आप की तो हमेशा यह चेष्टा रही है कि किसी न किसी तिकड़म के बहाने किसी न किसी गुटबाजी का सहारा ले कर कांग्रेस पार्टी को बरखा कर दे। हर चीज में यह चेष्टा की जाती है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी को बरखा किया जाये। हर चीज का फायदा राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से लिया जायेगा, तो कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग भी कोई धमियां तो नहीं हैं जैसे आप हैं, जैसे ही हम भी हैं। जब हम कोई राजनीतिक फायदा उठाते हैं तो आम को एतराज क्यों होता है?

इसलिये मैं श्री वाजपेयी जी की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि आज इस संसदीय प्रणाली को भविष्यवासी की दृष्टि से देखा जा रहा है। यह बहुत माने में हमारी दुनियावी

समस्याओं का समाधान ढूँढ़ने में असफल रही है। लेकिन उस असफलता को दूर करने में जितनी सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है, उस से कम विरोधी दलों का भी जिम्मेदारी नहीं है। उस विरोधियों की भूमिका में मैं आश्चर्यपूर्ण भी आश्चर्यपूर्ण भी की भूमिका अप्रत्याशित मानता हूँ, क्योंकि आज हमारे भी अप्रतिभवं बसु का इस में विश्वास नहीं है, लेकिन आप का इस में विश्वास है। आप ने घोषणा की है आपका हमें विश्वास है। जिन तरह से आपने घोषणा की है, मैं मानता हूँ कि आपका उस में विश्वास है और इस तरह से आप की जिम्मेदारी ज्यादा बढ़ जाती है। उन की कोई ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी नहीं है। उस को तो वे कहेंगे कि यह बूझ-झा जनतंत्र है, इस को तो टूटना ही है।

हमारे देश में एक मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था है। इस की अपनी सीमाएँ हैं। मैं इस को एक बहुत अच्छी, एक आदर्श अर्थ व्यवस्था नहीं मानता हूँ। अगर इस देश में जनतांत्रिक तरीके से एक ऐसा वातावरण बन जाये, जिस में इस मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था को खरब किया जा सके, तो जितनी जल्दी इस को समाप्त कर दिया जाये, उतना मुझे खुशी होगी। लेकिन जब तक यह व्यवस्था है, तब तक उस में पूँजीपति की रूढ़ि है।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने बिड़ला ब्रदर्स की बड़ी चर्चा की है। उन्होंने ने यह भी आरोप लगाने की चेष्टा की है कि बिड़ला ब्रदर्स और कांग्रेस के लोगों की बड़ी साठ गाँठ है। उन्होंने ने के. के. बिड़ला की कड़ी चर्चा की है। क्या मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु और उन की पार्टी से यह पूछ सकता हूँ कि श्री नम्बूदरीपारथ की प्रथम सरकार के अन्तर्गत केरल सरकार ने बिड़ला ब्रदर्स को जो सुविधाएँ दी थी, क्या अन्तर सरकार ने, या किसी कांग्रेसी राज्य सरकार ने, बिड़ला ब्रदर्स को उस से अधिक सुविधाएँ दी हैं? अगर श्री नम्बूदरीपारथ या केरल सरकार उन की कोई सुविधा दे

तो वह सही है, लेकिन अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार या अन्य राज्यों की कांग्रेसी सरकारें उन को उस से कम सुविधाएँ दें, तो वह बहुत गलत हो जाता है।

हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था की जो सीमाएँ हैं, जो उस का स्वभाव है, जो उस की प्रकृति है, उस को हमें सपन्नना पड़ेगा। मैं श्री मोनेन्द्र झा से सहमत हूँ कि मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था को तुरन्त समाप्त करना चाहिए, क्योंकि जब तक वह मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था इस देश में समाप्त नहीं होगी, तब तक प्रष्टाचार समाप्त नहीं हो सकता है, भले ही, उस प्रष्टाचार का आरोप कांग्रेस पार्टी पर लगाया जाये या विरोधी दलों पर लगाया जाये।

इन शर्तों के साथ मैं समझता हूँ कि जो अविश्वास प्रस्ताव इस सदन में धारा है, वह निरर्थक है, अनावश्यक है और उस को रद्द कर देना चाहिये।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
 Mr. Chairman, I can assure you that it is not without some amount of reluctance that we decided to take up this motion of no confidence against the Prime Minister while we have been in the midst of celebrations for the International Women's Year.

AN HON. MEMBER: Very chivalrous of you!

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
 When there is conflict between chivalry and duty, a choice has to be made and that is the choice that we have made this morning.

I think that a perennial Prime Minister would be the most uninteresting Prime Minister. It is said that Mr. Chou En-Lai is a perennial Prime Minister, and I think that Mr. Chou En-Lai has lost some of his charm, freshness and vitality. Perhaps the greatest tribute that one could pay to democracy or to the Prime Minister in a parliamentary

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

system is that one brings up a no-confidence motion. And the Prime Minister who takes offence at this is really no democrat. This is in fact what we have been witnessing in this country; the Prime Minister has been going round the country and telling people that 'they want to oust me from the present position.'... (Interruptions). It is the privilege of the Opposition to oust the Prime Minister. But for the Prime Minister to make a grievance of it is something unheard of in the history of parliamentary democracy. Nowhere a Prime Minister has been making that grievance.

I should like to tell the Prime Minister that it is also the high privilege of the Prime Minister to be the recipient of the brickbats and bouquets from the Opposition.... (Interruptions).

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF SPACE, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Bouquets? Where are they?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: There was another kind of hesitation too on our part. It is all like throwing water on a duck's back. If you collect all the points that we had made during the course of the no-confidence motions in the past and the points which had remained unanswered, you will certainly express surprise at our audacity to bring up a no-confidence motion.

Most of the criticisms have gone incompletely answered or unanswer-

ed. This is the way they treat democracy and the criticisms of the Opposition and I am pretty sure that tonight also, the Prime Minister would be completely making a sweep of many of the criticisms that we are going to make here. But why lament for it, why lament that our criticisms are not being met? What has happened to the severe indictment of the hon. Member, Mr. Mohan Dharia? Could there be a more severe indictment than what Mr. Mohan Dharia made when he resigned from the office of the Minister? But have you the courage, I ask you, have you the courage to reply to any of the charges that Mr. Dharia made? Those charges are going completely un rebutted and I can tell you that none of our criticisms can be severer than the criticisms made by the hon. Member, Mr. Mohan Dharia. But the Prime Minister had become so weak that she could not pick up the challenge of Mr. Mohan Dharia. And what I am going to say is what he had said mostly. Had he not said, Mr. Chairman, "we have not fulfilled the mandate, we have not fulfilled the election manifesto that we have given to people during the course of Elections in 1971-72?" Then, why for God's sake do you want to be where you are when you have not been able to fulfil the mandate according to your own Member, when you have not been able to fulfil the promises that you have made to the people—none of the promises? And not only that, Mr. Chairman. The Hon'ble Member, Shri Dharia has also gone on record to say that it is only the collectors of black money who happen to be the leaders of the party at various places. Now, is it S. N. Mishra who has been talking about this? It is your Member who goes round the country saying clearly all that but you don't have the courage to pick up the challenge from him. He has said, I repeat, that those who are the collectors of black money happen to be the bosses of the ruling party at various places.

To repeat what he has said this is the moral degradation that you have brought about in this country. Further I ask you, Madam Prime Minister, could there be a greater immorality than this that you are admitting defectors while the Anti-Defection Bill is on the anvil? The very fact that the Bill has been referred to the Select Committee means that you have agreed to the principle underlying it. But you have been freely admitting people from the other parties. This is the moral standard that you want to set up in this country!

What kind of contrast was offered this morning between the hon. Members on this side and the hon. Members on that side? The depth to which they brought down the level of the debate is something of which one must feel ashamed. Now, here is an hon. Member who spoke in the most amazing fashion. I would like to tell the Prime Minister that such members don't serve her interests when they make an insinuation against any Member that he has been speaking under the influence of liquor. Let us not bring down the debate to this low levels. Such hon. Members here are the star speakers of the Prime Minister. The other hon. Member, Mr. Stephen, was going into the biography of the hon. Member Mr. Bosu and three-fourths of his speech was full of that and nothing else. But can I ever say, Mr. Chairman, that the hon. Member was speaking under the influence of liquor or they are under the influence of liquor? Now, the story goes the rounds that there is hardly any member, of the Cabinet who has not got this pleasant habit. But leave it aside, whether one has got this habit of liquor or not; but what happened to the promise made in 1968 in Goa—in the All India Congress committee—that prohibition would be completed in seven years' time? But the progress has been in the reverse direction. And yet you are now going to free elections in Gujarat.

You have been committed to Prohibition. But in suite of dismal record in this field, you have taken the courage to go to elections in Gujarat, a State which is firmly committed to the policy of prohibition. Would not people there ask the Madam Prime Minister; where is your policy of prohibition? Where is the resolution of the AICC which had been adopted in 1968?

If you look at the important aspects of the national scenario, you necessarily come to the conclusion that no enemy of the country would have done greater damage to this nation than this Government. Naturally, therefore, the credibility gap between the Prime Minister and the country has widened so much that the Prime Minister had to exclaim the other day that "If I die naturally, people will say that I had killed myself"; This is the kind of credibility she has got now.

One wonders where has gone the fabled confidence and optimism of the Prime Minister? Where has gone the euphoria and the heady experience of the year 1971, 1972 or even 1973?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I invite you to accompany me in one of my tours.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: May I invite the Prime Minister to my State of Bihar which witnessed one of the worst floods sometime back? Has she visited Bihar even once during the last 2-3 years? She went only to the cremation ground to attend the funeral of Shri L. N. Mishra. So she has not visited Bihar for the last two or three years—that is the position.

All the drum beat in the blood of the Prime Minister and her enthusiastic supporters seem to have completely disappeared and we do not know the reason for this sudden cooling down of their fervour.

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

All the great ideals which this nation nurtured and cherished are now reeking like faded violets at the hands of the Prime Minister.

What has happened to non-alignment? It has lost much of its manoeuvrability, if not independence. There is hardly any person in the world whom you can convince that your dependence on a particular super-power has not passed the permissible limit. This is the least I can say about it.

What has happened to secularism? What did you find recently in the Jama Masjid area? Even now the arches and gates of Jama Masjid bear the signs of the bullets fired by the local police. The Prime Minister wanted to play the Super Imam in the Jama Masjid. What business had this Government to interfere in the religious affairs of a minority?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Only Mr. Kahwarlal Gupta has that right! (Interruptions)

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: You should be ashamed that the gates of Jama Masjid bear the bullet signs even now. We all know about the interference in the affairs of the Gurdwaras. Certain charges were made only recently in this regard?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MENTA): Only this morning I made a statement that we are not interfering in the religious affairs of any community.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Sometime back they talked about the Bihar movement not having the support of the minority when Mr. Ghafoor happened to be the Chief

Minister of Bihar. Now the people of Bihar ask you: who has got Mr. Ghafoor, a member of the minority community out of the Government? Is it J.P. or Shyamnandan Mishra? Who has got him out? Is it they not us who have seen him out. But it is you who have ousted him and the people of Bihar will oust you I am not against any individual.

(Interruptions).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I like the interruptions of the Prime Minister. I do not feel unhappy about it. I am only reminding her

So, they have ousted him. We were not against Mr. Ghafoor personally. We are against the entire Cabinet. We are against you. Are we gunning for you? We are not gunning for you, Madam Prime Minister. We are gunning for the entire lot that you command. Where have they slid into the shadows, the great figures of yesterday? Where are they sulking now, we do not know?

Similarly, they have discredited thoroughly, to their heart's content, the concept of socialism. No one could believe this Government to have any socialist intentions when the process of immiseration of the poor has been so rapid. It has gone to an extent that it had never been in the past.

The disparity between the highest and the lowest is increasing @ 40% a year. This is the statistics which nobody can challenge. The prices have been going up @ 30% a year. So, it means that the bottom had been sinking @ 30% a year.

My friend Raja Sahib reminded me of the price situation. Now, they are very gleeful about this. But may I ask each and every hon. member here, have they felt any relief in their own life in so far as prices are concerned?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Certainly.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: You are not talking the truth, none of you. But I will come to that a little later.

The price decline has already been halted and the process is reversed, and may I warn you that by the end of June.....

(Interruptions).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Mr. Speaker, many a time when I make interruption you feel a little unhappy. Do you think that the point I am making has not got some supporting facts?

What I am trying to say is based on facts and yet these people are smarting under my attack.

Sir, nobody seems to be so excellently equipped to kill the great institutions as the hon. Prime Minister. What has happened to the institution called the Planning Commission? I ask the Prime Minister: "Are you able to devote even five minutes of your time to the business of planning everyday as the Chairman of the Planning Commission?" Nothing remains of planning except the solid building of the Planning Commission, and, of course, its Deputy Chairman. The Prime Minister takes great pleasure in shuffling the pack of the Planning Commission and nothing more than that. So, this is what is happening. The provision—the outlay—that has been made for this year, if you take into account the rise in prices even to the extent of 50 per cent of what it was during the last year, then it is going to be of the same order as the outlay last year. I am asking: are we then planning for stagnation, are we planning for decline and is that what you call economic development?

There has been a change in the structure or composition of our national output, and our country's economy is now in the reverse gear. The share of manufacturing industries is declining and yet there would be some hon. gentlemen on the other side who would go on strutting about in the country and claiming that we are progressing. But, actually, there is development in the reverse. The tertiary sector is claiming more than the manufacturing sector. Investment in equipment and machinery is less than in 1965-66. May I say that the hon. Prime Minister has made the country frozen, so far as its economy is concerned, at the level of 1965-66? I throw the challenge that in none of the respects, either in terms of investment or in terms of increase in national income, they can show that the country has moved even a bit from the level it had attained in 1965-66. So, this has been a period of stagnation and even decline.

You have been talking of socialism somewhat stridently. But what has happened to the Monopolies Commission, which is more or less killed.

Even in this Parliament what is the performance of the Prime Minister? According to my calculation, she is not able to devote even a week's time to Parliament, though it has been sitting for nearly six months during the course of the year. Therefore, we have been forced to come forward with a motion that the Leader of the House is not performing her duties or functions.

After having got the massive mandate, the Prime Minister seems to tell the people and Members of Parliament, as Hitler did: "Now, gentlemen, you can go home". That is what, in effect, the Prime Minister says to us.

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

Therefore, the conclusion is irresistible, that the institutional decline is total and the personal rule is absolute. Even a dictator is sustained by a much larger hierarchy than the hierarchy here. Thus, you see the misfortune of the most friendless Prime Minister in the world. Has she got a single personal friend? Has she got a hierarchy which even a dictator has?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Are you dreaming or speaking?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: He would not understand, because he has now the heady experience of being the deputy leader of the party. A few moments ago, he has been elected to that post

What I am trying to suggest is that the Prime Minister does not treat Parliament properly. Even this morning when we were fighting for this no-confidence motion and for the non-official business, we thought that the Prime Minister would rise to the occasion, but she did not. Ultimately, what happened? Has it been to her advantage? Therefore, I say to the Prime Minister in all sincerity: you have become big, but you have to strive to be great; you can subdue the opposition only by greatness; you cannot do it by any other means.

There is a great similarity—I do not want to suggest to whom it is more flattering, but there is a great similarity—between Mr. Richard Nixon and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. If the balance sheets of the two are juxtaposed, it would be difficult to say who excels whom.

Something has been said about corruption. In fact, the whole country is seething with discontent on account of rampant corruption in the administration in this regime. It seems to be the wonderful principle

of this regime "corrupt and rule", as there was wonderful principle of the British "divide and rule". They have been even trying to corrupt the Sarvodaya movement, but with what pathetic results! The Prime Minister's Group in the Sarvodaya Movement has been reduced to a microscopic minority of three whereas J.P. has got an overwhelming majority of 21 on his side.

Then consider in what ridiculous way they treat charges of corruption! When there were charges of corruption against the Haryana Chief Minister, the hon. Prime Minister referred this matter to a Committee of her cabinet. Is that the way you should treat charges of corruption? You make even persons like Mr. Gokhale behave in a manner which does not behave a person of his stature. You make others also dishonest in this process. Nobody would believe the findings of that wonderful sub-Committee.

When a Deputy Minister of the Central Government was allegedly involved in the previous regime in an unsavoury deal, then the matter was referred to the Attorney General. I may not have faith in the present Attorney General. I do not know Mr. Niren De so much. However, the Attorney General is not a member of the Cabinet and the then incumbent went into the conduct of that Deputy Minister.

But this is what the present Prime Minister has been doing—she has been referring the charges of corruption to her cabinet colleagues.

Then there is this licence scandal. We have gone through the 1,200 or 1,400 pages and we owe it to the House to take it up here. We could not get that opportunity during this Session, but we are going to do it, we will take it up in the next, because

the House had given us the assignment and we will have to share with the country and the House what we have been able to find during the course of our study of these 1200 or 1400 pages.

What have they revealed? They have revealed that the officers had said they had "consistently" and "correctly"—these are the words used by them—taken the position that it would not be right to reopen those cases. And yet the Prime Minister has not thought it fit to appoint a Parliamentary Committee.

I had made a charge—and here I am obliged to you also Mr. Speaker as you had taken some interest in the matter and it is through your good offices that I have been able to get at least some information,—on the floor of the House twice about the Saudi Arabian deal as to why and how the prices offered in this deal were higher than in the Iraq case. My charge remains unanswered. But now I want to tell the House that my suspicions are confirmed by the communication that I have received. It has been said that it is now going to be remitted to the care of the Vigilance Commission in some way. The House will later know more about this. What is involved here is political corruption, I suspect.

Today I have got some information in answer to a question which I had tabled about the fertiliser deal with some countries and I want to warn those people who have been associated with this that I have got more information about this.

What do they say?

"Since these are commercial contracts between the MMTC and the exporting enterprises in those countries, their details are not made public."

But they are known to me and I will tell you after sometime where the money had been deposited.

Finally, no Government, it is clear, had functioned at such a high level of incompetence or at such a level of superlative stupidity in economic matters. In no other field too can this Government claim that it had solved any problems. Therefore, it is our clear, firm and categorical view that if we want this country to prosper, this Government must go. So it is not in a light-hearted spirit that we have brought up these charges.

22.00 hrs.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: You (Shri Shyamnandan Mishra) said just five minutes back, "you did not want to oust me."

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: We are not gunning for you personally, madam. What I would like to say is that it will create difficulties for us if you make it a personal issue. There is nothing personal. Everything relates to the policies. We want the vacation of your ruinous policies, and therefore, your ouster also.

कृषि और सिंचाई मंत्री (श्री जगजीवन राम) : जनाब स्पीकर साहब, मैं सब से पहले माननीय ज्योतिर्मय बसु को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। विपक्षी दलों का नेतृत्व आप को मिल गया इसके लिए आपकी बधाई है। और बधाई है विपक्षी दल को कि बहुत खोज के बाद उनको ज्योतिर्मय बसु जैसा नेता मिला। बाहर से प्रयत्न किया जा रहा था विपक्षी दलों का एक संघ या महासंघ बनाने का। वह सफल होगा कि नहीं यह तो माननीय बाजपेयी जी बता सकते हैं, लेकिन धनौषारिक तरीके से उस संघ का निर्माण आज कर दिया गया, उसके लिए विपक्षी दलों को बधाई है।

[श्री जगजीवन राम]

डो० एम० के० क एक माननीय संसद ने कहा कि लोकतंत्र में भविष्यवासी का प्रस्ताव लाया विपक्षी दल का एक अधिकार है मैं उनके अधिकार से कोई खसल नहीं बालना चाहता लेकिन यह जरूर पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस अधिकार का उपयोग करने की आवश्यकता क्या थी? अभी जो बजट सेशन चल रहा था, बजट पर बहस हुई। सारे बजट पर साधारण बहस, श्रीर मंत्रालयों पर विशेष बहस।

श्री रवीशंकर प्रसाद : कुछ मंत्रालयों पर बहस हुई। बाकी सब गिलोटिन हो गया।

श्री जगजीवन राम : ऐसा मालूम होता है कि आप के गणित में 6 घंटे का महत्व 6 हफ्ते के महत्व से अधिक है। अब इस गणित के लिए मैं क्या कर सकता हूँ। जो बजट घर यह सारी बातें हो सकती थीं, श्रीर नहीं की गई, यह भी कोई नहीं कह सकता। अंतिम दिन इसलिए लाया गया है कि जैसा अभी अंतिम बजट माननीय श्याम बाबू के भाषण से सिद्ध हुआ कि इस को कोई विशेष महत्व की बात नहीं समझा गया। जिस तरह से श्याम बाबू बोल रहे हैं उसको सुनने से प्रसन्नता भी होती है, मनोरंजन भी होता है। श्रीर जब श्याम बाबू को लगता है कि लोगों का मनोरंजन हो रहा है तो श्याम बाबू का उत्साह भी बढ़ता है।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : श्रीर आप का क्या होता है? आप जो हर लफ्फ पर धूम-धूम कर देखते हैं कि क्या हमारे बारे में लोग सोच रहे हैं।

श्री जगजीवन राम : मैं तो यही बूझ रहा हूँ कि श्याम बाबू क्या मैं सत्य नहीं कह रहा हूँ?

श्री श्याम नन्दन मिश्र : अपने बारे में देखिये।

श्री जगजीवन राम : बात सही है दुनिया का चेहरा देखने को मिलता है।

श्री श्याम नन्दन मिश्र : अपना नहीं दिखाई देता।

श्री जगजीवन राम : जी हाँ। वह सब पर लागू होता है। श्याम बाबू ने पूछा आप यहाँ कैसे हैं? क्या यह साधारण बात आप नहीं समझ सकते? हम यहाँ इनलिये हैं कि भारत की जनता च हूती है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : हम लोग क्या यहाँ ?

श्री जगजीवन राम : आप की जनता जहाँ चाहती है वही पर है। आप को कुछ शक्ति इसी में हो जाती है, कभी आप सोचने लगते हैं कि वहाँ भी आप पहुँच सकते हैं जहाँ भारत की जनता आप को नहीं पहुँचाना चाहती है, श्रीर इसी में शक्ति आ जाती है।

श्री भूलक्षत्र वर्मा (उज्जैन) : आप पट्टा लिखा कर लाये हैं ?

श्री जगजीवन राम : उस पट्टा श्रीर जम दारी का निर्णय मैं नहीं करता, बल्कि भास्त को जबरन करता है।

जो मैं यही कह रहा था कि भारत की जनता की तकलीफों का बयान किया। वह तो हमें भी मालूम है, उसे दूर करने को हम प्रयत्न करते हैं। लेकिन उन तकलीफों के बावजूद भी—इस बात को आप क्यों भूल जाते हैं—भारत की जनता कांग्रेस के पक्ष में ही राय देती है। भारत ने कहा कि फेडरलिटी सत्य हो गई।

श्री इयब्रीवन विषय : उन्होंने कुछ कहा है मर जाऊंगी तो लोग कहेंगे कि खुद-कुशी कर ली ।

श्री जयजीवन राम : आप स्वयं को जनता के साथ आईडेंटिफाई कर देते हैं वहीं पर भ्रान्ति घा जाती है । आप कहते हैं कि क्रेडिबिलिटी खत्म हो गई । तो इतना होने पर भी भारत की जनता का विश्वास इसी बल पर है जिस का प्रतिनिधित्व करने का सौभाग्य हमें प्राप्त है ।

श्री ज्योतिर्बय बसु : बैलट बक्स बदल दीजिये, गुडा लाइये, बार्पेटा मे जैसा किया ।

श्री जयजीवन राम : श्रीर जहाँ तक माननीय ज्योतिर्बय बसु के भाषण का प्रश्न है वह भी हर वफा जब कभी भविष्यवासी का प्रस्ताव रखने का उन को धक्का मिल जाता है उन बातों को दोहराते हैं ।

श्री ज्योतिर्बय बसु : रास्ते में जो मैन होल होता है अगर उस का वेट पाइप नहीं होता तो बदलू होती है । तो यह नो-काल्कीडेत मोशन आप के गंधे मैनहोल्स पर वेट पाइपस को तरह होते हैं ।

श्री जयजीवन राम : मुझे वाक्य पूरा नहीं करने दिया श्रीर आप को चुभ गया । आप उन बातों को दोहराते रहते हैं, वे बातें आप को प्रिय लग रही हैं । यह ठीक है कि किसी को प्रकाश प्रिय होता है, श्रीर किसी को अंधकार प्रिय होता है । वह तो अपने चाहने की बात है । इसलिये मैं उन बातों से नहीं जाना चाहता ।

माननीय वाजपेयी जी का भाषण आकर्षक होता है, आरावाहिक और लच्छेवार । लेकिन उसमें असर कितना है यह वह भी जानते हैं श्रीर सुनने वाले भी जानते हैं । लेकिन आज माननीय ज्योतिर्बय बसु का साथ

वाजपेयी जी पर भी पड़ गया । मैं समझता हूँ कि वाजपेयी जी कुछ ऊपर उठ करके बोलेंगे, लेकिन उन्होंने भी कुछ उस तरह की बात कही जिस के बादी माननीय बसु बन गये हैं । इस को मैं वाजपेयी जी के सिधे दुर्भाग्य की बात मानता हूँ, श्रीर सदन के सिधे भी । क्योंकि वाजपेयी जी के भाषण को मैं जिस कोटि का समझता था, आज वह उस पर नहीं उतरे हैं ।

जनता ज्यादा परेशान है और इस सरकार के द्वारा उन परेशानियों को दूर करने का यत्न किया गया है, इस को कोई भी समझ या भावमी स्वीकार करेगा ।

श्री एस०एम० बनर्जी : जनता सो रही है आप भाषण दे रहे हैं ।

श्री जयजीवन राम : कोई कह रहा था कि मैं जवाब नहीं दे रहा हूँ । जवाब नहीं दे रहा हूँ तब तो इतना लग रहा है आप को । जिस वक्त जवाब देने लूंगा, उस वक्त कितना लगेगा, इस का अन्दाजा किया है आप ने ?

श्री श्याम मन्धन विषय : चले जाएँगे तब ।

श्री जयजीवन राम : अभी मत जाइए । अभी जाने के दिन नहीं आए हैं श्याम बाबू : (व्यवधान) आप लोगों ने 'जाने' का जो अर्थ लगाया, वह मेरे सामने नहीं था । आप 'चले जाने' के माइने यहाँ तक रखें कि 'सदन से चले जाएँगे' । मैंने भी यही कहा कि अभी आप के सदन से बाहर जाने का वक्त नहीं आया । आप का भी बड़ा कन्ट्रीब्यूशन है लेकिन इस बात को आप क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि इस सरकार की कुछ उपलब्धियाँ हैं, जिन उपलब्धियों के कारण किसी भी सरकार को वीरव हो सकता है ।

[श्री जगजीवन राम]

बिपक्षी दल का एक कार्य होता है, एक रोल होता है और डेमोक्रेसी में उस का रोल सरकार की झालोचना करना होता है लेकिन झालोचना इसलिए करें जिससे कुछ सुचनात्मक तत्व निकल सकें। झालोचना इसलिए न की जाए कि वृजन का हृदन हो। इस को तो ध्राप भी स्वीकार करेंगे और राष्ट्रीय तत्वों में विश्वास रखने वाले चाहे वे सत्कार्य दल के लोग हों या बिपक्षी हों, सब का लक्ष्य तो एक ही होता है और वह है देश की गरिमा को बढ़ाना, देश को समृद्धशाली करना और उस के लिए गणतांत्रिक प्रणाली से—जिन को उस में विश्वास है—उस तरीके से देश को ले जाना, जिस में हम उस को समृद्धशाली बना सकें।

ध्राप ने बारबार दोहराया कि प्रजातंत्र को हम कमजोर कर रहे हैं। लेकिन श्याम बाबू, क्या ध्राप भूल गये ? जिस उदाहरण को ध्राप ने रखा क्या वह ठीक था ? ध्राप को भी सौभाग्य प्राप्त था उस कांग्रेस में रहने का, जिस कांग्रेस में ध्राप ने देखा था कि प्रजातंत्र की प्रणाली कितनी सशक्त थी और ध्राप भी है।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : ध्राप नहीं है।

श्री जगजीवन राम : ध्राप भी है, एक उदाहरण ध्राप ने दिया मेरे मित्र श्री मोहन धारिया को ले कर के।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : ध्राप उन की चुनौती को कबूल ही नहीं कर रहे हैं ?

श्री जगजीवन राम : चुनौती को कबूल करने का सवाल ही नहीं है। हमारी ध्यान्तरिक प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली की सशक्तता का यह प्रमाण है।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : प्रमाण यही है कि उस के डाइलोग के लिए एक्जोकेट किया और निकाल दिया गया मिनिस्ट्री से।

श्री जगजीवन राम : ध्राप जो चुनौती की बात कर रहे थे तो ध्राप समझ रहे थे कि उन के अर्थात् श्री मोहनधारिया के खिलाफ कुछ और कदम उठाये जायेंगे ? इसीलिए मैं ध्राप को बता रहा हूँ कि कांग्रेस की ध्यान्तरिक प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली ने इस देश की और भी राजनीतिक संस्थाओं और राजनीति के बाहर की संस्थाओं को भी प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली मानने के लिए उत्साहित किया है।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : ठीक ठीक बताइए कि ध्राप से हरेक बात के बारे में राय ली जाती है ? ईमानदारी से दिल की बात बताइए।

श्री जगजीवनराम : ईमानदारी से क्या मैं उस चीज को बता दू ध्राप को जिस के बारे में मैंने यह शपथ ग्रहण की है कि मैं बाहर नहीं कहूँगा।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : यही जानना था हम लोगों को कि ध्राप बताएंगे नहीं।

श्री जगजीवन राम : ध्राप को कैबिनेट प्रश्न के प्रारम्भिक तत्वों का भी ज्ञान न हो तो उस के लिए हम क्या कहें।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : जवाब मिल गया पूरे का पूरा।

श्री जगजीवन राम : श्याम बाबू, ध्राप को सरकार में रहने का गौरव भी प्राप्त हो चुका है, तो ध्राप को तो भासूम होनी चाहिए यह ज्ञात। इसलिए यह प्रश्न तो ध्राप को करना ही नहीं चाहिए। मैं ध्राप को कह सकता हूँ कि कांग्रेस जितना गणतां-

विक्र प्रणाली को धाक भी लिखा रही है, मायब ही कोई दूसरा राजनीतिक दल उतनी हय तक उस को निधा रहा हो ।

वाजपेयी जी ने एक प्रश्न किया गुजरात के चुनावों के बारे में श्री श्याम बाबू ने भी कहा । अब तो चुनाव आया और आप लोग वहाँ जायेंगे । तब आप को मालूम होगा कि जून में चुनाव कराने का धर्य क्या होता है जब आप के पैर का पसीना आप के मस्तक पर पहुँचेगा, तब आप मोरारजी भाई को धार्यीय द जरूर देंगे ।

श्री श्याम नन्धन मिश्र : हम तो उन्हीं परेमानियों में रहते हैं ।

श्री जगजीवन राम : हम ने क्यों वहाँ जून में चुनाव कराना कबूल कर लिया ? इसलिए कि हम स्वतन्त्रता के एक प्रमुख योधा की जान को खत्म नहीं होने देना चाहते थे । लेकिन मैं एक दूसरी बात कहूँगा ।

श्री श्याम नन्धन मिश्र : किस को रोका था, आप जनवरी में कराते, तो मुरझाते नहीं ।

श्री जगजीवन राम : जनवरी में कराते, तो आप को मालूम होना चाहिए कि गुजरात की स्थिति क्या है । ... (व्यवधान) ... लेकिन वाजपेयी जी को सबड़ाहट है श्री गायकवाड़ के हमारे साथ घा जाने से । वाजपेयी जी, यह तथ्य आप को अब प्रत्यक्ष हुआ क्या ? श्री गायकवाड़ तो पहले ही कांग्रेस में घा चुके थे ।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : आप हमारे ही टिकट पर चुन कर और ले लिया आप ने ।

श्री जगजीवन राम : लेकिन वाजपेयी जी के साथ तो आप का गठबन्धन ऐसा हुआ था कि वे आप के ऊपर तो लाँछन लगा नहीं

सकते थे, वे लाँछन हमारे ऊपर लगाने लगे इस में लगता है कि वाजपेयी जी इस धाष्टुनिक इतिहास को भूल गये थे कि श्री गायकवाड़ बहुत पहले कांग्रेस में घा चुके थे और स्मरण दिला दूँ कि श्याम बाबू जब शामिल थे, तभी वे गुजरात के कांग्रेस मंत्रिमंडल में मंत्री भी बन चुके थे ।

श्री श्यामनन्धन मिश्र : उसके लिए हम थोड़े ही कह रहे हैं । हम कह रहे हैं कि हमारे ही टिकट पर चुन कर आए, तो फिर ऐसी धनैतिकता क्यों दिखलाई ?

श्री जगजीवन राम : अब वह स्थान उन को पसन्द नहीं पड़ा, तो क्या करते । श्याम बाबू को ऐसा बना, कर रचना चाहिए था कि उन की सीबत उन को पसन्द रहती और वे छोड़ कर न घाते ।

इसलिए वाजपेयी जी, आप को तो अनुभव हो चुका है 1971 और 1972 का । सासे की बीब कोई सफल नहीं हुआ करती और हिन्दुस्तान की जनता इस बात को जानती है । 1971 में आप लोगों ने गठबन्धन किया था और उस गठबन्धन का क्या नतीजा निःला था, वह आप को मालूम है । अब इस महासंघ का क्या नतीजा होगा, इस का शन्दाभा आप को लग गया । इसलिए श्री गायकवाड़ के नाम पर खेलना चाहते हैं । वहाँ गुजरात की जनता समझती है और मुझ को इस में संवेह नहीं है कि जिस तरह से भारत की जनता जानती है कि किस पर विम्वास करने से देश आगे बढ़ सकता है, गुजरात की जनता का भी निर्णय वही होगा ।

श्री डी० एम० के० के एक सदस्य महोदय कह रहे थे कि कांग्रेस ने लोकतंत्र को कमजोर किया । अगर वही सब कुछ कांग्रेस को करना रहता, तो उन को स्वयं अपने हृदय से पृष्ठना चाहिए कि क्या मंत्रास में

[श्री जगजीवन राम]

बी० एम० के० सत्ता में आ सकती थी ।

यह सही है कि मद्रास में अनावृष्टि हो जाने की वजह से भाज परेशानी है । लेकिन जहाँ तक हम से बन पड़ा है मद्रास की इस मामले में सहायता की गई है । उन्होंने कहा है कि इस तरह के मामलों में जो हमारे सूबों को धन दिया गया है उससे कम तमिलनाडू को दिया गया है । उनको मालूम है कि पिछली फाइनेंस कमिशन ने जो प्रणाली स्थापित का थी थी उस प्रणाली के हिसाब से काम किया जा रहा है । लेकिन उसके बावजूद जहाँ यह समझा गया कि और अधिक धन की आवश्यकता है उसका प्रबन्ध किया गया । यह उस राज्य के प्लान में उसे प्रथम क्रम दे कर किया गया । राहत के काम को धक्का न पहुँचे इसका बराबर यत्न किया गया है ।

जहाँ तक अन्य उपलब्ध करने का प्रश्न है, यह मद्रास की सरकार ने कबूल किया है कि केन्द्र सरकार की तरफ से तेजी के साथ उनकी मदद की गई है । चावल तो हम उतना नहीं दे सकते हैं जितनी आवश्यकता है लेकिन कुछ चावल भी दिया है । रह गया यह प्रश्न कि और प्रान्तों में वह खरीद कर सके । पिछले साल जो छूट दी गई थी नहीं खाद्य नीति में उसकी भालोचना इसी सदन में की गई थी । इस वास्ते उसको हम ने इस साल बन्द कर दिया है और हम प्रयत्न करेंगे कि तमिलनाडू को भी जितने धन की आवश्यकता है उतना हम—चावल भले ही न दे सके—गेहूँ और कुछ चावल दे कर उनकी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति प्रबन्ध की जाएगी ।

भारत में हमने बुनियात बनाने का जब निर्णय किया उस वक़्त हमारे संविधान के निर्माताओं को भी यह पता था कि केन्द्र में और राज्यों में हो सकता है कि अलग-अलग राजनीतिक दलों के लोग शासन में—सत्ता में—आएँ और ऐसा होने पर भी उनके अन्दर समन्वय की भावना विद्यमान रहनी चाहिए और उनके सम्बन्ध मधुर रहने चाहिए । इस चीज को हमने व्यावहारिक रूप में धक्की तरह से निभाया है और मद्रास में चुकि बी एम के की सरकार है इस वास्ते उनको मदद पहुँचाने के इरादे में किसी प्रकार की रक़ाबट न पैदा हुई है और न होगी और इसका प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण तमिलनाडू सरकार को मिल चुका है ।

मैं फिर कहूँगा प्रजातंत्र में सत्ताएँ और विपत्ती दल दोनों का लक्ष्य देश को ऊपर उठाना होना चाहिए, देश को संगठित और समृद्धिवादी बनाने का होना चाहिए और उसके लिए दोनों को प्रयत्न भी करने चाहिए । श्याम बाबू ने कहा है कि हम कुर्सी खाली करे । हम खाली करें लेकिन कोई बैठने वाला नजर भी तो आए . . .

श्री श्याम मन्धन मिश्र : इतनी प्रपने से आपकी मुहब्बत क्यों है ।

श्री जगजीवन राम : भारत की जनता मजबूर करती है कि हम यहाँ रहें । वह तो बैंगोकेसी है श्याम बाबू । जिस दिन भारत की जनता चाहेगी कि आप यहाँ आएँ तो उस में हम खलल पैदा करने वाले कौन हो सकते हैं । इसलिए यह जो अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव आपने रखा है, मैं समझता हूँ कि इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं थी, और आप भी दिल में यह समझते होने कि इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं थी

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : हमारे दिल की बात आप को कैसे मालूम हो गई।

श्री ब्रह्म बिहारी बाजपययी : आप अन्तर्दानी मालूम होते हैं।

श्री जगजीवन राम : आप अगर उनके दिल की बात जान सकते हैं तो कुछ से भी जान सकता हूँ। मुझे लगता है कि श्याम बाबू के दिल में जो आइस का विश्वास के प्रस्ताव के बारे में उनका असर आपको ऊपर पढ़ गया है। अच्छा हाँ, क'अप इयंक' वा'पस ले लें।

MR. SPEAKER: Prime Minister will reply at 11 p.m. and after her, Mr. Bosu will reply for ten minutes.

SHRI JYOTIRBOY BOSU: No, Sir. I will take more time. I have to reply to the most vicious personal attack of Mr. Stephen.

MR. SPEAKER: In that case, I will call Prime Minister to speak a little earlier.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The Prime Minister can intervene at any stage but the question is that we have reached an agreement that we shall go upto 12 midnight. There is a precedent in this matter. We cannot reconcile to the position that the no-confidence motion can be discussed for anything less than 10-12 hours. It will go upto 12 O'clock.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I want more time. Mr. Dasmuni and Mr. Stephen have made false and baseless attack on me. I have to reply each and every word.

MR. SPEAKER: In that case I have to call the Prime Minister early. Mr. Frank Anthony.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no doubt that I could produce many reasons for dissatisfaction

with and even criticism of the Government. I expect that is natural with regard to any Government that is in power for any length of time. Perhaps, the greatest reason for this criticism would be based on run-away inflation. We were all victims of this inflation. If this continued for two or three years, no democracy could survive. But thank God, Government took steps to contain that run-away inflation and the rate has dropped from 32 to 6 per cent. I think, this is a very appreciable and indeed a creditable achievement.

No one can deny that corruption is very widespread—much too widespread for the health of the country and even for the survival of democracy. Somebody has said that corruption is endemic in Indian society. I would prefer not to go along with that but I also believe that no particular party has a monopoly of corruption. In my professional capacity, I continue to have lot of cases of people who are victims of corruption. I am aware that even in State Corporations run by non-Congress Governments, there have been cess-pools of corruption.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as a practising lawyer I know about the extent of constraints on fundamental rights. I quite frankly admit that I have been rather distressed.

And I felt that with the continuance of emergency there has been this blanket suspension of the whole gamut of the most precious of the fundamental freedoms. I want to make an appeal to the Prime Minister. I saw a statement of her the other day that the fundamental rights have not, by and large, been suspended. This is not correct. As soon as an emergency is proclaimed, Art. 19 is automatically suspended. When Art. 19 is suspended, it means that the whole gamut of the most precious of the fundamental freedoms are suspended

[Shri Frank Anthony]

—freedom of speech, freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom to work, all these, are suspended. They are the heart-beat, the life blood, of democracy. We cannot continue to have a blanket suspension of these basic fundamental freedoms. And that is why I have said it and I agree that in certain sensitive and vulnerable areas, emergency, probably, has to continue. The Constitution provides for making the emergency applicable to certain areas and I would ask the Government to consider this seriously. Why not apply the emergency to vulnerable sensitive areas? Don't make it a blanket application. And I feel that that would be welcomed by the country.

Having said that, Mr. Speaker, I come to the crux of the problem. That is, democracy requires a viable democratic alternative to the ruling party. That is the minimum postulate of democracy. Unfortunately, there is no prospect of it—a viable democratic alternative to the Congress Party. A good friend and a young friend of mine who belonged to the Independent Group of which I continue to have the privilege to belong, Erasmo De Sequeira, told me a few weeks ago that such a democratic viable alternative was likely to emerge. I told him that I have been much longer in this game than you and you can take it from me that no viable democratic alternative is going to emerge either in this House or in the country because, I have seen for over thirty years, unfortunately for the country, how the Opposition Groups continue to function in this country. No one is prepared to shed his identity—not only as a party, not only as a group but even as a political shaving. That has been the bane of Indian politics—ultra-individualism. Sir, I do not want to say anything about my friend, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. I have the greatest respect for him. I have had occasion to work with him very closely. I was on his Indo-Pakistan

Conciliation Committee. I have never questioned his motives. But, at the same time, I question with great respect his political judgment. I resigned from the Indo-Pakistan Conciliation Committee because I felt that no amount of appeasement of Pakistan would bring about rapprochement with Pakistan. This was in 1964 and my opinion about Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was that Pakistan would sooner than later go to war but he disagreed with me. I resigned; within a few months, we were at war with Pakistan. Pakistan went to war. The movement of J.P. has highlighted the irredeemable fragmentation of Indian politics. I would have been the first to welcome J.P.'s coming out and saying 'yes, I am now entering the political lists' because, this is what I shall do and now I am going to lead a viable democratic alternative. But, he has not done that. He still stands on the sidelines and tells this country 'I do not want to stand for election; I do not want to do this; I do not want to do that'. Where do you get your viable democratic alternative? As I see it, democracy postulates parties. This talk of partyless democracy, janta candidates, is not only a confession of failure but it is a confession of the uttermost political ineptitude also.

Democracy postulates parties. Parties postulate allegiance to political parties with specific political ideologies and discipline by the political parties. How are you going to have loose amorphous arrangement? I do not understand this. All this talk of this partyless democracy is really absurd. How do you accept groups that are not only ideologically irreconcilable but ideologically also utterly hostile to come together and work together? You might get a temporary opportunistic alliance but that is not going to last. It is an invitation to instability. I would subscribe to this more than anything else. What this country needs above everything else is political stability and po-

litical stability postulates at any rate at the Centre a reasonably cohesive political party with a reasonably coherent political ideology. What has happened is this. This country has been able to falsify the prophets of doom, of disintegration. That is only because we have had at least one fairly cohesive political party. I am not a Congressman. I am never going to be a Congressman. I have made some of the strongest criticisms of the Congress Party in this House and I continue to do this. But I realise this. Fortunately for the country, and I say this to the Congressmen with your factionalism if you destroy the ruling party you will destroy the country. Whatever your weaknesses are—there are many—because you had a fairly cohesive stable party with fairly coherent political ideology, you have stood between the country and political instability and political chaos. (Interruptions).

When I stood here alone and opposed the formation of Andhra Pradesh I did it because I have always subscribed to the basic postulate that in a sub-continental country like this, the basic imperative is a strong Centre and today that is the most basic of all the imperatives that face our country. The day you have a weak Centre that day Indian history will repeat itself. This may not appeal to some of the hon. Members but Indian history has been nothing but a history of tribalisms and a history of dis-integration and that is what we must avoid. We can only avoid it by having a strong Centre.

Now, I want to say a word about minorities because I have the privilege of speaking for a minority—although a small minority. When we are asked—somebody has asked me—how do we vote for a 'Janata' candidate. I say: I do not know because the first thing I want to know from a Janata candidate is: What is your political complexion. What are you? I

am not talking about your umbrella. Do you belong to a Hindu revivalist party? If you belong to a Hindu revivalist party we dare not vote for you. Do you belong to a Godless ir-religious party? If you do then we cannot vote for you. So, it goes on. So, merely putting this label or a patchwork of a series of political complexions is not going to attract any votes. I do not understand. In a democracy people first want to know what party do you belong to. Do you belong to the CPI(M) or Jan Sangh and that is why in their private moments you see the reservation. Mr. Morarji Desai obviously has his reservations. He does not want to be too closely associated with the Janata party democracy. So, he has projected the Congo. I do not know much about Shri Charan Singh. I have learned a lot about him. He also has complained that the BLD has lost a great deal of ground because it substantially pre-occupied itself with this Janata party ideology. So, I say this that I do not understand it at all. I would have understood and appreciated if J.P. had come out and given a lead to democratic alternative. This talk of a Janata alternative is a confession of inaptitude. You may hope under this rickety umbrella all things to all voters but ultimately you may wind up with being nothing to anybody.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले तो मुझे खरी है कि माननीय श्री फेक एन्थनी का भाषण सुनने को मिला, क्योंकि वह बहस रात के समय हो रही है। अगर इस समय भी सर्वोच्च न्यायालय खुला होता, तो बकील साहब हम लोगों को इसकी जानकारी देने के लिए यहां न आते, और वह पुनः हाउस जन की बातों से बंचित रह जाता।

मैं श्री जनजीवन राम की बातों को बहुत ध्यान से सुन रहा था। मैं यह समझन की कोशिश कर रहा था कि वह सरकार

[श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र]

को कहाँ बचा रहे हैं। यह सही है कि उन्होंने हम लोगों को बहुत हँसाया है, और उस के लिए मैं उन का शुक्रिया भवा करता हूँ। लेकिन राजनीति केवल मसखरेपन की चीज नहीं होती है। अगर राजनीति केवल हँसी मजाक का विषय बन कर रह गया, और वह भी श्री जगजीवन राम की शब्दसिपत के धादमी के द्वारा, जिन का मैं बहुत ज्यादा सम्मान करता हूँ, तो मेरे जैसे छोटे लोगों के मन में बहुत चोट लगेगी।

मैं शुरू से ही बहुत ताज्जुब में था कि जब श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने यह प्रस्ताव रखा, तो सत्ता-रुढ़ दल के लोगों में एक हलचल मच गई। मैं ने देखा कि श्री रघुरामैया भरत नाट्यम की मुद्रा में आप से भी उलझने की कोशिश कर रहे थे, और प्रधान मंत्री वहीं बैठ कर उन को इन्टीग्रेट कर रही थी। मैं समझ नहीं पा रहा था कि जब इतना बड़ा बहुमत इन लोगों का है, तो इतनी घबराहट क्यों हो गई है। लेकिन जैसे ही यह भविष्यवासी-प्रस्ताव विचारार्थ स्वीकृत हुआ, और मैं सेंट्रल हाल में गया, तो मुझे पता चला कि सत्ता-रुढ़ दल का जो चुनाव हुआ है, उस में कई जय-प्रकाश नारायण सम्पर्क जीत गए हैं।

(ध्वजध्वान)

इन लोगों को चट्टान चटकती हुई मजूर भाई। जो लोग अब तक जयप्रकाश नारायण से बातचीत करने के लिए दबाव डाल रहे थे, और जिन के खिलाफ सत्ता-रुढ़ दल के लोग उंगली उठा कर कह रहे थे कि देखो, ये क्या काम कर रहे हैं, उन में से कोई इन लोगों का जो ल सेन्टरी हो गया है, कोई और पदाधिकारी हो गया है। मुझे लगा कि जिस चट्टान पर इस समय इन लोगों को घमड़ है, वह चटक सी रही है। मैं चाहूँगा कि वह जीत भाज कोई नतीजा निकाले।

हम से भ्रष्टार कहा जाता है कि तुम प्रधान मंत्री जी के बारे में ही क्यों बोल करते हो।

मेरे बगल में श्री सरद यादव बैठे हैं। एक दिन वह इन लोगों पर नुस्ते में भाये थे। उन्होंने कहा कि बिजली के खम्बे, हल्सा न मचाओ। मैंने बाद में उनसे पूछा कि उन्होंने ऐसा क्यों कहा। उन्होंने कहा कि ये जो बैठे हैं, ये सब के सब बिजली के खम्बे हैं, घसली करेन्ट तो नम्बर एक की सीट से ही घाता है।

इस लिए इन लोगों के बारे में मैं क्या बोलूँ, काहे के लिए इन पर आरोप लाऊँ। असल में जहा से करेन्ट शुरू होता है, हमला तो उसी पर करना चाहिए (ध्वजध्वान)।

श्री जगजीवन राम को थोड़ा देर के लिए छोड़ दीजिए। प्रधान मंत्री जी जब चाहे किसी मिनिस्टर को हटा देती हैं, किसी को होम मिनिस्ट्री से जहाजरानी में, किसी को जहाजरानी से रेल मंत्रालय में, चाहे किसी को भी एक मंत्रालय से दूसरे मंत्रालय में भेज देती है। क्या कोई स्वैचन करने वाला है कि वह ऐसा क्यों कर रही है? ये लोग इतनी निरीह हैं कि कभी इस को स्वैचन नहीं करेंगे। इतना ही नहीं, प्रधान मंत्री किसी भी सूबे के मुख्य मंत्री को जब चाहे हटा सकती है, और जिस को चाहे वहाँ बिठा सकती है।

तो फिर बाक-लोगों के बारे में क्या चर्चा करे? प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ में अपार ताकत आ गई है? जब विरोध पक्ष के लोगों ने लगातार हल्सा मचाया कि वह तानाशाह बनती जा रही है, तब उन्होंने और उन के लोगों ने कहना शुरू कर दिया कि हम तानाशाह कैसे हो गए, मोरारजी भाई की माँग के सामने हम झुक गये, हम उन की जान को बचाना चाहते थे। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि मोरारजी भाई के प्राण को बचा कर उन्होंने अपनी सरकार के प्राण को बचा लिया वहाँ इन की सरकार का प्रा

भी उड़ने वाला था। अगर मोरारजी भाई की जान बच गई होती, तो इन की सरकार दो दिन के लिए भी टिकने वाली नहीं थी (व्यवधान)

क्या इ सरकार को एक वण भी रहने का अधिकार है? मैंने पिछले तीन चार दिनों में जो आरोप लगाया है, उस की मैं इस समय चर्चा नहीं करूँगा, क्योंकि वह मामला प्रिविनेज कमेटी को भेज दिया गया है।

यह श्री मधु लिमये का 22 अप्रैल का सवाल है। उस सवाल में उन्होंने पूछा है कि क्या भारत में कोई व्हीकल डिपेंडेंसी है, जहा मोटर के इंजनों बगैर ही की टेस्टिंग होती है। इस सवाल के जवाब में सरकार की ओर से यह दिया गया है।

"Test report of the VRD does not indicate any such enquiries".

मास्ति कम्पन का प्राटो-टाइप इंजन वहाँ जांच के लिए गया था। क्या इससे भी बड़ा कोई भ्रष्टाचार हो सकता है?

तत्करो के बारे में यह 25 अप्रैल, 1975 का सवाल नं० 7627 है। मैं उस सवाल के (डी) और (ई) हिस्से को पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ।

"(d) Whether Shri Yashpal Kapur, M.P., also had many interviews with Coolie Mastan;

"(e) Whether the Prime Minister spoke in meeting called in support of the Daman MLA, who is brother-in-law of Sukar Naran Bakhia in the 1972 elections".

माननीय श्री प्रणव कुमार मुखर्जी ने इस के जवाब में कहा है :

"(e) During pre-election period in 1972, the Prime Minister had visited Daman as part of her schedule for election campaign and had addressed a public meeting at Daman".

तत्करो के रिश्तेदारों के साथ किस के रिश्ते हैं, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ (व्यवधान)।

श्री फ्रेक एन्थनी ने माइनारिटीज के बारे में कहा है। इस बारे में 7 म, 1975 को सवाल पूछा गया है। उस के जवाब में इस सरकार की तरफ से श्री भोम मेहता ने साफ साफ कहा है कि हमारे पास इस तरह के कोई आकड़े नहीं हैं कि माइनारिटीज के लोगों को नौकरियों में कितनी जगहें दी जाती हैं। ये लो मुसलमानों के अलमबरदार बना करते हैं। आज मुसलमान मारे जा रहे हैं?

हरिजनो के बारे में श्री जगजिवन राम से इतना ही होगा कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू के जमाने में जब चीन से हमारी पल्टन हारी तो पल्टन के वजीर, श्री मेहन, बर्खास्त कर दिए गये थे, लेकिन जब बंगलादेश में हमारी, पल्टन जीत गयी, तो पल्टन के मंत्री यद्यपि श्री जगजीवन राम थे, लेकिन "भारत रत्न" का इनाम लिया बाम्बून की बिटिया ने, उन ची इनाम नहीं मिला। यह बात तय है कि जब तक जाति-व्यवस्था दिल्ली की गद्दी पर लगी रहेगी, तब तक गाजीपुर का हरिजन जलाया जाता रहेगा ऊंची जातियों के द्वारा अगर इस व्यवस्था को तोड़ना है, तो हिम्मत करके आइये, हम लोग आप का स्वागत करेंगे। (व्यवधान)

सनातन दल इस समय अन्ध का मजाक कर रहा है। हरियाणा में एक विधायक बिना किसी गलती के हमेशा के लिए हाउस से निकाल दिया गया। इन के पास बहुमत है। वे गोली से भी उड़ा सकते हैं।

[श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र]

उस के साथ हुई कोई ने कहा कि उस विधायक के हलके में धरती बनाव न कराये जायें—उस ने हल्का सा तमांचा मारा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस के बाद जन-तांत्रिक मूल्यों का सम्मान करना सीखे।

केरल का स्पीकर बहुमत के हाथों इतना दब गया है कि वहाँ का सारी का साथे जन-तांत्रिक मशीनरी प्रैस कर गई है। लेकिन उस के बाद भी प्रधान मंत्री जी कहेंगे कि मैं जनसंख्य चला रही हूँ। आज जब श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु का प्रस्ताव धरा रहा था, तो श्री रघुनाथय जिस तरह का ड्रामा कर रहे थे, उस से मुझे डर लग रहा था कि कहीं पार्लियामेंट में भी केरल जैसी घटना न हो जाये।

अन्त में केवल एक मिनट में मैं अपनी बात कह कर समाप्त करूँगा। मेरे पास जयती शिपिंग कम्पनी के डा० धर्म तेजा की पत्नी की बिट्टी भी है जिस में लिखा हुआ है कि नेशनल हेराल्ड अखबार के लिए के के गाह और उन्माशंकर दीक्षित ये लोग प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से गए थे 20 लाख रुपया मागने के लिए। मैं इस को यहाँ सुनाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। केवल इतना ही कह देना चाहता हूँ कि यह सरकार कपट तिकड़म और राजनैतिक बदचलनी की बुनियादी पर खड़ी है। इस सदन के मालनीय सदस्यों से मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि इस अविश्वास प्रस्ताव को पास कर के इस सरकार को दफना दें।

श्री संकर बघाल सिंह (बपरा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय सदस्य श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र जी का भाषण सुन रहा था तो यह कह कर मुझे अपने गांव की एक छोटी सी कहानी याद आ रही थी। एक बार हमारे गांव में दुर्गादास नाटक खेला गया और हीरो का पार्ट करने के लिए महादेव सिंह को कहा गया कि दुर्गादास का पाठ करो। जब वह रंभबंध पर आए तो मुझ सेनापति ने उनके ऊपर हमला किया। प्रकाश राम की मुझ सेनापति

का पार्ट कर रहे थे। वह तसखार से मार कर उनकी बिराने लगे ली पीछे ले स्ट में के बहू गया कि मार जाइए, तो महादेव सिंह जी ने कहा कि मैं कभी नहीं निबंवा। कल के बाजार में हल्का ही जाया कि हथको मार कर गिरा दिया गया। अन्त में हथ लोनों को परदा बिराना पड़ा, महादेव सिंह नहीं गिरे।

कहने का अर्थ हमारा यह है कि कभी कभी ऐसा होता है कि जो लोग हीरो का पार्ट करने जाते हैं वह जोकर का पार्ट करने लगते हैं। श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र जी जब भाषण देने के लिए उठे तो उनके कद को देख कर ऐसा लगा कि जैसे वह कोई बड़ा भाषण देंगे। लेकिन उनके भाषण को सुन कर ऐसा लगा कि जैसे कोई जोकर का पार्ट भ्रदा कर रहे हों। इसलिए मैं न ही तो महत्व इनको देता हूँ और न ही इनके भाषण को महत्व देता हूँ।

दरम्यान बात यह है कि अभी कुछ दिनों पहले, शायद एक हफ्ता भी नहीं हुआ होगा कि 6 विधान सभा के उप-चुनावों का रिजल्ट हमारे सामने आया। उन 6 में से 5 में कांग्रेस की जीत हुई। जहाँ से शरद यादव भूल से चुन कर आ गए थे, जहाँ से पचास साल से सेठ गोविन्द दास जी चुन कर आया करते थे कांग्रेस के टिकट पर, जहाँ से शरद यादव पचास हजार वोट से चुनकर आ गये थे वही पर असेम्बली का जो चुनाव हुआ है उसमें सारे जितने भी उनके लोग थे उनकी खमान्त खब हो गई और शरद यादव की हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि जबलपुर जाते। इसी तरह से उनकी हिम्मत नहीं होगी कि जहाँ फकीरों भी चुनाव हों वहाँ जा सकें। अभी हमारे सामने मुजरात का चुनाव आ रहा है। उसको सामने रख कर यह नाटक रचा गया है अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव का और इसलिए मैं कह रहा हूँ, आज के बाद फिर तो इस सदन की, लोक सभा की बैठक तो मुजरत

के मुखाब के पहले नहीं होगी, इसलिए यह ज्ञाना रचा गया कि वहाँ तक यह खबर पहुँच जाये। लेकिन मैं अपने साधियों से बड़े श्रद्धा के साथ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी अभी के उपभूतार्थों में जो हल टुप्रा मध्य प्रदेश में, महाराष्ट्र में तथा कर्नाटक में वही हल गुजरात में भी होगा और आपके उम्मीदवारों के लिए अपनी जमानत बचाना मुश्किल हो जायगा।

सदन में इधर दो तीन दिनों से जो कुछ हो रहा है वह हमारे सामने है। अगर मुझे कुछ और तकलीफ किसी बात से है तो दो बातों से है। एक तो सदन के सामने जो कार्यसूची धरा रही थी आज तीन दिनों से उस कार्य सूची में दो बड़े महत्वपूर्ण सवाल आते रहे हैं। एक है अस्पृश्यता निवारण के सम्बन्ध में जिस सम्बन्ध में अमटचेबिनिटी के बारे में बार बार विरोधी दल के सदस्य कह रहे थे, उस के सम्बन्ध में जब हल बिन पान करने जा रहे थे तो उनको हलूने रोका (अध्यक्षान) . . .

एक सामन्तीय सर्वस्व - अभी पास करो, हल तैयार हैं।

श्री शंकर बयाल सिंह : और दूसरा जो इससे भी महत्वपूर्ण था वह हिन्दी भाषा सम्बन्धी समिति के गठन की बात थी जिस को आज तीन चार दिनों से कार्य सूची पर लाया जा रहा था। जब अभी भी हिन्दी का प्रश्न आता है तो भी अटल बिहारी जी सब से आगे कूँठ कर के हिन्दी का नरम लेते हैं। लेकिन इन लोगों ने हिन्दी की इस समिति का गठन नहीं होने दिया। इसके लिए हिन्दुस्तान की अन्तता आपको क्षमा नहीं करेगी।

एक सामन्तीय सर्वस्व : इसके बाद हिन्दी का सवाल लाया जाये और उसको पास कर दिया जाये। हम रात भर बैठने के लिए तैयार हैं।

श्री शंकर बयाल सिंह : मेरे पास समय बहुत कम है, इसी में मैं केवल दो तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूँ।

जो लोग आज अहिंसा की इतनी बातें किया करते हैं उन का अगर आचरण देखा जाये तो हिंसा को जिस तरह से बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं वह हमारे सामने हैं। आज भारत का आन्तिसय वातावरण जो लोग अमान्त बना रहे हैं जो लोग उसमें हिंसा का जर्म भर रहे हैं वही लोग यहाँ बड़ी बड़ी बातें किया करते हैं। मैं आपके सामने उदाहरण देना करना चाहता हूँ। यह शंकर देव जी हमारे सामने उसके उदाहरण है। वर्धा में विनोबा जी के आश्रम में, सर्वोदय के आश्रम में इदिग गांधी सम्बन्धी यह पुस्तिका जब ये वितरण करने के लिए गए तो उन सर्वोदय के आश्रम में जो इन को बेइज्जत किया गया, धक्कामुक्की की गई उस से एक हफ्ते तक ये बचाए इन सदन में भी नहीं आए। यह तो इनका आचरण है। मैंने इन को उदाहरण स्वरूप आपके सामने रख दिया है।

राजनीति ही सब कुछ नहीं हुमा करती। देश उससे बड़ा होता है। अभी अभी आप सभी जानते हैं कि आर्यभट्ट नाम से हमारा उपग्रह अन्तरिक्ष में चक्कर लगा रहा होगा। आर्यभट्ट नाम क्यों पड़ा उसका? बिहार की भूमि पर आर्यभट्ट नाम का एक महान वैज्ञानिक आज से करीब 1500 साल पहले पैदा हुआ था और उसने यह विज्ञान को देन दी थी, यह अन्वेषण किया था, इसलिए उसके नाम पर आर्यभट्ट इसका नाम रखा गया। और उसी बिहार के इयासनन्दन बाबू ने जो वहाँ दिखाया, एक और आर्यभट्ट के नाम से हमारा

[श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह]

मस्तक ऊंचा हुआ, दूसरी ओर इनके भाषण से हमारा मस्तक नीचा हो गया। धन धाप समझ लीजिए कि दुनिया में धाज भारत का मस्तक ऊंचा हुआ धार्यभट्ट के नाम से

श्री श्याम लखन मिश्र : मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि बिहार का मस्तक इन्होंने अपने भाषण से धाज ऊंचा कर दिया।

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : श्याम बाबू का मैं बहुत आदर करता हूँ। मैं तो केवल मिलान कर रहा था धार्यभट्ट से इन के बारे में। मुझे यह भाशा है, उम्मीद है इन से कि उसी ऊंचाई को ये प्राप्त करेंगे।

बाबू जगजीवन राम जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि ये चले जायें। मैं नहीं कहूँगा। मैं नहीं चाहता कि उसी तरह से ये चले जायें। लेकिन एक धार्यभट्ट दुनिया में हमारा मस्तक ऊंचा कर रहा है और दूसरी ओर आप बिहार का मस्तक कहाँ ले जा रहे हैं यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो कुछ भी यहाँ पर कहा गया है सत्य को तिलजलि देते हुए बहुत सारी बातें हमारे विरोधी दल के धादमियो ने कही है। बार बार उन्ही बातों को दोहराया जाता रहा है। मैं तो केवल यही कहूँगा कि धाज अगरे देश को आवश्यकता है किसी बात की तो विश्वास की जरूरत है, अधिश्वास की जरूरत नहीं है और जो लोग बातावरण में अधिश्वास फैला रहे हैं जनता भी उनको उसी तरह से अधिश्वास की निगाह से देखेगी और कांग्रेस पर जनता ने सदा से विश्वास किया है, वह विश्वास हमें प्राप्त होगा। इन शब्दों के साथ जो प्रस्ताव ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने रखा है जिसकी कोई बुनियाध नहीं है उसका मैं विरोध करता हूँ और उनसे अनुराध करता हूँ, भगवान एक बार उनको कम से कम सबुद्धि दे कि वह इस प्रस्ताव को वापस ले लें।

23.00 hrs.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Is it your pleasure that all the party representatives should have spoken and only the Socialist Party representative should not speak?

MR. SPEAKER: Your party's time is 3 minutes. You can have your 3 minutes.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, the present Congress administration is so corrupt that I do not want to waste the time of the House in unearthing

a few more skeletons in the individual cupboards. Therefore, I shall straightway proceed to expose the failures of the policies of the Government on various fronts. I feel deeply perturbed and angered by the total collapse of democracy in the country and the total ruin of the economy. Whether it is the question of having a Sovereign Parliament, a free judiciary, a free and fearless press and mass media like TV and radio and last but not the least the assertion of fundamental rights in an unfettered manner—on all these fronts there is total collapse of democracy. When we found sometime back that there was an instance in which some man was supposed to be throwing a hand grenade at the car of the Chief Justice of India and at the other end, in the Allahabad High Court, someone was alleged to be plotting to murder the Prime Minister by carrying a pistol, I was reminded about the situation in Germany where Hitler told the entire country that "there is an effort to burn the Reichstag and this is a threat to democracy" and therefore, he dissolved the Parliament and parliamentary democracy in Germany was destroyed. When we look at the incidents in our country, we are afraid that probably some people are plotting to destroy parliamentary democracy in this country. What a tra-

gedy that we have in this country a sovereign Parliament in which very often the voice of the opposition is sought to be suppressed. It is a tragedy to our democratic institutions that unlike in times of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, the Leader of the House treats the entire Parliament with a feeling of contempt and she does not feel it necessary to remain in the House even when some of the most basic issues are discussed in Parliament. That is the fate of our democratic institutions.

What about a free judiciary? I do not want to spell out the details, but the process began with the supersession of the judges and the appointment of Mr. A. N. Ray as Chief Justice of India. I do not want to touch on that question, but we find that after the new policy was adopted by the Congress Party and the Government to bring about supersession of judges, we find that the same chain reaction is continuing in the States. When Chief Justice Mahajan retired as Chief Justice of the Punjab and Haryana High Court, supersession took place. Justice Pandit who was the seniormost and most competent man was superseded because he was in conflict with Chief Minister, Mr. Bansilal. When this supersession took place, the entire legal fraternity of Punjab and Haryana went on one day's strike. That is how free judiciary is being destroyed.

The economy of the country is being completely ruined as a result of the present economic policies of the Government. We find that there is no adequate production in the country. We find that the per capita income of the people is going down. We find that the rate of growth has not adequately risen. As a result of that we find that there is inflation in the country. This morning, while giving reply to one of the questions the Fin-

ance Minister said if there is inflation in the country, it is the world phenomenon. World phenomenon means the phenomenon of the capitalist world. But what do we witness there? If we go through the various figures of rise in prices, we find in almost all these countries rise in prices ousted by the rise in wages. In our country while the Finance Minister admitted this morning that as compared to 1949 the entire value of the rupee has come down to Rs. 25.3 per cent. We find that when the value of rupee is dwindling commensurately the wages are not rising. No uniform policy of wage structure is being brought out. There is contradiction in the policy of the Government. When we discussed public sector, they said the other day that in some of the public sector concerns the profitability is going up. They say that Shipping Corporation of India earned a profit of Rs. 26 crores as compared to Rs. 13 crores earlier. They say profitability is growing. In a number of sectors production has also increased. In spite of increase in production and profitability, they are not prepared to increase the wages. No uniform wage policy is there. In this connection I would only like to give one instance. In our country we had a remarkable Railway strike which reflected not only the feelings and aspirations and demands of the Railway employees, but the demands of the working class as a whole. What was the attitude of the Government? Which were the forces that welcomes the policy of the Prime Minister? The first paper to congratulate the Prime Minister was The Times. The second one was The Eastern Economist who said that we must congratulate the Prime Minister for taking firm action against the workers. The President of FICCI was the first to congratulate the Prime Minister. These are the forces who congratulated the Prime Minister for pressing the militant and legitimate working class in this country.

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

We find that the production in the nationalised institutions is growing. Only the other day members had raised the issue for appointing Government investigating machinery to know who fraudulently practised in Bank of Bikaner and Jaipur. But deliberately the Banking Department and other agencies tried to suppress that. One Mr. Ghia who was a responsible officer and who tried to help the investigating Committee charged that he was responsible for exploiting the people and he was suspended and not those who were responsible. When these things are happening, we find that democracy goes suffered and as a result of that there is stagnation in the country and as a result of that we have brought this No Confidence Motion which does not merely want to expose any individual because of omission and commission but we want to condemn the entire Government and demand that the Government must resign.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Prime Minister.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Sir, I may be given a few minutes

AN HON. MEMBER: Shri Frank Anthony has spoken.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I could never think of Shri Frank Anthony as my leader.

श्री जयू सिन्घे : जो कांग्रेस को हर कर भाया है उसको मीका मिसना चाहिये ।

सम्झक महोदय : शुक्र में ही कहा था प्राय दूसरो का दाह्य बुधना, तियुना ले रहे है, और फिर बाद में सिकारिया करते है कि उनको दाह्य दीजिये । प्राय दो, तीन मिनट में ही कहिये जो कहना है ।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Mr. Speaker, the significance of this No Confidence Motion is very clear and obvious.

श्री जयू सिन्घे : कोमिनेटड कावनी 10 मिनट ले ले और इतको मौक नहीं मिले ।

श्री ज्योतिबंश जयू . राजनीय कैक एक्की का नाम नहीं था, कहा से का कवा पला ही नहीं ।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: Mr. Speaker, the significance of this No-Confidence Motion, which has been moved by my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Boshu, is obvious and very clear. The reality inside the House today of this vast majority which is there very eager to throw this motion out, that reality in the House is no longer in tune with the reality outside the country. The Prime Minister is smiling. The Prime Minister is in her office for well over 9 years. From 1966 to 1971 were the years of struggle. But during the period 1971-75, I want to ask her pointedly, what has she done except consolidating her power and glory instead of doing well to the people of this country. For the last four years, with this tremendous power at her disposal, I want to ask, what specific, concrete achievements are there to the credit of this Government in respect of bringing welfare to the downtrodden millions of this country? Let the Prime Minister and her associates and the vast majority here remember that although they have a majority in this House today, the areas of frustration are increasingly threatening this country and the areas of darkness is widening

Our revered leader, Babu Jagjivan Ram talked about the Gujarat elections. I come from Gujarat and I am saying with a certain amount of confidence; let us wait and see what happens; the time is not far off, hardly a month from now. I know your confidence is the confidence based on the use of black money and governmental power. If you do not have black money in your hands, if you

really have free and fair elections, I assure you that your party will not be even the largest minority party. Only last year they had 140 MLAs out of 183. Now they are asking whether they will get 90. So, from 140 they have come down to 90. They are not sure of a workable majority. That shows that their credibility has gone down terribly. Because of corruption and bribery, inefficiency and nepotism and the deteriorating law and order situation, youth in revolt and the poor in anger, the country is at a critical juncture.

Generation and conversion of black money is one of the greatest achievements of this Government and that black money is corroding our very social and moral fibre. About this money power in elections many examples can be given, but I have no time to go into details, but the only point which the Congress Party has got is to somehow or anyhow win the elections, no matter what happens. They are themselves responsible for bringing democracy to a downfall.

This Government under the Prime Minister's leadership thought of inviting the leaders of the opposition and the Independents for a dialogue on the question of electoral reforms. On the very first day I asked the Prime Minister pointedly if she was serious, if she was earnest about bringing about real reforms. Of course, she replied yes, but what happened at the three meetings? Even for limited accommodation for the Gujarat elections, Government were not prepared to give some of the basic assurances that there would be no official tours by Ministers, including the Prime Minister, no use of Government machinery, no large use of black money etc. If these things are done in Gujarat, I am quite sure the ruling party cannot win. (Interruptions).

There were 16 Congress (O) MLAs in the Gujarat Assembly and the Congress Party, before the lists were out, have already taken over one man from the Congress (O), the man from Kaparganj. How? By sheer bribery. And this party is taking of an Anti-Defection Bill.

Therefore, I say that Gujarat gives you an opportunity and a challenge for preserving democracy. It is not given to the ruling party to remain in power for ever. Do you think you must always be in power, that every time you must win? It cannot happen like that. If you think so, then I have a very poor opinion of your idea of democracy. If democracy is to survive, you must see to it that an alternative that can come up is not suppressed by black money and unscrupulous means.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF SPACE, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, if I may start with the last speaker's remarks, it was rather astonishing and amazing—I do not know what word to use—to hear the words corruption and our taking people away from one party to another used in connection with Gujarat. Perhaps the hon'ble member remembers that when the movement started in Gujarat, it started because one particular individual—I am not blaming him, nor am I judging him, I am only saying what was said... (Interruptions).

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: You threw him out. He was the Chief Minister.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: There was one individual who was blamed by the entire Opposition. He was blamed by the press, and various allegations were made against him. Now, we were prepared to look into

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

these allegations provided we had full information. Various individuals came to me and said that they would give the information so that we could enquire into them. We asked this person to resign from Chief Ministership because of the allegations.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: So, he was a lily-white!

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not know, I am not judging him, I said, but when he resigned and formed another party, he seemed to suddenly become blameless and all these people were making arrangements with him and his party (Interruptions). I am not giving him a certificate. (Interruptions). Because hon. Members are in the habit of misquoting. They imagine that I do the same. I always give what I consider an honest assessment. (Interruptions). I should like to say that I had given an earlier assessment of the internal situation. I have heard similar remarks passed in this House before the previous elections also. I gave my assessment then, and I would like to know whose assessment came true? I have given my assessment about the international situation. I have been ridiculed and abused; I have been criticised. But I should like to know whose assessment has come true ultimately? Whatever we have said about any part of the world....

(Interruptions).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI. Whether it was West Asia, or whether it was Vietnam or.... (Interruptions).

That is the reason why, no matter what hon. Members opposite may say, India's voice is heard with respect in every part of the globe, in every international gathering. Your saying that it is not true, does not change the truth. (Interruptions)

I am prepared to bear and I have borne all types of abuses, false allegations and the sort of language that one

sometimes hears in this House. Whenever we try to reply, even in a very small way the entire Opposition gets so upset that they cannot bear it; they could not bear even the mild speech of my colleague Shri Jagivan Ram.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not claim brilliance; I do claim sincerity. I do speak from the heart; I do say what I really think.

(Interruptions).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I did not make a noise when any Member from the opposite side was speaking. I did interrupt a few times, because Shyamnandan Babu said, he was enjoying it (Interruptions) and felt happy! This was the only reason why I interrupted him a couple of times. I did not interrupt anybody else.

These years have been exceedingly difficult not only for our country, but for the whole world, for every country. It is not true to say that it is only the capitalist world which is free from these difficulties. We have had leaders from other countries as well. It is not as if they did not talk of these matters. All of them said that the inflation had hit their economies. That is why none of their newspapers nons of those countries, has exploited this crisis to malign the capitalist countries as one might have expected them to do. They appreciated the fact that any kind of instability in Europe, any kind of upsetting of the European economy was bound to affect their economies and their countries.

Today, the world is not divided and isolated into separate islands. It is one world. Some people may say that there is a second world, a third world or a fourth world. It is one world. Each country has its own policies, difficulties, problems and view points, yet it is one world, and every country is affected by what happens in other countries. It is not true to say that our problems are the same as

those of other countries. It is perfectly true as hon. Members have said that when there was inflation in European countries, they were able to help the unemployed, they were able to give higher wages. But this does not mean that the basic situation is different or that the causes are entirely within our control. I am not saying that we are faultless. Nobody has said that. Nobody has claimed that there would be a miraculous change either in the poverty of India or the economic standards of India or in the lessening of disparities. These are the objectives towards which we are working. We are struggling. We do fall in the struggle, but we also get up again and again and keep going ahead.

Time and again, we have had aggression. There are few countries in the world which have faced so many difficult problems and challenges. After Independence and more specially in the last few years, India has faced many problems and challenges. Some were due to our own mistakes; some because we did not foresee the difficulties and we could not make a correct assessment. Certainly, we are not faultless; we are human. But many difficulties arose because of events which were beyond our control. The hon. Member very grandly asked: What has been achieved in these last few years? Has he forgotten what has been achieved? Have the House forgotten it? Has the world forgotten it? Was it a small thing for us to face the Bangladesh crisis as we did? Was it a small thing to face tremendous droughts as we did? (Interruptions) Certainly, we shall capitalise on any good achievement.

Let us not compare our country with countries which started at higher levels of development. Let us compare ourselves, as Shri Priya Ranjan Dasgupta or somebody else here said,

with countries which are around us. How much democracy do we see here? (Interruptions) I am not yielding. poverty is there. It is not a poverty that suddenly erupted. May be, our young people do not know what poverty was like in India before Independence. (Interruptions) I have travelled in this country, in the villages and in the cities. I have no hesitation in saying that there is not the sort of poverty which we used to see 10 or 15 years ago. There is absolutely no doubt about it. Anybody, whether he has come from outside or anybody in our own country who has taken the trouble to go round the country will agree. This does not mean that we do not have pockets of poverty and hardship. Of course, they exist. But the question is: Could we have changed this situation in a few years? We simply could not.

Do you think a few years is much in the life of a nation? This nation was under feudalism and it was under colonialism for so long. Immediately after we became free, we had all the troubles of Partition and immediately afterwards we had aggression. It was not an ordinary thing. I should like you to know that even in those countries where a certain amount of equality has been achieved, if you go to see the standard of the people in the interior pockets of those countries, you will see what people eat and how they live.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Korea?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not think that the standard there is much higher for all the people. (Interruptions) You may like the system that China has. I think, most of us here would not tolerate that system. Specially those who dare to talk about democracy, would they like to have the kind of system that China

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has, where nobody is allowed to speak? I do know something about China and of Vietnam. In fact, I had the great privilege of considering Dr. Ho Chi Minh as a friend. (Interruptions) Just shouting like this does not change the situation. I happen to be on my legs. If I have to be hard, I have to raise my voice. It does not mean that those who are sitting should shout at the same time.

As it has been said, this No-Confidence Motion has become a ritual

श्री इशान नन्दन मिश्र : प्रच्छा ?

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी . प्रच्छा क्या ?
हर दफा नहीं होता है यह ? किस दफा नहीं हुआ ?

श्री इशाननन्दन मिश्र : पिछली बार नहीं हुआ ।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : प्रच्छा, एक दफा नहीं हुआ ।

That was the exception; that proved the rule.

Every time they feel that they must have a no-confidence motion at the beginning, somehow every time there is a noise that it is going to take place in the beginning, but I do not know what happens, whether they cannot muster the number of people so quickly or what; this time also we were informed, at least I was informed, that it would be on the 8th, I reorganized my programme to enable me to be here that day; then suddenly we were told that it was not on the 8th, it was the 9th...

AN HON. MEMBER: Who told you?

SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI: The Minister told me. I was given in writing. (Interruptions). It is not a figment of imagination.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is our sweet will, our privilege, our prerogative. We do not depend on anybody else. Sir, let your office not act in concert with the Prime Minister's office in many matters; we have many papers being passed on by your office to the Prime Minister's office.. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDRA GANDHI: This is no consultation. Surely, if there is a motion of no-confidence, it has to be conveyed to the Prime Minister. It has nothing to do with one secretary or another.. (Interruptions) I do not know why he is getting so excited. One of the charms of Shyamnandan Babu used to be his sense of humour, but sometimes he seems to lose it, and this is one of those occasions.

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : प्राप हमें बारह बजे तक मार रही है तो हम भी कतें छोड़ेंगे

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : मैं कोशिश कर रही हूँ जल्दी खत्म कर्क लेकिन प्राप करने नहीं दे रहे हैं ।

श्री ज्योतिष्य बसू : कल रखते, क्या हर्ज था ? ज्योतिषी ने मना किया था ?

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी . जी हा । जब नियम हो चुका था कि 9 तारीख को अधिवेशन खत्म हो जाएगा, तब प्रापने हमें बताया ही नहीं था और अधिश्वास प्रस्ताव प्राप प्राज ले आए ।

श्री इशाननन्दन मिश्र : क्यों बताते ?

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : ज्योतिषी की बात कही है, इसलिए मैं कह रही हूँ । नियम कैसे होते हैं इसको प्राप देखें (अधिवेशन)

I have said this many times, but I have to repeat it because the allegations are repeated. What are the norms

which we use in judging whether this is democracy or anything else? I heard one hon. Member there taunting my colleague whether he knows of this change of that change whether I changed anybody as I liked? Now, as it has happened, I do consult my colleagues. But if you see how democracy works in other countries including the U.K. which is supposed to be the mother of Parliaments or any other country, does the Prime Minister not reshuffle the cabinet or drop any member of it? Does he consult people to say who will be there? As a matter of fact, my friend here will bear me out. Once we were sitting with a Minister from another country, a democratic European country who exclaimed that such and such Minister in his country had been there for a long time and that he had been changed; when asked after how long, he said that he was there for three years and that his portfolio was being changed. I don't think his opinion was taken for changing the portfolio. When we consider these things, we have to have some norms, how democracy works in other countries. (Interruptions) I do not want to argue on this point, because it is self-evident. There is freedom of speech I think, Mr. Frank Anthony spoke of the Fundamental Rights.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: He was specially sent for over the telephone to make a speech.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Is it not an insult to an Hon'ble Member to accuse him in this manner? He is a senior Member of this House..... (Interruptions)

What greater proof is there of freedom of speech, than the meetings that are held and the speeches that are made and what appears in our newspapers and other publications? What greater evidence could one need of freedom of association than is there... (Interruptions).

It is only in respect of those people who indulge in violence or some such thing that any action has been taken. If there is any wrong action, we shall certainly correct it. There is no doubt about it. The MISA etc., are not political instruments. The country has gone through and is going through an extremely difficult period. We have not suppressed any agitation... (Interruptions)

Shri Mavalankar spoke about electoral reforms in Gujarat. You have discussed the matter while I was away and I think, a great deal was decided. A meeting was supposed to be held after my return.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: It was never held.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are not responsible for that. I got a message from the Minister that he had received a letter asking that the meeting be postponed. That is why it was not held. We are not responsible for postponing it... (Interruptions)

I am glad that a dialogue has begun and I do hope, we shall try to keep acrimony out of it. There are many areas in which there can be a dialogue and working together and we should always try for it.... (Interruptions)

The tasks for the Government are many, but the first and foremost task is to hold this land of great diversity together and to give it stability. This is what we are trying to do. I was not here, when the hon. Member opposite spoke. He tried to say that we were trying to create chaos. Nobody who watches the Indian scene can say that the Government is creating chaos. It is obviously these agitations which started non-violently which have always created

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violence around them. Certain institutions which are responsible for this.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
It is your Party members, who have been interrogated for Misra's murder, not a single member from the opposition.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
The people have given full support to our endeavour to check inflation in spite of tremendous difficulties. We are aware that these measures were unpopular measures. We are aware that they did impose hardship on the workers, the farmers, the salary earners the housewives and everybody. And, yet, I think people tried to see the bigger question that more inflation would create greater difficulty in future and that is why I think they bore these difficulties. We are not complacent. We know that inflationary pressures have not been fully contained, but, unfortunately, already the opposition is bullying us to withdraw some of these measures. But we cannot afford to relax our efforts.

I have already spoken of how economic development has been slowed down because of these forces. Unemployment is there. We do not deny it. But our revised Plan will stimulate industry and overall, production and will lead to the generation of jobs, specially, for skilled hands. If the nation is to find more employment, the wage demands of those already employed will have to be held in check. The opposition encourages workers to demand higher emoluments and, at the same time, they pay lip service to the unemployed.

There is no question of any slackening of our efforts against smuggling and other economic crimes. We have to pursue these matters, sometimes, in the beginning,

such news sounds more spectacular and now it has become a little stale, but the work is continuing. I wish the opposition would live not in an imaginary world of its own fabrication but try to see the reality of to-day.

We have been accused of serving the interests of foreign monopolists or the Indian monopolists. There are some advocates of Indian capital and monopolists in this very House and most of them are in the opposition... (Interruptions) They always try to run down our public sector and praise the efficiency of the capitalist system. Our objective is clear and our record is straight. We want to run the economy in such a way that the interests of the masses are safeguarded and the power of monopoly is curtailed whenever it grows.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Therefore, you have killed the Monopoly Commission?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
Many tales have been told and many charges have been repeated. I am not going to go into them because the concerned Ministers have replied to them in both Houses. The habit of naming officials is unfortunate. I thought there was a rule that officials who cannot defend themselves here should not be named in the House. Something was said about an official in my Secretariat. If there are certain problems, meetings are held. But it is absolutely untrue to say that any deal was struck with businessmen or any industrialists were present at any meeting in his room or, so far as I am aware, at any other place in my Secretariat...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: So far as you know.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
Obviously, I am sure there are occasions when, for instance, members of Chambers of Commerce or other associations come to me in groups everytime they get elected and various other organizations such as labour unions, also come and see me.

Such has been said about the emergency. I think anybody who is following international trends and the news of the world can see that the whole world situation is in a flux and that means that it is a period when anything can happen. Arms have accumulated in our region. There are new pressures in the seas around us and we should not weaken the government at such a time...

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
You can declare emergency in no time. It does not require a minute.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
Our independence of thinking and action are accepted the world over. There is no doubt about it, whatever some people here may say and whatever some people abroad may like to propagate.

A most peculiar point was made by someone saying that although there is the fear—we have never named any country and we just do not know from where a threat may come—it was said, 'Why are we having trade talks with Pakistan?' This seems to be a most peculiar thinking....

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Kisne Kaha?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I think Shri Bosu said it or Shri Vaipavee—I do not know.

We always believe that we must try to be friends with every country and at the same time, we must be prepared for any threat of aggression. . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: No-body opposed it. Please don't distort and twist things.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
Our policy is to continue to seek friendship with all. . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Your policy is to twist things.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
Our policy is to continue friendship with all. Infiltration and subversion still continue on our borders and we cannot take chances. The only purpose of the emergency is to guard the country's security. It is preposterous to suggest that we are gaining benefit from it or that legitimate political activity of the opposition is curbed. The House is aware of the desperate attempt made by a small section of misguided elements in Nagaland to seek foreign assistance and to bring foreign arms and foreign intervention in our internal affairs. No Government can disown its obligation and responsibility under the Constitution to uphold the integrity of the country and to provide security to law abiding citizens of Nagaland to maintain peace. We know that the security forces in Nagaland as well as Mizoram are facing an extremely difficult task. They have secured the cooperation of large sections of people—patriotic citizens—in Nagaland and also in Mizoram.

There is a strange talk of semi-fascist terror in Bengal. I think, Shri Das Muni has dealt with the question. But I can say that there is no terror in West Bengal today, either semi or quarter. But there was a reign of terror in Bengal when the CPI was in power. Women were afraid to move about. Women and youth brought down their rule.

There was also talk of the suppression of tribals and Harijans. No party

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or no Government has tried its utmost as ours to see that a better deal is given to these people. I know that what has been done is not adequate. I am fully aware of the incidents involving loss of their property which we greatly deplore. Some of this is due to the increasing economic tension as well as social obscurantism and certain prejudices. We must all together fight to eliminate this evil from our society. There is greater need for official alertness but it is not true to say that there is unabated repression by the Government. Sometimes officials at lower levels neglect their duties or misuse their authority. But whenever this has come to our notice, we have come down strongly on them.

Sir, as I said I do not want to go into the various allegations because they have been replied to and contradicted time and again. A letter has been tried to be read out and we also have clearly spoken about it. Nothing improper has been done. But I can say that those who pretend to be asleep cannot be woken up. A person who makes false charges knowingly cannot be convinced.

Sir, I have done nothing to be afraid of, nothing to be ashamed of and nothing that has harmed the country. The people know it. They will not be misled by charges made by bitter individuals who are united only in anger and frustration.

Much that should have been done has not been achieved. We fully realise this and we feel humble that such great challenges are still to be overcome. They cannot be dealt with by Government or individuals but by a united move to eradicate all these evils, whether social or economic. Let us fight each other in elections; let us fight each other on matters on which we do not agree not by violence but by peacefully

talking together, by meeting together and not by trying to exploit the situation in Parliament and outside Parliament. Let us not use the occasions in such a way as to harm the country and delay the progress of the country.

MR SPEAKER: Mr. Bosu, will you be able to finish it in ten minutes?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: No, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: In that case, if the House agrees, I shall put the Motion at 12-10.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I would require half an hour.

MR. SPEAKER: In that case, I have to put the Motion. If the House agrees, I can give you that much time. It is only seven minutes less. I hope the House agrees that I put the Motion at 12-10.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Agreed.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: At 12-30.

Mr Speaker, Sir, I was expecting that the Prime Minister would take the trouble of replying to my very specific charges in which I had clearly and categorically stated that customs exemption of Rs. 344.08 crores was given to firms and out of which, Rs. 232.19 crores went to two firms. That was given for a consideration shown to the party. There was not a word on that. I take the full responsibility of proving that these two firms were specially favoured; in which customs exemption of this drastic amount was given. So, she cannot answer. Let us do some summing. She cannot answer the specific charges. Because the charges are levelled, I have taken full responsibility in narrating those.

Then, Sir, she preached a lot of sermons. I want to ask the Madam Prime Minister if she will kindly listen to us. She was talking about not having defections. The other day, in Patna, eleven Jansangh M.L.As, were purchased. By whom and at what price? Did they not travel to the ruling Congress Party? Was it not the traffic outward from the Opposition because of money and position?

She talked about global phenomenon, about price rise and erosion of earnings. I do not really see that she understands the problems. But, I have quoted from the Reserve Bank Bulletins to disprove that what she has said is not right. Sir, it shows lack of study and sheer ignorance; she talked about Bangladesh. She should have told the House how much money she got and how much things in kind she got from abroad and how much of that was spent. Then, we should have been a little more knowledgeable about it. But, if they published all the details then they cannot claim the credit as they have been claiming for years. (Interruptions). You come and see all the documents. Don't worry. You cannot hide everything from me. She talked about poverty. She talked about that poverty was much more in British times. But, she conveniently omits that the poverty that was prevalent in 1952, the poverty that was prevalent in 1958 or 1962 and 1965 and what it is to-day is much more for the weaker section of the society. The population living below poverty line is much more than what it was ten years ago or twenty years ago. She knows these things. But, she waived the charges to the class whom she represents. So, she may not look after the weaker sections of the society. She had been talking about the difficulties since Independence. There is a saying that a bad workman always quarrels with his tools.

China got Independence in 1949. To-day they are in a position which is a matter of envy for any nation. I can tell you that to-day you have to beg and fall at the feet of the Americans for importing the most inferior quality of milo, just cattle feed admixture with dhatura for a bare survival of the population. This cattle feed was given to the Indian people. China never imports. (Interruptions).

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN (Kan-
gra): China did more than what we did.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Not grade II milo with dhatura which is cattle feed.

The other day Prime Minister said in the Governors' conference that the enemies of the Government are the enemies of the country. That is the conception she has got about democracy in this country. Sir, she has not said a word about the specific charges made by me.

She talks about emergency and threat. There is also a news item that things are improving between India and Pakistan. I am very happy but why talk about emergency and threat when you are having trade talks. So is the case with U.S. It is her own statement. Sir, emergency is a tool which she wants to use for political ends. Therefore, I do not want to say much about what she has said because I expected she will say something whereas her speech was nothing but hollow. It was most disappointing. She said that there was no terror in West Bengal. I can produce scores of documents to prove that a reign of terror is let loose in West Bengal. Thousands of people have been forced to leave their places. (Interruptions).

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Babuji has talked about सौ,रु पुरु सुसुसु I only want to say that there is lowest per capita income. I want only to say that in how many districts, even after 28 years of Congress rule, literacy is below 15 per cent. I want to ask Babuji in Eastern U.P. which is very adjoining to his State what is the per capita income. In some of the districts it is below Rs 20 per month. Babuji you must be knowing what is Gobraha. People pick up the undigested grains from the cowdung and boil them and eat. It is published in international press. Babuji you should talk like those who have sent you here and not like the people who surround you here.

Mr. Stephen is more loyal than the king. He has called me an agent of foreign firms. This is not the first time that such an allegation has been made against me. In the last Session Shri Ram Gopal Reddy said that I take Rs. 4,500/- per question and he had to apologise. Then late Shri Lalit Narain Mishra said that I take Rs 10,000/- from business houses and I said—what I am saying today—if anybody can prove that as Member of Parliament I have misused my position for bettering any of my ends I shall resign my seat and go away. If you cannot prove it then you resign. You**, Mr. Stephen,.... (Interruptions.)

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Sir, he must withdraw that word.

MR. SPEAKER: This word will not stand part of the proceedings as it is unparliamentary.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: He quoted from Indian Observer. Indian Observer was financed by late Mr. Lalit Narain and the Prime Minister They brought out some issues to malign me. You know, Sir, what Mr.

Durlab Singh is. That is the paper which has been prosecuted fifty-eight times. That is the paper which has been talking about the private life of the Prime Minister some years ago. Today she has made up with that paper and wants to malign those whom she could not purchase. I am one of those persons whom she has not been able to purchase. She has been sending emissary after emissary. (Interruptions.)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I will tell you. You do not speak truth.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have never in my life knowingly said an untruth.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You are financing Indian Observer.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am not financing Indian Observer or any other paper for that matter.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I want to ask Mr. Stephen a few questions. Sir, I want to say, who in Kerala does not know his intimate relationship with the cashew merchants, tell me. What is his relationship with cashew magnates like Janardhan Pillai of Quilon and so many others. Sir, I want to say also, he has done a benevolent job in joining a mission for cashew purchase that visited.... Of course, there are several incentives for the same. I want to ask him, how much beating did he get in the hands of aluminium workers in Alwaye for his great friendship with their employers? Don't we know these things? Sir, the socialist Stephen is a friend of Chogule because he is the Chairman of the National Shipping Board. Of course, that is also for an incentive. We want to know also, how many times you have given accounts for the numerous souvenirs that you have published? I want to

**Not recorded.

ask you also—we will find out this time—what your own youth congress had been saying regarding your more intimate relationship with businessmen and specially cashew factory owners?

Sir, you have held a commission during the War. Sardar Swaran Singh is proud of his great father who was an army officer. Mr. Kureel who was the President of the U. P. Congress served in the Second World War. Mr. Barupal, I am proud that he was a man who had been a soldier. What is there to hide? We know the names of those in your Congress Party. We know those things. Don't tell us these things. We know what you are noted for.

The question is, that you are a man of mercenary character.... (Interruptions).

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: What is the big question of yours?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: That you have no character at all.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I.... (Interruptions).

Who does not know the dark den you are running in Bengal?

MR. SPEAKER: Why do you use such language?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What language has been used? I do not know.

They talked about the Opposition leaders proximity to alcohol. I know how many bathroom drinkers are there right from one corner to the other, and also the State Express cigarette. I know all these things. But, we did not want to stoop down to this level in the debate, which they started. Shri Das Munsi and Shri Stephen, I will tell you, Sir, I

will give you the details. (Interruptions).

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Mr. Bosu will get back all this with compound interest. He will get back.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA: We shall watch.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Allegation for allegation. You will get back with compound interest hereafterwards.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, I only said what Mr. K. K. Birla has said and what the Prime Minister said to Mr. K. K. Birla. I do not say anything else. Mr. K. K. Birla opened his speech with a full-throated compliment to the Prime Minister for her imaginative leadership and Shrimati Indira Gandhi in return praised Mr. K. K. Birla. She welcomed the change in the attitude of businessmen towards social objectives of Government, economic policies and complimented Mr. Birla's speech by and large as constructive.

This is the brandname of socialism. There should be no anger in that

They attacked Mr. Jyoti Bosu and Mr. S. K. Acharya, who are neither Ministers nor present in the House.

I will only say that if they had one pair of people in the opposite camp who had the virtues of these two persons, things would have been much better in the party and in the country. I can say this much.

They talked about nationalisation of general insurance. They provoke me. How many jeeps were given by B. K. Shah for the 1971 elections? Is it not 600 jeeps? 600 jeeps! Is it also not a fact that they were given a

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management commission of Rs. 32 lakhs for 15 months?

They talked about privy purses abolition. Is it not a fact that you are giving a transitional allowance of Rs. 10.75 crores? They are all very socialist actions!

They talked about US agents, some jobs going. How many CIA agents are in the Congress Party? I cannot perhaps count with my fingers.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: How many Chinese agents are there?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about Shaw Wallace & Co.? This young person from West Bengal forgets that I was the man who raised a debate on Shaw Wallace & Co. on the floor of the House. Who is Shaw Wallace? One of the major equity owners is a former Congress Finance Minister, Sachin Chaudhuri. He is a Congressman who controls the major portion of the equity.

MR. SPEAKER: Kindly conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I will not say much. All that I want to say is that empty vessels sound much. If they were worth their salt, they would have replied to my specific charges and allegations. Instead of doing so, they climbed down to maligning people, baselessly and maliciously, without any politics in it. I do not attack anybody in his private

capacity; I always attack people in their official capacity, nowhere else.

Therefore, the conduct of most of the people opposite, I am very sorry to say, is most reprehensible.

I press my motion.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: On a point of order....

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan): The Untouchability (Offences) Amendment Bill should be passed after this.

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

The question is:

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

The motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: The motion is lost

Now, this grace extended time is a part of the previous day, the House will be considered as having adjourned sine die. And now, we adjourn sine die, it is the 9th....

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned sine die, and according to the practice, it is deemed to stand adjourned sine die on the 9th.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned sine die.