

SHRI K R. GANESH I introduce the Bill.

I beg to move

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Gujarat for the services of the financial year 1974-75 be taken into consideration"

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER The question is

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Gujarat for the services of the financial year 1974-75 be taken into consideration"

The motion was adopted.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER We will now take up clause by clause consideration

The question is

"That Clauses 2 and 3, the Schedule, Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill"

The motion was adopted

Causes 2 and 3, the Schedule, Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI K R. GANESH I beg to move

"That the Bill be passed"

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER The question is.

"That the Bill be passed"

The motion was adopted.

15.47 hrs.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER We take up the motion 'That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers'

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) Sir I move

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

Sir, this House expresses its lack of confidence in the Council of Ministers because of the utter vindictiveness shown to the railway employees in victimising them on a mass scale and also for promulgating the Wage Freeze Ordinance without notice at all for its failure to check the unprecedented price rise which has attained a new record in one month, at the same time rampant price rise to different consumer items of daily needs for anti-democratic acts and repression and in human police behaviour seen in various parts of the country the prevalence of corruption at the top and other levels of the governmental machinery etc

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) What is the time allotted for this discussion?

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER The BAC would be meeting shortly when they will allot the time

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU The Government led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi is not only thoroughly incapable and utterly dishonest but also anti-democratic and vindictive. The inflation has increased as a result of their wrong policies and they are now trying to administer quinine to cure cancer. They have announced the

wringing in of another dose of taxation to beseech the weaker sections of the community, while leaving the capitalist class almost untouched. If you see the proportion of direct and indirect taxes between 1960-61 and 1974-75, the share of the indirect taxes has increased from 67.37 to 73 per cent. In the 1974-75 budget estimates, out of an additional tax of Rs. 226.62 crores the indirect taxes amount to Rs. 21.2 crores. The Central excise, which strikes the weaker sections, alone amounts to Rs. 191.91 crores.

15.49 hrs.

[SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA in the Chair].

We claim to be a democracy. Sometimes the Government even goes through certain drills to impress people all around. For example, there was the 15th Labour Conference. What was the Labour Conference about and who were all present? I have got a copy of the same. The people who were present were Shri G. L. Nanda the then Home Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Jagjivan Ram, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Sardar Swaran Singh, Shri K. C. Reddy, Shri Abid Ali and Shri L. N. Mishra. What did they say? With regard to the fixation of minimum wage it was agreed that the minimum wage was a need-based one and it should ensure the minimum human needs of the industrial workers irrespective of any other considerations. When was it? It was in the year of 1957. After that the Congress has been so much noted for their promise and performance that we do not have to tell you anything about it.

In view of the unbearable price rise and the hardships, the railwaymen asked for a need-based wage pending parity between public sector wage and their wage and took to struggle for collective bargaining. The object was to have a negotiated

settlement. About the railwaymen in the language of the honourable Prime Minister, she said:

Many persons from our side I, my colleagues have expressed our deep appreciation of the sense of patriotism and dedication of railway workers. They have run our trains in times of danger, in times of war, in the midst of bullets and bombs. I personally shared the excitement in 1965 when I was going by train to see the effect of bombing in Punjab and our train was also shelled. And all this we appreciated. Today I do not say that if some classes or some sections have a higher wage, the Railways should be denied that.

All lip service and crocodile tears! Let us see what she has done. The historic strike came. Hands off to 20 lakh railway employees who stood like a rock. It would have continued. But you know the reasons why it did not continue. Shrimati Indira Gandhi declared a war on the railwaymen. In spite of knowing that almost daily Rs. 4 crores of income to the railways was lost, on 28th April, 12 days before the strike, they cancelled 200 trains to put inhuman pressure on the passengers and railwaymen. For every Rs. 10 loss to the railways the loss to the national economy is minimum of Rs. 100. Therefore, we have lost not less than Rs. 1000 crores to the national economy in the course of railway strike. (Interruptions) Is it done on the orders of the Prime Minister the Leader of the House?

MR CHAIRMAN Order, please don't have cross talk.

Please continue your speech.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU The multiplying effect of this is beyond the thinking power of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government no doubt about this. Instead of making efforts for a negotiated settlement, they took unprecedented steps of repression.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

This is what a leading journal of Economic and Political Weekly says—

The nation-wide strike of railway workers will rank as a landmark in the Government's backward march from the pseudo-socialist slogans of 1969. The Defence of India Rules and the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, indefinite detention without trial, police violence and even arranged murders have become stock weapons against political elements inconvenient to the Government. The railway strike has seen the use of some of these weapons against organised labour on a scale hitherto unknown. What leaves one aghast is the calculated cold-bloodedness with which the operation has been conducted."

Then it gives the details of the atrocities committed in different railway colonies which hang our heads in shame. They really wanted a negotiated settlement. The Circulars given out by the Home Ministry on 2nd April and on 7th April confirm that. In reply to a query of mine they have stated that a secret Circular was issued months before the strike to arrest all those who were organising labour for strike. What is the pretext? It says

As preparations for the strike progressed reports were received of intimidation, assault of workers who did not agree to the proposed strike and of serious threats of violence and of sabotage. The Government hoped and worked for a negotiated settlement so as to avert the railway strike. But the public statements made by some leaders of the strike move made it appear that a strike was inevitable."

The secret circular had been sent out more than a month earlier—catch hold of them, display the democratic spirit and bring them under detention. There were circulars about eviction and encouraging of black-legs. It

was mean and unbecoming of any Government which calls itself democratic. The outcome during the railway strike was still more serious. There were arrests during the struggle. The Government had replied

According to information available with the Government on 28th May 1947 when the strike was called off 6,223 railway employees and 1,865 persons other than railway employees were in custody under the preventive detention law while 15,071 railway employees and 7,077 persons other than railway employees were in custody for specific offences.

This is the democracy that you have today! Actually there are a lot more to add to it. We have seen that a wife of an employee was dragged by a BSF soldier by her hair and half of the hair of that woman was in the hands of the Police! Even the woman in her wet clothes who was coming out after her bath was not spared. That is the honour that you attach to women when you have a woman Prime Minister in this country!

And where is the socialist Labour Minister Shri Raghunath Reddy, who rubber-stamps everything? The Payment of Wages Act was suspended. Why? Because by that it would be much easier to make them starve. A shame on you and the black-legs. What they have done in Kharagpur, Jhansi, Bondla, Munda and Lumding will remain in the blood pages of Indian history.

We know about the coal and shipping strike in the UK. And what did their Government do? You talk about following the mother Parliament here. Did they arrest the trade unionists? Did they beat up their wives? Did they rape their wives? No. They call themselves democratic. And you think you can also call yourselves democratic.

Over 11 lakhs out of a total of 20 lakhs have break in service. Dismissals and removals of permanent hands number 30,000. Retrenchment of casuals with ten to fifteen years of service behind them has been to the extent of 50,000. Prosecutions number 25,000. Still arrests are going on. Some railway officers are now settling their old scores with individual employees with vengeance. I came across an employee in Amritsar; he had protested to the Divisional Superintendent six months ago and for that he has now been nabbed by the MISA. Government are refusing to negotiate with NCCR. The Railwaymen are demanding resumption of negotiations. The negotiation which was going on and which had been stopped should now be resumed from where it stopped. Is it democracy or is it the British-Indian pattern of democracy? Many assurances were given. There was the Government's request of 10th May, the three-point formula: the simultaneous one, call-off of strike, release of leaders and starting negotiation. We rejected it. How very correct we were! Crocodile tears were shed, 'Railwaymen are our family members'. Now the whole thing has been left in the hands of General Managers and they are having their way. And what did they say? No hard core to stay; do not take back any striking casual labour; pamper and reward the black-legs. What about the misdeeds of the so-called loyal worker? It is a scandal. Thousands of rupees were given to gangster leaders all over the country to supply black-leg, strike breakers and goondas. In Howrah, one Maley Banerjee, a motor-man of railways, was asked to provide black-legs. He stole the ration given to 40 blacklegs for the marriage of his daughter. You can enquire and find out. That is how your loyal workers are functioning. "Like a Minister, like a loyal worker". We know what it is. So, Shrimati Indira Gandhi . . .

16.00 hrs.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): You cannot find black-legs in her Ministry.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: So, Shrimati Indira Gandhi considered the need for revision of the wage structure. Also the Government said that the Bonus Review Committee was seized of the bonus issue. But, Shrimati Indira Gandhi says, 'There is no money'. But, Sir, if you examine last year's Public Accounts Committee's report, you will find that the Railways got from IBM machinery worth below Rs. 6 lakhs but paid a rental of Rs. 54 lakhs and for a spare part whose landed value was only Rs. 3,500 and you have been paying Rs. 450, you have been paying them without a quotation or an inquiry, all done in the special chamber of the Railway Minister and the overlords of the Railway Board. So, there is no dearth of money. Hundreds of wagons were found to be containing sub-standard coal when they were bought from the private sector. But, only when it comes to the worker, there is a dearth of money.

Sir, I have to-day received some telegrams about the casual workers and their retrenchment. They are still following a serious policy of vindictiveness. I would say that the Government should stop it at once.

The Prime Minister has argued that the country cannot afford to pay the railway workers more. The Government presided over by the same Prime Minister has, however, adjudged that the country can afford to give a thumping 40 per cent price increase to rich farmers for their produce, to further upholster the salaries and perquisites of the upper bureaucracy in the public and private sectors, to gift away Rs. 100-120 crores to taxpayers by way of a gratuitous cut in tax rates. There is no dearth of money but money is in dearth when the worker wants it, not otherwise.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu].

I have got a report which has been laid on the Table of the House. I cannot say anything very much—it is being examined now—but it says that Rs. 241,65,05,019 was given as exemption in customs in one year alone. I do not want to go into details because it is a confidential document...

AN HON. MEMBER: ICICI?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I do not know. I will talk about it later.

They say that there is a Rs. 400 crores deficit in the Railways. They might give you a cooked up balance-sheet. But what I can tell you is that the Railways are moving faster downwards. It cannot be stopped. It is headed by a Minister against whom most serious charges of corruption and malpractices have been brought here—most serious charges... (Interruptions).

I want to ask you. There is an allegation. Is it or is it not a fact that the Railways have a special quota and on the strength of that special quota two rakes of coal wagons are being given by the hon. Minister for consideration of Rs. 1,20,000. We want that the House should know as to how many rakes have been given as a special quota by the Railway Board in the last one year, because this is a very serious matter.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (Shri L. N. Mishra): Not even one rake has been given.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You have been taking Rs. 1,20,000 a day. You have been the most dishonest man... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bosu, you are such a nice speaker. I along with other Members of the House have been listening to you very patiently. I will make a request that you should not speak in a language which might

provokes the whole House... (Interruptions) Let be say... (Interruptions).

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Banka): Is this a Parliamentary Democracy? On a point of order, Sir. He has a right to make provocative speeches.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am on my legs... (Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You can object to unparliamentary language.

SHRI MUKHTIAR SINGH MALIK (Rohtak): You are not a teacher, you are a Chairman.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE. I want to know from you whether the Chair is within its rights to object to any speech that it is a provocative speech. All that he can say is that no unparliamentary words can be used. It is the right of the Opposition to provoke the ruling party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have a right to tell the hon. Members to speak in a fashion by which and through which the House may be run properly. I am always within my rights to advise the Members.

Mr. Bosu Please continue.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: May I make a submission? Please don't take it otherwise, I thought it was intimidation from the Chair...

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, No intimidation.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You belong to a particular political party. Therefore... (Interruptions) I am within my limits. Why do you get identified... (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bosu, you may continue your speech.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The role of the All India Radio is most deplorable, especially during the railway strike. Even the staff strike

association there has protested against this saying that not only fabricated but concocted Government version was put on the air which was anti-people, anti-working class. I would request the Government to give up its attitude of vindictiveness, to see the writing on the wall, to come down to brass tacks. In any case you are ruining the railways, do not make it faster, that is all I would say. Soon after the railway strike Government took an anti-social action. What is it? Government imposed on the working classes an ordinance of wage freeze, wholly unjustified, I may say. The frozen money which they will pay now will be much dearer at this rate now than at the time when you repay the money after two years. Who will lose money? The poor man will lose the money. And I ask Mr Chavan here: Will not the administrative cost neutralise the so-called benefits of the collection? I ask. Has not the money supply gone up? How will the small man survive if you fail to check the price rise altogether? Is it not a fact that the present wage is based on the 1960-61 price index? Does not the wage earner excluding the agricultural labour, constitute only two per cent of the total population? Dr. Rao is looking hard at me. Am I not right? Now, by this wage freeze wheat benefit you want to bring on the economy of 55 crores of people in this country? Is it not a fraud, Mr. Chairman, Sir? The Reserve Bank's survey has clearly shown that the share of salaries and wages in gross value of industrial production has gone down. In case somebody were to dispute me, I took the trouble of carrying this voluminous document. This survey has said:

As may be observed from Table 2 while manufacturing expenses as percentage of value of production at current prices of the large public limited companies have by and large remained the same at around 85 per cent during the six years 1965-66 to 1970-71 the wage costs including employees' welfare expenses have declined.

That is the position today and on top of it you want to do this. You wanted to link up wage with productivity. What happened to that? Your production has gone up as the National Labour Commission has said clearly, by 63 per cent and the real wages have remained static. If anybody wants to see this, can show this document. According to the Annual Survey of Industries salaries as percentage of value added have declined from 55.8 per cent in 1961 to 53.3 per cent in 1969? Can you dispute this? The deterioration today is much faster and between the drill and the actual trend the gap is as large as ever.

Your consumer price index formulation is wholly a fraud meant to cheat the workers. In West Bengal, a Government Expert Commission has revealed that the workers were cheated. The trade unions calculated it at Rs. 300 crores through manipulation of base year. On the one hand you are doing this and on the other hand you are adding fuel to the fire. You are not only allowing the profiteers and hoarders to plunder but you yourself allow the price rise without any justification whatever to please the monopoly masters of yours on wheat, rice, fertiliser, vanaspathi, bread, soap, textile, baby food and so many other things that you require every day.

Look at the fantastic profit that they have made on fertilisers. They were allowed a rise of 90 per cent. Here is a Government document and in reply to my query it says:

Indian Explosives of Imperial Chemical Industries

(in lakhs)

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Year ending 30-9-1970 | Rs. 282.25 |
| Year ending 30-9-1971 | Rs. 245.20 |
| Year ending 30-9-1972 | Rs. 737.40 |

Mr. Yadav, it is very near your house. They have made such huge profits and yet you want to give the price rise. Otherwise, you will not be able to stay in power. Take vanaspathi.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu].

Hindustan Lever Ltd., 1970. On Soap and Vanaspati—two major items:

Rs. 5,36,72,000.

It was of a Dutch origin but a British subsidiary—a beautiful organisation. In 1971 and 1972 the profits earned are:

Rs. 7,45,59,000

Rs. 10,50,000.

Now you want to give a price rise to dalda. They won't survive otherwise and Mrs Gandhi's coffers won't be filled. This is a wonderful marriage of Hindusthan Lever with the socialist leader, Smt Indira Gandhi. Look at their own balance sheet. If you read the Chairman's speech of Messrs Shaw Wallace and Co., my head hangs in shame. Last year, they made a record profit. This year they increased it at 99 per cent over the 1972 profit. Socialism has gone to the top on the dead bodies of the human beings of India.

Take the textiles. You gave a 37½ per cent rise in the last session. What is the profit margin? I do not want to read it. But I may tell you that in the last fifty years or so, the Bombay Textile people had never made so much of profit but in one year their equity price appreciated to the tune of 140 per cent. Mr. Sinha, this is the socialism that this Congress stands for. What a joke it is—the dividend freeze! You are only custodying the money for a long time at a high rate of interest at the hands of both Indian and foreign monopolies. This is an era of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It has never been so good. Somebody told me in a gathering. Even the *Illustrated Weekly of India* says that—this is not a C.P.I. (M) paper. It says:—

“Call it neo-colonialism or use any other word, the fact is that foreign firms have bled the country white. No one has ever computed the cost, let alone taken effective

measures of control, because so many politicians and bureaucrats—along with company executives—have a finger in the pie. Worse, all this has debased morality and turned the elite into zealous torch-bearers of a degrading Coca-cola-cum-chewing-gum culture.”

Look at the profit—rich dividend. Dividend as percentage of share capital is as follows:—

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| Coca-Cola Export Corporation . | 1,566% |
| Colgate Palmolive India Pvt., Ltd. | 4,860% |

There are so many others who are producing so many things. They are their God-fathers. You cannot touch them. I challenge that if you touch them, you will be destroyed the next day. When the Foreign Exchange Regulations Bill came up, I requested for a simple thing namely to put a ceiling on their remittances. That was even unacceptable. A senior civil servant told me that when Mrs Gandhi presided over a Cabinet meeting, she said “no, it cannot be done”.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North) Who is that senior officer?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Now, I come to black money. The real evil today is the parallel economy of which Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government is a product. Those who run that parallel economy must be left untouched because the very existence of this Government depends on black money. That is why she has suppressed the Wanchoo Committee's interim report which had insisted on demonetisation in 1970 of an estimated amount of Rs. 7000 crores. She did not show it to her Cabinet colleagues in case it leaked out. Now, today's evil is very much based on black money and the protector of black money is the Prime Minister herself. In 1970 it was Rs. 700 crores and now it must be multiplied by some factor.

Now, the AICC wants to make black money white. So, the proposal is to take steps to put black money into productive use. Wonderful! They want to open the floodgates. Why then did they wait for so long? They want to do it now so that they can reap the harvest of the 1976 elections. I quite understand it.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi may kindly tell us how if she is so much against black money, Mr. Bhubu Chand Jindal has remained director of her son's company, the Maruti; whose premises were raided and whose lockers were raided and who had a fight with the income-tax people. I want to find out all these things. Why is she telling them to 'maintain black money for my sake' I charge her with this. We suggested cost account audit for the industry. We suggested detection of inflated cost of production and deflated sales revenue. But Government are actually reversing the process.

The biggest problem, the creation of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government today is the price rise caused by artificial scarcity. In 1973-74 it was the highest ever recorded. On Government's admissions, in 1973-74 on the wholesale basis, the rise was 22.7 per cent; in the period 1971-73, the rise at the retail level was 52 per cent; in one month alone, the rise at the retail level was 11 per cent. In many items, during Shrimati Indira Gandhi's reign I do not say 'regime'—during 1971-74, it was 300 per cent.

They have scuttled procurement and public distribution. The total stock in this country with the States and the Centre is no more than 3.8 million tonnes. And they want to make that gentleman the President because he has procured only this much. The procurement target in the case of coarse grains was 16.5 lakh tonnes, while the actuals till 13th July this year were only 3.69 lakhs tonnes. The rabi procurement was one-third of last year,

although the production has increased this year. The releases to the public distribution system are down to half that is, five lakhs tonnes each month. Two rises are due to the employees according to the Third Pay Commission's report. Now, they have come with a heavy hand with the wage-freeze proposal. I wish Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao who is sitting here had opened his mouth a little earlier. The people who are going to gain from the present inflation are big farmers, traders, monopolists, big landlords and commodity dealers. But Dr. Rao should know that they are the patron-saints of his party and they cannot annoy them for if they did so, they would go out of existence. He may ask his Prime Minister who is the leader and she will tell him.

Now, they say that they will immobilise 5 per cent of the total money supply. Actually between April and June 1974 the money supply expanded by 59 per cent, that is, by Rs 638 crores as against Rs 490 crores during the same period in 1973. I am sorry to use a word which my hon. friends opposite may not like; the wind-bagged Prime Minister of this country says many things. For instance, what did she say? Mrs Gandhi said that the rising prices posed a big problem and it was no consolation to say that it was a world phenomenon. So long she has been constantly saying that it is a world phenomenon and so, we need not grumble. But suddenly she summersaults. She thinks that she is the only person who keeps clippings and dissiers on Ministers and Opposition leaders but we took weep things and can produce things. Earlier what did she say. On 13th October, she said 'that these problems are not only being faced by India but by richer and more powerful countries like America and England. But immediately afterwards she says that the world phenomenon has nothing to do with us. What is wonderful performance! At

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu].

the same time, she further said—this was on 30th September:

"Mrs. Indira Gandhi today forewarned the nation that there was no immediate escape from the rising prices.... She told the people 'You have waited for many years. Can't you wait for another six months or a year?'"

This was on 30th September 1973. Will Shri Shamim kindly calculate if you have crossed six months?

Then 30th October:

"Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said today the worst was over for the country's economy and from next month onwards things would improve for the better".

What a windbag we have got at the top sitting on us? She always talks through the back of her hat—she has not got a hat, I see.

The Government of India's sole motto is repression. It is a semi-fascist State. You do not have money for anything. But for the Central Police from Rs. 3 crores in 1950 you have come to Rs. 169 crores last year Three to 169! The State Police? From Rs 13 crores in 1946 when the British were here, when there were turmoil and communal riots, today it is Rs. 313 crores. The only difference is of 3—3 to 313. Mrs. Gandhi should understand these things But I really do not think she does.

Your economy, cut, Mr. Chavan—do not go to sleep; is my speech so boring that you have to go to sleep—is only in education. . .

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat):
Do you think it is better?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Your economy is only in education, health and social welfare. Look at this Your border problems have been halved.

But how many battalions have you got now? There are 77 Border Security Force battalions They have increased by leaps and bounds in the last two years. For what? For confrontation with the army if there is an uprising, dissatisfaction? We want to know why you want to give mortars and artillery to any police battalion? All of us are not absolutely nitwits We understand these things.

Then the black record in Bihar and Gujarat

"During the period from 16-3-74 to 15-4-74, the State Police, the CRPF and the BSF units had to open fire on 45 occasions As a consequence, 35 persons were killed and 233 persons were injured".

Then in Gujarat:

"Firing was resorted to by the units of State Police, the CRP, the BSF etc. on 315 occasions during the period from 10-1-74 to 15-3-74 A total number of 85 persons were killed and 319 persons were injured as a consequence of the above firings".

That is why they require more money, more money for policing.

In Bihar, they are forcing colleges and universities to open through force bringing violence through agents provocateur. They have created the Nehru Brigade and the Indira Brigade like the SS of Hitler and Black Shirts of Mussolini. The Indira Brigade is headed by Jagannath Mishra, brother of the non-official commandant, against whom I am told the Chief Minister complained to the Prime Minister, but nothing could be done; he has an all-powerful brother here.

The Universities have not held examinations for two years. Who is responsible? Now why this insistence? Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has given a sense of mission to the students. He..

sult; attendance is very poor. Students are being sent under police escort. University and college campuses are like police camps. It is a barricaded democracy. The BSF and the CRP and not the professors are teaching the students. Financially and economically speaking, half the mineral wealth of the country is in Bihar. The people are most hardworking. Their contribution during the freedom struggle was very great. But today they are the poorest in the country with the lower per capita income. Today the Bihar Government has an overdraft of Rs. 60 crores with the Reserve Bank of India. Collection of revenue has gone down by 50 per cent. Everybody in the Government is busy with law and order. They are fighting inflation, according to Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Chavan. This is a real way of fighting inflation! Put them on law and order duty.

What untrue things are said here? In Gaya, the non-official Inquiry Commission found that at least 30 were killed but Government said 8 died. This is the position in Bihar.

Out of a total of 1½ crores litres of spirit for 7 distilleries in Bihar, 1 crore litres were given to Shanti Prasad Jain and half crore to six. I am told the President of the Congress Committee is very much close to that person. You can verify it.

Then in the once peaceful State of Assam, the worst police atrocities were perpetrated. The Gauhati University Hostel was raided on 25th June and they saw the blood hunger of the CRP and BSF. They had organised a peaceful bundh on Government failure. But the SP and the officials invaded the hostel. Inhuman, harrowing tortures were inflicted. I visited the place. Blood stains were everywhere in the hostel. All the glasses were smashed. Even sick students were not spared. A boy in the bathroom in towel was not spared. Over 100 were seriously

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injured. Even in a remote village in Nowgong district, Garbunda, two school-going children, teen-agers, were shot dead. One was a tribal.

SHRI YAMUNA PRASAD MANDAL (Samastipur): Nothing happened in the villages in Bihar (Interruptions)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: During the week-end, if we make a trip to a nearby place called Riwassa, where the police of Haryana, under the Chief Minister Shri Bansi Lal, the top-most favourite of Mrs. Gandhi..... (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: If hon. members on this side get agitated over every incident that is being quoted, there will be no end to it. Kindly keep order..

SHRI B. R. SHUKLA (Bahraich): On a point of order, Sir. The House is considering a motion of no confidence against the Council of Ministers here. The hon. member is going beyond the scope of the debate. He is bringing in Bihar Government, Haryana Government and other State Governments which cannot be discussed here under our rules of procedure.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is no point of order. We have also got a Home Minister in this House.

श्री मन्त्री राम गोदरा (हिमालय)
चेयरमैन साहब, मेरा पायट आफ आर्डर है।
यह नो-कॉन्फिडेंस मोशन मंडल गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ है, न कि हरियाणा गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ। रिवासा के मामले का तान्त्रिक स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने है और वहां की बह अनेम्बनी ने सात घंटे तक डिसकस हो चुका है। इस लिए उन को इम हाउस में लाना उचित नहीं है।

सभापति महोदय : आप ने जो आपत्ति उठाई है, उस का उत्तर मैं श्री शुकल के पायट आफ आर्डर के सम्बन्ध में दे चुका हूँ। कृपया अपना स्थान ग्रहण करें।

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: If you so to Riwasa and talk to a villager there who is not connected with politics, I assure you your head will hang in shame. You blood will boil when you hear the police atrocities. A brother and sister were forced to take off their clothes in the police station and beaten by the police. (*Interruptions*).

The boy had some political dispute with the Chief Minister's son in the College Union and so his grandmother was beaten to death. A woman of 85 was beaten to death. This is what your police are doing. A Congress Minister, Shrimati Chandravati, wept in a public meeting and she got the reward; she got the sack from the Chief Minister and the Prime Minister approved the dismissal. She wept in a public meeting and condemned the atrocities in Riwasa because being a woman she could not tolerate a woman being paraded in the nude in the police station in the presence of her brother, which was given the widest publicity by the international press. This has happened when we have a woman Prime Minister.

Then I come to corruption. As stated by Mr. John Randolph, they buy and sell corruption in the gross, and a few millions more or less is hardly felt in the account. The deeper the play the greater their zest for the game and the stake which is set upon their throw is nothing less than the patrimony of the people. Here I would like to read what Shri A. D. Gorbala has to say:

"Enquiries into the allegations (again Ministers) have sometimes been made by senior all India leaders of the principal political party; occasionally their reports have re-

mained secret. Some of the reports have exculpated these complained against and some have, in effect, condemned them. In any case, no action has been taken. It is not surprising that when grave allegations by responsible parties are made against people holding positions of high authority and they remain in power without being cleared of the accusations, the public feel that the influential always escape punishment."

We have instances of escape in front of us I can point my finger at them. I have always been saying that Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the fountain-head of corruption in this country. Everywhere it is unprecedented.

Let us take the case of Chief Minister, Shri Bansilal 125 M.P.s signed a petition levelling charges against the Chief Minister. The Controller and Auditor-General sent from here a special audit team to Haryana and they have given a report. But the Government is sitting pretty over that document. I want to lay* it on the Table of the House. I present it to the hon. Chairman, who has regulated me so well. It says very serious things. It gives an instance of the purchase of an item at a higher price involving Rs. 12 crores. Rs. 12 crores of the people's money has been pocketed and a rich share of it has come to 1, Safdarjung Road. I have no doubt about it. The Audit Report talks of "absence of a sound system for assessing the requirements of purchases, lacuna in placing purchase orders, defective or inadequate system of inspection, extra expenditure in purchase and inadequate system of inventory control" and so many other things. It is a valuminous report and I have no time to quote it extensively. I want to lay it on the Table because

*The Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the document was not treated as laid on the Table.

this Government will never bring it here as they wanted to protect the Government of Shri Bansilal in the interest of the Prime Minister. That is why no action has been taken on that report.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This matter of laying it on the Table of the House will be decided under the rules.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I will authenticate it.

Then, Shri Nagad Narayan at a public meeting in Madhubani said that he was willing to face a Commission of Enquiry. Later on, in a sworn affidavit he stated that he does not want to face an inquiry.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: That is a different thing.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This enquiry is being processed for time immemorial. They have been doing it. As long as he fulfils the quota given to him, he is saved. That is why the Chief Minister of Gujarat cannot be touched. He said that if he is touched, he will reveal what he has sent to Delhi. He said, this to some people to close to him . . . (Interruptions). No. 1, Safdarjung Road.

Then there was the smuggling of 30,000 tonnes of paddy. Because some VIPs were involved, it was not pursued. We want a categorical statement from the Prime Minister, when she replies, as to who are they and what action has been taken against them.

Now, they are going to have a cut in foreign wheat purchase, crude purchase, ship purchase, Boeing purchase, etc., An amount of Rs. 50 lakhs has already come to the coffers of the Government. Mr. C. Subramanian is looking after the Britannia Biscuit Company very well.

Can she deny that Rs. 1 crore has been paid to her for the price rise of

Rs. 4000 per car allowed by the Government? What about jute industry? They have given Rs. 2 crores to Mr. D. P. Chattopadhyaya at the cost of jute growers in West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa.

They are going in for a gimmick in West Bengal—the Wanchoo Commission. I want to know why is it that they do not institute a Commission of Inquiry to go into the bran/yarn scandal? Is it because the Chief Minister's close relative is involved in it? That is so. If they talk about honesty and stopping corruption, they should set up an Inquiry Commission to look into the bran/yarn scandal. We want an inquiry into that.

The honourable Prime Minister in Lucknow, last year, promised an inquiry into the Maruti affair. I kept on writing to her almost every fortnight. She now turns it down and says that there is no point in going in for an inquiry. It is because she will not be able to stay for a day, if truth comes out, if there is an inquiry into the Maruti affair, in the letter of intent, public sector performance, land grab, Defence prohibitory order, Finance, cement, steel, coal, etc. etc.

Is it that the Central Bank has given an over-draft of Rs. 7 crores? I wrote to her. No reply has come because the reply is inconvenient. I also want to know if Mr. K. K. Birla has given Rs. 50 lakhs to them.

We should know this Government. This Government is a Dwarfish Demon in a Giant's role. Get out while the going is good. Don't ruin the country, don't make it a large grave-yard of the world.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

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

SHRI A. P. SHARMA (Buxar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this No-confidence Motion moved by the Opposition has become a ritual. The Opposition knows what will be the fate of this Motion when it will be put to vote. It has become more a ritual than a motion which can serve any purpose in this House.

I was listening to the speech of Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu very attentively and all the time I had a feeling that one could not expect anything better from Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, than he has spoken today in the House. Mr. Bosu, from Mr. Bosu, in his peculiar manner and in a jocular manner, has not said a single thing in this House which he has not been repeatedly saying time and again whenever such an occasion has arisen.

Mr. Bosu started speaking on the No-Confidence Motion with the so-called railway strike. . . (Interruptions). I was saying that Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu started with the so-called railway strike...

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): On point of order, Shri A. P. Sharma cannot speak on behalf of the ruling Party because he is not wearing the certified khadi.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: I was saying that Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu started with the so-called railway strike. (Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: Why 'so-called'?

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: I shall explain why I say so. The activities carried on during the strike were unprecedented in the annals of the trade union movement. The strike was full of violent activities and sabotage. A vast majority of railway workers whom Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu called blacklegs stuck to their jobs out of their patriotic favour and patriotic feeling towards the country and service to the nation in spite of the holliganism, violence and intimidation that were practised by a small section of the people

on them. Therefore, to call this kind of action as a strike is nothing but giving a bad name to the trade union movement as a whole. If you examine the various activities carried on by them, you will find that these people had not only indulged in violence and sabotage but they had insulted, attacked and humiliated the womenfolk of this country. (Interruptions) Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu was talking about insult to women. I want to tell him what happened in his own State at Kharagpur. Every person who has even the least sense of shame will hang his head down in shame but not Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and the people who instigated this. (Interruptions). I did not interrupt Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu when he was speaking.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is this running commentary? It must stop.

शर्मा जी, अगर आप इन्टरपण्ड पर रुक जायेंगे तो काम नहीं चलेगा, थोड़ा तो पता चलता ही रहेगा।

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: In Kharagpur what was happened I wanted to tell this House and this House should know that such a thing has never happened in the history of trade union movements in any country, what to talk of our own country. Women workers and workers who were devoted to the workshop were stripped naked were made to parade in the workshop. You should hang your heads in shame. I want that the Government should make an inquiry into this incident and whosoever were involved, should be punished severely and no leniency should be shown to them.

Shri Bosu talked about a negotiated settlement. Who sabotaged the negotiated settlement?...

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय (गाजीपुर): सभापति महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। आप सभापति हैं, आप को हाउस के कन्ट्रोल करने

घर बलाने का अधिकार है। शर्मा जी जो भाषण कर रहे हैं उस में घूँट कर रहे हैं, ऐसा मालूम होता है कि इन को मौका मिला तो मारेंगे। आप इन से कहिये कि आप को मखातिब हो कर बोलें।

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: It is you people who never believed in constitutional means and negotiations. They never believed in a negotiated settlement.

What happened? They broke the negotiated settlement. While the negotiations were going on they sent telegrams to the International Transport Federation as also the WFTU telling them that the negotiations had broken down and they sought help from these international organizations.

This is the type of people who talk about a negotiated settlement. During that period most of the demands were settled excepting the one which the Government said is referred to the Commission and the other was about 75 per cent wage increase regarding which the Government made it absolutely clear that it was not possible to meet that demand. On the top of that they went on a strike. Strike—very good. They went on a strike. But, now why are they crying about victimisation? I want to assure this House that as much as I know so far as the Railways are concerned, the Government has taken a lenient view in regard to those persons who were on the strike when they said that they were misguided into a bogus strike, in about 60,000 cases the break in service was condoned. This was done immediately after the strike. We, the National Federation of Railwaymen went and discussed the whole question and we came to the conclusion that a good number of people were misguided and they were prevented by these people from going to work. So we appealed to the Government. We appealed to the Prime Minister and we pleaded for a lenient view to be taken in the

case of these misguided workers. The Prime Minister immediately took a decision and according to that decision, as I said earlier, the break in a service of 60,000 workers has already been condoned and the rest of the cases are also being examined, according to my knowledge, for condoning the break in their service.

They talked about removal and dismissal of the people who indulged in violence and instigated the workers. In those cases, the Government made a declaration that those of the people who in their individual capacity come forward and reaffirm their loyalty to the railway service of this country, would be reinstated in their jobs. That way, more than 5,000 have been reinstated in their jobs.

But they are not prepared to admit all these facts and they are not prepared to concede. They talk about trade union unity. They have formed a wonderful organization known as NCCR. Shri Shastri was just now shouting. All kinds of people—Jana Sangh CPI (M), CPI, all of them have combined together. For what? Why do they not go to the railway workers to-day? Now, they have no face to go and face the employees. They have come to know what damage they have done to the cause of the workers and to the cause of the country.

During the last days of the strike offer was made for negotiation but they did not agree. When they found it out that railway workers were not supporting their strike, when normalcy was almost established in the working of the railways, they unconditionally surrendered. And now how does it lie in the mouth of these people to talk about victimisation, when they are wholly responsible for this situation? Let Mr. Sarju Pandey consider that which I have pointed out and I am sure if he has any sense of understanding he would hang his head in shame.

How I come to the measures which the Government have taken. What are the measures which they have taken in the interest of the country's economy. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu spoke for 45 to 50 minutes. He has not said a word about the dividend control measure. Does it mean that he wants to stand for the interest of the companies and the moneyed people? Why does he not mention about this dividend measure? About the compulsory deposit scheme, I would say, this is a step taken to improve the economic situation in the country. For holding the price line if the workers are called upon to contribute something in this direction what is the harm?

And what are the exceptions? The exceptions are the following:

Any increment to the employee in accordance with the time-scale of pay applicable to the post held by him immediately before the appointed day any consequent increase in any allowance admissible under any rule or order in force immediately before the appointed day;

Any higher wages payable to the employee on his promotion or transfer to a post involving higher responsibilities and duties;

Any honorarium payable for any work done outside office hours;

Any allowance payable for overtime work;

Any increase in wages sanctioned in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Third Central Pay Commission.

It is these cases which have been excluded from the purview of the compulsory deposit of the additional wages.

Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu has been telling us as usual his cock and bull stories and he has not made a single suggestion as to how to improve the economic situation of the country.

You can criticise the Government; you can use any language you like; that suits you and that behaves you. Is it not the duty of the opposition to suggest ways and means of improving the situation? Could he not suggest what further measures have to be taken to improve the situation?

They never want us to do anything. And that is why this kind of motion is coming up every now and then. As I said at the very beginning, it has almost become a ritual. Either it comes up in the beginning of the session or in the end of the session. They are in the habit of bringing about a motion like this just to create an impression in the country that everything is wrong. This is the kind of people who want to interfere and to sabotage the very stability of a democratic government in this country by this kind of a motion.

Therefore, I would like to say that this no-confidence motion should not only be rejected but this should also be treated with utmost contempt that it deserves by this House. Only one appeal I would like to make to those friends who always talk about likemindedness and, especially, to Shri Shastri, that they must keep off from the elements like the Jan Sangh, the elements like the C.P.M. if they have to serve their own cause. If these people do this every now and then then I shall definitely come to this conclusion—I have come to this conclusion already—that they hunt with the hounds and run with the hares. They talk something inside and do something outside. Mr. Shastri, if you believe in your party and do something outside. Mr. Shastri, if you believe in your party and if you believe in the progressive measures that this Government takes to improve the situation in this country, then you must support us and you must dissociate yourself from them. If you do not dissociate yourself from them, there would be no distinction between the Jan Sangh, the C.P.M. and so many other democratic parties like the Swatantra or the Opposition

and then, you are no better than any of these parties. Therefore, I request that this House should reject this motion.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I hope the House will bear with me if I am not able to raise my voice at a normal pitch. That is because I am suffering from a rather chronic throat trouble. Actually, I am under medical advice not to speak at all. (*Interruptions*). But, the issue is so important that I felt that on behalf of our party I should make a few observations and then leave it to the second speaker from our party to speak in greater details.

16-59 hrs.

[**SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI** in the Chair.]

Mr. A P Sharma gave a tolerably good imitation of an old-fashioned steam locomotive trying to puff and pant its way up hill. But, as he knows, steam locomotives are going out of commission now even on the railways

And I must say that in our view, in my own view at least, the persons who exult in the fact that a strike is being broken, who are so overjoyed and delighted about it, the persons who are so delighted by the fact that so many workers have been punished as he would say 'not victimised' and also the person who is so satisfied with the fact that in the name of fighting inflation, the workingclass in the country is to have a wage-freeze inflicted on them, such persons, in my opinion can only be referred to as so-called "trade union leaders." However, I should not be provoked. I agree with him in one matter. Let me make it quite clear that there is nothing to be bewildered about or to be embarrassed about by the fact that so many parties on this side, who have got all sorts of

differences with each other, some very basic differences, happen to be supporting this motion. They may be supporting it from their own point of view, for their own motives. I am not concerned with that in the least. But when we have come to a pass where we find that it is necessary to censure this Government strongly and express our no-confidence in certain of the major policies and major actions which they have recently adopted, it is our duty to support the non-confidence motion, even if it means the company of people with whom we never agree on many fundamentals.

17.00 hrs.

Since I do not want to speak at length, I wish to confine my remarks to two main points. One, of course, is the aftermath of the railway strike, because I am concerned with the violation of assurances given. I am supporting the motion because of the blatant violation of assurances given. I am not going into a discussion of the strike itself again, except to refer, as I have to, because my friend Shri A. P. Sharma has raised it, to the Kharagpur incident, which he could have addressed to me, because he knows very well that neither Mr. Sarjoo Pandey nor Mr. Ramayatar Shastri has anything to do with the South-Eastern Railway; he knows it very well, although he seldom ventures out from Delhi to travel on the railway line either during or after the strike. In fact, I lost my throat in Kharagpur on the 18th May; I can tell him this. So, he should have asked me about that incident, and I am on record also in so many press statements. . .

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Mr. Gupta had lost his throat, but Mr. Sharma has lost his face.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: As far as the Kharagpur incident is concerned, let me just dispose of it in a minute or two. The incident which took place was this. The strike was

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called off and the people resumed worked in the workshop, where, I may state with some amount of pride, because I consider it as something not to hang my head in shame about—the day the strike was called off, that is, on the 27th May, out of 14,000 people in that Kharagpur workshop, 13,000 people were still on strike, very few people had gone back to work. So, you can see what a small percentage they were, who were acting in our eyes as black-legs. Everybody knows how in the history of strike struggles, the striking workers do tend to be angry with their fellow-workers who go to work during the strike and try to weaken their ranks and create disunity among them. But I do not for a moment for that reason approve of the action that some of them took when they went back to work, in their anger; the anger part of their action may be justified, but that does not mean that it should express itself in this form, not that my heart is bleeding for those serike-breakers at all. I agree that this was a wrong thing to do. I have said so in my press statement also that I consider it to be very unfortunate and regrettable. In case Members who do not come from that part of the country may be misled by what Mr. Sharma has said and get an impression which the newspapers reports also gave and the Chief Minister who was very excited on the first day also gave. . . (Interruptions) She happened to be in Midnapore and so she was able to go to Kharagpur when she heard that something had happened. But unfortunately, the Chief Minister went nowhere near the workshop; he was sitting in the thana all the time collecting reports there. (Interruptions) At least I have succeeded in making a lady talk. The lady has opened her lips at last. That is something that I have managed to get done. A wrong impression was given as though made workers had gone and stripped some

women workers of their clothes. This is not a fact at all. However, regrettable the incident, it was not done by male workers. There were some women workers in that yard where women are employed. Perhaps people do not know that women are employed on the Railways still to do unskilled labour in the yards of the Railways. Some women strikers who returned to work did this kind of thing which is quite deplorable, in my view. But at least you should not have the idea that men did it.

SHRI A. P. SHARMA: Who made the naked men and women to go together?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: One was in the yard, the other was in the workshop. I do not want to spend so much time on this. Anything done to women like that is deplorable whether it is at Kharagpur or whether it is done by the police in Kanchrapara colony about which I find nobody is shedding tears or hanging his head in shame, or whether it is done in the police lockup at Lal Bazar headquarters in Calcutta, about which I have written to Madam Prime Minister recently where young girls, supposed to be Naxalite undertrial prisoners of the age of 22 and 23 have been stripped naked and beaten with their hands tied together in the name of interrogation and burnt with lighted cigarette ends. These are deplorable things. None of these should take place and tears should be shed impartially also in these matters.

However, all I wish to say is that after this wave of leonine repression which was let loose in order to crush the strike, there was a period when there was a lot of hypocritical talk and statements about railwaymen being one happy family, why should we be angry, they are all our children of one family and we want to bring them back into one family and so on and so forth. All this hypocrisy was indulged in. Some assurances

were given to various people who approached the Railway Minister from time to time, some M.P., some trade unionists and some people belonging to different organisations. They were to the effect that for participation in the strike, there would be no victimisation and punishment; only in the case of some people against whom there may be specific charges which are proved of things like sabotage or violence or destruction of property or something like that the law would take its course or action would follow. This, I have understood, has all along been the type of assurance. If I am wrong, I would like to be corrected by this Government in this debate.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): I will do it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: That is why I say there has been a blatant violation of the assurances going on. What has been happening is nothing of that kind. According to some table of figures the Minister has given today in reply to a question I saw, nearly 6 lakh workers have had their service broken, which means that they must have been on strike. These could not have a break in service inflicted on them unless they were strikers or supposed to be strikers. Against how many of these people are there specific charges ending of sabotage or violence or destruction of property etc.? Must be just a few. The overwhelming majority out of these 6 lakh people must be people against whom there is no other charge than that they merely participated in the strike. Why have they not been taken back? Where is the assurance? What is its worth? What is being done is that the whole process of so-called review or screening of cases has been delegated to the level of the Divisional Superintendents. The Divisional Superintendents who are the real bureaucrats in the railway set-up have been given powers to do this

screening or review, whatever you call it. What is being followed is a totally vindictive policy based on all sorts of other considerations and trying to find out who are the active union workers, who are the people against whom there are particular grudges which some officer may have, people against whom some complaints have been made by some other people, by Shri Sharma's people or anybody. And in the name of decentralisation, the General Managers and Divisional Superintendents have been invested with these full powers of screening and reviewing these cases. That is the reason why even today more than two months after the strike, the overwhelming majority of these workers against whom there is no charge other than mere participation in the strike, are still out; they are not being taken back. Can the Minister deny it I want to know why. I suspect that the reinstatement figures he has given include both the permanent staff—what are called regular permanent staff—as well as people who are classified in the railway books as casual or temporary workers. For those who do not know, let me explain that in railway's parlance temporary workers mean workers who have completed a certain period of uninterrupted service and have attained temporary status, i.e. they no longer get daily rated wages but have become eligible for normal Pay Commission scales of pay, and for contribution to provident fund etc. Thousands of such temporary people have been chucked out of their jobs and are now being told, "You will be taken back provident you are enrolled as a casual worker on a daily wage of Rs. 3 or 3.50 or 4". All the CPC scales of pay they were enjoying, the provident fund facilities etc. were all wiped out and they are asked to start from the bottom of the ladder. Is this not victimisation? I have been meeting railway officials for the last two months on behalf of my union. They openly laugh and joke saying, "This has given us an opportunity to get rid of

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these people. We were trying to get rid of them in normal times and we could not do it. This has given us an opportunity". Yet, a lot of public propaganda has been done that the Miabhoy tribunals award has been accepted, according to which in future, according to the Minister, all casual workers who complete 2 or 3 months of service will become permanent and this is a big concession they have made to the railwaymen. You are doing just the opposite. People who have served for 5 or 10 or 15 years and reached temporary status and become eligible for CPC scales of pay, provident fund, etc. are told, "You get out. If you want to come back, you have to start as a casual worker from the bottom of the ladder." Is this not victimisation? Is this not a vindictive attitude? Thousands who were suspended or dismissed are still out. Hundreds are in jail. The day Mr. George Fernandes and other detenus under MISA were released from Tihar Central Jail, I read in the newspapers a statement made by the Home Minister. Shri Dikshit that instructions have been issued to all the State Governments that those who were arrested under MISA should be released forthwith. It has not been done. In West Bengal, the overwhelming majority of people held under MISA are not being released to this day. The break in service has not been condoned for the vast majority of people. According to the figures given, about 6 lakhs of employees have had a break in service, out of which according to Mr. A. P. Sharma, 60,000 have had their break in service condoned. What about the rest of 5 lakh employees? In the case of people who during the strike period, it was said that so long as the review of their cases is pending they will not be actually asked to get out or if they have been evicted, they will be allowed to reoccupy the quarters until

a final decision is taken in their cases. But people who have been driven out of their quarters and their families have not been allowed to go back. Is this not a vindictive attitude?

I find that the Eastern Railway authorities have said somewhere that there are some appeals for reconsideration from employees which they do not propose to consider because quite a number of appeals are stated to have a "comment cyclostyled text" which, according to the railway sources, indicates that these must have been prepared in bulk by some organisations. What is wrong with it if the unions have prepared it? Who prepared the common cyclostyled dismissal and removal from service forms, which were produced in mass, long before the strike began, with space left only for the names to be filled in, to be pasted on the railwaymen's quarters, where it has been written "you have been doing this and that", prepared long before the strike, in which only the names were filled during the strike? Was that not a common cyclostyled bulk product? Why should it have more sanctity than the cyclostyled appeals drafted by the union? Of course, the unions are responsible for drafting the replies for their members. What is the harm if they are cyclostyled? Yet, some officials say that they cannot consider them because there is some mysterious hand behind the cyclostyled appeals. I do not understand what is wrong with it. Please tell us that.

At many places now the railway workers are on hunger strike. Today we have got telegrams from Waltair and from Madras, from the Southern Railways and South Eastern Railways. They cannot do anything more. They are on hunger strike because they have not been reinstated. In Naihati and Kanchnrapara two workers have committed suicide because the assurances that have been given are not being carried out. In

the meanwhile, the strike breakers are being rewarded. That is the trouble. In this way normalcy, which you say you are eager to restore, cannot be restored.

The Minister is blowing hot and cold at the same time. One day he talks of a happy family and everybody being reinstated. Next day he says that there will be no amnesty. Another day he again says that he wants to smoothen out things and restore normalcy. The next day he says "we will not talk with NCCRS under any circumstances". I can tell you that officials of even recognised trade unions—my union, for instance, which is a member of the NCCRS, which is also recognised—are not allowed to meet officers. You have not yet withdrawn recognition from my union. If you want to withdraw recognition, say so. You have not done it so far. Yet, the office-bearers of various branches of my union are not being allowed to see the officers. The officers say 'you are under suspension or dismissal; so, we would not meet you and talk to you'. In that case, why should we be recognised? So long as we are a recognised union, why should they not talk to the office-bearers who are employees, who may be temporarily under suspension or dismissal, whose cases are being reviewed. If things are allowed to go on like this, all I can say is that neither will the railways run properly nor will normalcy return in the working of the railways. If the Railway Minister wants to leave all the details of the handling of the situation to the Railway Board and the railway bureaucracy, I am afraid things may go from bad to worse and there will be all sorts of provocation. I would also ask the Prime Minister, who was the Generalissimo at the time of the strike, conducting the whole operations, whether the job is finished after the strike. Surely not. She has got to see what is happening after the strike. Therefore, I have brought these matters to her attention and to the at-

tention of the Government and I hope that she will personally look into this matter and see that the assurances which have been given will be expeditiously and honestly implemented as soon as possible so that normal conditions can be restored.

The second point on which we want to focus attention and on which I am supporting this motion is this chronic habit which has now developed of ruling by Ordinance, everything must be done by Ordinance. You have to see the kind of length to which it has been going on now. I hope, the hon. lady Member there will not get irrigated again. There is one Wanchoo Commission set up why not beside to be set up in my State for going into the charges of corruption and nepotism against various Ministers. I am not going into the details of the matter. The Chief Minister prevailed upon the Central Government, the Government of India, to do something which, I think, is unheard of. By promulgation of an Ordinance, they amended the commissions of Inquiry Act which is an Act passed by this Parliament under which so many Commissions of Inquiry have been set up and have functioned in the past and gone into the cases of allegations against renowned people, ex-Chief Ministers, as we know, in Orissa, in Punjab and in so many other places.

Here, the Chief Minister insisted that the Commissions of Inquiry Act must be amended so that the Commission is given the powers, in addition to the existing powers, immediately to summarily try and punish any witness who appears before it and who may be giving false evidence or malicious evidence. And this Act was amended by an Ordinance for which the permission, the line-clear, the green signal, was given by the Government of India, the Law Ministry, here.

What are things coming to I want to know. You have got a mania of Ordinances. Has the mania of Ordinances gripped this Government?

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

The Commissions of Inquiry Act to be amended by an Ordinance. (Interruption) It is to threaten people. You want me to go into the merits of it. It is an indirect threat to brow-beat the witness and say, "If you appear here, if you speak out here and, if somebody's allegations are not proved, you will be summarily tried and punished."

AN HON. MEMBER: Perjury.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It may be perjury. But he is not punished always. He has a right to give evidence. If the Commissions of Inquiry Act is to be amended on such a vital matter, it has to be amended here, not by an Ordinance. What is the sanctity of Parliament then? Nothing.

The subsequent ordinances which have come betray the same mentality. When the Ordinances come up separately for discussion, we will go into the merits in more detail. Here, I say, only two things. One is, my friends are saying that it is not a wage freeze. I say it is a wage freeze. I say, it is nothing new, nothing original, nothing novel. In the United Kingdom, in the United States, at sometime or other, everywhere, those Governments have tried the same thing. . .

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Have you any idea as to how many Ordinances have been passed by the Kerala Government headed by Mr. Achuta Menon in the course of 2-3 months?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You are a partner in the Government

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: You are the head of the Government.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I wonder how many Ordinances the Kerala

Government have issued 5 days before the Kerala Assembly was due to meet.

The point is this. The Madam Prime Minister makes a slight mistake when she frequently says that inflation and price rise are a global phenomenon, a world phenomenon. It is a world phenomenon but a phenomenon of the capitalist world. There is a world outside the capitalist world also. There, you don't see these things. It is a phenomenon in those capitalist countries. They tried wage freeze along with price freeze. But they failed. That is why in the United Kingdom, it did not work. The old Conservative British labour movement fought against the wage freeze and forced the Government to take it back. The coal miners not only forced them to take it back but managed to overthrow the Tory Government in the process.

Here, you do not go in for price freeze. You go in for the wage freeze part of it. It will not work. It is not going to help you to reduce inflation at all. The reason is that this is a fallacious theory. That is the point I want to make. The theory is all wrong that prices are determined in capitalist society by the wages of the workers that the workers have got so much money in their hands and that is what is pushing the prices up; therefore, take the money away from them and the prices will come down. This theory of the Planning Commission experts or the Finance Ministry experts is a bogus theory. I have never worked and it will never work. The basic determinant of prices in our society is not the wages of the workers but the capitalists' hold on the big sectors of the industry where they determine the prices for the sake of their profits and super-profits by creating artificial scarcity, by restricting production. Inflation is the thing which helps the capitalists the most. This theory was inspired by John M. Keynes, the old professor of

my old College in Cambridge. I thought we had given up this long ago. John M. Keynes' old theory is being resurrected again, that the safety valve against economic depression and against the danger of economic explosion is to create deficit financing and inflation, so that by creating paper money which has no value you can boost up the demand for goods, inflate the prices and allow the capitalists to make higher profits. It is a bogus theory; it has never worked in any capitalist country, and it is not going to work here also, because the real hub of the matter is that you are not going in for rice control; you cannot do it, you have said that you have thrown in the towel as far as price control is concerned. The basic causes of inflation are the accumulation of black money and the Reserve Bank of India which I consider to be the fountain-head of inflation in this country. What are you doing with the Reserve Bank of India? Is it only supposed to announce from time to time an increase in its Bank Rate and will that solve the problem? It has the old credit policy of feeding deficit finance to the speculators, hoarders and people who are cornering commodities, building up inventories of commodities and creating artificial scarcities and shortages. But nothing is done about that.

I would just end with two quotations. The *Economic Times* is not a paper which is very well known for its left wing views, still it is quite widely read. The *Economic Times* has said on 15th July:

'The fears of fresh dose of anti-inflationary measures by the government has led to a mad drive to corner the goods by traders and producers having unaccounted money. Their preference for real estate and precious metals is still there, but essential commodities especially fast-moving ones, have become the centre of their attraction. Among the essential commo-

dities, foodgrains, edible oils, vanaspati, sugar, kerosene, milk, powder, baby foods, soaps and textiles are in great demand by hoarders. Black money is also being converted into steel products, paper, dyes and chemicals, medicines, cotton textiles and all sorts of raw materials.'

This is the problem. And what are you going to do about this? It is no longer true to say that it is a parallel economy which is functioning. It has become the dominant economy. It is no longer a parallel economy, it is becoming the dominant economy—the economy of black money. About this you have nothing to do. Even take your own bourgeois economists. 140 of them have produced that scheme called SEMBOMBLA. Study it seriously. At least there are some good things in it: how to get out black money and how to immobilise at least 30 per cent of the deposits. (Interruptions) But that is not what you are proposing. He asks, "Why are you not supporting the Dividend Restriction Ordinance? Do you want to help the companies". I say that this Ordinance is the biggest eye-wash of all. Out of 3,000 and odd companies—the figures have been published—not more than 200 companies will be affected by this. And 'affected means what? The money they would have distributed as dividends to shareholders will remain with them. That means, their liquid cash resources will increase. Their share value will appreciate. There is no way of ensuring that this extra money in the hands of these companies will be ploughed into more production. They can do anything, if they like, with this.

In fact some papers, some conservative papers have expressed their concern and apprehension that they will use this money for building up inventories, for building stocks for one year or two years later. So, how is it immobilising their funds? This is a big hoax whereas the wage-

[Shri Indrajit Gupta].

freeze is a reality and these things have been done with a cynical disregard of the Parliament by the Government because even under the compulsory Deposits Scheme, nobody is to make the first deposit before the 15th of December. The first date is 15th December and the next date is 15th March, next year. Then why did you have to hurry through these ordinances? Could this not come as a Bill before this Parliament? What is the point of making it as an ordinance? Nobody is going to make that compulsory deposit now. By your own ordinance nobody is required to do it before the 15th December. Then; why have you brought these ordinances in this way disregarding the Parliament?..

AN HON MEMBER: Mania.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is not only a mania but it is a guilty conscience..

SOME HON. MEMBER: It is because of the AICC.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: AICC? I do not know. AICC is nothing. I do not want to say anything about the AICC. But because the AICC meeting has taken place just now, at least people should think seriously about these problems.

Therefore, these are very dangerous portents of what the Government of India is carrying out. I do not know what those ordinances my friend, Shri Stephen referred to in Kerala, are concerned with.... (interruptions) I will find it out from you. But, when you are promulgating ordinances which are directed against 18 million wage-earners and salaried workers in this country and you propose to do it just a few days before the Parliament is to re-assemble and the effect of that ordinance will not take shape before the 15th December, then why have you done it like that? This is a gross insult to the Parliament. This Parliament does not belong only to the Opposition. More

of it belongs to you. So much of it belonging to you but don't you feel anything for the dignity and prestige of the Parliament? You can pass it here. You have got an overwhelming majority. You can pass it here as a Bill.

So, for all these reasons mainly we are supporting this no-confidence motion because it is the most effective way to express our feelings and with that I will end, because there are many other things to be said, but those will come up later on.

श्री भागवत झा आजाद (भागलपुर) :

समापति महोदय, इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव को रखने के दो कारण बरनाये गये हैं। पहला कारण तो यह है कि रेलवे हड़ताल के कारण वहाँ के कर्मचारियों को दण्डित किया जा रहा है। दूसरा कारण यह है कि बढ़ती हुई कीमतों को रोक के लिये अठारह देश बर्यो लाया गया। इन दो कारणों पर यह अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव आधारित है।

हम पहले रेलवे कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल की बात करें। देश को यह मानना है कि रेलवे कर्मचारियों ने हड़ताल बना को। रेलवे कर्मचारियों ने अपनी 6 मांगे रखी थी। 4 मांगे सरकार ने मजूर कर ली और उन मांगों को मजूर करने के कारण सरकार का एक साल में 190 करोड़ रुपया देना पड़ा, अर्थात् रेलवे कर्मचारियों के वेतन में 40 प्रतिशत का वृद्धि सिर्फ एक वर्ष में हुई, जो हिन्दुस्तान के किसी कर्म के कर्मचारियों को नहीं हुई। लेकिन इस के बावजूद भी इन्होंने हड़ताल की। हड़ताल इसलिए की कि ये चाहते थे कि भारत सरकार उन को बोनास के नाम पर इतनी धनराशि दे कि जो धनराशि उन की उत्पादन स्तर से अधिक हो। दूसरे—यह मांग की कि भारत सरकार उन को 75 प्रतिशत एडवाक इन्कीज दे, यानी रेलवे मन्त्रालय इन कर्मचारियों को एक वर्ष में 40 प्रतिशत वृद्धि देने के बाद, 190 करोड़ रुपया देने के बाद, 600 करोड़ रुपया और दे—यानी रेलवे मन्त्रालय अपने

दिवालिवा पन पर, अपनी मृत्यु पर स्वयं हस्ताक्षर कर ले।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि प्रधान मन्त्री उस वक्त जैनरल एसिमो बन गई थी। हाँ, यह गौरव की बात थी कि उन्होंने विदेश जाने के पहले तमाम मुख्य मन्त्रियों को लिखा था कि ये कर्मचारी इस देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को नष्ट करना चाहते हैं, इस देश के कर्मचारी इस देश के स्टील प्लाटम् को बन्द करना चाहते हैं, वहा के पावर-हाउस को तोड़ना चाहते हैं। मैं बतलता हूँ इन की योजनायें क्या थीं। इन की योजनाएँ थीं—अगर यह हडताल तीन सप्ताह चले तो हिन्दुस्तान के स्टील प्लाटम् बन्द हो जायेंगे, अगर 15 दिन चले तो खाद्यान्न चलना बन्द हो जायगा, अगर 10 दिन चले तो पावर-हाउस बन्द हो जायेंगे। इस तरह से देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को ये लोग नष्ट करना चाहते थे। क्या ये कीमते रोकने के उपाय थे। अगर उस समय प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने यह नहीं कहा होता अगर उन्हें जाने के पहले यह काम नहीं किया होता तो प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने अपने कर्तव्य को पूरा नहीं किया होता। उन्होंने उस समय जो किया वह ठीक किया। लेकिन साथ ही साथ प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने यह भी किया कि उगोही हडताल बन्द हुई इन लोगों ने अपनी हडताल वापस ली, उन्होंने फौरन रेलवे की फीडरेशन के प्रतिनिधियों को बुला कर बात की और कहा कि जिन लोगों ने सक्रिय रूप से रेलवे की तोड़फोड़ में, हिंसा में, बगावत में हिस्सा नहीं लिया है उन तमाम को छोड़ दिया जाय। प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने यह किया जो हमारे ये डॉम्स भूल गये जिन्होंने उन को जैनरल एसिमो कहा देश की जनता को इन 15 लाख कर्म-चारियों से बचाने के लिये—जिन में 10 लाख तो ऐसे थे जो काम पर जाना चाहते थे, दो-तीन-चार लाख ऐसे थे जो काम पर नहीं जाना चाहते थे, जिन्होंने बगावत की थी—देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को तोड़ने के लिए। सभापति महोदय, यह बात स्पष्ट है—आप कल्पना कीजिए, अगर इस रेलवे हडताल को

इसी तरह चलने दिया जाता तो क्या होता, देश की सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था टूट जाती। ये कीमते जिन के नाम पर आज शोर मचाया जा रहा है, और ज्यादा बढ़ गई होती। यह भी स्पष्ट है कि इस रेलवे हडताल के बाद देश की कठिनाइया बढी, बैंगन चलने बन्द हो गये, कोयला चलना बन्द हो गया, देश से कीमतें बढी। आज जिन कीमतों के बढने की शिकायत ये लोग कर रहे हैं, उन की बढाने की जिम्मेदारी इन्हीं महानुभावों पर है, जिन महानुभावों में जनमघ, एम० एम० पी०, आर० एम० पी० सी०पी०एम०, सी०पी०आई० ये तमाम लोग मिल गये और एन सुन्दर बम्बनेशन बना, "कही की ईंट कही का रोड़ा, भानमति ने कुनवा जोड़ा"। इतना सुन्दर कुनवा जोड़ा, इस देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को तोड़ने के लिए यह मारा षड्यन्त्र किया, लेकिन प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने उस षड्यन्त्र को कामयाब नहीं होने दिया, देश की करोड़ों जनता की सुविधाओं के लिये इस देश के कुछ लाख व्यक्तियों की आय का इतना विस्तार नहीं होने दिया। अतः मैं समझता हूँ कि विरोधी पक्ष का यह आक्षेप बिलकुल गलत है।

अब, रेलवे हडताल के नाम पर दण्डित किम को किया जा रहा है? दण्डित उन को करना चाहिये, जिन्होंने देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को तोड़ा, हिंसा की। यहा तक की औरतों को नगा किया, जिन्होंने देश की आर्थिक परिस्थितियों में बाधा पहुंचाई। ऐसे लोगों को दण्डित नहीं किया जाय तो क्या उन्हें फूसों के हार पहनाये जाय, क्या ये लोग यही चाहते हैं? ऐसे लोगों को अवश्य दण्डित किया जाय जिन्होंने बायनैस किया, जिन्होंने देश के साथ बगावत की। अस्तु, यह पहला कारण जो श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने रखा—बिलकुल निराधार है। यह कारण, विश्वास प्रस्ताव के लिये नहीं, बल्कि प्रधान मन्त्री जी में अविश्वास प्रकट करने के लिये है, जिन्होंने उस हडताल का मुकाबला बड़े जोर-शोर से किया।

अब मैं बीनस के प्रश्न को लेता हूँ—मैं पुनः अपने पुराने मुझाब को दोहराता हूँ जिस का

[श्री भागवत झा आजाब]

उल्लेख प्रधान मन्त्री जी से मैंने पहले भी किया था। यह आवश्यक है कि बोनस को प्रोडक्शन से लिंक किया जाय, बोनस डेफर्ड-बैंज नहीं हैं। बोनस उत्पादन पर आधारित हो, यदि उत्पादन 20 प्रतिशत बढ़ाया जाय तो बोनस भी 20 प्रतिशत दिया जाय। यदि वे 30 प्रतिशत के हकदार हैं तो प्रोडक्शन भी 30 प्रतिशत बढ़ाया जाय। इस तरह की एक इन्कम-बेज पालिसी बनाई जाय और उस के आधार पर बोनस दिया जाय।

दूसरा कारण यह दिया गया है कि इस सरकार ने अध्यादेश क्यों जारी किये। श्रीमान् ज्योतिर्मय बसु जी ने बहुत से आंकड़े दिये कि कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। क्या कभी सरकार ने, प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने या वित्त मन्त्री जी ने यह कहा है कि कीमतें नहीं बढ़ी हैं। अगर आंकड़ों का प्रश्न है तो मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु जी से कहूंगा कि वे मेरे लेखों को पढ़ें जो मैंने धर्मयुग, कादिम्बिनी तथा अन्य पत्रिकाओं में लिखे हैं। इन के आंकड़ों से मेरे आंकड़े अधिक हैं। हमारी पार्टी ने उन से अधिक आलोचना सरकार की की है, हम ने बार बार कहा है कि कीमतें बढ़ी हैं इन पर रोक लगाई जाय और रोक लगाने के कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत ही हम ने 1972 का टैक्सेशन अमेण्डमेंट एक्ट पास किया, जिस के अन्तर्गत आज 4412 व्यक्तियों को नोटिस दिये गये हैं, जिनमें अपनी सम्पत्ति का हस्तांतरण कम मूल्य पर किया है। बैंको के कर्माश्रित क्रेडिट का विम्वार करने के बजाय उन को स्क्वीज किया गया है। आज इस देश में लिक्विडिटी का प्रपॉशन 30 के बजाय 32 किया गया है—ये तमाम एंमे वदम उठाये गये हैं जिन के द्वारा हम कीमतों को रोकना चाहते हैं।

श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु साहब ने कीमतों के आंकड़े दिये हैं—अगर वे उन आंकड़ों में और वृद्धि करना चाहते हैं तो मेरे लेख और मेरी स्पीचों को पढ़ लें, उन को और

आंकड़े मिल जायेंगे। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि किस ने कहा है कि उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा है? अभी सरकार ने कहा कि 1973 की 25 मई तक कीमतों में 20.20 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हो गई। 1974 में वह कीमतें बढ़ कर 28 प्रतिशत हो गई हैं। हमारा कंज्यूमर्स प्राइस इंडेक्स 1973 में 221 था, 1974 में 283 है और मंथली इंडेक्स 294 है। यही तो कारण था कि जब कीमतें बढ़ती गईं तो प्रधान मन्त्री ने आवश्यक समझा कि अध्यादेश लागू किया जाय जिस से देश में ऐसी मंहगाई और लाभांश की बढ़ोतरी को रोका जाय जो सम्भव बाजार में आ कर कीमतों को बढ़ायेगी। हम वह ध्योरी नहीं मानते हैं जो माननीय इन्ड्रजीत गुप्त ने कही कि यह सरकार समझती है कि मजदूरों के हाथ में इतना धन है कि उस से कीमतें बढ़ गई हैं। बिल्कुल गलत। हम यह नहीं समझते हैं। यह एक छोटी सी बात है उन के हाथ में अधिक मुद्रा हो यह मैं नहीं कहता, लेकिन वह भी एक उपाय है कि न केवल श्रमिकों का बल्कि लाभांश, बोनस शेयर, डिविडेंड इन को रोक कर कीमतों को नीचे लाया जाय। और मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूँ कि ब्लैक मनी को भी रोका जाय, जिस का एक उदाहरण मैं ने दिया कि 1972 का टैक्सेशन अमेण्डमेंट ऐक्ट, जिस के अनुसार 4412 व्यक्तियों को अपनी सम्पत्ति को कम दाम पर हस्तांतरित करने के लिये नोटिस दिया गया है, जिस का समर्थन लोक सभा ने किया था। इसलिये गलत बात क्यों कहते हैं।

हम तो खुद कहते हैं कि कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। इस की फ़िगर्स हम ने आप से नहीं मांगी, सरकार स्वयं कहती है। अभी माननीय ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने प्रधान मन्त्री का उद्धरण दिया कि उन्होंने कहा था कि 6 महीने में हम कीमतें रोक देंगे। प्रधान मन्त्री ने कहा था, अभी ए० आई० सी० सी० में फिर कहा। लेकिन प्रधान मन्त्री जी जो अपनी ही श्रम पर विश्वास करती है कि यह हमारा साथ

हैं। इस संकट की वही मे वह गलत साबित हुआ। विरोधी दल देश की जनता के संकट को अपने पोलिटिकल फायदे के लिये उपयोग करना चाहते हैं। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जब यह बात कही थी तो सोचा था इस समय सभी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज मिल कर के इस देश की कठिन आर्थिक व्यवस्था को स्थिर करने में सहायता देगी। लेकिन उन्होंने ने यह नहीं समझा था कि माननीय ज्योतिरमय बसु और उन की पार्टी जनता की कठिनाइयों को अपनी पार्टी के उद्देश्य के लिये भ्रमले चुनाव को सामने रख कर उस का दुरुपयोग करेगी। इसलिये प्रधान मंत्री का वह स्टेटमेंट आज उतना सच नहीं निकला। और इसीलिये आज प्रधान मंत्री ने स्वयं आप में बिना पूछे ठीक किया, यह अध्यादेश जारी इसलिये किया कि इस के अन्दर बेज फ्रीज नहीं है। बार-बार कहा जा रहा है कि बेज फ्रीज है? किस मिट्टाल की बात करते हैं माननीय ज्योतिरमय बसु और इन्फ़ीजित शुप्त जी? कौन सी इकोनामिक थयरी है जिस में बेज फ्रीज कहा जाय?

इस के अन्दर किसी बेज निगाशियेशन को नहीं रोका जायगा। आज इस देश में बहुत में बेज ऐंजीमेंटस है जो रिवाइज होगे अभी और उस के अन्दर जो बेज इन्फ़ीज मिलेगा वह नहीं रोका जायगा। हा, दो वर्ष के लिये लाभांश, एक वर्ष के लिये बढ़ोत्तरी, 50 परसेंट डी० ए० इन को आप के हाथ में बर्च करने के लिये नहीं दिया जायगा। परिणाम क्या होगा? आप कहते हैं कि कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं, कीमतें बाजार में अधिक रुपया माने पर बढ़ती हैं। प्रधान मंत्री ने यह किया कि उन कीमतों को रोकने के लिये जो पैसा भाय को बढ़ोत्तरी के रूप में भाय को ऐंजीशनल डी० ए० मिलेगा उस का 50 प्रतिशत, बोनस, शेयर, 18 महीने के अज्जाव 40 महीने पर आप इन को कीमतों ताकि आप के पास अधिक पैसे न हो। सफ़्त है कि यह पैसे लोगों के हाथ में वही तो कीमतें बढ़ जायें। और उन कीमतों को किस के हाथ पर अज्जाव

बहाते हैं, उन को लाभ होगा कि उन को कय देने पर उतनी चीज मिलेगी जितनी कि उन को अधिक पैसे में नहीं मिलती।

मे यह नहीं कहना कि यह अध्यादेश स्वयं सशक्त है सबल है। इस के बाद और भी कानून जिस का दशारा प्रधान मंत्री ने अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी में किया है और कहा कि और वर्ग के लोग भी इस कठिनाई के समय में अधिको की तरह माथ दे और उन के लिये मेजर्स आयेंगे और हम उन की आशा करते हैं। आशा यह कि सरकारी आकड़ के अनुसार 60 70 करोड रु० डिबिडेड डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन में बच जायगा जिसमें उन्मीद की जाती है कि यह रुपया उद्योग के डावसिफिकेशन और विस्तार के लिये उपयोग में आयेगा। बताये आप इस अध्यादेश का विरोध किस रूप में कर रहे हैं? एक तरफ आप कहते हैं कि कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं और दूसरी तरफ अगर सरकार कीमतों को रोकने के लिये अध्यादेश जारी करती है तो आप उस का विरोध करने हैं। यह कौन सा नियम है?

और यही अध्यादेश ही नहीं मन्थानि महोदय, सरकार ने जून 1974 में ही एक और अध्यादेश जारी किया इन्फ्लेशन कमेडिटी ऐक्ट को और कठोर किया गया ताकि जमाखोरो और मुनाफाखोरो को कड़ी से कड़ी सजा दी जाय। इसलिये हम इस देश के सिर्फ नौकरी पेशा पर ही यह कानून नहीं ला रहे हैं, बल्कि लाभांश को ही नहीं रोक रहे हैं, बल्कि देश के अन्य वर्ग को भी जो वर्ग इस कठिनाई में अधिको की तरह कष्ट से है, उन से भी कहते हैं कि आप भी अपनी भाय का कुछ भाग अस्थाई रूप में जमा कीजिये ताकि यह प्रबल न उठे।

सभापति महोदय, यह दो कारण रहे हैं मुख्य जो अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव के लिये लाये गये हैं एक देश कर्मचारियों को दक्षित करना और दूसरे यह अध्यादेश। अध्यादेश बार फिर

[श्री भागवत झा साजाव]

पहले क्यों लाया गया ? अध्यादेश चार दिन पहले लाया जाय यह महत्वपूर्ण है या किम चीज के लिये लाया गया है यह महत्वपूर्ण है ? मैं तो समझता हूँ कि जो अध्यादेश देश में बड़नी हुई कीमतों को रोकने के लिये जारी किया जाय उसके लिये एक दिन भी काफी है । मैं साधारणतः अध्यादेश का समर्थन नहीं करता कि यह सब से पहले लाया जाय ।
"श्री पार्टी का कोई व्यक्ति और न सरकार इस को पसन्द करती है कि जब मसदा बैठने वाली हों तो अध्यादेश लाया जाय । लेकिन हम इस का समर्थन करते हैं कि ऐसा अध्यादेश जो कीमतों को रोकने के लिये लाया जाय अगर 24 घंटे पहले भी लाया जाय तो सही है । इसलिये हम इस का समर्थन करते हैं ।

सभापति महोदय, यह तो सिर्फ एक बात जानते हैं इन को सिर्फ एक चीज नजर आती है कि अगले चुनाव में रेल कर्मचारियों का बोट इन को मिल जाय । लेकिन इनको मालूम होना चाहिये (ब्यवहार) अगर हमारे साथ ट्री टी नहीं चली तो फिर बोट मिलने के बाद भी पाक ही सीटें हाथ आयेगी । यह तो प्रधान मंत्री की कृपा है जो आप के साथ सहयोग करने हैं और अपने मिडल के विपरीत भी हम आप से बात करते हैं ?

तीसरा कारण माननीय ज्योतिर्भय बसु ने यह दिया कि इस देश में सी० ए० एफ० और सी० आर० पी० जुल्म कर रही हैं । यह राज्य सरकारों का अधिकार है कि जहाँ कानून और व्यवस्था को सी० पी० एम० वाले खिलेज करें, जहाँ देश के संविधान को तोड़ते की कोशिश करें पाइपगन ले कर, बन्दूक

और बम लेकर के सी० पी० एम० वाले वहाँ निश्चय ही सी० ए० एफ० और सी० आर० पी० का उपयोग किया जायगा । क्योंकि संविधान और देश की जनता सी० पी० एम० के जुल्म के ऊपर है । (ब्यवहार) मैं जानता हूँ कि सत्य कहुवा होता है जरा अपना मुँह बन्द कीजिये और कान खोलिये ।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय ज्योतिर्भय बसु ने ससदीय परम्पराओं की हत्या की और व्यक्तिगत आरोप लगाये हमारे दल पर और हमारे दल के नेता पर । लेकिन ऐसे मूर्खता के आरोप से हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री पर आरोप नहीं लग सकते इन्हीं ने जो भी कहा उस के अनुसार मुझे एक बात शेक्सपीयर की याद आती है

There was a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury signifying nothing

और इसलिये हम महानुसाब के उन विचारों की हम कुछ परवाह नहीं करते ।

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS
MUNSI (Calcutta South): Why does he compare them with Shakespeare?

श्री भागवत झा साजाव : आप की बात मान ली कि शेक्सपीयर के समान इंडियन नहीं है आप ही बताइये कि वह क्या है । ऐसा व्यक्ति जो ससदीय परम्पराओं की हत्या करे और जो पार्टी पर या उस के नेतृत्व पर बिना कारण व्यक्तिगत आरोप करे और वह चाहता है कि समय में उस की बात सुनी जाय, वह संविधान को मानता है ? जो संसदीय व्यवस्था में नानों के खून से होली खेल कर संविधान को तोड़ दे और उस संविधान की स्थापना प्रधान मंत्री ने की, वह व्यक्ति आज संविधान का नाम लेता है । इसलिए अध्यादेशों के कारण या रेल हड़तालियों के बंद होने के कारण या सी० ए० एफ० के कारण या प्रधान मंत्री की

नेतृत्व पर प्रहार करने के कारण किसी भी कारण पर यह अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव तर्कहीन, गलत और बेबुनियाद है और ऐसा करने से सिर्फ अपने हारते हुए मुञ्चोटे को छियाना चाहते हैं ।

हर बार सदन का सत्र प्रारम्भ होने पर ये एक बातजोर करते हैं और यह है इस तरह के अविश्वास प्रस्ताव लाने की और इनका उद्देश्य यह होता है कि लोग समझे कि ये भी जिन्दा हैं । जिन्दा दिलों का यह नमूना नहीं है । जिन्दा दिली या जिन्दा दिल का नमूना यह आपको पेल करना चाहिये कि आप रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम हल्ले बल्लाएँ जिन के सहारे इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को ठीक कील पर लाया जा सके जिस के सहारे इस देश में जड़ती हुई कीमती को बचाया जा सके । लेकिन हमारी विरोधी पार्टियाँ इस काबिल नहीं हैं, योग्य नहीं हैं कि ऐसा कर सकें । इसलिये हम समझते हैं कि इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव को हम अपने बोट से उसी तरह फेंक दें जिन तरह से हर मुँह इनके बयानों को, इनके सक्कलरों को रद्दी को टोकरी में फेंकते हैं ।

जिन शब्दों के साथ में इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ ।

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha: Mr. Chairman I rise to oppose this Motion. This is the second time that the railway strike has become the subject of a no-confidence motion. Last time, on the 9th May, we had a discussion on a no-confidence motion and the subject that figured most in that debate was the strike that started on the previous day, 8th May. On that occasion, the pros and cons of the strike, its devastating character, the adventurism that the Opposition parties showed by forging it—all these matters were laid bare on the floor of the House. Again barely after 1-1/2 months, the Opposition has brought forth another no-confidence motion.

As my friend, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad, pointed out, these no-confidence motions have become rather too formal and usual and a ritual affair that they have lost their edge even as a propaganda machinery. It has come to a stage when the country has started refusing to take serious note of any no-confidence motion. I wonder whether the Opposition parties realise this aspect of their repeated adventurist attempts to focus their criticism against Government through the mechanism of no-confidence motions.

Two points were raised by the Opposition to clinch the point that they have lost their confidence in the Government. One is the way in which the Government handled the railway strike and the other the measures Government are taking to battle with the menace of inflation that is threatening the very foundations of this country. It is surprising that the Opposition has chosen these two measures as grounds for a no-confidence motion. For my part, I oppose this motion and reiterate our confidence in Government if for no other reason, solely for the reason provided by the way in which the Government faced up to the situation created by the railway strike and by the forthrightness and boldness with which they are going ahead with the task of facing up to the economic crisis staring the country. On these two grounds, I oppose this motion. There is a fundamental difference of opinion between us and the friends on the other side with regard to the assessment of the character of the strike, its implications for the nation, the purpose for which it was forged and the attitude that has to be assumed against it. Speaking for myself and on behalf of our trade union movement, we are certainly for taking up all the demands that were put up, but the question is, when the nation is facing an economic crisis, when people are faced with certain difficulties and dangers, whether for butressing

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

their demands this catastrophic endeavour should have been embarked upon. We are clear in our mind that no working class worth its name, no trade union movement patriotically motivated, no trade union leadership which has an atom of responsibility, must submit to the temptation of calling a strike holding the nation to ransom, even if the reward for that would be the entire heaven. We hold the interests of the nation and of the people supreme and for getting certain demands fulfilled, we as a trade union movement are certainly not prepared to call out the workers on strike and block the lifeline of the nation. This is the fundamental difference in our approaches

They have now got to put up a fight here not in order to get certain things done but to satisfy the rank and file whom they misguided and whom they find in difficulties today through the misdeeds of the leadership on the opposition side. My friend Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, said that 20 lakhs of workers stood like a

rock. May I in all humility inform him that the total strength of temporary and permanent workers in the railways is only 17 lakhs and not 20 lakhs. I say this to underline the levity and light-heartedness with which Mr Bosu is approaching this issue.

MR CHAIRMAN You may continue tomorrow.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

FORTY-FOURTH REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K RAGHURAMIAH). Sir, I beg to present the Forty-fourth Report of the Business Advisory Committee

18 00 hrs

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till even of the Clock on Wednesday, July 24, 1974/Śravaṇa 2, 1966 (Saka).