

of the people. This political seduction is going on day in and day out. The Government has got the privilege of making somebody a Governor, making somebody a Minister and what not. The Government should come to a final conclusion about it at an early date. The time should not be extended upto the next Budget session but only upto the first week of the next session that is, the winter session.

SHRI H. N. MUKHERJEE (Calcutta-North-East): They are asking for a long postponement. We are finding defections on the political scene. How long are you going to stand the stink of defection? It is too much.

DR. SHANKAR DAYAL SHARMA: There is no question of Government not being interested in having this Bill passed at the earliest. The leaders of all Opposition parties are members of this Joint Committee and it was the unanimous decision of the Committee that extension of time should be asked for upto the first week of the next Budget Session. The Joint Committee is taking and considering evidence of important people and, therefore, it is taking time. As I said, it was the unanimous decision of the Joint Committee to ask for this extension of time. The Committee would try to submit its report as early as possible.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do further extend upto the last day of the first week of the next Budget Session (1975) the time for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India."

The Motion was adopted.

12.46 hrs.

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

MR. SPEAKER: Now we take up further consideration of the motion of no-confidence in the Council of Ministers.

Mr. Janeshwar Misra to continue his speech. The Defence Minister was to intervene at 12.30 p.m. It is already past 12.30 p.m. This has come to me just now. The Prime Minister will reply to the debate at 5.00 p.m. today.

SHRI SHYAM NANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): How many hours will we have spent? We had thought of 12 hours.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): The Prime Minister may reply tomorrow.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Let the Prime Minister reply tomorrow.

MR. SPEAKER: It has been conveyed by the Prime Minister that, if it is a question of time and your satisfaction, she can speak one hour later at 6.00 O' Clock.

The Defence Minister will Speak immediately after the present speaker finishes.

Mr. Janeshwar Misra,

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, महगार्ड का जिक्र करते हुए कल मैंने कहा था—(व्यवधान) कल इन्होंने मुझे बहुत तग किया था और बहुत हल्ला किया था। मैं आपकी सुरक्षा आज चाहता हूँ ।

महगार्ड और खाद की कीमतों का मैंने कल जिक्र किया था। मैं एक सुझाव आज दूंगा। जैसे तो मुझे पूरा यकीन है कि यह

[श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र]

अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव पास हो जाएगा और यह सरकार नहीं रहेगी लेकिन जिस विसी की भी सरकार बनती है, उसको मैं मुझाव दूंगा कि जो कारखाने की चीजों के दाम अबाध बढ़ जाते हैं इसके बारे में जो कोई भी सरकार बने एक नियम बना दे कि लागत जितनी आती है उससे इतने गुना से अधिक उसके दाम बढ़ने नहीं दिए जाएंगे। दूसरा मुझाव मैं यह दूंगा कि खलिहान में जो चीज पैदा होती है उसका कारखाने में जो चीज पैदा होनी है उससे क्या रिफता रहेगा, इसके बारे में भी सरकार तय कर दे। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है तो लगातार कारखानदार खलिहान वालों को लूटते रहेंगे जैसे वे आज तक लूटते आ रहे हैं। आप देखें कि खाद के दाम हो गए हैं 210 रुपये क्विंटल और गेहूँ के दाम हो गए हैं 105 रुपये क्विंटल।

हमारे श्री चन्द्र जीत यादव शायद वंटे हुए नहीं हैं। कल उन्होंने आरोप लगाया था कि हम लोग फासिस्ट मनोवृत्ति के हैं, मुल्क की तरक्की में हम लोगों का यकीन नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप देखें कि कौन फासिस्ट प्रवृत्ति वाला है। हिन्दुस्तान भर में एक इन्दिरा ब्रिगेड चल रहा है। हिटलर के जमाने में नाजी प्रवृत्ति वाले लोग जब थे तो वे इस तरह में ब्रिगेड चलाया करते थे। मैंने पल्टन में तो मुना है, मिख बटालियन, जाट बटालियन, राजपूत बटालियन वगैरह। लेकिन यह जो इन्दिरा ब्रिगेड आपके द्वारा चलाया गया है मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फासिस्ट प्रवृत्तियों की यही निशानी हुआ करती है जो सरकार चलाया करती है। इनके नाम पर अगर ब्रिगेड चलता है तो क्या प्रधान मंत्री को इसकी जानकारी नहीं है? इनके नाम पर मुल्क भर में ब्रिगेड चलता है। पाच जून को पटना में जो जूलूस निकला जयप्रकाश जी के नेतृत्व में, इन्दिरा ब्रिगेड के लोगों के घर से उन पर गोलीया दागी गई।

क्या यह इनको मालूम नहीं है। वह बहुत शान्त प्रदर्शन हुआ था। मैजिस्ट्रेट को तथा दूसरे लोगों को देख कर ताज्जुब हुआ था कि यह क्या खिलौना लाए हैं जो इतने शान्त हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि वे कौन से हैं। लेकिन घर में उन्होंने दफ्तर खोल रखा है। इन्दिरा ब्रिगेड में हिटलर ममोनिनी आदि नाजी प्रवृत्ति के लोग हैं। जगयम पेशा नोग है और ऐसी कारवाइयां वे कर चुके हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस सब की किसी राजनीति शास्त्र का समाज शास्त्र के विद्वान से जाच कराई जाए—

एक माननीय सदस्य उलटी खोपड़ी है इनकी।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र जल्दी पता चल जाएगा कि किस की उलटी खोपड़ी है। राजनीति करने वाले लोग, सरकार चलाने वाले लोग अपना नाम पर इस तरह के ब्रिगेड चलाएंगे तो यह नाजी प्रवृत्ति है या नहीं है? (व्यवधान)

बहुत ही सजीदगी से इस प्रस्ताव को यहाँ रखा गया है। मैंने कल कई चुनौतियाँ इनकी सरकार को दी थीं। आज उनको मैं दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ। इतना जरूर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मत्तारूड पार्टी विरोधी पार्टियाँ के लोगों का ताड़ने की कोशिश कर रही है। भारतीय क्रांति दल के लोग आंबेदाय होटल में थे। जिस तरह से प्रधान मंत्री के लोगों ने फोन किया और कहा कि तुम अध्यक्ष बन जाओ, तुम्हारी पार्टी टूटेगी

DR. KAILAS (Bombay South): The allegation that there was a phone call on behalf of the Prime Minister to Shri Oberoi at the Oberoi Hotel that "he should accept the Chairmanship of BKD to break should be removed from the proceedings.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : हिन्दुस्तान की मौजूदा सरकार अपने खिलाफ किसी पार्टी को बंटवाशत नहीं कर सकती है। इसको मैं नाजी प्रवृत्ति मानता हूँ। ये लोग किसी को बोलने भी नहीं देना चाहते हैं। हल्ला मचाते हैं। मैंने हाथ जोड़ कर निवेदन किया था कि अपने खिलाफ कोई बात कहे तो उसको सुनने की भी आप में हिम्मत लेनी चाहिये—

श्री नरसिंह नारायण बांडे (भोगखपुर) बशीर अहमद किस पार्टी के हैं? आपकी पार्टी के ही तो हैं। उन्होंने आप पर चार्ज लगाया है कि आप अमरीकी पैसे से अपनी पार्टी को चलाते हैं। चुनाव लड़ते हैं। वह आपकी पार्टी के सेक्रेटरी हैं।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र मैं बशीर अहमद को नहीं जानता हूँ। इनका मैं जरूर जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो मौजूदा सरकार है वह बारी बारी से कभी अमरीका और कभी रूस की विदेश नीति में दलाली करती है, इनके अलावा कुछ नहीं करती है। मैं इतना जरूर जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में जब गल्ले की कमी पडी तो हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री कनाडा भीख मांगने गई थी। उस समय बशीर अहमद या विरोधी लोग नहीं गए थे। इनका मैं जानता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय आपका समय खत्म हो चुका है। दो चार मिनट में आप खत्म कर दें।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र . ये मुझे बोलने नहीं देते हैं।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) Are you satisfied that after he started this morning he has had time even to conclude?

MR. SPEAKER. He is taking more time. He is taking the time of others.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : जिस दिन श्री अयोध्या-स्य बसु ने श्रीमती इन्दरा गांधी और उनकी

सरकार के खिलाफ अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव रखा उस दिन नाग पंचमी का त्यौहार था। उस त्यौहार के दिन क्या होता है? साल भर जब साप दिखाई देता है तो लोग उसके फन को कुचल देते हैं। लेकिन नाग पंचमी के दिन उसको दूध पिलाया जाता है। वह त्यौहार बीत चुका है। मैं विरोधी दल के तथा सत्ता दल के लोगों को भी कहूँगा कि इस समय जो सरकार चल रही है वह महगाई की, बेकारी की, बढ़भ्रमनी की सरकार है, आम जनता के बीच से झूठ बोलने वाली सरकार है, मक्कारी की सरकार है, इसने पूरे मुल्क में जहर फैलाया है और इन जहरीली सरकार को सब मिलकर खत्म करे। नाग पंचमी बीत चुकी है। आज उसके फन कुचलने की कोशिश कीजिएगा और इस अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव को पूरी ताकत के साथ पास कीजियेगा। आत्मा की आवाज के नाम पर पास कीजियेगा। कांग्रेस के सम्मानित सदस्य अपनी आत्मा की आवाज पर चले और इस प्रस्ताव को पास करे। अगर यह प्रस्ताव पास हो जाता है तो यह मुल्क की तकदीर को बदल देगा, मुस्तकबिल को रोशन करेगा और एक नया अध्याय शुरू होगा। इस वास्ते हिम्मत के साथ हमले के साथ, बढ़िया मुल्क बनाने के लिए, तरक्की पमन्द मुल्क बनाने के लिये आप भी योगदान करें। आज करोड़ों गरीब आदमी कराह रहे हैं। करोड़ों आदमी नहाते समय किसी तरह से चोरी से साबुन की टिकिया को खरीद कर यह मोचते हैं कि अपने शरीर के किस हिस्से में साबुन लगाए और किस में न लगाए। यह नौबत आपकी प्रधान मंत्री ने ला दी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इनकी सरकार को इसी क्षण समाप्त कर मुल्क में एक ऐसा दिन लाए कि आम जनता के चेहरे खिल उठें और एक बढ़िया किस्म का समाज अस्तित्व से आए।

रत्ना मंत्री (श्री जगजीवन राव) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय

MR. SPEAKER He may continue after lunch I have just called him and he will resume his speech after lunch. The House stands adjourned for lunch to reassemble at 2 p m

13.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Two Minutes Fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—*contd.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER Now Mr. Jagjivan Ram may continue his speech

रक्षा मंत्री (श्री जगजीवन राम) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अविश्वास-प्रस्ताव विपक्षी दल के हाथ में एक हथियार होता है, इसमें सन्देह की कोई बात नहीं है। लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि सदन के प्रत्येक सत्र में अविश्वास-प्रस्ताव लाना विपक्षी दल ने एक परम्परा बना लिया है, और इसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि अविश्वास-प्रस्ताव का महत्व नष्ट हो चुका है।

मैं मानता हूँ कि इन अविश्वास-प्रस्तावों को लाने से माननीय सदस्य, श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु, को सब से अधिक लाभ हुआ है। वह लाभ यह है कि भिन्न-भिन्न विपक्षी दलों ने जान-बूझ कर, या अनजाने में, श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु को अपना नेता स्वीकार कर लिया है। क्योंकि यह महत्वपूर्ण स्थान उन्हीं को दिया जाता है। इसमें यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि विपक्षी दल के नेताओं ने यह मान लिया है कि जिनकी कारीगरी के साथ अपने उपयुक्त शब्दों का इस्तेमाल वह कर सकते हैं, उतनी दक्षता के साथ शायद और कोई नहीं कर सकता है।

इन अविश्वास प्रस्ताव के मुद्दे क्या हैं? मुद्दे प्रायः बही हैं, जो पिछले अविश्वास-प्रस्ताव के रहे हैं। उसमें थोड़ा इजाफा किया गया है, और वह इजाफा है रेल हड़ताल, और हड़ताल के बाद रेल कर्मचारी जो काम पर आ गए, उस का वर्णन, और नमक-मिर्च मिला कर यह कहना कि रेलवे कर्मचारियों के साथ अन्यायपूर्ण ज्यादातिया आरम्भ हो गई है। इन्हीं पर बहुत अधिक महत्व दिया गया है, दूसरे, जो दो अध्यादेश जारी किये गये हैं, उनका जिक्र किया गया है।

रेलवे कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल, उस से उत्पन्न परिस्थिति, उन के काम पर लौट आने की घटना और उसके बाद की स्थिति के बारे में जो चार्ज लगाये गये थे, उनका अधिकांशपूर्ण तरीके से जवाब दिया जा चुका है। मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ।

लेकिन मैं माननीय सदस्यों के विचार के लिए एक बात जरूर कहना चाहूंगा कि हड़ताल करना श्रमिकों का अधिकार माना जाता है, लेकिन किस समय हड़ताल करनी चाहिए और किस समय नहीं करनी चाहिए, इस बात का भी ध्यान रखा जाता है। यह भी माना जाता है कि कर्मचारी और उन के नेता विवेकपूर्ण ढंग से विचार कर के ही यह निश्चय करेंगे कि हड़ताल करनी है या नहीं। आज तो जागरूक ट्रेड यूनियन्स यह मानने लगी हैं कि उन के किसी रुढ़ि में केवल श्रमिक वर्ग का कल्याण होता है केवल यही नहीं सोचना है, बल्कि यह भी सोचना आवश्यक हो जाता है कि उस कदम में श्रमिक श्रेणी का लाभ होने के साथ साथ कहीं राष्ट्र और समाज को धक्का तो नहीं पहुंचता है। विवेचन के ने का यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय बन गया है। केवल भारत में ही नहीं, सारे विश्व में जहाँ कहीं जागरूक ट्रेड यूनियन्स, मजदूरों के संगठन, है, इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर विचार किये बिना वे कोई कदम नहीं उठाते हैं।

कोई यह दावा नहीं कर सकता है कि रेलवे के जितने कर्मचारी हैं, उन सब का जीवन-स्तर ऐसा है कि उनमें सुधार करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। यह भी कोई दावा नहीं कर सकता है कि रेलवे कर्मचारियों के अतिरिक्त अन्य श्रमिकों के जीवन-स्तर को उठाने की जरूरत नहीं है। लेकिन यह तो विचार करना पड़ेगा कि हम केवल अपने से आगे वाले को ही देखें, या अपने से पीछे वाले को भी देखें। हमारे ट्रेड यूनियन आन्दोलन में एक आप जिस नाम से भी पुकारें प्रवृत्ति आ गई है कि जो जहा है, वह मिर्फ अपने आगे वाले को देख कर कहता है कि उस की बराबरी में आना है, वह पीछे धूम कर नहीं देखता है, कि पीछे वाले को भी मेरी बराबरी में लाना आवश्यक है। अगर पीछे वालों को भी देखने लगे, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत सी कूटायें खत्म हो सकती हैं।

रेलवे कर्मचारियों के जीवन स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने की आवश्यकता है, लेकिन क्या कोई इस तथ्य को भुला सकता है कि देश में ऐसे करोड़ों लोग हैं, जो उत्पादक श्रम में लगे हुए हैं, जिन का महत्व रेलवे कर्मचारियों से किसी तरह भी कम नहीं है, उन का जीवन स्तर रेलवे कर्मचारियों के जीवन-स्तर के बराबर लाना आवश्यक है? हमें इस कटु सत्य का भी बराबर अनुभव करना चाहिए कि राष्ट्र सम्पत्ति की जो वार्षिक अभिवृद्धिया या प्रोद्योग्य हो, अगर उस सबको महत्वपूर्ण और अत्यावश्यक स्थानों पर लगे हुए श्रमिकों के, जो अपनी भागों को मनवाने के लिए मजबूर कर सकते हैं, बेतन या महंगाई भत्ते में वृद्धि कर के खत्म कर दें, तो फिर देश के उन करोड़ों लोगों को कैसे ऊंचा उठाया जा सकता है, जिन का जीवन स्तर उन से भी नीचा है। मैं मानता हूँ कि प्रबुद्ध ट्रेड यूनियन्स के सभी नेता चाहें वे किसी भी दल के हों, इस बात को समझते होंगे, मैं मानता हूँ कि सबन में बैठे हुए जितने भी दलों के नेता हैं, उन सब के दिलों में देश को उन्नत करने की

भावना है। मैं उम्में सन्देह नहीं करता हूँ— उम्में सन्देह करने की गुंजाइश भी नहीं है और सन्देह करना उचित भी नहीं है।

अगर माननीय सदस्य इस दृष्टि से विचार करेंगे, तो उन को मानना पड़ेगा कि वह मजबूत समय नहीं था कि जब रेलवे की हड़ताल की जानी। और इसलिए यह आवश्यक था कि रेलवे की जो हड़ताल हुई, देशवासी यह समझें कि वह एक नामुनामिव स्तर नामाकल कदम था, ऐसा कदम था, जिस को किसी तरह से प्रोत्साहित करना राष्ट्रीय हित में नहीं था। खुशी इस बात की है कि देश ने यही किया। देश ने यह साबित किया कि गरीबों के प्रति हमदर्दी है, काम करने वालों के प्रति हमदर्दी है, लेकिन राष्ट्र जिस वक्त सकट की स्थिति में से गुजर रहा है, उस हमदर्दी का दुस्पयाग करके उम्में और सकट में डालने का प्रयत्न कभी क्षम्य नहीं हो सकता है।

महंगाई का जिक्र विय गया। इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती हैं कि महंगाई है लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या रेलवे की हड़ताल इस महंगाई को कम करने वाला कदम था, या इस महंगाई को बढ़ाने वाला कदम था। क्या इस तथ्य से कोई मुकर सकता है कि जब कभी किसी क्षेत्र में काम करने वालों की हड़ताल होती है, तो सब से पहले वह दूसरे क्षेत्र के गरीब मजदूरों को ही परेशान करने का कारण बनती है? इस तथ्य में कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। किसी क्षेत्र को आप ले लीजिए। हड़ताल का असर सब से पहले आर्थिक दृष्टि से निम्न श्रेणी के लोगों पर पड़ा करता है। रेलवे हड़ताल का भी असर हमारे देश के अल्प क्षेत्रों में, उद्योग व्यापार और कृषि में, लगे हुए निम्न आयवर्गीय वाले लोगों पर गहरा पड़ा है। क्या यह मुनामिव नहीं था कि जिन लोगों ने रेलवे हड़ताल करानी चाही, वे रेलवे कर्मचारियों को बताते कि सरकार, या समाज के उच्च वर्ग के लोग, तो पीछे परेशान होंगे, सबसे पहले

[श्री जगजीवन राम]

उस के अपने वर्ग के निम्न श्रेणी के—
लोगों को परेशान होना पड़ेगा ?

इस तथ्य को समझना बहुत आवश्यक है और इसी लिये मैं ने कहा कि महगाई है लेकिन क्या नेताओं ने यह विचार किया कि जो कदम रेलवे के कर्मचारियों के द्वारा उठाया जा रहा है वह इस महगाई को कम करने वाला नहीं होगा, इस महगाई को बढ़ाने वाला होगा? क्या यह तथ्य मालूम नहीं था लोगों को? इस के लिए क्या अर्थ-शास्त्र के अध्ययन की आवश्यकता थी कि जहा पर कुछ कमियाँ हैं वे कमियाँ और बढ़ेगी? क्या राष्ट्रीय चेतना वाला कोई भी आदमी यह सोच सकता था क्या, राष्ट्रीय चेतना वाला कोई आदमी इस में हस्तक्षेप करने की बात सोच सकता था कि जहा पर अभाव है, लोग परेशान हैं वहा पर ऐसे कदम उठाए जाय कि उस अभाव को और बढ़ा दिया जाय? मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई समझदार आदमी इस बात को वबूल नहीं करेगा? ऐसा कदम इस मौके पर उठाना एक नामाकूल कदम था और राष्ट्र के हित में नहीं था।

अध्यादेशों के बारे में जिक्र किया गया, मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि अतिरिजन कर के उन की सारी खराबियाँ ही पेश की गई हैं। यह तजुबों की बात है और इस सदन के माननीय सदस्यों ने कितनी दफा दोहराया है कि महगाई के भत्ते के मिलने की चर्चा अब होती है तो कर्मचारियों की जब में पैसा पहुँचे या न पहुँचे दुकान के दाम बढ जाते ह। क्या यह तरीका आवश्यक नहीं था कि कोई एक कदम ऐसा उठाया जाय कि उस परिस्थिति का आंशिक रूप से भी हम मुकाबिला कर सकें? मैं नहीं कहता कि सम्पूर्ण रूप से उस का मुकाबिला किया जा सकता है, लेकिन इस सदन में यह तो मानना पड़ेगा कि आंशिक रूप से उस का मुकाबिला किया जा सकता है और अगर आंशिक रूप से मुकाबिला किया जा सकता है तो क्या

कोई अपने हृदय पर हाथ रख कर वह स्वीकार करेगा कि इस आर्जिनेंस के लिए बराबर यही कहना उपयुक्त था कि यह आवश्यक नहीं था? आवश्यक था। (ब्यबधान) वह तो काला चम्मा जिस का होता है उस को काला ही नजर आता है।

श्री रामाचतार झास्त्री (पटना) :
आप का भी काला ही चम्मा है।

श्री जगजीवन राम मैं अपनी नजर से देखता हूँ, आप की नजर से तो देखा नहीं करता हूँ।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि आखिर यह जो कहा जाता है कि बेज फ्रीज हो गया, आखिर बर्फ कत्रा नजर आई? फ्रीज हुआ कहा? फ्रीज तो उस को कहते हैं जब हम नहीं दे। हम ने यह कर दिया। उन को जो न्यायसगत मिलना चाहिए वह मिले। हमने नहीं कहा कि नहीं दिया जाय हम ने कहा कि उस पर उन का बिल्कुल अधिकार होगा। सिर्फ प्रतिबन्धित तो यही किया जैसा कि आप बराबर कहते थे और जैसा आज तक का अनुभव है कि जब में पैसा पहुँचने के पहले ही मोदी की दुकान का दाम बढ जाता है तो कम से कम यह उपाय किया जाए कि आंशिक रूप से वह दाम नहीं बढे और आप बराबर यह कहते हैं कि बढते हुए दामों को कँद करना बहुत आवश्यक है। इस को मैं भी मानता हूँ। जितनी दूर तक सख्त हो सकेगे नहीं कहा जा सकता। लेकिन प्रयत्न आप का और हमारा चलता रहा तो कोई शक नहीं कि हम और आप सख्त हो सकेगे, बढते हुए दामों को रोकने में। यह एक कदम लाया गया। इस को माडेस्ट कदम कहें, साधारण कदम कहे, पर उस दिशा में यह एक कदम है। इसलिए यह कहना कि बेज फ्रीज है बिल्कुल आनन्तपूर्ण है और आभयक है। आंशिक श्रेणी को अन्न में डालने वाला है और मैं यह दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि

हमारे देश का श्रमिक राष्ट्र हित को सामने रखता है। उस को जब यह विवरण के साथ बताया जाएगा कि हम कदम से मिर्क तुम्हारा ही भला नहीं है, इस राष्ट्र का भी कल्याण होने वाला है तो मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश की श्रमिक श्रेणी इस बात को स्वीकार करेगी। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम उस के सामने अपनी समस्या माफ नाफ रखें और जो कदम उठाया है उस को भी रखें तो मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि वह इस का स्वागत करेगा।

बाकी बहुत सी बिली पिट्टी पुरानी बातें कही गई हैं और उन बातों का बिना विचार के बहुत बार दिया जा चुका है। उनका बार बार उत्तर देना मदन के ममथ को बरबाद करना है।

श्री बीनेन भट्टाचार्य (मीरमपुर)। आप हृदय से इस का समर्थन करते हैं ?

श्री ज. जोबन राम। श्री बातों का जो सदर्थ में या गैर सदर्थ में कही जायें जवाब देना अकलमन्दी नहीं हानी और भागीय सभ्रति में तो कहा गया है कि बिना सदर्थ के जा बोला करता है उस की श्रमी अकलमन्दी में कमी नहीं रहती। लेकिन कुछ सदस्या क, यही परम्परा है उन के मस्तिष्क के विकास को यही मतह ना उममें मैं कहा परिवर्तन कर सकता हूँ।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि उन बातों का उत्तर देना आवश्यक नहीं है। देश के लोग जानते हैं, सब को मालूम है और इसलिए चाहे ज्योतिर्मय बसु की बातें हो या अन्य बातें हो उन का जवाब जिस क्षेत्र से आना चाहिए दिया जा चुका है।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने जो बातें उठाई थी, आर्चिबेन्स के बारे में बहगार्ड के बारे में उन का जवाब श्री बिन्त मदी ने मानक तरीके से दिया है। मैं उन बातों को दोहराना नहीं

चाहता। लेकिन यह कहा जा सकता है कि उन बातों से सतोष नहीं हुआ। तो कुछ सदस्य तो ऐसे भी हैं कि उनको जब तक उनके मन की बातें न कही जायें तब तक सतोष नहीं हो सकता। अच्छा यही होता कि जो बातें बुद्धिमत् हैं तर्कमत् हैं उन्हीं को कहा जाय। जो बातें किसी के मन को प्रसन्न करने वाली हो उन का करना उचित नहीं है। इमीलिए बुद्धिमत् बातें कही जा रही हैं चहा तक उन को पहुँचना होगा पहुँच जायेंगे। अगर नहीं पहुँचना होगा तो नहीं पहुँचेगी। हा, मैं यह आप से अप्रहृष्टपूर्ण निवेदन जरूर करूँगा, हम म दो राय नहीं हैं कि देश एक नाजुक आर्थिक सवत से गुजर रहा है। हम में कोई दो राय नहीं हैं और ऐसे माँके पर भी जो हवी और मखौल की बात सोच सकता है उममें लगता है कि स्थिति की गंभीरता का समझने की क्षमता उनमें है या नहीं (व्यवधान) बौखलाहट से यह मालूम हो जाता है कि बात जहा तक पहुँचनी चाहिए ठीक जगह पर पहुँच गई। मैं आप से यही कह रहा था और मैं आप से अप्रहृष्टपूर्ण अनुरोध करूँगा, आप की देशभक्ति क, भावना को अनुरोध करूँगा, आप के हृदय में जो हिन्दुस्तान के कोटि काटि सर्वहारा के लिए प्रदर्शित किया जाने वाला प्रेम है उस के नाम पर अप्रहृष्ट करूँगा कि क्या यह समय है कि कुछ बातों को तथ्य के रूप में नहा, लाछन के रूप में पेश किया जाय ? अगर सचमुच में हम चाहते हैं कि सही तरीके से समस्या का समाधान करना है तो जहा आप समझते हैं कि यहा पर खामिया और खराबिया हैं क्या आप के लिए उचित था कि उस को आप लाछन के रूप में लाते ? वह इसलिए लाए हैं कि आप की प्रवृत्ति वही हो गई है। आप उस का लाछन के रूप में इसलिए लाए हैं कि आप यही खोजते चलते हैं कि कब कैसे किस की प्रतिभा को नष्ट किया जाय। मैं आप से कहना चाहूँगा कि अगर आप सचमुच में चाहते हैं कि देश की स्थिति को सुधारना है

[श्री जगजीवन राम]

तो इस मनोवृत्ति को थोड़े समय के लिए तो छोड़िये। थोड़े समय के लिये तो इस को तथ्य के रूप में लाइए कि गवर्नमेंट को इस पर विचार करना है। लाइन के रूप में मत लाइए।

यह मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो समाज में रहता है, सामाजिक जीवन में काम करता है उस के बारे में लाइन खोजना बहुत कठिन नहीं है। यह कोई अन्वेषण का काम नहीं है। फर्क यह पड़ता है कि जो ऐसे लोग आते हैं यदि उन की तरीफ करनेवाला कोई नहीं मिलता है तो वे अपनी तारीफ अपने आप करते लगते हैं, अपनी गरिमा, अपने महत्व, अपने विजय का का गुणगान स्वयं करने हैं। हमारी परम्परा में इस को उच्चकोटि की बात नहीं माना जाता। रामायण में तुलसी दास जी ने दो चरित्र रखे हैं—रावण और राम। उनकी लड़ाई होने वाली थी। रावण की तारीफ करनेवाला कोई नहीं मिला, तब वह अपनी कारगुजारी खुद ही बयान करने लगा—मैंने उस को हराया, उस को परास्त किया और चुनौती देता हूँ कि उस को भी परास्त करूँगा। इस तरह की चर्चा के लिये हमारे देश में बहुत आदर कभी नहीं रहा है और मैं मानता हूँ कि वर्तमान में भी नहीं है और भविष्य में भी नहीं रहेगा।

एक बात को मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ—अध्याचार की बात कही गई, बढती हुई महंगाई की बात कही गई है। जहाँ सामाजिक रोग के रूप में कुछ बुराईयाँ हमारे समाज के अन्दर घुस गई हैं वहाँ हमारा दृष्टिकोण यह होना चाहिए कि हम मिलकर विचार करे कि हम उन का निवारण कैसे कर सकते हैं, कैसे उनका उन्मूलन कर सकते हैं, यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि उन का जिक्र या उपयोग राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने के लिए करे या अन्वय—सगत तरीके से कुछ लोगों पर लाइन लगा कर राजनीतिक लाभ उठावे। यह कोई मुनासिब बात नहीं होती और मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि यह

पालियामेन्टी डेमोक्रेसी के नामों के नीचे उतर जाने वाली बात है। पालियामेन्टी डेमोक्रेसी के नामों की महत्त में नीचे उतर कर आक्रमण करना विरोधी दल के लोगों के लिये, मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ, कोई गरिमा प्रदान करने वाली बात नहीं है।

एक बात और कह देना चाहता हूँ—बिहार में जो कुछ हो रहा है उस के बारे में मैं विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता। उम सम्बन्ध में इदिग विप्रेड की चर्चा की गई है, लेकिन यहाँ पर भी सब तथ्य सामने नहीं रखे गये, किस तरह में कानिभ पीनी जा सकती है, बस वही लक्ष्य सामने रखा गया है। मैं मानता हूँ जिस सदस्य ने इस का जिक्र किया, उन को इतनी जानकारी भी होगी कि जिन लोगों ने यह काम किया था, उन के ऊपर कानूनी कार्यवाही शुरू हो गई है।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र (बेगुमराय) अब शुरू हुई है।

श्री जगजीवन राम: तुरन्त शुरू हुई थी।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र अभी कार्यवाही हुई है।

श्री जगजीवन राम: बाबू श्यामनन्दन मिश्र उस के पूरक हो कर रहे हैं। उन सदस्य महोदय ने यह नहीं कहा था कि अब कार्यवाही हो गई है। उन्होंने तो इस तरह में कहा था जैसे कुछ किया ही नहीं गया है . (अवधान) . .

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र आप के साथ चारा ही क्या था (अवधान) . . .

श्री जगजीवन राम मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ—बहुत जोर-शोर से बोलने से वह बोली सत्य नहीं हो जाया करनी . . .

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (इलाहाबाद) आप की बोली चलती रहे और हम बिल्लायें भी नहीं।

श्री जगजीवन राम : चित्लाहट में सत्य होता है, तभी सुनाई पड़ता है, बेकार की चित्लाहट सुनाई नहीं पड़ती।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि उन सदस्य महोदय ने जब इस का जिक्र किया था तो उन को यह भी जिक्र करना चाहिये था कि सरकारी तरीके से उन पर कार्यवाही हो रही है। वह यह कह सकते थे कि देर से हुई—तब मैं उस का जवाब देता। उन को यह भी कहना चाहिये था कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने ही उस में कदम उठाया है, उसी वक्त उठाया है, श्याम नन्दन बाबू इस में यह नहीं कह सकते कि कदम नहीं उठाया गया।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : आप के सामने और चारा ही क्या था। अगर नहीं करते तो दुनिया के सामने क्या चीज रखते।

श्री जगजीवन राम : जो कुछ करें उन को दिखाने के लिये करें, तब कहेंगे कि किया है, वरना कह देंगे कि फेल कर गये। श्यामनन्दन बाबू, गरम और ठण्डे को एक ही फूंक से नहीं फंक सकते। इस बात को आप क्यों नहीं भूल जाते हैं।

हमारे देश की यह परम्परा रही है कि जिस की प्रतिष्ठा और गरिमा बढ़ती है, चाहे वह व्यक्ति हो या संस्था हो, उस के नाम पर बहुत सी चीजें जोड़ी जाती हैं—इस को कैसे भुला सकते हैं। अगर इंदिरा गांधी की प्रतिष्ठा इस देश में बढ़ी है तो इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि उसी परम्परा के अनुकूल बहुत सी चीजों का नाम इंदिरा गांधी के साथ जोड़ कर प्रारम्भ किया जाता है—इस को कैसे भुला सकते हैं। लेकिन कोई भी समझदार आदमी यह नहीं मानेगा कि उन सभी चीजों में इंदिरा गांधी की सहमति है। यदि ऐसा कोई मान लेता है तो मैं यहाँ कहूँगा कि उस की बुद्धि बहुत अंध में सोचने की क्षमता नहीं रखती है। इंदिरा गांधी के नाम पर बहुत सी चीजें शुरू हुईं, महात्मा गांधी के नाम पर बहुत सी चीजें शुरू हुईं,

जवाहर लाल के नाम पर बहुत सी चीजें शुरू हुईं, रुई से लेकर बहुत बड़ी बड़ी बातें कही गईं—सब के साथ ऐसा हुआ

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : यह आप की इकबाल-बुलन्दी की निशानी है। एन्टी-सोशल गैंग्स का नाम भी इन्दिरा गांधी त्रिगेड रख दीजिये।

. (व्यवधान) पावर की छत पर खड़े हो कर कुत्ते भी बुलन्द होते हैं, पावर की छत पर खड़े हो कर बातें न कीजिये।

श्री जगजीवन राम : एक बात, उपाध्यक्ष जी, और कहना चाहता हूँ। वही पुरानी घिसी-पिटी बात कही जाती है कि इस जगह को खाली करो। कोई बैठने वाला माकूल नजर आये तो खाली करने की सोचें . . . (व्यवधान) लेकिन यहाँ तो कोई दिखाई नहीं पड़ता। देश की कोटि-कोटि जनता को एक सशक्त शासन की आवश्यकता है और इस में—मैं किसी संकोच के साथ नहीं कहता हूँ—सिवाय मेरे दल के इस देश को कोई सशक्त शासन नहीं दे सकता। जो लोग गरीबों के नाम पर यहाँ बोलने की लिये आते हैं उन को मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ—जरा, अपनी खोपड़ी खुजला कर देखें—हिन्दुस्तान के सर्वहारा गरीबों ने तुम्हारा समर्थन किया है या हमारा समर्थन किया है। प्रत्यक्ष के लिये प्रमाण की जरूरत क्या है, यह प्रत्यक्ष आप के सामने है

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : बाहर आकर देखिये (व्यवधान)

श्री जगजीवन राम : हर 5 वर्ष के बाद बाहर देख कर आते हैं, फिर भी आप वहीं के वहीं रह जाते हैं (व्यवधान) इस लिये मैंने कहा है कि इन सब पुरानी बातों का, जिन का जवाब इतनी बार यहाँ दिया जा चुका है, अब फेर जवाब देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ—हर सत्र में अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव ला

[श्री जगजीवनराम]

कर ये लोग अपने इस झूठ को इतना सस्ता क्यों बना रहे हैं....

श्री जगजीवनराम : आप को प्रधान मंत्री बनाया जायगा... (व्यवधान)... प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में वी. दी. जिये, आप को प्रधान मंत्री बनाया जायगा.... (व्यवधान)...

श्री जगजीवनराम : यह सीधा धर्मनैतिक (गणित) इन को कौन समझावे। हिन्दुस्तान के सर्वहारा का समर्थन लेकर 300 का यह आजादा अधिक है या एक टिटहरी का आजादा। यह एक माध्यामिक गणित का प्रश्न है, हम को भी ये लोग नहीं समझ सकते। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, तब तो एक नया गणित ईजाद करने की जरूरत होगी कि 300 के मुकाबले एक अधिक होता है, 300 कम होता है।... (व्यवधान)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ—मैं सदन में विरोधी दलों के सभी सदस्यों से कहना चाहता हूँ—ऐसा कोई तर्क नहीं दिया गया है जिस का प्रत्युत्तर देने की आवश्यकता समझी जाय। देश के लोगों के सामने ये मारी चीज है और जब-जब चुनाव का मौका आता है, तब तब ये लोग मनसूबे बना कर चलते हैं—कोई चार पार्टियों की चौकड़ी बनती है, कहीं सात की सतघड़ी कायम होती है, सब के दिमाग में यही होता है कि आज मुल्क के लोग बड़े परेशान हैं इसलिये कांग्रेस को चित्त कर दिया जाय, लेकिन जब जनता के पास जाते हैं तो फिर मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ—हिन्दुस्तान की जनता निरक्षर हो सकती है, लेकिन वह निर्बोध नहीं होती है। उस का हिमायती कौन है, उसका सहायक कौन है, उस के साथ सबेदना और सहानुभूति कौन रखता है, इन चीजों को हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पहचानती है। और जब मौके आये हैं तो उस ने सिद्ध किया है। इसलिये मैं आप से फिर अनुरोध करता हूँ।

श्री जगजीवनराम : आप हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को धोखा दे रहे हैं...

श्री जगजीवनराम : जो धोखा ही सीखा है वह कल्पना क्या कर सकता है। इसलिये मैं फिर उस अनुरोध को दोहराना चाहता हूँ आप जनता का हित चाहते हैं, और माने या न माने, कांग्रेस ने भारत की जनता को सब से पहले धोखा दे दी है, इस ऐतिहासिक तथ्य को आप कैसे छुपा सकते हैं। और कांग्रेस के बारे में यह सोचना कि वह कांग्रेस भारत के सर्वहारा का विरोध कर सकती है, ऐतिहासिक तथ्य पर परदा डालना है। इसलिये मैं आप से अनुरोध करूँगा, मैं आप और हम उन का हित चाहते हैं, इसलिये एक दूसरे पर आरोप करने वाली बात छोड़ करके आप सही दिल से यह तो बताइये कि इस समस्या का मिलजुल कर कैसे समाधान कर सकते हैं। मैं उस का स्वागत करूँगा, प्रधान मंत्री स्वागत करेगी। लेकिन लालच और धोखा लगा कर कोई लाभ उठा सके तो आप भारी भ्रम में हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को गुमराह नहीं किया जा सकता। मुझे इस में संदेह नहीं है कि इस धोखा के प्रस्ताव को वही पर पहचान दिया जायगा जहाँ इस का उपयुक्त स्थान है।

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is a sad state of affairs moving a no-confidence motion against the Government. But unfortunately it becomes inevitable. It is not the pleasure of the Opposition to bring no-confidence motion often and often against the Government of the day. But after hearing the speech of Babuji who is now leaving the House after creating confusion, I could guess and I could understand that he is allergic to no-confidence motion. But no-confidence motion is the only way through which the Opposition can discuss about the lapses of the Government, we can discuss about the utter

lack of imagination on the part of the Government and the wrong handling of policies by Government and the like.

I am quite sure, and I am quite aware of the fate of the no-confidence motion that has been tabled by my friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu. This motion is going to be defeated outright with a thumping majority. I know that. You have got enough majority and you can do it. But what I say is that it is the duty of the Government, it is the duty of the Treasury Benches to understand the depth of the feelings of the people belonging to the Opposition while they bring in certain facts which are basic and burning.

I have listened, for the past two days, to the speeches made from both sides from the Congress side as well as from the Opposition side. The salient points which I could gather from those speeches are these, each and every speech whether he is Congressman, bogus or genuine whether he is an Opposition member, strong or otherwise....

SHRI R. S. PANDEY (Rajnandgaon): Bogus or otherwise:

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: The points raised by these are: (1) this country is heading towards a galloping inflation or suffering from a galloping inflation; to borrow the expression of our friend, Shri Y. B. Chavan it is a run-away inflation, like that Spiralling prices Then acute unemployment and then griding taxation and then mounting tension and then the scandalous collapse of the law and order situation and according to the Prime Minister and according to everybody, a grave situation is facing the country. These are all situations accepted by both the Congress Members as well as the Opposition. But, after having accepted all these lapses of omissions and commissions on the part of the Government, not even a single Congress Member comes out and says that this is the fault of the Government, this is the failure of the Government

and nobody is prepared to say that and everybody accepts the faults committed by the Government. So this is our duty, our main duty, to bring to the notice of the Government that these are the commissions and omissions that you have committed and so it is high time for you to come forward to find out a suitable remedy; otherwise, the country will go to dogs.

Babuji was speaking something regarding the railway strike. Much has been said about it. I do not like to dilate on the subject excepting to say one thing that the entire machinery of the Government of India has been geared up to crush the trade union movement of this country and for which, I am very sorry to say the Prime Minister was an inspiration and what I expected was that the Prime Minister must come forward and find out a suitable solution because she, being a motherlike and the workers, being children-like that equation there must be and had she handled the matter, the things would have been different. But, unfortunately.. (Interruptions) Please listen to me...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Manoharan, if you have Kachhativu in mind you have only six minutes.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: For your information, I can get some time from the Prime Minister. You do not know.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, please.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: This is not an order. I think she will donate.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, please. Unless the Congress Party informs me that they have given you so much of their time, you have only six minutes more.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: That I will let you know through them,

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am only pointing out to you your time limit.

SHRI K MANOHARN: We are wasting our time. Let me proceed with my speech.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER I am just bringing to your attention. It is the Chair that determines the time

SHRI K. MANOHARAN. You are again talking. Let me proceed.

Now, of course, my point is this: while we attack the Government, the Government must understand who are the people who created the conditions wherein all these strikes, all these agitations and demonstrations have become inevitable. My deliberate charge is that the Congress Party is the main party which created all these unpleasant conditions which warranted all these strikes and demonstrations. I hope nobody can dispute that point.

Now, in order to support my point, I want to quote some excerpts from a very good friend of mine who is enjoying the highest position in the Cabinet:

"The benefits of the huge Government investments in the farm sector had primarily gone to a handful of big farmers who took maximum advantage of the modern agricultural methods.

It was unfortunate that a section of the Congressmen was pleading the case of the big farmers

We may lose the election but we should be able to pull the country out of the present grave economic crisis.

The electricity, irrigation and land development charges must be revised upward....."

Then he said:

"The biggest failure of the country had been on the farm front mainly because the prosperity ushered in this sector was limited to the few

and not shared by millions of small farmers."

Then he said:

'The Congress Party's performance in the farm sector was poor. All that the small farmer got from the party was slogans. Land reforms had remained only on paper. The land distribution programme had not been implemented and the Congress Party had failed to provide resources to the small farmers. Even traders were members of village co-operatives"

This has been said by no other person than our Planning Minister, Mr. D P Dhar. And he spoke his conscience and spoke facts and he understands problems and he expresses them openly. I want such kind of people-not hypocritical kind of people who say one thing here and speak something elsewhere. Now, I have heard what Babuji spoke about. He is the Defence Minister of the country. Under him of course there are three wings of the country's defence forces, he controls to a certain extent the army navy and the air force. Here is the Prime Minister and he has got the Police Force, the CBI, the Vigilance and everything. I have read the speech of Mr. Jagjivan Ram in which he said and I quote:

"Mr Jagjivan Ram asked the people to help the authorities in catching those who indulged in hoarding and blackmarketing. It was not beyond the capacity of the people to locate the offenders. Unfortunately anti-social elements in India were enjoying great social respectability. A rich man automatically went up in the public esteem even if his wealth is ill-gotten. He regretted that those who produced wealth in India were worse off economically and socially."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have exceeded your time by more than four minutes.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is concluding....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I drew his attention and he said, he will get the time from the Prime Minister, the Prime Minister will give him time.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I am asking you, Sir. Can I take ten minutes?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I don't want this. Just a minute please. I don't want that any fun would be made about this House.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: There is no question of fun, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Take your seat please. I am on my legs. It is the duty of the Chair to determine the time. When I drew his attention to the limitation of time....

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: I ask the Chair, Sir . .

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is not right for him to talk in this manner and make disparaging remarks that from somebody else he will get the time. This is not the way to run the House. I can consider your difficulty it is difficult for you to make your point in six minutes. I am here to help you ..

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Please help me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: you should talk respectfully and not in this manner.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Thank you. As I said ..

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): You spoiled your case by referring to the Prime Minister.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): You won't get anything out of the Prime Minister any more, not even time.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Let me come to the point which I was making. He said about hoarders, blackmarketers and anti-social elements. This is the first time that the Defence Minister of the country had come forward to send S.O.S. to the people of the country to catch the anti-social elements in the country. I am very sorry to say, this is how the Government is run the country is being governed, by the so-called leaders of the Congress Party.

Much has been said about black money. Black money, according to Wanchoo Committee Report, runs into crores of rupees. I quote:—

"The Committee reported that in one single year (1968-69) tax was evaded on an income of Rs. 1400 crores. There is no gain saying that the volume of yearly black money generation has gone up since then."

"The Committee said in its final report submitted at the end of 1971 that many of newly rich who enjoy material prosperity and social prestige, owe their existence really to anti-social activities"

"Black money is like a cancer growth in the countries economy which, if not checked in time, is sure to lead to its ruination."

I want to ask the Government whether Wanchoo Committee has recommended to them demonetise hundred rupee currency notes. Yesterday, Mr Chavan was telling that it is very difficult; we are not going to accept the suggestion of the Wanchoo Committee on that particular matter for which I want to draw the attention of Shri Y. B. Chavan. He said that these ordinance which we have promulgated have nothing to do with black money. We have not devised any mechanism by which we can check the black money. Here is an

[Shri K Manoharam]

editorial written in Hindi which I quote

"Moreover, black money is not necessarily under roofs of warehouses. It is in people's pockets and in constant circulation in hundreds of hands too much talking by Government spokesmen and at the party level, and for too long, has robbed demonetisation of the surprise element that is essential for its success. The success may have been a limited one, but that is not an argument against it, any more than that the two ordinances immobilise only Rs 500 crores is an argument against them. If he rules out demonetisation there does not seem to be much room left for Mr Chavan to tackle this problem by way of 'other methods'."

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER Instead of six minutes you have taken 15 minutes I can give you three more minutes. And then I shall have to absolutely shut you up.

SHRI K MANOHARAN I want only two minutes. This is how Mr Chavan is telling that he can use some methods to tackle the black money. That means raiding the houses of some business magnates and raiding the houses of some top industrialists. For that he must have the co-operation of all the State Governments. I am sorry to tell you that Shri Chavan will never win in this battle because black money is an obliquitous and Godlike thing. It is everywhere and almost all the Ministers are corrupt and the corrupt State Ministries will never help Mr Chavan in tackling this problem of black money. I include DMK, in this.

Lastly, let me come to this point regarding Kachchathivu. Much has been said by my friend Shri Viswanathan yesterday. Kachchathivu has been handed over to Sri Lanka Government by our Prime Minister without the consultation of the Chief Minister. Suspicion has already been

created and Shri Karunamdhani has been telling the people of Tamil Nadu about this island. And when pressmen asked the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Shri Karunamdhani for his reaction to the agreement on Kachchathivu, he said that he would prefer to wait and after the details had been announced, he said that the Foreign Secretary, Mr Kewal Singh had met him last week during his visit to Madras and appraised him of the situation. Shri Kewal Singh told him that a favourable condition existed for an agreement. This is what Shri Karunamdhani said on 27th June, 1974. But he said the next day that the State was not consulted. He further said that the Chief Minister of the State was not at all consulted. He said that he met Shri Kewal Singh and had a detailed discussion with him regarding Kachchathivu. Then he said he was not consulted at all. I want to know from the Prime Minister categorically whether the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu was consulted or not and in the process of consultation, whether he has given his consent to barter away this island—Kachchathivu—to Sri Lanka Government. This is a point which is agitating the minds of the people in the whole country. Mr. Gandhi has said very easily that it is a barren rock. It is not a part of Tamil Nadu only but as a true citizen of this country with its 56 crores of people I think that it is a part and parcel of India. And that part has been bartered away by the Government of the day by simply saying that it is a barren rock. I want to ask of her one question. She has said that it is a barren rock, a hilly region or an uninhabited region and so on. As my hon. friend Shri Viswanathan has stated there is another possibility. I would like to know whether to create neighbourliness and friendliness she is prepared to give Kashmir straightaway to the Government of Pakistan; in order to create a very friendly atmosphere, is she prepared to do that?

SHRI C M STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha). Wonderful question . . .

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): And take Kachchathivu back?

SHRI K. MANOHARAN: Each and every time in every negotiation we are losing. That is my point. (Interruptions). Since I am constantly being disturbed. I do not want to prolong my speech any further.

So far as these two ordinances are concerned, I shall say this and then I would have done. The Government of India have become already one of the notorious manufacturing centres of ordinances. For anything and everything, they report to ordinances. According to me, these ordinance pull down not only the prestige of Parliament but the prestige of the country. Our Parliamentary democracy has been reduced to a mockery. I would request the Prime Minister not to resort her after to these obnoxious and abominable methods for solving certain issues because these are very convenient to them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, Shri D. C. Goswami.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Bara-mulla): May I take just half a minute?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This is not the way. I have called Shri D. C. Goswami.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI (Gauhati): As I was listening to the speeches of some of my learned friends from the Opposition yesterday, I was reminded of the story of the frog and the bull. Having seen the vitality and the strength of the bull, the frog thought that it could also acquire the same vitality and strength. So, the frog started puffing and puffing and the moment it, thought that it had acquired the strength and vitality of the bull, it burst and died. My learned friend from the Opposition who has much less stature than even that of the frog as compared with those of Panditji and Shastriji whose names he took, I am sure, is

now on the point of bursting as his party has already burst.

Many allegations have been made by him. But when he makes these allegations and tells us that we should keep our house in order, may I remind him that he should first keep his house in order before he asks us to do so.

About the party to which he belongs, a report from *The Times of India* says today:

"Mr. Zainul Bashar, one of the general secretaries of the State BKD and member of the national executive, who returned here today from Delhi, charged Mr. Charan Singh with charged Mr. Charan party at the instigation of foreign powers... Mysterious people, Mr. Zainul Bashur said, had been meeting Mr. Charan Singh in Delhi and Lucknow and holding secret parleys."

So, before he makes any allegations, I would ask him to put his own house in order.

Mr Pилоo Mody accused Government yesterday and said that this Government had done violence to truth. If anybody has done violence to truth in this country today, it is the Members of the Opposition, and particularly in this no-confidence motion, because throughout their speeches, they have made unsubstantiated and uncorroborated and baseless allegations.

It is really unfortunate that Shri Mody also cast an indirect reflection on the candidate whom we have chosen for the Presidentships of this country. Let me say with all the emphasis at my command that we are proud of the person whom we have selected. If service to this country, dedication to this country and the principles for which this country has stood like secularism be any guide, the candidate whom we have chosen will be second to none in this country and we all stand in complete support of him.

[Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami]

Five points have been raised by members of the Opposition in support of their no-confidence motion. They say there have been runaway prices, prices are rising every day, that the Government in this economic distress is freezing wages, that the Government is running the country by ordinances, that there has been victimisation of railway employees and lastly that there has been police repression. I will come to these one by one.

Who denies that there has undoubtedly been an inflationary tendency in this country and that the prices are rising? We on this side of the House who have travelled round our constituencies and met people and have seen the miseries of the people know how they have suffered. The members of the Opposition have not tried to develop one point, namely, the courage, the conviction and the fortitude with which the people of the country are trying to improve their own position in spite of the efforts by them to create instability throughout the country.

As I was listening to the speech of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, I could sense a feeling of morbid pleasure in him that the prices are rising because it gives him a handle to attack us. We are more concerned with every price rise because it means a step away from the pledge that we have made to the people. We are more, not less, concerned than the Opposition, with every price rise and we have brought it to the notice of the Government that all efforts should be made to contain the price and stabilise them if possible at the existing level. I would have supported the no-confidence motion if I were convinced that the Government was oblivious of this fact and is not taking steps to contain prices, but I have no hesitation in my mind that the Government is fully conscious of this phenomenon and all efforts are being made today to contain it.

Let me recapitulate some of the steps that have been taken. My friends of the Opposition have said that deficit financing has increased and that the Reserve Bank is playing hell with the economy. But we know that the Reserve Bank has restricted the expansion of credit to the non-priority sector. We know that between June and September 1973, the commercial banks' cash reserve ratio has been increased from 3 to 7 per cent resulting in blocking of bank deposits to the extent of about Rs. 400 crores. We also know that the statutory liquidity ratio of the banks has increased from 30 to 32 per cent since 8-12-1973. Government has curtailed non-developmental expenditure drastically with an estimated saving of about Rs. 370 crores and reduction of deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 319 crores.

Much has been said about the ordinances. We have seen that with each increase of DA there has been a price rise. I want to place before the House certain statistics as to what will be the quantum of DA we shall have to give to the employees in the State sector, the public sector and in the private sector. This year government employees in the central sector shall have to be given DA to the tune of Rs. 180 crores. As regards the State Government employees, in line with what is given at the Central sector, the employees have to be given an aggregate of Rs. 300 crores. In the public sector undertakings, the corresponding figure is Rs. 95 crores. In the private sector, where the number of employees is 6 million compared to 12 million in the State and public sector and local bodies, they have to be given to the tune of Rs. 287 crores. That means in this year alone, in the Government sector, public sector and private sector all combined, they shall have to be given Rs. 865 crores which will increase to Rs. 1200 crores in the next year. If we pump into the economy, another dose of dearness allowance of more than Rs. 2,000 crores. you can very well imagine the condition of the economy.

But in order to see that no illusory benefit is given, the ordinances have been brought. I submit that the ordinance is not a wage freeze; it is immobilisation of the additional income to make illusory benefits real—not only to the wage-earner but also the vast majority of non-wage-earners who are not employed in the organised sector, who form the bulk of the community. Therefore, the objections of my hon. friend to the ordinances have no meaningful basis.

15 00 hrs

Coming to victimisation, I am against all sorts of victimisation. But let the House ponder over this Government has a duty not to victimise the employees but it has also a duty to see that the travelling public are not victimised. It has a double duty to protect the interests of the employees as well as the travelling public. During the strike there were 53 cases of sabotage and 100 cases of attempted sabotage. Government has a duty to see that those employees who tried to victimise the travelling public by the sabotage are not protected. About the rest, if there are no specific charge of sabotage or violence against them, even if they have joined the strike, they should not be victimised.

There have been cases of administrative lapses. The minister spoke yesterday of incentives given to loyal workers. I am giving a specific instance of administrative lapse and I want the minister to take note of it. In the NF Railway, two persons were working as Assistant Labour Welfare Inspectors on an ad hoc basis. One of them was a lady. When male employees were afraid to join the non-striking forces, this lady joined duty facing all humiliations. The moment the strike was over, these two persons have been reverted to their original posts. If a person is promoted on an ad hoc basis, I have no objection to the railways reverting him to the original post. But if you revert

the loyal workers immediately after the strike, what effect will it have on them? They went to the High Court challenging the administrative order on the ground of discrimination. To justify that there was no discrimination, two other employees who took a leading part in seeing to it that the wheels of the railways were kept moving have been demoted. These are gross administrative lapses and I hope the minister will look into them. Such lapses may take place even in the case of workers who joined the strike. The minister should look into such cases also.

Various instances of police repression were cited by Mr Bosu including my State of Assam. These matters relate to the jurisdiction of the States and should not be permitted to be discussed here under the cover of a noconfidence motion. In Assam, all educational institutions including universities colleges and schools have opened and I would not like to enter into a discussion which may lead to a fresh recurrence of the events. I would request Mr. Bosu not to meddle in the affairs of educational institutions. He has paid the penalty of meddling in the affairs of educational institutions in his State and he has been kicked out from there. Let him not create a condition where he may have to be kicked out from my State also.

Looking to the approach of the opposition, I find one significant thing. There was a time in this country when everything that was Indian was looked down upon and everything foreign was thought to be good. The aristocracy used to patronise foreign things and never purchased Indian things. Even in our own language we call tomato a brinjal coming from Vilayat, that is, something which is coming from a foreign country.

With my limited experience of travel abroad I can say that the people of every country feel proud in

[SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI]

the development that has taken place in their country. But it is unfortunate that in our country we want to denigrate all the development that has taken place in the country. In this moment of economic crisis, which is gripping not only our country but the globe at large, because the newspapers have reported only a few days back that even a government like the Italian Government has gone bankrupt, a Government which at one point of time wanted to have four days week because of over production, when that Government has become absolutely bankrupt on account of large scale unemployment, when that is the global phenomenon, it is only a spirit of self-confidence among the people of this country that can create a climate where we can face the situation surrounding us boldly. It is very unfortunate that at such a juncture the members of the opposition are trying to create a spirit of no confidence in the country in the educational institutions, in the leadership and the Government. Trying to create an atmosphere of lack of confidence in the educational institutions, in the parliamentary institutions, in the leadership in the government and trying to create political instability in the country may help them in their limited interest of a small political gain, but I feel that the opposition is doing a great disservice to the country. But the redeeming feature today is that the vast majority of the people, who have suffered most from all this inflation, who have been benefited the least from independence, they have still confidence in this Government, in this party and our leadership. And I honestly feel that this confidence alone can bring this economy into gear, and that is why I echo the voice of the millions of people of this country and oppose this no confidence motion and I have no hesitation that the House will reject it by an overwhelming majority.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Mr. Deputy-Speaker,

we have heard a lot of speeches from the other side on how, when and where to bring up a no confidence motion. I would have dismissed all these preachings by saying "please mind your own business; we know ours."

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: If you do it at home, it would be all right.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: But when I was listening to the Defence Minister, and the Finance Minister earlier, they seemed to suggest that it was not in the national interest to bring up a no confidence motion. The economic difficulties of the country were indeed very grave and so, according to them, we should not do anything by way of no confidence motion to further aggravate it. When they were speaking in that strain I was reminded of a person who, having killed his parents, demanded clemency because he happens to be an orphan. These people, after having killed the masses of India, are now demanding that we should not bring in this motion. (laughter) Please laugh, because this is going to be your least laugh. And when the Prime Minister is present, make you laugh a little more boisterous; therein lies your loyalty. It is these hon. gentlemen on the other side who have made the conditions in the country so grave. Yet, they have the audacity to ask us that we should not do anything to bring it up to the notice of the entire country and the government and that we cannot go further in that direction.

Now, one really does not know who should mourn his lot, either the one who brings up a No-Confidence Motion or the one who faces it. I think it is we on the Opposition side who have to mourn our lot that we have to bring up No-Confidence Motions so frequently. The hon. gentlemen on the other side probably do not have the experience with deaf persons, as to how much one has to strain one's vocal apparatus in order to make

oneself heard. This is our experience with the deaf Government. Let them not find any defect in our shouting but let them examine the membrane of their own ears. They simply do not listen to the voice of millions.

Just imagine the kind of laughter they are having. They know that they are going to be backed up by black money. And that is where they have been ousted. They had a strength of 140 in Gujarat Assembly in a House of 168. Where do they happen to be now? Is it Mrs. Gandhi who has dismissed these 140 gentlemen? Is it the President of the Republic who has dismissed them? It is the people of Gujarat who have dismissed the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry. It is not Mrs. Gandhi who has dismissed the Chimanbhai Patel Ministry. Please remember that the same fate awaits you in the State of Bihar. So, don't laugh in the manner in which you are doing at the moment.

Have the gentlemen on the other side ever cared to think whether our criticisms or allegations have been heeded to or attended to by the other side of the House or they have been simply shrugged off contemptuously? Let a Committee of Parliament be appointed to go into the allegations and criticisms that we have been making during the course of the No-Confidence Motion or otherwise. If the Parliamentary Committee comes to a conclusion that we have been rather perverse or petty-minded in making our criticisms and allegations or we have been making criticisms and allegations ad nauseam and that our criticism and allegations have been satisfactorily answered, we shall express our regret and we shall apologise.

Are you prepared to constitute a Parliamentary Committee for the purpose? It is a challenge to you. Let it not be said to the whole wide world and to the country at large that you

have been answering satisfactorily all the allegations and criticisms that are being made on the floor of the House. What have we witnessed during the course of the last 2 1/2 days or so? The hon. gentlemen from the Treasury Benches, from the Cabinet, have made their appearance on the floor of the House. It has rather become a matter of prestige to call them to speak during the No-Confidence Motion. I would rather advise my esteemed friend, Shri Jagjivan Ram, not to venture to participate in such debates any further. It is not a question of prestige that Babu Ji should be called to participate in the debate if he has nothing special to say. This is my clear challenge to them. Let them say whether our points are satisfactorily answered.

Does the No-Confidence Motion not provide an opportunity to take stock of the national situation in its totality? When we find that we are tattering from one crisis to another, that we are going downwards at every moment, in every field, what is the duty of the Opposition? Are we to make way for the last explosion so that the whole system is blown up? You have brought the things to such a pass that the whole situation is going to be blown up. This is what we have to say in a clear way.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, you will kindly recall that I have been raising an issue in this very House about a shady Iraqi oil deal, and I point it out again as a clear instance. I know this is not going to be heeded by any person on the other side. On two occasions I had pointed out this shady deal in the form of Iraqi oil deal, but nobody from the other side has cared to answer. Even such a subject would have been fit enough for a no-confidence motion in any country of the world. But this Government has never heeded it. It is all like throwing water on duck's back. This Government is so impervious to criticisms. May I remind my hon. friends on the other side that, if this democracy sur-

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

vives, if the Government or Prime Minister survives, it is only because of the criticisms and no-confidence motions and to the extent they are able to take into account these criticisms and not because of the abject flattery and adulations or cocophony of phrases that these people shower upon them?

It is during these no-confidence motions that the Prime Minister has a session with the mirror. Otherwise you keep her all the time in the midst of distorting glasses and she does not have a clear picture of the things that are taking place in this country.

I also fail to understand what is the real campaign or the character assassination that is involved in all these no-confidence motions or the allegations made. Does our Prime Minister or even my dear hon friend the Minister of Railways face more allegations and smear campaigns than their counterparts in other democracies of the world? Does not the hon House remember that only a few weeks back or months back Mr Wilson faced a great *halla-gulla* against him because his Private Secretary was involved in a land deal. Then what happened to Mr Willy Brandt even recently? When during the Sixties Mr Willy Brandt was contesting Mr Adenauer, the core of the charges against him was that he was an illegitimate child (*Interruptions*). I am only asking you whether Mr Willy Brandt did not face this charge in the course of election campaign (*Interruptions*). Recently the smear campaign so far as Mr Willy Brandt is concerned, centred on his love affairs with various ladies and in the spy case Mr Willy Brandt said 'I accept my responsibility'. A Prime Minister who is afraid of accepting responsibility cannot run a country of 600 million people. Has the Prime Minister ever accepted responsibility in my manner? Why does Mr Willy Brandt accept responsibility? Because it is a question of integrity and in-

tegrity is the soul of democracy. You have killed this integrity in the whole system and, therefore, this system seems to be refusing to work.

The saga of the Indian tragedy is that the whole new ethics that you are now propounding has, as its centrepiece, lack of integrity. Therefore, it is no use pointing a finger at one or two. In fact, some of them do personify lack of integrity and, therefore, they come in for so much of attack. Therefore, I should say that the hon gentlemen on the other side do not really understand the spirit of democracy. Look at this how they have killed the moral code of the system. This morning in the House you found the people demonstrative because there was a long extension proposed for submission of report by the Joint Committee on anti-defection Bill. The anti-defection Bill has been on the anvil. What is happening in this country? I ask them to look at their face in the mirror. Now the very fact that the Bill has been referred to a Joint Committee means that the House has committed itself to the principles behind the anti-defection Bill. Now look when the Anti-Defections Bill is on the anvil, what is happening? What happened in the Manipur Legislature only the other day? These people had seduced the members of the legislature from the other side. They have admitted them into their party and they have now set up a government of their own.

Why travel so far to Manipur? Here what have they been doing? They had been seducing people from the other parties in the Parliament itself and that is what is happening. I ask you do they require any member? It is because of the intoxication of power and because of the money that they possess and the seduction that they can offer that they are now seducing people from the other side. I only sympathise with those people who when the call is for storming the Bastille, are running into the lap

of Marie Antonette. Now, the call is clearly for storming the Bastille, but some of them still seem to be running into the lap of Marie Antonette. . . (Interruptions).

SHRI A. P. SHARMA (Buxar)
Why don't you hold them up?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Quantity is not our strength. Now, what has happened to you in other States? (Interruptions) What is the strong word here? That is the French Revolution, you do not remember.

When one speaks of, when the Prime Minister speaks of the association of a disreputable businessman with Jayaprakash Narayan, it is not objectionable at all (Interruptions) Is it objectionable? Then, why don't you object to your Prime Minister's? (Interruptions) Am I to go into all that? But when we start telling the truth and how hundreds of businessmen of shady character form a constellation around her and her own Party and so on, that is considered to be an unpardonable offence. Now, it is no pleasure so far as we are concerned, to go into it. But I would request the Prime Minister, very humbly—please do not enter into that dangerous ground and do not make the politics of the country more unhealthy. It is at the Prime Minister's initiative that even a person like Jayaprakash Narayan has been maligned though she has corrected what she had said in Bhubaneswar. Even so, she had stuck to the point that one disreputable businessman has been associated with Jayaprakash Narayan (Interruptions) Can you deny it?

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): There is a CBI case against him. He is a member of this House.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Then, why complain about it, my dear friends? Face the music then.

What I am saying is: that this is not the field for the Prime Minister to enter.

The other day, the hon. Minister of Finance was speaking of the drastic action that was being taken against economic offences. But, may I ask what has happened to Mr. Modi—not this Modi—who was found with 4000 bags and so on, and the case has been dragging on for the last 15-16 months.

AN HON. MEMBER: Whose fault is it?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
You have passed ordinances that these cases will be dealt with in a summary fashion and there will be summary trials. Why is this case not being treated on a similar footing?

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Scrapore): That is something secret.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
If we read into it some shady deal, why do you not excuse us for that?

Similarly, what has happened to the Narang's case which came here. I am not speaking of something which happened outside. It was discussed here and it was Mr. Narang, the hon'ble gentleman, who had produced a report for the re-organization of the ruling Party in Parliament and in the AJCC office. Anybody to challenge it from the other side. (Interruptions) No. This can be produced. Please do not challenge.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: You can also write. Anv. Tom, Dick and Harry can write a report and send it to us.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Now, it is these Modis and Narangs who will produce socialism for us.

A lot was said about black money. It was said that black money is universal and so ubiquitous that the economy will collapse if you do away with black money. It is said by the

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra] ruling party that perhaps the economy will collapse if you do away with black money by one sweeping action. They said: The economy will collapse, the whole fabric will collapse, etc. I am told that my esteemed friend Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao is going to speak after me. Could he tell us whether this system which is being built will collapse if by one sweeping action this black money system is done away with? Therefore, it has all come to this that black money is *kamadhenu* for the ruling party. It is not without significance that the ruling party has got as its symbol the cow and the calf. This cow is the *kamadhenu* of black money and nothing more. So many things were said about corruption. Corruption is considered to be quite normal and anybody who is not corrupt is considered to be a crank, or an abnormal person and the most promising persons in Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet are those who have flourished on black money, not that they are free from corruption and so on. They accept corruption as a normal thing which Mrs. Jayaprakash Narain has challenged. Since he has challenged corruption he has challenged the entire system which is built on it. Therefore it is that you find that there is so much of excitement, so much of stir, in the other camp. This confrontation between Mr. Jayaprakash Narain and the ruling party and their system is a confrontation between Brahmabala (Chhatrabala, and Brahmabala is bound to win.

Take for instance the case of the great Chief Minister of Haryana. A memorandum had been submitted to the President of India. You know that 122 legislators and Members of Parliament had submitted a memorandum to the President of India and they have been proved to be right. This Government is proved to be partisan in rejecting that memorandum. What has the Auditor-General got to say about the transactions of the Electricity Board of Haryana State? He has clearly stated that Rs.

12 crores are involved in this huge swindle. What have you to say about this? This has been placed on the Table of the House. This gentleman is so notorious that he has placed many of you in a kind of a black-mail and you cannot take action against him. This is the present position.

In Bombay this happened, Mr. Deputy Speaker, and you will be surprised to learn about this, some of my friends on the other side happened to be present when the information was given to us; many on the other side and we on this side were present when a Member of the other House said in Bombay that he had received vouchers and receipts for about Rs. 90 lakhs which had been paid to the ruling party by the tyre company. Why did he receive it? Because he was supposed to be the person connected with the party funds in the united congress. So, by mistake this particular honourable gentleman got all the vouchers and receipts for about Rs. 90 lakhs which this tyre company contributed to the ruling party.

That has been checked in the presence of so many Members of both Houses of Parliament. Let them go into it. There are bound to be—not one Watergate—many Watergates in this regime because there are no checks and balances here. For all checks and balances which can restrain or curb them are weakened or eroded. Why Watergate did not happen in England? That is because of this fact that there the Minister in the Cabinet can take the Prime Minister aside and tell him that this is not done. But, here in the Cabinet who is the person who can take the Prime Minister aside and say to her 'Madam Prime Minister, this is not done; this is harmful to do'. Here these honourable gentlemen in the Cabinet have been looking over their shoulders all the time. As Mr. Solshenytzen said, 'can you remain a human being if you keep on looking over your shoulders?'

You must have read in this morning's newspapers that the Supreme Court of the United States has unanimously ordered the U.S. President, Mr. Nixon, to submit sixty four tape recordings. We hope that the Supreme Court of India here would also do the same in similar situations. They called for the recordings unanimously in spite of the supersession and all that garbhadh that has been done there. Even though, in the Supreme Court of U.S., Mr. Nixon had appointed three of the eight judges, yet, the verdict has been unanimous. I do hope that here too, the Supreme Court would behave in the same way. We find ourselves here in a veritable police state. Is there any doubt about it? We have now got 8 lakh police and para-military forces almost equal to the ground forces of India. Therefore, you got in Bihar the police state that we find there. There is not department of the Government functioning excepting the Police Department and there too it is not the State Police which has been functioning but it is the Central Police B.S.F. and C.R.P. which are functioning there. We have visited many cities of Bihar where curfew prevails for 30 hours or 40 hours. We have been living in the midst of orders of 'shoot at sight'. Can you imagine? At the time of Independence, was any person or member of this House or the other House or any important leader of the country prevented from entering into the territory of another State? But here what we find is only this. Why all of you are happy about this? Is this the kind of State that we claim to live in this country? The leaders of this country whose responsibilities and duties lie in all parts of the country are being prevented from entering the territory of Bihar. Why don't you have a square confrontation with the people in a peaceful way? I must say that history will have to record that no movement had been as peaceful as the one we have seen in Bihar.

So, the emergency was purchased even after nearly four years of the war, and this is what the Prime Minister said in response to a query by a

foreign journalist: War emergency does not exist here but there is an economic emergency. This is a new term coined. But, Constitution does not permit of any economic emergency. The Constitution speaks only of financial emergency. If the wartime conditions have ceased to exist, and if Government think that there is a fresh emergency, a financial emergency, then a fresh proclamation will have to be issued. So, on the admission of the Prime Minister of India, the old emergency has elapsed already and it is an unconstitutional emergency which is now prevailing, and yet it is said that we are having a proper democratic State. We have passed the DIR and the MISA. But were the DIR and MISA meant for this purpose? Let a committee be appointed to see how these Acts are being implemented in certain areas.

In Bihar, I find that the MISA had been used on the most frivolous grounds. What are the grounds? The grounds are: 'You are collecting money', I have seen it with my own eyes in the charge-sheet. Then, 'You have been gheraoing some of the ex-Ministers', 'You have been distributing pamphlets', 'You have been chanting your own songs and slogans' and so on these are the grounds on which the people there are being prosecuted and thousands of young men are now behind the prison bars. So, this is the kind of State or system in which this Government is making us live.

Here, I must point out something which is probably not known to many hon. Members on the other side, namely that reflecting this power and the status of the police, some of the police officials have been elevated to the status of special secretaries in the Home Ministry. Mr. Rustamji who happens to be the Director General of the BSF is now a special secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs and earlier, the prestigious elite Mr. Kao has now been made the head of that, and he has been made the Secretary to the Department of National Security. This had never happened before. His

was the head of the research and analysis wing

Then, you have seen what great wrath has been expressed by this House against the promulgation of these ordinances. These are being promulgated in spite of the repeated admonitions by the Chair in this House. Do you know that during the course of the life of the present Parliament, 48 ordinances have been issued, and during the same period, 254 Acts had been passed? If you leave out the 48 ordinances which also ultimately turned into Acts, probably 24 per cent of the Acts had been passed through ordinances. This is the kind of Parliament that we have and this is the great respect with which Parliament is being treated.

I shall say a word about the Election Commission because to that is related the question of how people's faith in the elective process is getting considerably weakened. The Election Commissioner of India, I must say, is behaving in a way that we shall have to very severely criticise, though we have been avoiding to do that. You may kindly recall how 20 odd seats fell vacant as a result of the resignation by many Members of the Bihar Legislative Assembly. The Election Commission, with great alacrity, within two or three days announced a schedule for the election to these seats, and we have been a witness to the fact that it is this very Election Commission which has been sleeping over the bye-elections for two areas for one and a half year or so. Why did the Election Commission do that? It did so because it was said by the hon. Chief Minister of Bihar that the elections would show where the people's confidence lay, and therefore, the elections should be held immediately, and so, the Election Commission behaved in that obsequious manner. But, what has happened here right in the city of Delhi so far as the bye-election to the Metropolitan Council is concerned? For the

Ramnagar seat in the Metropolitan Council, the election had been announced to be held on a particular day, but only four days before the poll-date, the Election Commission postponed it. Although the elections had been announced after the riots—not that the riots came later and therefore the Election Commission had to change the schedule, yet they were done only to suit the ruling party. If the Election Commission becomes that obsequious and that subservient, there can be no faith in the elective process. It is the ruling party which is to be held responsible for it.

This Government has also made the press a completely captive press. There are two national agencies which are heavily subsidised by this Government and they are not ungrateful to Government because of the heavy subsidy that they receive. They are always grateful. And here is a Minister, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, who has no duties to the country but has duties only to himself and to his party. They would always be favouring Government.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Can he name one newspaper in favour of the Congress?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: All of them are in your favour.

When this did not prove to be sufficient, newspapers have at their helm business tycoons who are under the clutches of this Government. They have always been supporting them. But what did they find? During the railway strike, when they found that all this propaganda was not sufficient, they also requisitioned the services of the FICCI. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry came out with big propaganda and publicity in the newspapers. This demonstrative show of affection for the Government by the Federation would have acutely embarrassed any decent Government, much more so a

socialist Government. But this Government would not at all in any way care for this.

I do not want to deal with the economic situation because we are going to have a discussion on the supplementary budget. It is rather amazing that a supplementary budget has been announced in advance which has caused us so much misery even till now. I do not know how all the ingenuity of my friend, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao is going to explain the unprecedented phenomenon that prices are rising at the rate of 2.25 per cent every month, and even of those commodities which do not happen to be in shortage. There was no shortage of cotton, there was no shortage of kharif crops, there was no shortage of oilseeds and yet the prices of these have been increasing because of the bad economic management of these people.

Then these Ordinances are also going to be discussed. So I need not believe deeply into them, but it is clear to me that these are bound to hurt some sections without bringing down the prices. Further, the attempt to show that capital and labour have been tried to be treated on par is completely deceptive. There is no doubt that the real income of the wage-earners is going to be affected during the period involved.

Lastly, I would say that Government should not be gloating over statistics, as the other day my hon. friend, Shri L. N. Mishra, did.— Here I will ask members opposite to make a distinction between his name and mine because sometimes some friends on the other side seem to be identifying him with me; I do not know if it is an honour to me, but I leave it to the House. Let him not gloat over statistics of workers dismissed or suspended or made to suffer because of break in service. This is only a Pyrrhic victory which you have got. Victory over whom? Over your own family members. This is not the kind

of victory for which the nation thought while the strike was on that you would be striving for. They must not engage in another war of attrition over them.

During the non-confidence motion discussion, we were told that they would not be treated unfairly, but now we find that they are being subjected to brute repression. Just now I have received a telegram to say that in the Bhavnagar division itself, 65 have been suspended and the services of 85 persons have been terminated.

The Prime Minister had said that there would be a national policy on wages and incomes. What has happened to this policy? There must have been a proper formulation of the policy and it should have been placed before the House. I will therefore, ask the House and the Prime Minister particularly, to consider whether the situation is not going to get out of control very soon. The time is not very far. The earlier generations had the satisfaction of having brought independence to India and also stabilised it. But will our generation—the generation of mine and the generation of the Prime Minister—have any record to show that they did something even to stitch the torn clothes, not to speak of supplying new clothes? It is here that the real test of the Prime Minister lies and not in the manoeuvrings and clever devices by which she seems to be manipulating the affairs.

SHRI V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO (Bellary): Sir, I was listening carefully to the speech of Shri Mishra. I thought he would make an analysis of the difficult economic problems the country has been facing and also offer some constructive solutions. Of course he said he is going to speak about it sometime later. I do not know whether that means he does not feel that the state of the economy in the country is not a reason for want of confidence in the Government.

15.47 hrs.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI *in the Chair*

Sir, I do not want to talk too much of politics nor do I want to speak about the propriety or otherwise of having so many no-confidence motions. I think the opposition is certainly entitled to express its want of confidence in the ruling party and the ruling party is entitled to defend itself. But the question is whether today a no-confidence motion is the most appropriate way of discussing the problems facing the country. When you have a no-confidence motion it is inevitable that the bulk of the discussion should turn in the form of attacks rather than in the form of any constructive contributions. That is natural. But today it is admitted on all hands by members of the opposition as well as the members on this side that the economic situation is very grave. Prices are rising and there is a great deal of dissatisfaction and discontents in the country. When there is a grave national crisis may be that foreign soldiers are not stepping on our soil but we have something almost equally dangerous

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA
Who has created it?

SHRI V K R VARADARAJA RAO
We are not here to go into a historical analysis. If a fire breaks out one does not spend hours finding out who started the fire. One puts out the fire first and then deals in a legitimate manner with the person who started the fire. I feel the country would have been better served if the no-confidence motion would have been brought, like last time towards the end of the session and we could have trooped in at 1.30 in the night to record our confidence or lack of it in the Government. But at this time when we are really facing an emergency in our country, I would have thought it would have been more appropriate if the opposition had tabled a motion asking Parliament to take into consideration the

economic situation, then gave an analysis of the economic situation, gave a criticism of the policies which have been wrong policies, and then suggested some constructive solutions. A vote of no-confidence means that if the vote of no-confidence succeeds, then those who moved it are in a position to occupy the seats of government and not merely occupy them in the physical sense but occupy them and remedy the faults for which they have castigated the Government. It does not need my emphasis to show that in the whole of this debate so far there has not been a single suggestion which has come forward from the members of the opposition as to what should be done to deal with the situation.

There have been allegations there have been attacks. I am not going to talk about them. After all it is the privilege of the opposition to attack the government and if I may say so to those members belonging to the Government have no reason to be touchy about it because it is one of the necessary handicaps that one suffers when one belongs to the ruling party.

We know in advance that the no-confidence motion is going to be defeated. Everybody knows it. Then, what have we discussed it for three days for? Do they think that by attacking the Government they will displace the government in the country. We all know that it is not possible. There are no elections tomorrow nor is there any party powerful enough to ask for elections tomorrow. We know all that. We all of us, are representatives of the people. Each one of us represent the people, not in the name of the constituency alone but in the name of the country, because we are all elected. When we go round and if people ask us 'for three days in Parliament you discussed the price rise you discussed the question of inflation what answers or what advice did you give to the government and did the government refuse it' what answer will you give? Shri Shyamnandan Mishra said that so

many suggestions made by the opposition have not been looked into; may be, they are allegations; I do not know. But, as far as this particular debate is concerned, at least so far, no suggestions have been made even by my respected friend, Shri Shyamnandan Mishra. If the Government goes through all the reports, what help can they get in trying to solve the problem?

SHRI PILOO MODY You read the last debate.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Shri Piloo Mody wants to restructure the cabinet before he has got any change of getting anywhere near it. He can do it very easily. But if he had really to restructure the cabinet, he would have been very much cautious in the suggestions he made.

SHRI PILOO MODY He is complaining only because I did not name him.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: I never thought that Shri Piloo Mody would be so mean. Because, only a few minutes earlier when I talked to Shri Piloo Mody I told him "for the first time, you are my genuine friend because if I had any chance of being inducted into the Indira Gandhi cabinet, my having been mentioned by you would have finished it".

SHRI PILOO MODY Why? Do you think she is perverse?

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: No, no. She has so much respect for Shri Piloo Mody's judgment in these matters. Since Shri Piloo Mody has brought in my name, I may say that I have had my day. I was a member of the Cabinet. I am an academic person and I am quite satisfied with my life. I do not need any support from anybody, either from within the party or from the opposition to make me get any political office.

Coming back to the subject of inflation, I want to give some figures.

I cannot give all the figures because then it would be a very long lecture. My figures of income are only upto 1972-73. Between 1960-61 and 1972-73—we do not have national income figures for 1973-74—the money income has increased from Rs. 13,336 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 39,187 crores in 1972-73. It has practically trebled in about 12 years. If you have the 1973-74 figures, I am sure, there will be another addition of Rs. 3000 to 4000 crores. As against that, in terms of what are called constant prices, that is, prices measured in the index of 1960-61, the increase is only Rs. 19,273 crores. In other words, while the money income has increased by Rs. 25,821 crores as against the money income that we had 12 years earlier, the increase in real income has been only Rs. 5,907 crores. So, the money income rose by 193 per cent while the real income rose by only 44 per cent.

We have all developed a money illusion. We say, he is just a Clerk getting Rs. 400; he is just a Chhaprasi getting Rs. 250. We compare Rs. 250 with what was paid 20 years ago. An amount of Rs. 250 is worth Rs. 30 or Rs. 40 of about 20 years ago.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Banka): That is why there is the No-Confidence Motion.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: That is no answer because the No-Confidence Motion is not going to solve the problem.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: You are establishing the points of the Opposition.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: I am establishing the futility of the No-Confidence Motion.

If you kindly permit me to go on, what has really frightened me, not personally frightened me—after all, I am not young enough—is, when I look at the figures of money supply and its relation to wholesale price index over the last few periods, I find.

[Dr V K R Varadaraja Rao]

for example during the Second World War period from 1939-40 to 1947-48, while the money supply rose by 500 per cent the prices rose by 200 per cent. Then, from 1951-61—it was a hey-day for Indian economy after Independence—the money supply increased by 42 per cent and the prices rose by 1 per cent. That was the period when the prices fell and rose again. From 1960-61 to 1970-71, the money supply rose by 149 per cent and the prices rose by 81 per cent. The relationship between the money supply and prices has been roughly either 10.6 or 1.50. During 1971-72 and 1972-73 while the money supply rose by 39.9 per cent the prices rose by 14.3 per cent. Till March 1973 the rise in prices has not been as much as the increase in money supply. Roughly the proportion has been 10.6 or 10.5 or at the most 10.7.

Now in 1973-74—I have got the latest figures from the Reserve Bank of India bulletin dated 8th July—from June 21 1973 to June 21 1974 while the money supply rose by 14.7 per cent the wholesale price index rose by 28.4 per cent. These are the official figures. This is what has frightened me. For the first time the prices are rising faster than the money supply. The safeguards arising from hoarding of currency and so on are disappearing. The prices are really now beginning to shoot up faster than the money supply. That is why we are in a state of national emergency and that is why we have got to deal with the problem of inflation.

16 00 hrs

Now without going into the details by way of *obiter dictum* I will list out what I think are the various causes that have brought about inflation and then I will try and say what we have done about it and what more should we do about it. I will just list them out since I have no time to go into the details. (1) Deficit finance and

additional supply of currency. I will place this at the top of the list. (2) Liberal expansion of bank credit and the consequent increase in money supply and its use for speculative purchases, hoarding of commodities and undue stockpiling of inventories. (3) Shortages in production, this is very important perhaps more important than even deficit financing. (4) Inadequate procurement of essential commodities and faulty distribution of essential commodities. (5) Increase in the price of imports. It is not a question of oil alone. There are so many raw materials and spare parts that we are importing. Either we stop importing them because of foreign exchange difficulties or pay high prices for them. They have a very big multiplier effect. Unfortunately no economist has so far worked out the inflationary impact of what is imported, what is called import-induced-inflation. Merely stopping imports does not stop inflation. It is not merely the question of rise in prices of imported things. It is the overall effect of import policy that you are following because we have not got the foreign exchange. That is an important cause of inflation. (6) A very important point which I hope to deal with before I conclude—black money to which reference has been made by almost all the members. (7) Fall or at best inadequate rise in savings. (8) Increase in purchasing power directed towards reduced supplies, the increase in purchasing power taking the form of dearness allowance, dividends, additions to wages and salaries, spending of inflationary gains by people who are not employed but buy and sell and make inflationary gains, increase in private and public expenditure and conspicuous consumption. All these mean increase in purchasing power directed towards reduced supplies. (9) Unproductive expenditure on the part of both Government and private sector. (10) Income disparities, salaries in private sector as compared to salaries in public sector, vast income disparities, not merely the thing that brought about the railway strike because of the alleged differentials bet-

ween, the railway workers and the other workers in public undertakings but the vast disparities in salaries and wages between the private sector and the public sector. There may be some more reasons, but I have tried to list, to the best of my ability, the major reasons that are responsible for the current inflationary crisis in this country. My submission to this House is this. I am not saying that this Government has solve the problem. If it had solved the problem....

SHRI PILLO MODY: Then there would have been no-confidence motion.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Yes, You are correct.

We have not solved the problem. All that I would try to claim for this Government, for this ruling Party of which I am a member is this. I speak not only as a member of the ruling Party but also with the personal respect that I have for myself as an economist. I want to ask: have we done anything about it or not? Or, have we just slept over it? Have we left everything to chance? Have we drifted along? Or, are we trying to do something about it? It is no good telling what we did in 1972 or 1971 or 1970 or 1969. We are not indulging in that retrospection at the moment. To my mind the crisis really showed its fangs when the prices rose faster than the increase in money supply. Personally I think it is very wrong to say, and I would beg of my friends not to say though some economists are saying, that we are in a galloping inflation. We are not in a galloping inflation. We are in a state of inflation which is bad and dangerous. We are not in a galloping inflation. Galloping inflation means a rise of 200 or 300 or 500 per cent. Everybody knows that Latin America has suffered from galloping inflation.

SHRI PILLO MODY: We will have hundred per cent.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Shri Pillo Mody says that we will

have a hundred per cent rise. I am surprised. We are all surprised and I have not the least doubt in my mind, from Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu downwards to Shri Pillo Mody, all of us....

AN HON. MEMBER: The other way probably.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: In what context I am using it, he knows. All of us, irrespective of Party affiliations, are patriotic. We do not want this country to go to rack and ruin. We do not want this country to be destroyed. We do not want our people to destroy themselves and destroy everybody else. We want an improvement in the economic situation. Of that, I have no doubt at all. I am prepared to exempt nobody from this House, whatever be his violence of his language or the violence of his calumnies. From this description I have given to this House, all of us are patriotic. We are all anxious to do something about it. Therefore, I say, let us not scare the country. Even if you are allergic to the Prime Minister, I would like to quote the Prime Minister as to what she said in Bangalore. What all has been said and quoted in the Press was about our economic programmes. But she made one very important statement there and I believe it was off the cuff because it was not in the prepared address which was given to me later...

SHRI PILLO MODY: She repeated it in Delhi.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Oh! I see. You might have induced those remarks.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: No, no. I induced nothing. I was happy, jolly, because the function was successful. What she said was, 'Let us not create a psychology of defeatism in this country'.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: That is the historic statement?

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Let us not say we can do nothing. Certainly we can attack A, B or C. But if you denigrate the nation as a whole, if you denigrate the national ability to deal with the problems, then, by very definition, you also reduce the nation's ability to deal with these problems. That is a well-known economic principle...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) Doctor, let us have your prescription now.

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Therefore, Sir, I want to have a little time of this House to say that this Government is trying to do—I would not say from the year A.D. something. Once they got seized of the inflationary crisis, which I believe really happened to them last year or a year and a half earlier—I do not think they, or, if I may say so many people in this country thought that there was anything like hyper-inflation. But once they got hold of the situation, I want to submit to this House, this Government has been trying to deal with the problem with what effectiveness time has to show. Certainly, it is not a comprehensive programme.

Now, I will first state about the ordinances.

SHRI JANESHWAR MISRA: His time is over

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: He is wanting me to join him. Then you should allow me more time

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I am listening to you as a student

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Thank you

About this ordinance on wages. I do not understand why it has been described as a wage freeze. I would not go into details, but what has been given in the ordinance is not a freeze

but it is really a deferred wage. There is no ban on wage negotiations. There is no ban if the Railway Minister so pleases, for having discussions with the Unions on the reformation of wages of the workers. None at all. There is no ban on their coming to conclusions and it may be that they may give some portion or whatever it is of the demand to the workers. There is no ban on it. All that it says is that once the wage is settled, it will not be paid for the next two years. It is all that the ordinance says. It will be paid after two years with interest—nobody is going to die in the meanwhile—at the rate of 11 per cent....

AN HON MEMBER: Prices will go up.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Why do you not advise the Government to bring one ordinance to freeze the prices?

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: If it was so easy, if prices could be frozen by ordinances, I can assure you there would have been no price rise in this country or anywhere else in the world. Price rise is something which has got to be fought.

As I used the analogy in the beginning, we are in a grave situation. Just now we want to stop the fire from spreading. We want to stop the inflation from increasing. We want the price rise not to go beyond 3-4 per cent more. We want to stop it there and having stopped it, to bring it down.

There is another point which has not been mentioned by anybody else and it is this. I think I am correct in my analysis. If you ask me why this wage ordinance has been brought about, I would tell you, the reason is this. If Rs. 500 crores more is to be paid, or if Rs. 900 crores more is to be paid this year, if it had to be paid, Government has got to pay it only by resorting to deficit financing. That is

the main point at issue. If Government is able to collect enough taxes from all the classes which have had their inflationary gains, traders, manufacturers, medium traders, big traders, monopolists, etc. etc. then the position is different. I don't think the Railway Minister by his obstinacy brought about the Railway strike, there has been no desire of confrontation of the Government of India with the working class. It is not so. How can you pay Rs. 500 crores or so today without resort to deficit financing? Immobilised wage is not taking away, the workers money. Now if you have to pay it what happens is, you only pay it by deficit financing, causing more inflation. Therefore, since you cannot pay D.A. just now except by resorting to deficit financing, therefore, this immobilisation of fifty per cent of the wage has been taken on hand. This immobilisation is, what I would call, the big holding operation of the Government, and if in the course of the next 6 months or 8 months or 10 months they are able to arrest inflation and bring down prices the position will be easier.

Regarding the dividend freeze I do not know why Mr. Mody thinks that this is going to come in the way of investments at all. The ordinance provides for the immobilised money to be used for purposes of expansion and modernisation. As far as new investments are concerned this is only on dividends of 12 per cent and therefore will not come in way of new investments being floated. And therefore it is quite wrong to think that there is dividend freeze or to think that immobilisation ordinance is going to block development in industries and so on. So this propaganda carried on by the industrial press. I am afraid, is misconceived.

Regarding the compulsory deposit ordinance a point was made by Mr Indrajit Gupta; this is about the date 15th December or 15th March. Your object is to immobilise the money

immediately what I would suggest is, let the ordinance be amended—it cannot be amended when Parliament is in session,—it can be amended by legislation—so that it becomes operative immediately, and you can get this compulsory deposit from every income-tax payer every month. All the data is available and information is available. Those who are income-tax payers, six lakhs of them, would pay you every month and they can pay in one instalment or so many instalments, but they will pay every month. That is the suggestion which I would like to make. Or effort is to see that inflation is brought under control as quickly as possible

There is one suggestion I would make and this is regarding excess profits tax. There are tremendous inflationary gains; people are getting more not because they are producing more but this is because of higher price and higher price in turn is because of inflation. So this excess profits tax may be thought of. After the last war we had excess profits tax as people had made money out of inflation. Let the Finance Minister explore the possibility of this and see how this can be worked out and impose Excess Profits Tax.

Secondly, I suggest a surcharge on traders' turnover. It is these people who have been making a huge amount of money. Of course there are doctors, architects and so on and so forth. If we tax them, they being very small in number, will give you a few Crores of rupees. But, the biggest black-money can be found with these traders. Their turnover is all over the country. Just as you issued an Ordinance, the State Governments too can issue an ordinance and bring them into the revenue net. I suggest a surcharge on turnover of these traders. Without the Ordinance the States will not be able to get more money. Of course by this Ordinance the money is only being impounded and it is not going to be spent. Then, sir, there are medium, and large far-

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: Everybody says that we should implement the Raj Committee's report. This is a very good report. I wonder how many people have read it. This committee's recommendations will take two to three years if they are to be implemented, because first of all enormous surveys of productive capacity, this, that and the other have to be undertaken. It cannot be done immediately. We want the result to-day and we do not want to wait for tomorrow. So, these middle, medium and the biggest farmers too should be brought in the tax net. I would suggest a surcharge on land revenue which should be adjusted by the sizes of holdings and nature of crop again. This can be done again by ordinances issued by the State Governments at the appropriate time.

Finally, I would like to suggest some more taxation. There was a lot of discussion to-day also. There should be no further excise duty on sugar, kerosene oil. What we want is sumptuary taxation. There are commodities and services which are used by the people with incomes of Rs. 1,000 a month and more. There are hotel services of all sorts. Let there be sumptuary taxation on these commodities and services used by the richer people. Many of them are only using the black money, which we are not able to stop.

Now I shall just say a few words with your permission and indulgence something about black money. Frankly, I seriously believe that even if we are able to immobilise a reasonable portion of the existing money that flows into the expenditure but if we do not tackle the problem of black-money, we will not be able to tackle the problem of inflation at all. We have got to do something about it. I am not completely satisfied with the measures that you have taken to deal with black-money but I may tell you some facts without naming the place. In the year 1973-74 there were 17,778 transactions in urban property, buy-

ing and selling of sites and houses, the total value of which was something like Rs. 20 crores. According to data available for some five or six localities, I find that the value stated was not realistic at all. I would say about 25 per cent of black money is operating in the real estate transactions in our urban areas. It may be much more than that but I am giving you only a conservative figure. It may be a rough estimate. It is, not a scientific method of arriving at the figure. I would guess that the black money would be something like Rs. 115 crores. If you take 25 per cent of black money that would give you the figure of about Rs. 3,000 per transaction in this one city alone. The other day I was told that something like 38 lakhs of transactions had been reported to the Government. According to the Income-tax Act, whenever we want to sell a property, we must file a under statement with the Registrar giving the value of the property—its fair market value, plinth area etc., etc.—which is immediately sent on to the Income-tax Department. I tell you that 28 to 30 lakhs of returns are lying in the various Income-tax Offices.

I am not satisfied with being told that they have taken up 4000 cases and they have taken a decision to acquire 32 houses. If each of these 28 or 38 lakhs of transactions has a black money component, the total amount of black money only in those would be of the order of Rs. 500 to 700 crores. So, I would suggest that there should be a very effective scrutiny of these transactions. After all, we have computers. So, why should they be afraid of 28 or 38 lakhs? We can put them on cards. The data are available. We can employ people on this job. So, this is not something which is very difficult. After all, in these days of modern scientific office machinery and administration, the number of returns need not frighten us at all. So, immediate action should be taken on the subject of black money in real estate transactions. Government have

the powers required and they must exercise them in a much more impressive way.

Then, I would like to indicate how the whole of the black money comes. It comes because as we all know there are licences. Somebody wants cement and he has to get a cement quota somebody wants steel and he has to get a steel quota. Similarly, there is foreign exchange quota, import quota and so on. Is there any machinery in the Department or Ministry of Commerce or the Department or Ministry of Industry or the concerned Departments which keeps records of all these fellows who get these quotas and keeps tab on them, checks on them and asks them to say after six months or one year what they have done with their quotas? I would like to know this, because I am quite certain, and we know it for a fact, that the quotas are being misused, and we know it for a fact that some people sell their quotas, and we also know it for a fact that some people have quotas which are not acquired legitimately. But why can we not trace them? After all, these quotas are given by licences.

Similarly, I would also like Government to find out one other thing in regard to people who build houses. If I build a house of five storeys or six storeys there must be some norm by which to say that I must have used so much cement and so much steel and so much of the other things, and before my house is registered and before I am permitted to call myself the owner of the house, I should declare how much cement or steel I have used etc. in comparison with the quota that has been given to me. I think such a thing is not impossible. The statistical machinery is there, the computing machinery is there, and what is required is a very strong, determined and passionate will, and if such will is there, it should be possible to find out these things. If we take these measures, there can be some reduction in black money.

1157 L.S.—11.

Now, I shall say one word about SEMIBAMLA. I welcome the Finance Minister's statement yesterday that Government have no intention to reduce the value of the currency and bank deposits by 30 per cent, not merely for the reasons that he has mentioned but also for this reason, namely first of all, that there is no guarantee that if we reduce the money supply by 25 per cent, and there is no economic theory which says that there will be an immediate fall in prices; certainly, no economic theory, tells us that this reduction will affect those commodities which are highest in price and not affect those things which are lowest in price; there is no guarantee that it will bring down the price and not affect these things which it does not mean 25 per cent reduction in the prices of commodities only but it would also mean 25 per cent reduction in the prices of factors of production; the wages will have to be reduced by 25 per cent; dividends will have to be reduced by 25 per cent, and all salaries will have to be reduced by 25 per cent. So, it is not just a simple thing; so, simply cutting off the supply of money will not result in the prices falling down. So, for these reasons, in addition to the reasons that the Finance Minister has stated, I am glad that Government have come to the conclusion that the value of the currency cannot be reduced. Then, again in regard to indexing, who benefits by it? If we index thousand crores of rupees of fixed deposits, who are the persons to benefit by that? What does indexing mean? What does this 8 per cent rate of interest mean? For every Rs. 100, if the price goes up by 50 per cent, that person will get Rs. 50 more than the accumulated interest at the end of eight years. But who will get this extra money? It is not the poor man who will get it but the rich financiers and the men running the financial racket who will get it. I am glad that the Finance Minister has rejected this suggestion.

Now, I must finish, because even your indulgence will not hold too long.

without going into details, because this is something of which everybody is aware, I would say that, of course, we have to do something about production. Unless it is production-oriented, whatever we may do is not going to be of much help. If one has to go into the details of production, one can go on for days. But I am quite certain about one thing that the production in this country cannot increase in the kind of substantial way in which we want it to increase, whether in agriculture or in small industries or in transport services or in any other commodities, unless there is cooperation between the people and the Government, unless there is co-operation between the ruling party and the parties sitting in the Opposition.

I want to say this with a full sense of deliberateness in this House.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about the Railway Minister?

DR. V. K. R. VARADARAJA RAO: I shall come to the Railway Minister also in a minute.

I want to say this with a full sense of deliberateness that when a war is on, we should forget our quarrels; after the war is won, we may resume our quarrels, but when the war is on, we should forget our quarrels. When the fire is on, we should forget our quarrels and extinguish the fire; then again we may take up our hatchets or abusive words or whatever case we have. I submit that this is a time when we cannot afford to quarrel; in the name of the country, I submit that we cannot afford to quarrel; we cannot afford to have misunderstandings; we cannot afford to charge each other with all sorts of things; whatever may be our opinions, we have got to live together and we have got to function together. Therefore, the most important requirement for increasing production in the country is the creation of an atmosphere of co-operation, tolerance and peace.

You know very well there is an atmosphere of violence in the country. So many of my friends who talk are very bitter. When I meet them privately, they are entirely different people. But here they get angry. There are far too many angry people in this country. It is not good for the country. I am not talking politically, I am talking economically in terms of production. I would, therefore, like to suggest to my friend, the Railway Minister, if I may—I hope I am not overstepping my bounds—that it may not be a bad thing for him to show some liberality towards the railway workers. After all, they are not to blame for this. The people to blame are sitting in nice respectable chairs in Parliament and living in nice MPs' houses. The people who have suffered are not the people sitting in Parliament. It is not the fault of these people that they were misled or their judgment was wrong and so on. You are not in a position to punish the people who instigated the strike. Why do you want to punish all these other people?

I would like to appeal to my friends here and outside, if my words have any meaning, that if you are going to have a system of national co-operation, let the working class decide that they will go all out to increase production and productivity. Because today I know that transport bottlenecks are one of the most important things holding up power generation, fertiliser movement and foodgrains movement, apart from other reasons. Therefore, let the trade unions say that we recognise the national emergency, we are prepared to co-operate fully and we are prepared to do everything we can to increase production and productivity. On your side, do not boss over them, do not talk as if you are the boss, do not try to take vengeance. Be nice to them. Let there be harmonious peaceful industrial relations. Let us all

work together to take the country upwards in the path of productivity and, thereby beat inflation.

श्री लक्ष्मण लिंगप्पे (बांका) : सभापति महोदय, मैंने श्री चम्हान साहब, जगज्जीवनराम जी, प्रो० राव तथा मेरे दूसरे मित्रों के भाषन बड़े गौर से सुने। इन सभी लोगों ने पूछा कि विरोधी पक्ष अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव क्यों लाया है? इस राजधानी में या इस देश में जो अखबार प्रकाशित हो रहे हैं—किसी भी दिन के दो-चार अखबारों को उठाइये तो पता चलेगा कि अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव विरोधी पक्ष को क्यों लाना पड़ा। आज के अखबार को ही लीजिए—यह फाइनेन्शियल एक्सप्रेस है— इस में लिखा है—

"A Windfall for hoarders

"The Government's bravado has cost the consumer heavily. Perhaps to impress Parliament, it was announced that a supplementary Budget would be presented on July 31.

"The announcement has, however, recoiled. It served as a green signal to manufacturers and traders to hold back items on which additional taxes are expected to be levied in the supplementary Budget. They hope to earn windfall profits".

अब इस को लेकर अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाना है तो क्या करना है ?

अब दूसरे अखबार को लीजिए—यह टाइम्स पत्रक इण्डिया है— इस में कहा गया है—

"5 rats for one human in India"

"Rats outnumber by five times the human population in India according to Mr. Math, retired Deputy Director of Agriculture (Entomology).

"Mr. Math, who is associated with the Indian Institute of Socio-Economic Studies, estimated the rat population at 240 crores.

"A survey of several parts of Karnataka had revealed that each rat collected for its consumption 1 to 15 kg. of foodgrains in its burrow at harvest time. It was estimated that 150 rats consumed half a tonne of foodgrains in a year apart from rendering 10 times this quantity unfit for human consumption".

अब आप इस तीसरे अखबार को लीजिए—

"Notwithstanding the Government denies reports of starvation deaths and distress sale of children continue to pour in from different parts of Assam".

अब इन अखबारों को लेकर हम लोग निन्दा का प्रस्ताव नहीं लायेंगे तो क्या आप की तारीफ करने का प्रस्ताव लायेंगे। आप कलकत्ते के इम हिन्दुस्तान स्टैण्डर्ड को लीजिए—

Hindusthan Standard, Calcutta:

"Commuter dies of suffocation in Bombay—

"The chaotic conditions on the suburban railway services resulted in the death of a commuter this morning. He first suffered from suffocation and giddiness and then an arm injury in an overcrowded compartment. He died in a hospital. Deaths of many have also reportedly gone unrecorded. People travel precariously on train roof tops or footboards".

और इस का एक ही कारण है कि रेल मंत्री जी ने अभी तक मेट्रोनेस स्टाफ को काम पर नहीं लिया। और एक दफा यह नौबत आई कि बम्बई में ग्राण्ड कोर्ड का इलेक्ट्रिकल सब स्टेशन शुरू नहीं हो रहा था तो जिस स्टाफ को आप ने डिस्मिस किया था माफी भेज कर उसे मजदूर को बुलाना पड़ा तब इलेक्ट्रिकल सब-स्टेशन चालू हुआ। इसीलिए यह निन्दा का प्रस्ताव है।

[श्री मधु लिये]

प्रोफेसर साहब ने अभी कुछ आंकड़े दिए, मैं ज्यादा आंकड़े नहीं देना चाहता लेकिन इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1956 के बाद जिस मनी सप्लाइ की उन्होंने चर्चा की वह 2,218 करोड़ से लेकर 11,000 करोड़ तक बढ़ गई और इसी अवधि में राष्ट्रीय ग्रामली ग्रामदनी दो गुना हो गई। पांच गुना मर्न। सप्लाइ बढ़ी और ग्रामली ग्रामदनी दो गुना बढ़ी। इसलिए आज मुद्रास्फीति की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है। 1956 में रुपये का जो मूल्य था वह घट कर आज एकबीसवाँ भी नहीं बचा। ऊब से प्रधान-मन्त्री जो सत्ता में आये हैं पर कपिटा प्रवेलेंबिलिटी आफ फूड ग्रेंस के बारे में क्या स्थिति है उसको भी देखा जाय। 1965 में 480 ग्राम एक व्यक्ति के पीछे फूड ग्रेंस की खपत थी। लेकिन आज क्या स्थिति है? फी व्यक्ति पीछे 418 ग्राम ग्रामज मिल रहा है। जहाँ तक खाने के तेल का सबाल है कुछ ही साल के अन्दर पहले जहाँ 3.6 किलोग्राम तेल मिलता था, आज फी व्यक्ति पीछे 2 किलोग्राम मिल रहा है। चीनी 7.3 किलोग्राम थी, अब 6.1 किलोग्राम मिल रही है। कपडा हम देश में व्ययिन पीछे जहाँ 15.2 मीटर मिलता था, आज 13.2 मीटर मिल रहा है? यह सरकारी आंकड़े हैं। तो इन्हीं कारणों को ले कर हम लोग निन्दा का प्रस्ताव रख सकते हैं।

बाबू जी ने कहा कि लाँछन वाली बात को क्यों लाते हैं। तो जिस सरकार ने ऐसे काम किए हैं क्या उस की भारती उतारने का प्रस्ताव लाये। सत्ताधारी पक्ष क्या चाहता है। इसलिए आप किसी भी मोर्चे पर देखिये सरकार के निकम्पेपन का सबूत आप को मिल सकता है। आज चारों ओर बिजली के अभाव का प्रश्न है। हम लोगो ने बिजली बोर्ड के ऊपर 5,500 करोड़ रुपये खर्च किया है, लेकिन आप लोग जानते हैं कि जहाँ विदेशी में बिजली का ट्रांसमिशन लोस 10 से 12 प्रतिशत है, ये ही एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में कबूल किया है कि हमारे देश में ट्रांसमिशन लोस 27 से 37 प्रतिशत तक हो जाता है।

इसलिए बड़े पैमाने पर जो बिजली का अभाव है उस के पीछे भी सरकार का निकम्पेपन है।

यहाँ तक औद्योगिक उत्पादन का अभाव है कलकत्ता के एक औद्योगिक अखबार ने कहा है :

Industrial growth rate continues to be sluggish, the rate of growth recording less than 1 per cent last year and is likely to be near zero during the current year

कुछ अखबारों का यह भी कहना है कि उत्तर भारत में ट्रांसपोर्ट बोटल नेक और बिजली के अभाव के कारण इस साल औद्योगिक उत्पादन 10 प्रतिशत घटने वाला है। हालांकि वित्त मंत्री इस को कबूल नहीं कर रहे हैं। तो जब आप ने सारे अध्यादेश जारी किए क्या इस से आप सोचते हैं कि दाम गिर जायेंगे? जब तक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा, पांच प्रतिशत मनी सप्लाइ कम भी करेगे, तो भो दामों के ऊपर कोई असर नहीं होने वाला है। आपने अध्यादेशों के जरिए जो ईमानदार कर देने वाले हैं, अमिक हैं, उसी की ग्रामदनी के ऊपर आप ने रोक लगायी है और जो लोग काला बाजार करते हैं, स्मगलिंग करते हैं, सट्टेबाजी करते हैं, या डूजारेखारी करते हैं, या बूट लीगिंग का काम करते हैं इन को छुद्रा तक नहीं है। और कारण यह है कि आप इन लोगों से मिले हुए हैं।

विदेशी कम्पनियों का प्रश्न आप लीजिये। विगत साल हम ने एक विधेयक पास किया। लेकिन आप विदेशी कम्पनियों की मोनस शेर जारी करने की खुल कर छूट दे रहे हैं। इन्हीं दिनों में दर्जनों विदेशी कम्पनियों को मोनस शेर देने की अनुमति वित्त मंत्रालय ने और दूसरे अखबारों ने दी। और इस का यही मतीजा हो रहा है कि जो ईमानदार धावमी है उस की ग्रामदनी को आप नीच करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन अबे बेईमन है अब की ग्रामदनी तो निरंतर बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है।

केवल बेज धीज का सवाल नहीं है । प्रोफेसर साहब जरा सुन लें अगर मजदूरों की कमाई का धीसा खर्च नहीं कर सकते उस की धीज नहीं कहेंगे तो क्या कहेंगे । धीर से तो कहता हूँ इन विनो मे सरकार द्वारा वेतन की शूट हो रही है । अभी अभी कलकत्ता मे एक इंडेक्स कमेटी बँठी थी इंडेक्स नम्बर को रिवाइज करने के लिये धीर उस की रिपोर्ट आयी है मुझे पता नहीं माननीय इन्द्रजीत गुप्त जी ने उस की खर्चा की है कि नहीं । इसलिये मैं कैपिटल बीकली का ही एक उद्धरण आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ । इस कमेटी की सिफारिशों के बारे मे कैपिटल बीकली ने कहा है कि :

"The implementation of the Committee's recommendation will mean a substantial increase in the dearness allowance payable to the industrial workers as well as to employees in mercantile firms. This increase is estimated to be of the order of Rs. 50 or even more per month"

तो प्रोफेसर साहब मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इंडेक्स नम्बर की चारी कर के आप लोग हर महीने मजदूरों की 50 रु० की आमदनी छीनते जा रहे हैं और सभी उद्योगपति इस कमेटी की सिफारिशों का विरोध कर रहे हैं और सरकार उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट को नहीं मानेगी क्यों कि वह उद्योगपतियों से प्रभावित है । जो कलकत्ता के बारे मे सही है वह बम्बई, दिल्ली, कानपुर मद्रास, बंगलौर आदि शहरों के बारे में भी सही है और मजदूरों के वेतन की शूट अखिल भारतीय है, केवल कलकत्ता तक ही सीमित नहीं है ।

एक बात धीर कहना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय चम्पाण ने यह कबूल किया है कि आज जो दास वृद्धि हो रही है वह वेतन वृद्धि के अक्षरों या मजदूरों के चलते नहीं

हो रही है । तो दास वृद्धि के कारण क्या है ? क्या दास वृद्धि के लिये मुख्यतः सरकार धीर काला बाजार करने वाले जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं ? स्वयं सरकार ने विगत साल 76 रु० क्विंटल के भाव किसानों मे गेहूँ खरीदा । नवा गेहूँ मई महीने के बाद बाजार मे आया होगा । तो मई तक जो गेहूँ बेचा गया उस मे 105 रु० क्विंटल के दाम से जो गेहूँ खरीदा गया है वह नहीं बेचा गया, बल्कि जो गेहूँ 76 रु० के भाव से खरीदा गया उस के दाम राशन की दुकान पर 135 145 रु० क्विंटल हो गये । तो किसानों धीर उपभोक्ताओं दोनों को घायल लूट रहे हैं ।

माननीय चम्पाण ने कहा कांग्रेस के पास खबरदस्त इच्छा शक्ति है काले धन का प्रतिकार करने की । इन की इच्छा शक्ति के कुछ नमूने पेश करना चाहता हूँ । सब से पहले मैं पैट्रोलियम मंत्रालय को लूंगा, माननीय बरुआ जी यहाँ नहीं है चाहता हूँ मेरी बात उन तक पहुँचे, पैट्रोलियम मिनिस्ट्री ने नैप्या का दाम पैट्रो कैमिकल इंडस्ट्रीज के लिये 1 मार्च को 2,400, रु० प्रति टन कर दिया । लेकिन क्या हुआ ? ढाई लाख टन मफल लाल इस्तेमाल करते हैं 80,000 टन इटरनेशनल दूनियन कारवाइड इस्तेमाल करते हैं और 20,000 टन साहू जैन इस्तेमाल करते हैं । इन्होंने हल्ला मचाया, नतीजा यह हुआ कि नैप्या का दाम 26 मार्च को, यानी 26 दिन बाद ही, घायल ने 2,400 रु० प्रति टन से घटा कर 1,000 रु० टन कर दिया । 1,400 रु० प्रति टन घायल ने इन पूजोपतियों के लिये छूट दी जिस के चलते मफल लाल को 35 करोड़ का फायदा हुआ, दूनियन कारवाइड को 11 करोड़ रु० बेच गये और इसी तरह से साहू जैन को भी बच गये । धीर जानकार सूबों से मुझे पता चला है कि 23 नं०, तुगलक रोड से यह मामला सफ़र जय रोड पर चला गया है और डेढ़ करोड़ रुपये की वहाँ दोनों को मिला कर रकम बाटी गई है । (Interruptions).

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN (Kan-gra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are not going to tolerate such charges again.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I (Badagara): There must be an end to it.... (Interruptions).

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: If they want, they can bring a special motion. They cannot use this forum for that purpose.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: I would request you to expunge these remarks.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: Under the Rules of the House, when a Member is speaking, he cannot make allegations against any hon. Member unless he brings a substantive motion and gives a prior notice. Then only he can do it. Otherwise, he cannot do it. Therefore, these remarks have to be expunged.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: On a point of order, Sir.

There are specific Rules under which you cannot bring in the names of persons particularly while making allegations and defamatory remarks unless you give a prior notice. But here the allegations, the charges, are against persons who are present in the House and who will be replying to the debate. The Prime Minister is going to reply to the debate. She can refute these charges. That will also go on record. (Interruptions).

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: These remarks must be expunged.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं ने किसी का नाम नहीं किया है। .. (व्यवधान) ...
सफ़रदरजंग रोड को खरीद लिया आप ने।

MR. CHAIRMAN: All of you are speaking without my permission. Nothing will go on record. (Interruptions).

Normally I feel, such allegations should not be made. But if we enter into this controversy at this stage, it will take away most of the time and there are many Members who want to speak on the No-Confidence Motion.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: All reference to Tughlak Road and Safdarjung Road must be expunged. (Interruptions).

श्री प्रिय रंजन दास मुन्शी (कलकत्ता-दक्षिण) : आपको 4 लाख अमेरिकन डालर मिले हैं, यह भी सच है। .. (व्यवधान) ..

श्री मधु लिमये : 1400 रुपया दाम क्यों घटाया गया, इस को जांच होनी चाहिए।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Prime Minister will be replying to the debate....

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRIISHNAN: All these remarks cannot go on record

MR. CHAIRMAN: You may be perfectly justified in raising the point of order. But what I have said is that if we enter into this controversy at this stage it will take away most of the time. The Prime Minister is going to reply to the debate. I would request you not to take the time of the House. I would also request Mr. Limaye not to bring in such matters which may provoke the House.

श्री मधु लिमये : सभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि इण्डियन पेट्रो-केमिकल इन्डस्ट्री लि० और गुजरात का स्टेट फटिलाईजर्स कांफॉरेशन अब 20 लाख टन केपरोलेनट्स और डी० एम टी० प्रति वर्ष तैयार करने का काम करेंगे और एक साल के अन्दर 20 हजार टन की कैपेसिटी रहेगी। सभापति महोदय इस रा-नैटीवियल से नाइलोन यार्न और पॉल्यस्टर फिलामेंट और फाइबर बनता है। अब तक विदेशों से यह स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कॉर्पोरेशन

मंगलेशी थी लेकिन यह जो स्वदेशी कैबिनेटम और डी० एम० टो० ८ न रहा है—जरा थी उन्नीकृष्णान जो मैं रचनात्मक सुझाव दे रहा हूँ, उस पर गौर करे और उस का धावर करे—मुझे जानबूझ करके से पता चला कि एकसाइज इगुटा उस पर नहीं लवने वाली है। इस का नतीजा यह होगा कि विदेशों से जो कैबिनेटम और डी० एम० टो० आते थे, उस से 18 हजार रुपये प्रति टन दाम कम हैं।

वि०-किन् लोग का इस से फायदा होगा, मोदा—यह तो अनपार्लियामेंटरी नाम नहीं है—बिड़ना, जे० के, बगूस, जयपुरयाज, निरलास आदि इन सब का हम से फायदा होगा। ये सब एन्टा-सोशल एर्लीनेटम है और इन को यह 18 हजार रुपये प्रति टन सस्ता कंपरोलैटम और डी०एम०टी० देने का विचार है। इस के ऊपर कोई नतीजाही नहीं की गई। अभी अभी प्राफपर साहब न सरकार की आमदनी बढ़ाने की बात कही सरकारों खजाने में यह 50 कराड रुपया जा सकता है। कौन इस को गेव रहा है? मैं ने इस पर कई बार तवज्जह खीची और इस तरह के मामले का सरकार के पास भजा लेकिन इस के ऊपर कोई नतीजाही नही हुई है। मैं किसी व्यक्ति का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ लेकिन उडोसा चुनाव के लिए 25 लाख रुपया जे०के० से इरुट्टा किया गया है (अध्यक्षान) मैं किसी का नाम नहीं ले रहा हूँ। मैं जानकार मूकों से जानता हूँ। श्री उन्नीकृष्णान मुझे माफ कीजिए देखिए वरना उन मंत्री कायेंसी सदस्यों का मुझे नाम लेना पड़ेगा जो मेने पार्लियामेंट इस तरह की जानकारी जो होती है, उस की पुष्टि करते हैं, (अध्यक्षान)

श्री शंकर बघाव सिंह (चतरा) एक माननीय सदस्य हो कर आप और इस तरह की वे बुनियाद बातें बोलेंगे और बिना प्रमाण

के बोलेंगे, तो इस सदन की मर्यादा कैसे रहेगी। (अध्यक्षान)

श्री मधु लिमये मभापति महोदय, गूजर मल मोद परिवार के लोगों के पास से विदेशों मुद्रा और गेहूँ आदि चीजें निकली हैं जिस का उल्लेख श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र जी ने किया है। मैं इतना और कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन के पास से फरेन के केरन्सी भी मिली है (अध्यक्षान) अब गूजर मल मोदी के बारे में धा परेशानी हो रही है।

SHRI PRABODH CHANDRA (Gurdaspur) On a point of order It is the convention of the House that, when in a round-about manner the name is indicated or a hint is given about involvement of some member of this House in some shady deal, he must come out with the name of that person. Otherwise the whole House stands condemned

श्री मधु लिमये समागत महोदय, जो लोग इन्ट्रस्टेड होते हैं उन को आप बालने देत हैं। यह नियम है क्या इस सदन का?

MR CHAIRMAN Please sit down There is substance in the point of order raised by the learned member. If you want to cast aspersion on any member of this House

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE No, I did not

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) He has misunderstood him Mod 15 not our Mr Piloo Mody (Interruptions)

MR CHAIRMAN Hon members may please sit down He has made it clear.

डॉ० कल्लास (बम्बई दक्षिण) अभी आपने यह कहा था कि जे०के० मिल्स से 25 लाख रुपया लिया है।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं ने किसी सदस्य का नाम नहीं लिया।

डा० कैलास 25 लाख दान्या लिया यह आप ने कहा था जिसकी वजह से बहुत से सदस्य जो यहां बैठे ह, चुनकर भाये।

श्री मधु लिमये : समापति महोदय, श्री गुजरमल मीदी परिवार में एक शादी हुई थी; इंटर-कांटीनेन्टल ओवरराय में...

श्री शंकर दबास सिंह : आप उसमें गये थे।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं उस में नहीं गया था लेकिन आप के लोगो ने कहा कि हमारे यहां के बड़े-बड़े लोग उस शादी में पाये गये। सभी लोगो ने देखा है (अवधान)

स्मगलिंग के बारे में मैंने चर्चा की थी। इसको अगर रोकना चाहते हैं, तो स्मगलर जो हैं... (अवधान) मैं स्वयं हूँ। पार्टी में क्या मतलब है? जो कहना है मुझे कहिये। अगर आप स्मगलिंग को रोकना चाहते हैं तो जिन लोगो के बारे में सन्देह है कि वे स्मगलिंग में शामिल हैं तो उन लोगो के बारे में क्या हम लोगो को सचेत नहीं रहना चाहिए? एक महाराष्ट्र के मंत्री श्री अंतुले का मामला मैंने उठाया था। प्रधान मंत्री ने मुझे को चिट्ठी लिखी कि श्री अंतुले को कमेटी प्राफ दी लेजिस्लेचर ने क्लीयर किया है। यह सारी जानकारी उनकी महाराष्ट्र के मुख्य मंत्री से मिलती है। वह यह झूठ जानकारी प्रधान मंत्री को देते हैं। आज इस मंच से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि महाराष्ट्र लेजिस्लेचर की किसी भी कमेटी ने.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: I feel that if the Maharashtra Legislature has really absolved the hon. Minister.....

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: It is not a committee of the Maharashtra Legislature.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY (Rajnandgaon): On a point of order. Whatever allegation was made against Mr. Antulay, a Minister of Maharashtra Government, a demand was made on the floor of the Maharashtra legislature by the opposition there that a group of members of the legislature.....

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: No group. A committee.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY:...including the Opposition Members be constituted. So a committee was constituted and that committee has gone into it and the committee has completely cleared the Minister and rejected the allegation. Now it is a bad precedent that a person who is not here to defend himself and who was cleared by a committee including the Opposition Members should be arraigned here and to say that the definite and categorical information given by the Chief Minister, Shri Naik, to the Prime Minister was false is utterly improper.

MR CHAIRMAN: The hon. Chief Minister whom you are referring to is not here in this Parliament to defend himself. I request you not to make any allegation.

AN HON. MEMBER. Questions have been answered by Mr Ganesh.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: On a point of order. There might be some reference to some committee. There were questions asked both in this House as well as in the other House. This particular name was referred to. Some information was also given and if some reference is made to that, that does not mean that any rule has been violated. In this particular case I may point out to you that no formal committee of the Maharashtra State Legislature has gone into the allegation. They have not given a clearance. That committee to which the hon. Member is making a reference is not a legislative committee.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: The information given by the Chief Minister of Maharashtra is completely false.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are again casting an aspersion on the Maharashtra Chief Minister who is not here. I cannot allow it.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: He gave false information to the Prime Minister.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is your view.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: But it is a fact.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It may be a fact according to you.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Every member expresses his own view only.

श्री मधु लिमये : अगर लेजिस्लेचर की कमेटी होती तो एक शब्द भी मैं नहीं बोलता । लेकिन झूठ जानकारों महाराष्ट्र के मुख्य मंत्री ने प्रधान मंत्री को देकर उनको गुमराह करने

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is correct, but do not make any allegation against a person who is not here to defend himself, I would request you to withdraw that remark.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं फैक्ट्स की बात कर रहा हूँ, ओपिनियन नहीं दे रहा हूँ । प्रधान मंत्री को गलत इनफॉर्मेशन दी गई है, इसमें अनपार्लियामेंटरी क्या है ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have made an allegation against the Maharashtra Chief Minister that he has stated a lie.

श्री मधु लिमये : कस्टम और स्मगलिंग का मामला कोई स्टेट का मामला है ? महाराष्ट्र का यह मामला नहीं है । क्या मुझे बोलने न देने का इनका इरादा है ? अगर ऐसी बात है तो हम किसी को भी बोलने नहीं देंगे । बेरी बात इनको चुभती क्यों है ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You should not cast aspersion. I am trying to help you as far as practicable. You should not cast aspersion. You should not bring in his name here. You kindly withdraw it.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: No allegation is involved. There is no allegation. I challenge them to prove it. I challenge them to prove that it was a Committee of the Legislature.

डा० कैलास (बम्बई दक्षिण) : श्री मधु दंडवते ने जो बात कही है वह सत्य से परे है, यह सत्य नहीं है । अपोजीशन और कांग्रेस के मेम्बरों ने यह मांग की थी कि असेम्बली के मेम्बरों की एक कमेटी बनाई जाए । इस कमेटी में अपोजीशन और कांग्रेस दोनों के मेम्बर थे । लिमये और दंडवते जो जो कह रहे हैं वह सत्य से परे है ।

श्री मधु लिमये : प्राय लोगों का इनपर दवाव क्यों है ? (व्यङ्ग्यान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. Please sit down. When everybody is speaking, nothing will go on record... As I said in the beginning, please do not make a speech which will provoke others. Please cooperate with me.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I said no formal committee or official committee of the legislature was set up. I said there was a Committee but no formal or official committee of the legislature. That is what I said.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him continue.

DR. KAILAS: This Committee was appointed by the Chairman of the Legislative Council, Shri V. S. Page consisting of Members of opposition and members of the Congress.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please permit him to continue. Both the sides of the case have been presented before the House, and I feel now we should avoid this controversy and go on with this debate.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैंने दो प्रश्नों के द्वारा दो मुद्दों पर जानकारी मांगी थी। एक यह था कि क्या इस सरकार ने विरोधियों के उपर जासूसी करने के लिए जापान से सोफिस्टिकेटेड इलेक्ट्रॉनिक वागिंग इस्ट्र-मेंट्स मंगाए थे और क्या उसके ऊपर कार्रवाई अपना खर्च हुआ था ?

SHRI PILLOO MODY: It is worth 6 million dollars.

श्री मधु लिमये : कभी भी इस सदन को बजट पेपर में इसकी जानकारी नहीं दी गई कि किस मद के ऊपर यह पैसा खर्च हुआ है। मैंने पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी के चेयरमैन को भी एक पत्र लिखा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि एस्टीमेट्स कमेटी और पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी के चेयरमैन इसके बारे में क्या कर रहे हैं ?

17.00 hrs.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I shall make a report to the House as to what the outcome is. (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Limaye, I request you to conclude your speech. I have given you more time than what is due to you.

श्री मधु लिमये . सभी सदस्यों ने ज्यादा समय दिया है। श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र, श्री पोलू मोदी आदि सभी ने ज्यादा समय लिया है।

इस सरकार की नीतियों के कारण भारत के वैज्ञानिक, इंजीनियर और डाक्टर बड़े पैमाने पर अमरीका चले जा रहे हैं। इस बारे में अन्कन्डाड की एक रिपोर्ट आई है कि कितने बड़े पैमाने पर इस सरकार के तहत वेन ड्रेन हो रहा है। उस रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है .

"Detailed estimates of incomes gained were made for the United States and incomes lost for India per unit of immigration in 1970.

The United States is the biggest recipient country and India one of the biggest donor countries in this international transfer of skill"...the income transferred through brain drain, or reverse transfer of technology, from developing regions to the United States in 1970 alone would amount to around \$3.7 billion. In comparison, the figure for the United States official Development assistance to developing countries in the same year was \$3.1 billion. (This brain drain represents about 39 per cent of the United States current expenditure on higher education).. It should be noted that since prices and productivity have both risen since 1970, this would tend to make the figures per-immigrant income gained substantially larger to-day compared with the estimates presented in this study."

जहाँ तक रेलवे का सम्बन्ध है 14 जून को हमारे प्रिजिडेंशल कंडीशेंट और श्री एस० एम० बनर्जी आदि के साथ रेल मंत्री श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र से हमारी बातचीत हुई। विक्टिमाइजेशन के बारे में जो भी बातें हुई हैं उनको लेकर कर के तत्काल उन के पास भेजा। उन बातों को उन्होंने नहीं काटा। लेकिन कल उन्होंने कहा कि कोई विक्टिमाइजेशन नहीं है। मैं एक सीक्रेट सर्कुलर लाया हूँ, जिस में पता चलेगा कि सत्य क्या है। उस मीक्रेट सर्कुलर में नार्दन रेलवे के पदाधिकारी कहत हैं

"It has been observed that despite issue of Shri Koli's D.O. of even No. dated 14-5-1974, followed by a D.O dated 29-5-1974, from me, no appreciable progress has been made either in regard to processing the cases of condonation of break in service, or disposal of appeals preferred by the May 1974 strikers against their dismissal/removal/termination. The Board have also expressed their concern on this account. In order to avoid any further feeling of victimisation amongst the staff and to

ensure quick normalcy on the railway, it is essential that you examine these burning problems personally and arrange to have all the appeals against dismissals/removal/terminations as also the case of condonation of break in service finalised expeditiously keeping of course the 'hard cores' aside. It has been desired by the Railway Board that, in view of the ensuing Parliament session, the work regarding disposal of all appeals against dismissal/removal/termination etc and condonation of break in service, excepting those of 'Hard Cores' must be completed before the end of this month."

इस सर्कुलर पर अभी तक भ्रमल क्यों नहीं हुआ है? मंत्री महोदय अपने डिविजनल सुपरिन्टेंडेंट और डी० एन० आदि को डिसमिस कर दे, क्योंकि वे सरकारी सर्कुलर पर भ्रमल नहीं कर रहे हैं।

मेरा आखिरी मुद्दा बिहार के बारे में है। बिहार में शोनी के बल पर लडको को कालेज और विश्वविद्यालय नहीं भेजा जा सकता है और एग्जामिनेशन्स नहीं कराए जा सकते हैं। इसलिए मेरी यह भाग है कि सरकार अपनी इस दमन को नीति को छोड़े। बिहार में चेक से 36,000 आदमी मरे हैं। बिहार सरकार इतनी निकम्मी है कि उस पर पचास करोड़ रुपये का ओवरड्राफ्ट चू। पात्रवे क्रिनास कमिशन ने हाई कोर्ट को स्टेट इतना ज्यादा आवरड्राफ्ट करेगी उस के खिलाफ कांस्टीट्यूशनल एक्शन लिया जा सकता है।

मेरी भाग है कि लडको के खिलाफ टैक चलाने वाली और शूट एट साइट का आर्डर देने वाली इस सरकार को—गया कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में बताया गया है कि कई कांग्रेस एम० पी० ने कहा है कि शूट एट साइट का आर्डर दिया गया था— और बिहार की विधान सभा को तत्काल वर्खास्त किया जाये। अगर बन्धूक और टैक के बल पर मच्छकरी और छात्रों को दबाने का प्रयास किया

जायेगा, तो मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह प्रस्ताव भले ही गिर जाये, लेकिन वह सरकार भी ज्यादा दिन तक नहीं टिकने वाली है—जनता उस को खत्म कर सकती है।

MR. CHAIRMAN. Now, Shri Vikram Mahajan.

PROF. MODHU DANDAVATE: On a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have called Shri Vikram Mahajan.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am not speaking in the debate. I am rising on a point of order. I have already sent a note to you ..

AN HON. MEMBER: Point of order on what?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I have already given it in writing.

MR CHAIRMAN Whatever he has said already has gone on record, and he has made it very clear already.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: After that, some remarks have been passed. I do not want wrong reports to be there and I do not want wrong records to be there. Dr Kailas has said that the statement made by Shri Madhu Dandavate on the floor of the House that there was no committee of the Maharashtra Assembly to go into the allegations against Mr. Antulay is false. I wish to go on record that as far as an official committee of the Maharashtra legislature is concerned, there was no committee. No doubt, there was some Gawai Committee which was an informal committee outside the legislature, but there was no official committee.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: In legislative parlance, there is no such thing as an informal committee.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, there cannot be two opinions that the country is passing through a serious crisis and

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

a serious discussion is necessary. But the way or the manner in which this motion of no-confidence has been brought forward clearly shows that they are not interested in any serious discussions but they are only trying to use this as a cloak for nefarious purposes, that is, for character assassination, for making wild allegations, for mudslinging and such like purposes. We have seen Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu carrying the flag; he had started the mudslinging campaign in the hope that some would stick somewhere but in the process at least he soiled his own hands; whether he can make the mudstick on to somebody else is a question on which there can be two opinions but the fact remains that at least he soiled his own hands.

Then, Shri Madhu Limaye had also started throwing wild allegations, and then the newly elected Member also started following them. I suggest that he should choose a better leader as a model than either Mr. Bosu or Mr. Limaye.

The way or the manner in which this motion of no-confidence has been brought shows that it is more of a routine ritual or what we term as a futile exercise. It has lost its purpose because of the way and manner in which Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and Mr. Madhu Limaye have gone on record and also the way in which our new Member Shri Janeshwar Mishra has spoken.

SHRI PILOO MODY: That is a ritualistic opening.

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: What I wish to say is that such wild allegations in fact show to the nation what type of persons have been elected to the House who cannot even present a serious matter in a serious manner, who in fact make themselves laughing stock in the House.

There can be no two opinions that so far as the railway workers are concerned, they have performed

genuine services, they have made great sacrifices during emergencies. Nobody can question their loyalty and devotion, but a certain section of workers were misguided by certain political parties. I think one of my colleague very correctly used the words 'political adventurists' to describe these people who misused a certain section of railway workers, and misguided them to go on strike. They attempted to paralyse the economy of the country in which they failed.

In the same manner, certain political adventurists are trying to misguide the student community of Bihar and trying to ruin their careers by persuading them not to go to colleges or take examinations. Not only are they misguiding a certain section of students in Bihar but they are also using coercive methods in preventing them from taking to studies or to go to colleges or take examinations. I am sure that ultimately this movement will also fail as the railway strike did fail.

So far as the railway strike is concerned, I just want to mention two points. One is that in one year a 40 per cent rise has been given in emoluments to the railway workers. Nowhere else in the country has such a high rise been given and yet certain Opposition parties were able to misguide a certain section of workers. Some of them indulged in activities which were anti-social, anti-national; they indulged in acts of sabotage, they also terrorised section of workers and even molested women.

Surely it is not the case of the Opposition that this class of misguided workers should not be penalised for what they have done to the nation's property or to the country or to the women. I am sure that is not what they are pleading for. So far as the innocent workers are concerned, I am sure that the Railway Minister

and the Prime Minister would look into their cases and will be magnanimous to them.

There is another point, regarding the price rise in the country. There cannot be opinions that prices have risen and that is causing great hardship to the fixed income groups and the fixed wage-earners. It is true this is the result of the activities of a certain section of the business community called hoarders and black-marketers, and Government are trying to take steps to curb their activity. For example, the scheme regarding compulsory deposits is to reduce the liquidity of money in the country. There is credit-squeeze on the non-priority sector. This will reduce inflation. Then there is the ordinance on dividends which would enable genuine business companies to reinvest in their business and expand.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore): How do you deal with black-marketeers?

SHRI VIKRAM MAHAJAN: The basic method to check blackmarketing is to see that the people of this country must become honest. That is the only way to prevent blackmarketing. The two methods for mopping up black money are the acquisition of undervalued properties and raids. Maybe demonetisation is a third method, but in that there can be two opinions.

Regarding inflation and high prices, the Finance Minister has elucidated certain proposals and the steps he has taken. A point was made by an hon. member that a high rate of taxation would prevent inflation and reduce black money. I think it is just the contrary. A high rate of taxation encourages black money and has not helped in checking prices in any country. So, it is not a weapon which can be used. That is why the Government has so far not taken recourse to this.

Statistics were thrown at us to show that the per capita income and per capita consumption of foodgrains, cloth etc., has gone down in the last 10 or 15 years. The other side of the picture has not been shown. In fact, production has gone up in the last 15 to 20 years. Production of foodgrains which was 52 million tonnes in 1952 has shot up to 100 million in 1973. Similarly sugar production has doubled since 1952. It is true that the per capita consumption of these items has gone down but that is because the population explosion has outstripped production. Surely you cannot blame the Government for that because every person in the country has to help in that. Still, Government is taking all the steps which will enable it to prevent this inflationary cycle.

The movements started by the opposition parties by instigating certain sections of society like workers and students with the nefarious objects of causing failure of democracy or paralysing the economy are bound to fail in the ultimate analysis because it is always the good which succeeds and not the bad. As the Prime Minister put it, we have great faith in the wisdom, strength and determination of the people of this country and we are sure they will rise to this occasion. The opposition parties have not combined on the basis of any principle or policy. It is just blind opposition to the Congress Party and Government. I am sure, under the leadership of our Prime Minister we will be able to overcome these difficulties and march ahead. I hope this no confidence motion will be thrown out lock, stock and barrel, as it has no basis, logic, rationally or substance.

SHRI P G MAVALANKAR (AHMEDABAD): Mr Chairman, Sir, listening to the three-day debate on the No Confidence Motion, I have been gathering the impression and I must give expression to it at the outset that most of the speakers from either the government side or the opposition side are not taking this motion as seriously and

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

gravely as they should have, probably because no confidence motion is a phenomenon which has been repeated over a period of some years. Because I support this motion, rather I want to support this motion of No-Confidence against the Government which is brought forward in this House. I must say that although there is lack of seriousness and sincerity in this House, the country at large outside this House is having increasingly greater and greater no confidence against the Government, because the people are continuously suffering and they are being harassed more and more increasingly because of the incapacity of the government.

One rather important fringe benefit of this debate has been the fact that the hon. Prime Minister has been present almost throughout the debate on this motion in this House. I wish she were present a little longer on other days as well. I remember how her distinguished father, our respected Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru looked at the parliamentary institutions with the utmost respect, which was almost a sense of fear born out of reverence for parliamentary institutions. Therefore, he was eager to listen to the opposition point of view, to the different points of views. Because he was present in the House for a longer time, obviously, he was able to give a certain shape, a certain direction to the proceedings in this House. Therefore, I wish that the present Prime Minister and her colleagues too will show a little greater respect to the parliamentary institutions and not convert this august body into a more rubber stamp.

When I look at the various parliamentary institutions, this House for example, there are very few members present and even those who are present are not listening. If they are not listening, let them go out. But this is the seriousness they are attaching to Parliament.

Then, Sir, look at the evasive answers given by the Ministers. When a question is asked about the foreign directors in an Indian privately-owned company in which there are Government directors as well the relevant information is not for the coming and evasive replies are given. By this thin attendance in the House, by the Prime Minister and her colleagues not being present in the House most of the time and by giving evasive replies in Parliament, they are breaking the whole edifice of democratic set-up.

My charge is that under the present Prime Minister in this country there has been an increasing tendency of one-manship, or, rather one-woman-ship! Since independence we have had one-party government. We are fortunate that there is no one-party State. India is not yet a one-party State. Fortunately, there are some opposition parties. Though numerically small, they have polled more votes on this side. Although there is one-party domination, there is no one-party rule. But this one-party domination has degenerated into one-person domination, and once such an individual rule sets in, one-party rule is not very long off!

I am glad that the Prime Minister has just arrived because I wanted to speak in her presence. It is no use the Congress Benches having the satisfaction or consolation in asking the question: "where is the opposition?" You say, they are all divided. Of course, they are divided. You say, they have not got anything to propose. Of course, many of them have not got much to propose. Most of them have got only to oppose. Yet, I say, let not the Prime Minister and her party, her team, her supporters, have any illusion that because there is no alternative at the present moment, they will go on endlessly like this. After all, if there is no alternative in the present set-up, my point is that ultimately it is the people who will find an alternative to this party.

in power. They cannot tolerate this one-party dominance and one-man-ship for a long time.

Corruption is increasing day by day; indeed, minute by minute. It is increasing by leaps and bounds. In Gujārat, it had shown a phenomenal increase and the students and the people of Gujārat revolted and the corrupt Government was thrown out. Now, in a different context, on a different canvass, in a different style, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, one of the respected leaders of pre-Independence India as well as of post-Independence India, is trying to give a certain shape and direction. I would have thought that the Prime Minister would have welcomed his honest and sincere efforts. I know, she has not said a word of abuse against the person and the work of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. But why is she letting her own party people, not excluding the Congress President, to throw all kinds of filth and abuse and wild charges on Shri Jayaprakash Narayan? This is not the way. This is what they are doing it. Everybody in her party is throwing all kinds of filth and abuses and charges against the man who may be mistaken by them but who is on the right lines as long as he is fighting against corruption.

About the railway strike, if you are going to victimise hundreds of thousands of railway workers in the name of teaching them a lesson, I tell you, you are antagonising your own brothers and sisters. After all, they are railway employees; they are part and parcel of this democratic republic. To arrest them, to arrest their family members and their leaders, not in hundreds but in thousands, under the DIR and MISA is something unheard of. Never before in free India, the Acts like DIR and MISA have been used so wrongly, massively, extensively and undemocratically as they have been used now, before and during and after the railway strike. The trouble is,

once this habit grows and the authorities get a taste of doing things by ignoring courts of law and by setting aside the rule of law from their purview, I am afraid, the day will not be far off when many of us will find ourselves in jail only because we tell the truth and we fight for justice.

About the Ordinances, when we are talking about the latest Ordinances, I say, this Government has come to a stage where they just cannot live without Ordinances. Even before the First Lok Sabha, there were a number of Ordinances issued by the Government. Increasingly, the Members of Opposition have been protesting and, increasingly, various Speakers have also been protesting. With your permission, Sir, I would like to read out two short paragraphs from the Speeches and Writings of the First Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

As far back as in 1947, this is what he said at the Presiding Officers' Conference where the issue of Ordinances was referred to. I quote:

"It was, obviously, a wrong convention for the Executive Government to promulgate Ordinances merely because of shortage of time. That power was to be exercised only when there was an emergency and the Legislature could not meet. It was not a desirable precedent to promulgate Ordinances for want of time as inconvenient legislation might also be promulgated in that manner."

Then, in a letter to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs of those times, on November 25, 1950, the said Speaker said:

"The procedure of the promulgation of Ordinances is inherently undemocratic. Whether an Ordinance is justifiable or not, the issue of a large number of Ordinances has psychologically a bad effect. The people carry an impression

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar] that Government is carried on by Ordinances. The House carries a sense of being ignored and the Central Secretariat perhaps got into the habit of slackness which necessitates Ordinances and an impression is created that it is desired to commit the House to a particular legislation as the House has no alternative but to put a seal on matters that have been legislated upon by Ordinances. Such a state of things is not conducive to the development of the best parliamentary traditions."

Therefore, I would say that this Government has the habit of issuing any number of Ordinances, thereby showing lack of respect for Parliamentary institutions. We must protest against this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: I want to conclude by saying that black money is not merely a parallel economy but it is a dominant economy, and smuggling is going on to such an extent in various parts of the country, specially in coastal areas, that, wherever smuggling takes place, there is not only parallel economy functioning but there is also a parallel government functioning as it were; nobody touches them because right from the police constable upwards everybody is involved in that.

Finally, I would say this. Let this Government not be sleeping on various points and problems. Do not give us sermons. Give us solutions to problems. Only if you give solutions and not sermons, you will survive. Otherwise the Indian people who have already begun to show lack of confidence in you will throw you out from this House and consequently from the power, much earlier than you think you would be.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): Mr. Chairman, we are almost at the tag end of the long, repetitive ritual. Session after session it has become customary for the motley crowd of this Opposition, to come forward with motions of no-confidence which normally, in other Parliamentary systems are reserved for cases of grave national emergencies or for questions of grave national consequence. But that unfortunately is not the case here. For example, this time it started almost with a drainage inspector's report, i.e.,—Jyotirmoy Bosu's speech; it went on to cover a lot of ground, more of fiction than fact, more of rubbish than any sense, more of non-sense than sense; it went on to question the integrity and ability of our Prime Minister. Then, came very amusing proposals of Cabinet reshuffle from that permanent clown of the House! Aspersions were also cast on our Presidential nominee. Long before when Pilloo Mody was probably a toddler or in some school in Bombay, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was a great leader of our national struggle. It was really a disgusting performance that somebody should have come up and said anything of that kind about him.

So, the whole motion is bereft of any content. Shyamshantan Mishra and the others lectured about the need for patriotism and integrity to our Prime Minister. I would only say that, if our Prime Minister has to carry a certificate or badge of patriotism or a badge of character or a badge of ability from these gentlemen, then I would request her to resign rather than remain in her office; for it would not be worth carrying.

I was looking, as I sat through in agonising appraisal of the speeches that were made here from the Opposition benches, for some constructive suggestions, for some understanding of the issues that are at work in our polity and economy. But there

was nothing of that kind. There was only fulsome praise for saboteurs of democracy, for leaders of emerging fascist forces. I would repeat, Mr. Mavalankar, not once but, a hundred times, even if all of you oppose me, that what Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is doing today is nothing but sabotage of democratic framework; he has himself openly and unashamedly said.... (*Interruptions*). This is no abuse. I do not want to apologise for it.

AN HON. MEMBER: He was your *Guru*.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Yes. I would not deny that. He was my *Guru* at one time.

The whole question is this. We have to understand the complexities of our economy. It is not an easy economy. What is happening today is a very deepening economic crisis, which has led to a political crisis and it has further aggravated the economic crisis; it has also resulted in serious challenges to our democratic institutions.

17.35 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Dr. Rao said that there was no galloping inflation. I would agree with him and say, as a leading economist, he was right in pointing it out. But, I have no doubt that when the inflationary process crosses 10 per cent mark, it has a tendency to develop hyper inflationary pressures in the country and consequently, a price rise at all levels is inevitable and this, I would contend, while discussing this motion, is the most crucial point before the country and before this House to deal with at this point of time. No country within the international trade mechanism other than the communist countries can ever hope to get out of this because this is a crisis of the system itself. The entire world capitalist system is undergoing this crisis in varying degrees and so, our country which is still within the ambit of the

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system which we are trying to reform and restructure through this house cannot escape from this inflationary push. It has also to be clearly understood that in a situation of this kind, the policy options before any Government, whether led by Mrs. Gandhi or by Atal Bihari Vajpayee or by Pilloo Mody, would have to be necessarily limited and unless immediate corrective measures which we are attempting to take, which these ordinances reflect, are taken, there is no way out for this country, because inflation vitiates not merely investment decisions and industrial growth but also it basically tilts the structure of income distribution in our society against the weaker sections. That is why any government with a socialist programme or orientation has to be concerned about. This inflationary process also vitiates any prospects of achieving any healthy balance of payments position and achieving our goal of self-reliance.

So, Sir, history and social experience has also shown that once inflation crosses the tolerance level, it will also produce strains on the political institutions. So, a major offensive is called for to-day against this inflation and consequent price spiral and that is what the Government has sought to do through these two ordinances and the ordinances, I would contend, can only be understood in the context of these things and in any political system like ours where the majority of the people are poor and unorganized, a minority of 10 or 12 per cent would naturally try—because they have a tremendous political leverage, and the institutions belong to them, whether political parties or trade unions or other associations or various other pressure groups, and naturally they, have a tendency, to pressurise the institutions like a parliamentary government to abdicate larger social goals and objectives.

But I would contend that Mrs. Gandhi's government has shown that they are not willing to be pressurised and this is the major question. Shall we

[Shri K. P. Unnikrishnan]

placate these groups or these organised sections at the expense of the majority of the people in our country and allow the democratic system and the fabric to be corroded? I would say that it is better for the Government to face the storm now rather than the deluge and disaster later and that is exactly what the Government has sought to do.

Now, the Government, not only through these ordinances, but through several other measures it has taken, has tried to control black money. Action against smugglers, tax-evaders, hoarders and professionals are being taken by this government and also for example, they have taken measures like equalisation of the price of kerosene and diesel. But I would also say that there should be an attempt to share the burden and the burden has to be shared equally. But a lot more remains to be done.

Coming back, I would also say that so far as industries are concerned, the Government will have to initiate very strong measures to see that inventories are reduced and trade credit is strictly brought within the curbs and controls. I also hope that a serious attempt is made towards reduction in the stock of the purchasing power.

I have indeed a grave doubt about the anti-inflationary package, whether the ordinances that have come up now will be enough, whether we can go ahead, whether we cannot afford to go on with more, because the basic question before us, as I said earlier, is the survival of our democratic system itself. Also along with it, the whole concept of planning and the relevance of planning to our democratic experiment has been brought into question. Now, I will say that if planning is to remain in suspension, then there will be no democracy in this country and the entire system may collapse. The question before the planners and before the Government therefore is this. It is a question of 'resource mobilisation'. You cannot solve this problem

or tackle it unless the agrarian sector is touched, that is to say, the rural rich is brought within your tax ambit. The Raj Committee has made certain suggestions in this regard but I would not go into the details in this matter because of lack of time.

Now, a group of people, twenty per cent of our owner cultivators owning about 60 per cent of our cultivated land are getting all the benefits of our developmental effort during the last 15 or 20 years and they are trying to blackmail the national community by trying to withhold their stocks by trying to refuse to cooperate in the national endeavour. This is what happens. The C.S.O. has estimated that the national income originating in agriculture rose by 16,000 crores between 1963 and 1973. That is to say from Rs. 8473 crores in 1963 it rose to Rs. 24,500 crores in 1973, and what has happened to the fallout of this prosperity—that is the question now. Shall we allow this class to go on outside the tax ambit?

On the contrary the land revenue collection of all the State Governments dropped from Rs. 123 crores in 1963-64 to 99 crores in 1972-73. The agricultural income-tax remains stagnant around Rs. 12 crores. We find that certain classes like these have not contributed to our developmental efforts. I would not call them kulaks because very often this is objected to here. But it is a question of historical experience. Our anti-inflationary efforts will only be complete when we tackle this new rural rich. You can start with electricity tariff and so on. I hope that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government will show the same determination which she has shown in recent months not only to arrest the movement towards drift but also arresting the forces of anti-social elements in the country. I would not take much time of the House. But I would like to say this. Very often it is said that agricultural prices have to be reviewed in the background of rising cost of production and so on. It is wholly

untrue to say that in India, agricultural prices are dependent upon cost of production. Agricultural prices in India I would say are dependent upon market conditions and the market forces while the industrial price are dependent or mostly conditioned by the cost of production. That is to say it is the market conditions which react more in the case of the agricultural commodities.

I now come to the Railway strike. Mr. Indrajit Gupta is not here. I have great affection and regard for him. He said that Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a Generalissimo of the forces opposed to this strike. Not only as leader of this country but as Prime Minister she was leading the forces of sanity against the forces trying to disrupt the country and what was wrong in this if he could play the role of Subedar-Major to George Fernandez's Generalissimo? Undoubtedly Mrs. Indira Gandhi had to play the role. Sir, it is a tragedy of this country that very often the country's leftists fail to realise the significance and cooperate in our national effort and national endeavour.

At that time, they suffer from some kind of myopia. I have no hesitation in saying that this was politically motivated strike. As the Railway Minister explained, I do not want to go into details. The basic question before us is: whether this country, as I said earlier, can be allowed to be pressurised by organised minorities.

I would also say—I am not saying that there were no hardships—that undoubtedly there were hardships. I would not possibly even defend all the measures that we have taken to meet this crisis. But, the choices and options were limited by the conduct of the struggle led by Mr. George Fernandes. I would like to tell the Railway Minister that as long as the structure of the Railway Board remains and as long as there is problem of tariff, no problem of the railways can be settled in the conceivable future. What happens is this. For example

there is a freight tariff on cement; there are a number of examples that I can give. Take for instance bamboo and other items which have to be heavily subsidised and which actually go into consumption direct by the higher income groups.

So Sir, in a class society, any measures that the Government seek to implement will always be opposed by certain sections of people. The future development will be at stake. It cannot be hidden behind the veneer of radical slogan. The question is: Are we prepared to accept the basic programme? The first programme can only be to fight an offensive against the inflationary spiral and high prices. Should Our democracy survive in this country? Let us ask this basic question. Democracy can only survive if the political parties in a parliamentary system of Government accept certain basic and fundamental norms. I would say that it applies more to the so-called leftist parties. If they accept certain programmes then only a national consensus can emerge. And this consensus should be around Smt. Indira Gandhi I would appeal to them to consider this and stop their politics of negativism and ploughing the virgin soil of barren slogans.

SHRI JYOTIMOY BOSU: Sir, You will kindly give five minutes to my party.

MR. SPEAKER: In the case of C.P.M. there is that time already left. All other parties have exhausted their time

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have more time left for our party. So, kindly give a few minutes only. The speaker is ready.

MR. SPEAKER: As far as the other parties are concerned, they have exhausted their time.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Sir, Shri Indrajit Gupta took only 32 minutes. So, you give some time to Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan.

MR. SPEAKER: This is much more than the time allotted to you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Kindly give five minutes to my party. Can the speaker speak?

MR. SPEAKER: All right.

SHRI NOORUL HUDA (Cachar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all I would like to invite the attention of Central Government as well as the attention of the Railway Minister about the atrocities committed on the railwaymen and their families in my State of Assam. Mr. Mishra was looking for the specific instances I shall give him some. Let him note down the same. There is a colony in Nambari in Maligaon, headquarters of N.E. Railway where thirty-three women, wives and relations of railwaymen were arrested. The RPF people maltreated and manhandled the womenfolk, and they were led by one Mr. Mishra, Security Officer. This was on 13th May, 1974 in Nambari colony, Maligaon. In Adabari Colony, Pandi,—I have toured all these places, and I have gone there and obtained first-hand information from the victims of this maltreatment—Shrimati Utpala Bhatta, wife of Pratul Kumar Bhatta was hit by lathi by the RPF and other policemen on the same day, that is, the 13th May, 1974. One Jadugopal Bhowmik, the owner of a panshop was beaten by the Assam Battalion police and he was kicked inside the police station by the additional SP. In the new colony of Pandu on 19th May, 1974, Sapan Kumar Bhattacharyya, son of Nanigopal Bhattacharyya, and Mohan Lal Nandi, son of Sudhir Chandra Nandi and Surjit Deb of the Rest Camp were assaulted inside the Jhalukbari police station near Gauhati by lathi and they were beaten with boots by the additional SP, Deka.

I do not want to increase the number of instances of such torture and maltreatment. But I would only men-

tion that in the BBC colony, Pandu, the triangular colony, Pandu, the Rest Camp, Pandu, the old colony, Bongaigaon the new colony, Bongaigaon, the loco colony, Bongaigaon and all these places, the RPF, the BSF and the Assam battalion police manhandled and maltreated the wives and families of railwaymen between the 8th and 27th May, 1974. If you want more instances, I can give lots of them. For the information of the Railway Minister and the Central Government, if they want more instances, I can give any number of them. Here are those instances with me.

During the last AICC session, which was held only two or three days back, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was talking about increasing production, curbing of corruption, and ensuring fair and equal distribution, and she also said that the new ordinances were not directed against the working class and there was no intention on the part of the Central Government to freeze the wages of the workers and the employees.

Our great Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram, was also talking about keeping the production channels flowing. I would only say this much that in today's conditions we should consider which are the forces responsible for increasing corruption, for lack of production, and for driving our country into ruin and chaos. This has to be considered by the House and by the larger mass of people all over the country. In such circumstances, I would only say to the Prime Minister, to the Government to the whole House that unless the big monopoly houses are curbed, unless their profits are frozen, unless the rural rich, the kulaks, the landowners and landlords are curbed, unless the peasants and the kisans get lands so that they can till and cultivate and take the produce in their own homes, no talk of curbing corruption no talk of increasing production will succeed.

So naturally the responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of this Government. Under the circumstances, I would say this much that in today's conditions the Central Government, the Government led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, is totally responsible for all this chaos, for all this ruination, for all these semi-fascist tendencies all over the country.

They have been talking big. They were talking in Bangalore and they were talking in Delhi. Now they just castigate the Opposition for repeating this kind of adjournment motions and no-confidence motions *ad nauseum*. I say it does not lie in the mouth of the ruling party to do so because they are led by the blackmarketeers, hoarders and other reactionary forces all over the country.

I would also direct the attention of the Prime Minister and the whole House to this that in today's conditions the forces increasing corruption thrive because people who are at the top are not being curbed, people who are looting the country's resources, people who have taken the country to economic ruination are not being curbed. On the other hand, the working class, the employees, the poor peasantry, the land-hungry and the landless masses, are subjected to these ordinances, to these pressures of wage freeze, controls and so on. Prices cannot be curbed by freezing the wages of workers and employees. Prices can be curbed if the monopolies and big houses are curbed.

I would say that the policies which are being followed by the Central Government under the leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi are a total failure. They are policies along the capitalist path. Unless government policies are totally changed, there is no future for our country.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE rose—

MR. SPEAKER: I can give three or four minutes at the most.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: The Prime Minister can wait for ten minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: The Prime Minister's reply is already fixed for 6 O'clock.

18 00 hrs.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore): Sir, I had listened with great interest to the competition going on in the floor of the House, from this side some people indulging vituperative attacks and from that side some people singing hosannas, whenever the Prime Minister's name was mentioned. I do not want to take part in that competition. In the few minutes at my disposal. I want to deal with some important points.

Firstly, take the question of the railway strike. The fiction that Shri L. N. Mishra has been indulging in over since may 1974, still continues and it behoves me as the working President of the Indian Railway Workers' Federation and a member of the NCCRS to refute that fiction. He recited all kinds of fairy tales about women who were bullied. But he has forgotten how the wives of the striking railway workers were harassed not only by his henchmen and the henchmen of the Railway Board but by the henchmen of such self-appointed leaders like Mr. A. P. Sharma, C. M. Stephen etc. They should hang their heads in shame because it is their henchmen who at the divisional and local levels accompanied the police to the houses of the railway workers, pointed out wives of railwaymen's leaders and dragged them out, searched them, took them to the lock-up and beat them up. And, when the wives asked them why they behaved like this, they had the temerity to misuse the name of the Prime Minister for their nefarious game and said, "It is the Lady above who sent these instructions." So, they are the people who have to be ashamed of themselves instead of

[Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan.]

coming here and indulging by hypocritical praise of the Prime Minister.

The Railway Minister, sitting in his usual Buddha-like fashion, "seeing no evil and hearing no evil" two days ago in reply to Question No. 288 stated that the number of people still under detention was 687. Four Questions later, the answer to the same question as to how many people are under detention is, "The figures are being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House." On the same day, two different answers are given to the same question. And, he expects us to swallow the fiction that the minions of the Railway Board are feeding him with every minute: We reject that fiction.

Coming to the ordinances, yesterday we saw the Finance Minister making a halting speech trying to defend them. And today the Defence Minister could not defend these ordinances. We have been hearing so much about the emergency, war, etc., but what about the war being declared on 18 crores of workers in the country by the wage freeze you are imposing today? The Finance Minister does not have the courage to take action against those tycoons who are making hay while prices have been going up. He talked about inflation and the measures taken to check tax evasion. The report says in the preceding year 30 cases were instituted, only two people were convicted and that also till the rising of the court! The railway workers, who were being declared strikers, the railway workers who were forced to go on strike because the Government broke the negotiations and sabotaged them, are given summary trial and summary conviction and six months in jail. But those who evade taxes and create inflation and price rise are given imprisonment only till the rising of the court, and that also only in two cases, whereas the number of victimised railway workers runs into

lakhs. That is why we here on this side of the House belonging to my party support his no confidence motion against the Government. We demand reinstatement of all victimised railway workers. We demand that the Government should withdraw the Ordinances. This habit of doing everything through Ordinances should go. Then, they should take measures against blackmarketeers and hoarders.

MR. SPEAKER: She should conclude now.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: Shri Unnikrishnan and others asked what are the concrete suggestions we are giving. So, I want to mention some concrete proposals. We demand demonetisation and mopping up unaccounted money that has been playing havoc with the economy of the country and the implementation of the recommendations of the Raj Committee. We demand that the hoarders and profiteers should be handcuffed and paraded through the streets and imprisoned—500 of them at least instead of hand-cuffing and parading and unprisoning the poor railway workers. Then there should be a public distribution system for foodgrains.

MR. SPEAKER: She should conclude now.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: Perhaps, they do not want to hear our concrete proposals. They want to hear only the Prime Minister. They are welcome to do that.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS AND MINISTER OF SPACE (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, many members have called this a ritual performance and, as my colleague said earlier, it has indeed become a regular....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Feature,

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Yes, feature. Thank you, Mr. Mody. We have come to expect a no-confidence motion in every session of the House. I am not, as one hon. Member of the opposition has claimed, allergic to such a motion; none of us is in fact, I welcome them. It is one of the few occasions I get to speak in the House. It gives us an opportunity of telling the House what determined efforts we are making to face the present situation. But, listening to many of the speeches of the members opposite, it did not seem to me that they were taking their own motion very seriously. We do take it seriously. We welcome this opportunity. But I would also say that I was a little surprised that this motion should come up when it did. Only the day before we had a very friendly meeting with the leaders of the opposition.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
That continues

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Thank you. For the first time after a long time it was not acrimonious and in that meeting we discussed what subjects should be further discussed, and also whether they were all willing to try to find some areas in which we could cooperate. The very next day, after this friendly beginning, it came as a surprise to me when I heard that there was a No-Confidence motion.

How little faith you have in this No-Confidence motion was displayed by a chivalrous friend opposite when, far from trying to remove us, he wanted to help us to remain by his good advice.

SHRI PILOO MODY: What I implied was that this Government should go and a new Government be reconstituted. This is what the No-Confidence motion is about.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: That means, you have faith in the Prime Minister and she is to re-constitute the Cabinet.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I have reconstituted the Cabinet!

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Apart from all this joking, the situation is indeed serious. At no time have we said that it is not serious. At no time have we tried to absolve ourselves from all responsibility. It is obvious that the government of the day is responsible for whatever happens. But Opposition Members are in the habit of taking out any one statement out of the speeches that my colleagues or I make and then projecting it as if that was the only point made at that particular meeting. Usually, in speeches, we mention many aspects. If I said that inflation was a global phenomenon—it is a global phenomenon—but I did not say it was entirely due to that. In fact, I explained the differences also. I am only giving this as an instance.

Twenty years ago in the United States, a particular Senator created a situation when everyone was suspected, and even honest and upright people of all sections were persecuted in the name of supposed loyalty to the country. At that time, this shadow fell on us also. At one time, there were loud voices of criticism from people who saw communism lurking not only in the communist party but also in our party.

Today, everything is made to look corrupt. Everyone is painted in black colours in the hope that at least a few people will believe some of these false charges.

Several of the speeches made by Honourable Members of the opposition have been full of insinuations and fabrications. Again many matters have been raised not for the first time but which have come up during Question Hour, during Half-an-Hour discussions and on other occasions, and full replies have been given.

I have enough faith in the good-sense of our people. I know that they will not be misled. I do not

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have to defend myself. I think, the people of the country will defend me if they so choose and, if they do not so choose, I shall still abide by their verdict. We believe in democracy and we always accept the people's verdict. It is very strange to say that if some of us win the elections, we do it only through black money but if somebody on the other side wins it, then the people have really, and truly, elected him! *(Interruptions)* Please do not go into all those things. We can also take many names if we wish to do so. But I do not want to make any allegations, nor do I want to go into all those matters as to who was associated with whom, who collected money and such other matters. This Government, this Party and I shall always abide by the people's verdict. We shall be judged by how we serve the people, what we do to lighten their burden of ancient wrongs, injustices and inequalities, to what extent we are able to help them to defend their freedoms and how far we can harness their inner strength towards a more meaningful life. I think, these are the matters on which the country will judge us, and if they want to throw us out, we shall take it in that spirit and we shall not behave like all the present opposition parties alleging that somebody came in through false methods and so on.

I would only ask the hon. members of the Opposition not to underrate the strength of our people, because in spite of all the present hardships—we are not minimising the hardships by any means—the nation is far stronger than it has ever been; it is certainly far stronger than what it was in 1947. In fact, it is this strength and this self-confidence which has enabled us to meet the political burdens of 1971 or the economic burdens of today.

Much has been said about the railway strike. I do not want to go into details because we had a motion on

it on the last day of the last Session and this time also several people on our side have spoken about it; the Railway Minister has spoken; and most of the points made on the other side were made on the previous occasion also.

AN HON. MEMBER: Victimisation came afterwards.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: At that time also you spoke about it. Now you say that it came afterwards. But at that time you said that it was taking place. On any such occasions, there are cases of excesses. I cannot say to what extent this has happened in this particular case. But knowing the situation, I know that somehow some excesses do take place in spite of our best intentions. However, nobody has ever been told to victimise or harass any person, but certainly...

श्री हुकूम खन्व कछवाय (मुरेना)

आप का नाम ले ले कर ऐसा कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : आप ने गुरु किया है कि हर चीज में मेरा नाम आ जाय। लोकी का दाम बढ़ना है तो प्रधान मंत्री में जा कर पूछो कोई भी चीज होती है तो प्रधान मंत्री से जा कर पूछो . . .

श्री पीलू मोदी : आप का नाम नहीं लेते तो आप नाराज हो जायेंगे।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : मैं तो नाराज होती ही नहीं। I have overgrown that stage long long ago.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Not being angry is more dangerous.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: This is very peculiar. You are not satisfied with anything. Being angry is bad and not being angry is worse.

So far as I know, considering the very large numbers of people involved, considering the gravity of the

situation, one can say that there was hardly any victimisation. We are treating—and I would like to assure the hon. members that we shall continue to treat—with sympathy those amongst the railwaymen who were misguided into going on the strike. And it is only the intention of those politicians who forced the strike which we consider to be frankly partisan and political. They did the worst they could do. (Interruptions) I know that a large number of railwaymen did go on strike. Nobody says that they did not. But I also know that a much larger number did not go on strike and they managed, in spite of tremendous odds, to keep the trains running.

Fortunately, supplies to key industrial installations and feed movements were maintained. (Interruptions). The country is aware of the great harm that was inflicted upon the national economy. It is not easy to absorb the damage of roundabout Rs. 600 crores.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Rs. 1000 crores.... (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I think before you came here, I have already said that I do not shirk any responsibility. I am willing to take the responsibility for what we have done, if you want, even for what we have not done and even for what you have done; but let us not waste time in arguing about it.

One hon. Member referred—I think he used the word 'delight'—that we were delighted or that we were crowing over the victory. I should like to sincerely assure him that this is a rather strange word to use. None of us could view the problem in that light. We were not delighted at crushing the strike. We were not crowing over, nor did we regard it as a victory.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Sweets were distributed.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We were greatly saddened and distressed over the whole situation and at the hardship of the railwaymen and their families, the inconveniences to which the common man and the poorer sections of the people were put, and the grave consequences to the nation's economy and strength. There was no question of delight, but, as I said, the situation was so serious that it was a relief that the strike was over and this relief was shared by the vast majority of the Indian people.

One of the other misconceptions created by the other side is the constant use of the word 'wage-freeze'. My colleague, the Finance Minister, and, I think, the Defence Minister also as well as various members from this side have already clarified the point. But if I also do not state my viewpoint, then you will accuse me—'You did not say'. Therefore, some of it I have to repeat.

What the Government proposes is not a wage-freeze, as hon. Members have alleged. A wage-freeze would mean a ban on negotiations or on revision of wages. This is not what we have done. What we have done is not to impose any embargo on negotiations for wage revision either in the public or in the private sector. What we have done to enforce through these ordinances is that if as a result of wage revision, the workers become entitled to some increase in the emoluments, such increase should be deposited in a special account carrying a special rate of interest.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Then, how will they eat?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The ordinance only asks the labour to save the increase in their emoluments for a certain limited period so as to give some respite to bring the inflationary situation under control. The amount saved by the workers is theirs and it

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will not be used by the Government, even temporarily, either for its current expenditure or for industries.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
But the prices will go up.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Our workers have been actuated by patriotic motives. In the past they have loaned money to the Government under various schemes. There is the Small Savings Scheme. There is the pay-roll savings scheme, cumulative deposits scheme etc, to meet the emergencies posed by war or by influx of refugees and so on.

The present inflationary situation poses, as my friend opposite, Dr. Rao, said, a grave threat to our social and political systems as the invasion we have faced.

SHRI PILOO MODY: When does he become 'opposite'?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: He is just sitting opposite to me at this moment.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I am sorry, it is not a parliamentary expression to say 'opposite'.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I shall correct myself—my friend on our side.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Mr. Rao, I pushed you back into your Party!

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Mr. Piloo Mody is generous to us to-day.

We all know, and everybody here has commented on the fact, that inflation is the worst enemy of social justice. So, any step we take to curb inflation can be considered egalitarian.

The ordinance provides for the payment of dearness allowance into a special account, that is, only half the additional dearness allowance falling due for payment. The idea

of compensating labour for the increase in the cost of living through the periodical adjustment of the dearness allowance was evolved during the second world war. Has this system really provided an effective safeguard? This is the question which arises. Labour representatives and others are aware that an increase in dearness allowance is often only an invitation to traders to push up their prices. It is a spiral or vicious circle. As soon as dearness allowance is given, prices rise and more dearness allowance is demanded.

Many factors contribute to the rise in prices and all these have to be tackled together. You cannot look at only one side of the problem. A pertinent point made by Dr. Rao was that in recent months, an inflationary psychology has been building up. Traders and hoarders profit in such an atmosphere. People expect prices to rise continually and since income can only rise partially, they can never catch up with this rise in prices. So, this psychology has to be effectively countered. Slowing down the process of the continuous injection of money into the economy is one of the important steps by which we can hope to defeat the expectations of traders and hoarders. This steep reduction in the expansion of money supply has been accompanied and is going to be followed further by other energetic measures such as curtailing unnecessary Government expenditure and by augmenting production in strategic sectors of our economy.

The House will perhaps remember that this is not the first time that either a part or the whole of the dearness allowance has been impounded in the form of contributions of provident fund or otherwise. Many State Governments, in fact, eight, from different regions of the country, have also done likewise for several years. The Government of India also took similar steps in 1967-68 when we were just recovering from an unprecedented drought.

So, all that we have now done is to extend the scheme so as to cover employees of the private sector, in the interest of parity of treatment. This is the only new thing that has come about. The amounts paid into a special account may be retained for a slightly longer period than in the case of the scheme enforced in the past, but, at the same time, if the period of retention is longer, the rate of interest is also appreciably higher.

I should like to appeal to workers to try to understand that an increase in money wages will not help them unless an effective anti-inflationary campaign is launched and is successful.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about action?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Action is implied in the word 'successful'.

We cannot be successful unless we take action.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): The workers do not want a single pie as dearness allowance, provided you can give them essential commodities at fixed prices. Why don't you do that?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are trying to do that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Give commodities at fixed prices.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We are trying to do that. I have just been trying to explain that the dearness allowance contributes also to rising prices. (Interruptions).

MR. SPAEKER: Will you kindly sit down? Let her finish her speech.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: An increase in wages to workers will not help them. As regards welfare of the workers, a very large number of them are unorganised labour. Their wal-

fare depends on our success in bringing the prices under control. I have no doubt about that. We have brought forward all these measures in order to try to deal with this situation. (Interruptions). There can be growth in the economy if the extreme measures we have taken succeed. At the same time, I am sure, hon. Members are aware that every sanctioning or giving of Dearness Allowance has an immediate effect on the finances of State Governments and their capacity to continue their programmes, whether of development or of helping the weaker sections. Many essential programmes are affected, because more and more money goes into administrative costs.

SHRI INDIRAJIT GUPTA: Why don't you freeze the price?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We cannot do that through an Ordinance. We can only take certain steps. We are trying to arrest the inflation as a first step. Only then, can we think of checking the price rise. (Interruptions).

Members of the Opposition want to have the cake and eat it too. Everyone wants opposite things to happen simultaneously. They want Government to curb the money supply and at the same time criticize Government when it takes concrete steps to do so. I fully realise that logical consistency is not the strong point of the Opposition, especially when each party has its own theory of politics and economics and its own point of view.

Now, some members of the Opposition, particularly, those claiming to be radical, have often pointed out that it is no use trying to control Government's budgetary deficit alone. Bank credit to the commercial sector should also be brought under strict surveillance. The rise in the bank rate and corresponding adjustments in rates of interest charged by the banks on loans to different categories of borrowers will slow down the pace

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of expansion of credits to the commercial sector. The rise in interest rates will discourage the build-up of inventories. At the same time, the rise in deposit rates will benefit savers and enable the banks to mobilize savings both in urban and in rural areas. You have probably heard that the Reserve Bank is arranging a strict scrutiny of the top accounts of all the banks. This scrutiny will strengthen our attempts to control the use of bank money for building inventories or for other purposes which are of a lower priority. (Interruptions). The private sector has to be subjected to the same degree of fiscal discipline which the people rightly expect the Government to observe in the present difficult situation.

We have to enforce discipline not merely in the use of financial resources but also in the use of other scarce materials such as steel and cement. These proposals are being worked out in some detail. All these measures relating to wages, dearness allowance, dividends and compulsory savings for the higher income groups, control of credit to the private sector and discipline in the use of the scarce materials should be viewed together.

At the same time, I agree with all the Members who have raised the point—many of them have—that we have to take care of the necessary supplies; in particular, we have to augment supply of articles of mass consumption, of what the economists call wage goods, that is, foodgrains, common cloth and coarse and medium varieties, edible oil and so on.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: 37 per cent rise in the case of common cloth.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Equally important at this moment, in fact, of the utmost importance, is agricultural production. That holds the key to the success of our efforts at controlling prices.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: What about increase in fertiliser prices?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Fertiliser is in a class by itself, and I do not think that it can be mixed up with other items. It is essential for our farmers and we are doing everything possible not only to increase its production in India but to get whatever is available from outside and simultaneously to maximise the utilisation of compost and organic fertiliser.

SHRI B. N. REDDY (Nalgundo): We go back to Ramrajya.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It is not a going-back. These are two different situations. One type of simple life is where you have not known anything like science or sophistication, and the other is that having the knowledge and the experience you go to a simple life, using what you have learnt in the meantime. That is the type of simplicity that we want. So, it is not going back to the old.

SHRI SHYMANANDAN MISHRA: All these years she did not pay any attention to that.

SHRI PILOO MODY: That was philosophy and not economics.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is not in the year of grace 1947....

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: What is not in the year of grace? (Interruptions).

श्री मधु लिमये - हम लोग जब बोलते हैं तो वह लोग भी तो शोर मचाते हैं, तब प्रधान मंत्री उन को क्यों नहीं रोकती है ?

श्रीमति इन्दिरा गांधी - प्रधान मंत्री हमेशा अपने लोगों से चुप होने को कहती हैं। लेकिन आप लोग इतना गुल मचाते हैं कि वह मेरी आवाज नहीं सुन सकते।

I was just talking about agricultural production. Hon. Members are aware that I have been going round with my colleagues and with other experts and officials to various States. We have asked the Chief Ministers to immediately personally direct, guide and supervise agricultural production programmes in their States. We have found....

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jaipur): What about land reforms?....

MR. SPEAKER: Order. I am not going to allow him. He is getting up without my permission.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: What did the Prime Minister do in the conferences which she had? She added only culture to agriculture?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Perhaps, he can go and ask the other people who attended the conference I have found great enthusiasm amongst our young and other older workers also at district and other levels in the States, and I have found that this exchange of views has been extremely useful to the Centre as well as to the States. There has unfortunately not been adequate co-ordination between the experience of one State and the experience of another. This is going to be very useful.

In the whole world, whether it is in agriculture or in other subjects, our knowledge is increasing all the time and there has to be proper application of it.

Recently I also met some of the heads of our agricultural colleges. We have to give the greatest priority to our extension work. Their extension workers are doing extremely good work, but this has to be strengthened and expanded.

A great deal has been said about black money. My colleague, the Finance Minister, has explained the

steps that are being taken. Some important aspects of the problem are often ignored.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Why was the Interim Report of the Wanchoo Committee suppressed?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: In a sense, black money is a creature of shortages. So one of the effective means of dealing with the problem is to remove the vested interests in shortages and to increase production. Some of the steps taken to increase production such as higher procurement prices for foodgrains themselves tend to effect a rise in prices. It is also true that some of the controls to check prices have bred corruption. We simply cannot say that all controls can be removed. If they could be removed without increasing the growth of economic monopoly, then we could do so. We have to see how to minimise malpractices and see that nobody takes advantage of the situation.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Except the monopolists.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We have acknowledged that some monopoly houses or all monopoly houses have taken advantage of the situation and this is one of the problems which we have to face. Certainly they have to be dealt with very strongly.

So this is the paradox of the situation underlying the complexity of the problem we face. It is easy for the Opposition to speak different things at different times and in different voices. They demand higher procurement price for one section and lower prices for another section, continuance of subsidy for one section and so on and so forth. But it is just not possible to have all these things simultaneously. In the circumstances in which we find ourselves today, larger production of essential goods and an efficient public distribution system should be the most essential components of our programme against black money.

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Of course, this must be supplemented by the firmest action against hoarders and tax evaders.

Something must also be said about smuggling. This is also an evil. It must be combated with all our strength. On an earlier occasion, I spoke about it somewhere. The Defence Minister has also spoken about it though not here. One Hon. Member quoted his speech misinterpreting it that Government wanted to put all the responsibility on the people. That is not the point at all. The point is that in these matters unless we have the co-operation of the people, we cannot tackle it. This is not a matter which the army can deal with; it is not a matter which the police can deal with. It is a matter where the neighbours of those who indulge in anti-social acts are the first people who can help to solve this. This I think, is, what the Defence Minister said.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Why don't you join Madhu Mehta?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have been talking about this subject long ago. But Shri Madhu Mehta has added his voice to this and I welcome it. He is taking interest in this anti-smuggling campaign. As a part of this campaign, he has also suggested that at least everybody should boycott all smuggled goods. That is the least that everybody can do. I would like very strongly to commend that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: What about boycotting of smugglers who are in respectable positions?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I have also said—this was said by the Defence Minister too—that there should be a social boycott of all those people whether they are smugglers, tax evaders, hoarders or black marketeers.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please announce a list of them.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Where will these people go for dinner tonight?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: They will accept an invitation from you, Shri Pilloo Mody. Shri Mishra has said—if he does not mind my taking the House into confidence—this is very hard to come by!

A group of ministers is trying to recast our textile policy because it is true that although the textile producers and millowners have made very large profits, they have not abided by our rules for producing larger quantities of the type of cloth that is needed by the people. So, we are going to impose definite obligations on the textile mills to produce common cloth of coarse and medium varieties. This policy will be vigorously imposed, and all those who come in the way of effective implementation of this policy will be dealt with ruthlessly. The textile industry, which is our most important industry, has to accept certain social obligations. If it defaults in the fulfilment of these obligations, the full force of Government will be brought to bear on the defaulting mills.

Several members have talked about transport and power bottlenecks. These are really of grave concern to us all and we are trying to remove the difficulties which have come in the way. Last year there was a big shortfall in production, but this year, there has been significant improvement in the movement of vital raw materials like coal. Even during the railway strike, this improvement was evident. We are grateful to the railway workers for this.

With regard to power also, I have been in close touch with the Chief Ministers and we are all looking into the problems of generation as well as distribution of power. There are some signs of significant improvement.

I should like to tell the House that adequate imports of foodgrains to

supplement domestic availability have been arranged. I do not think it would help to give figures here, because we know that our food statistics have been distorted by traders at home and for manipulation in foreign markets. This had an immediate effect on the prices. So, the import of foodgrains should enable us to maintain the public distribution system at a satisfactory level. At the same time, vigorous action will be taken against hoarders and profiteers. But again this is a matter in which public cooperation and cooperation of all parties is very much needed. I know there have been cases where the district authorities have not taken kindly to such help, but wherever such instances have been brought to our notice, we have looked into them and I think the situation in this regard has improved, and the Government's performance has improved. I am sorry to hear that in Bihar there are some students involved in the agitation who have tried to prevent anti-hoarding activities.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Completely wrong.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
These are the reports which we have received.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
I want to bring to the notice of the Prime Minister one circular which shows how unfair means have been permitted by the University in the examination halls. That is how you are conducting the examinations.

नकल वरने के बह सपूत्र है। इसको आ
देखा।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:
Just now we are talking about foodgrains and suddenly you jump to examination. I am informing them about one or two incidents which came to our notice. So far as my knowledge goes, this information has appeared in the press, but it has not been denied.

I should like to go back to what I was saying, namely, we have to fight the menace of inflation with united will and determination. We seek the co-operation of all sections of society, of our workers in factories, on the land and in farms, even of the businessman and industrialists—because, we want to say to them this is not the time to take advantage of the difficulties of the people—and the civil servants at all levels in implementing our anti-inflationary programme. I appeal to the opposition also to help and not hinder these attempts of ours.

I have been twitted by some opposition leader for referring to inflation in other countries. I should like to say that I have never over-simplified our inflation by saying that it is wholly due to what happens outside. But no one can deny that parts of our economy are directly affected by the rise in prices of vital imports. There is a steep rise in the prices of petroleum products and of fertilizers and we have to pay more for our imports, wherever they come from. This is an economic reality. Foreign exchange resources which could have been used to import other essential goods in short supply have been absorbed by the mounting bill on imports of oil and one or two other commodities.

So, to the opposition I would only say: do criticise us to your heart's content, as often as you like, with all the vehemence and oratory at your command.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
But you will go your own way.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We will go the way which we consider right. If you are able to convince us on some points, we shall not stand on prestige; we shall accept your suggestion. We rarely get any alternative formulations. There has been advice as to how to change the government, when to change it and so on.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Even on a matter like that you are late by one day.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We certainly do not object, as I think one hon. Member alleged, to one or more opposition parties. But what saddens us is that the opposition is obsessed by only one thing, and that is the Congress Party, what is the Congress Party doing, what is it saying in its party forms, what is being said in Central Hall. They are far more occupied with these matters than by the basic problems of the country. This is what pains us.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Your party issued a circular even about your members hobnobbing with members of the opposition.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: If you were not so obsessed with us you would not bother about our circulars to our own members. Since you have given so much advice, may I give you advice on how to strengthen the opposition?

If you get rid of this obsession with the Congress party and deal with your own problems, deal with the problems of the country, you will find that you will gather more strength. We shall not be able to erode that strength.

We have also been accused of doing everything for votes. Simultaneously, the same people tell us that our Ordinances are very unpopular. How can both the statements be true? It is not that we disregard the people's verdict. As I have already said, we will always regard the people's verdict. We have the greatest respect and faith in the people. But we do take steps which we consider necessary even though they may annoy one section or another or are misunderstood by one section or another. I have said this publicly. Every political party would like to remain in power. But I can assure hon. Mem-

bers opposite that I personally have no desire that I should remain permanently in power or even that the Congress party should remain permanently in power.

What I should like to say is that while we would certainly like to have the people's support it is more important for us to do the right thing today even if by doing so, we create a better atmosphere for the Opposition to win in the future.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Solicitous.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Not solicitous. What I am saying is that we are concerned for the future of the country, even though it may make us do something which may be misunderstood by certain people today and it may even turn them against us. Even then, we have to do what will strengthen the foundation of this country and what we consider to be for the people's welfare and for a better future.

One thing more. Let the opposition parties not make out that the Indian people are a race of mean men and women. This is not a selfish nation, this is not a corrupt nation. This is a nation which has seen visions of greatness, greatness not of conventional armed might or economic arrogance, but a greatness measured in terms of human worth. What can we ever achieve if we erode the people's pride in their own country, pride in themselves, pride in their capacity to do things. There are people who run down themselves. But the future is not going to be built by them. So, I would only request the hon. Member opposite not to weaken the people's will to face this challenge.

A. I have said earlier, the people have shown determination; they have shown tremendous forbearance, the capacity to face hardships, the capacity to face danger. And today we face all these things. There is a

tremendous challenge to us on the economic front and on many other fronts. We can face them only if the people are convinced that they are able to face them. Saying all the time that nothing has happened, that the nation is going down-hill which, of course, is not a fact at all and in spite of the many hardships and difficulties, it is not going down-hill, it is not in a state of ruin or chaos... (Interruptions).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I challenge. Can you give me even a single instance?

19.00 hrs.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am not entering into any confrontation with you. I am not going to be provoked by anything that you say. It is not a question of using particular words. It is the day-in and day-out sayings which weaken the people's will in their own ability. This has been told to me by young scientists, this has been said by engineers, this has been said by farmers; almost every section says day-in and day-out the country is being debilitated. If this country is going down-hill, let some of us, those who can afford it at least, leave it and go to other countries. This is the type of atmosphere that has been built. So I would only urge on this House to demonstrate our will and our determination to face this challenge with courage, determination and humour by rejecting this motion.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have a very difficult task because I have to answer the contentions of not less than four Ministers and so many hon. friends on the opposite. I would, to start with, much rather like to deal with what my hon. friend, Mr. Yeshwantrao Chavan, has said because there is substance in what he has said in the matter of holding a dialogue on the floor of the House. I must say with deep regret that I have found the Prime Minister's speech nothing but hollow-sounding.

I was indeed surprised to see that Mr. Chavan was very much on the defensive although he had no defence to put forward. I will take up the points one by one. He talked about dividend restriction. How much worth is it? Rs. 50 crores. Is it not an eye-wash to defend the partial wage freeze Ordinance worth nine times the money, i.e., Rs. 450 crores involving 18 million employees—private sector 6.1 millions and public sector 11.9 millions?

Are you aware of the distinction between impounding of purchasing power and reduction in money supply? I really do not think that you had applied your mind to that. Money supply depends on its velocity. The relation between expansion of money supply and additional wage payment is indeed very little. Examples are there; in 1969-70 and 1972-73 there was hardly any rise in the dearness allowance, in a particular industry the dearness allowance increased by less than five per cent whereas the money supply increased between 1970 and 1971 by 11.8 per cent and between 1972 and 1973 by 15.7 per cent. And in your regime, the erosion to the workers' earnings, has been monumental. That is what has upset all us. There is enormous erosion in working class wage and earnings; it is without a parallel in the history. The higher retained earnings on account of the dividend curb will, on the whole, accrue to the large companies and the money will go ultimately to the non-priority sector and the core sector will thus be deprived of the capital structure.

I said yesterday that your claims are hollow. You claimed a saving of Rs. 371.51 crores for the year 1973-74. What is the pattern of the cut?

Agriculture	Rs. 13.84 crores.
Assistance to State Plans	Rs. 93.9 crores.
Advance action for Fifth Plan	Rs. 34 crores.

[SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU]

Where is the Planning Minister? He has gone home? Then,

Education . . .	Rs. 11.76 crores.
Irrigation & Power . . .	Rs. 23.98 crores.
Steel . . .	Rs. 31.72 crores.

Shri Malaviyaji is here. This is the information given in reply to a question.

Now, let us go to the increase to the sectors which you consider to be very priority sectors.

Central Police (1972-73)	Rs. 130.91 crores.
(1974-75 Budget Estimates)	Rs. 169.39 crores.

So, your priority sector has accepted a cut?

Administrative Services (1972-73)	Rs. 233.66 crores.
(1974-75 Budget Estimates)	Rs. 389.09 crores.

So, a rise of 60 per cent for administrative expenses. Very productive sector! You are fighting inflation in this way? Then:

Defence (Post Bangladesh war) 1972-73. . . Rs. 1652.22 crores.

Only outward—I am not talking about the built-in.

1974-75 (Budget Estimates . . . Rs. 1915 crores.

Now, let us go to the very vital Department of this Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi—the Intelligence Bureau.

Intelligence Bureau	
1969-70 . . .	Rs. 4,49,31,000
1974-75 (B.E.) . . .	Rs. 5,87,52,000

A rise of 100 per cent only. Only two-fold increase.

Discretionary Fund—a very very important priority sector—no audit, no voucher and no budget:

Discretionary Fund:	
1969-70 . . .	Rs. 3,72,27,000.

In the past it was only in the External Affairs. Sardarji is sitting there. From Rs. 3 crores it has jumped to Rs. 13 crores. It is a four-fold rise. Madam Gandhi, will you kindly hear us? A rise of 400 per cent—in course of what length of time and for what purpose and what is the economy you are talking about?

It is a very small and indeed a very small instance and this is all in reply to a question—unstarred question No. 1631—given by Shri Om Mehta:

CPWD Works:

Maintenance expenditure of Prime Minister's bungalow:

	Rs.
1972 August . . .	16,246
1973 August . . .	17,253

A rise of how much? You can calculate. Then, September a little less and again,

	Rs.
1972 October . . .	15,278
1973 October . . .	12,392
1973 November . . .	14,590

I cannot understand for a bungalow how can the maintenance cost for CPWD be Rs. 15,000 odd. This is the economy you understand I am asking.

Previously, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, used to take a cabin in an aircraft—I am told. But these days they have jets, let alone the ordinary aircraft. Now, the Prime Minister travels in a chartered aircraft—a jet aircraft. I am told a bill came the other day for Rs. 65 lakhs. Then,

Orissa trips—Congress party. Purpose—Winning the elections—a few few trips . . . Rs. 18 lakhs.

These are all open facts. Cost of each meeting—you calculate.

I do not want to go far. Maintenance of other Ministers' bungalows—for 8 years (1971—73)—Rs. 36 lakhs.

Then, every Minister's security costs what? Prime Minister's security—that blue book I quoted closely and I do not want to do it now. In 1967 it was Rs. 3,14,822 and 1973—Rs. 9,17,993. A very productive sector! You want a plastic emulsion painting in your room. But that costs money.

Your subservience and complete dependence on money-bags and black money can be proved by one simple documentary evidence that I have produced on the floor of the House. That is the suppression of the interim report of the Wanchoo Committee. Who is Mr. Wanchoo? Mr. Wanchoo is a retired Chief Justice of this country, a Commission appointed by you, and who had made a specific recommendation for an immediate demonetisation at that time in November 1970 when the black money to the tune of Rs. 7000 crores but you not only did not publish it but you suppressed and destroyed the report. That shows that you are wedded to black money; your very existence depends upon black money. Neither do you want to restrict profits nor the remittances. And your Tariff Commission is a *nam-ke-vaste*: agents of capitalists. And what about the Sugar Commission report? Why is it that you are sitting over it? Why are you aiding the monopolists over there? There is no point in saying that all this is due to increased cost. I have been crying hoarse over the years to tell you that producer is trying to increase the production cost and trying to defate the sales revenue. So if you have the intention you have to take quick action and not go beating about the bush. You can do it, but you do not want to do it.

The other day a senior police officer of Uttar Pradesh has said that the industrialists in Uttar Pradesh do not

show more than forty per cent of their actual production in their books of accounts. Tell me what you can do by looking at the income-tax return when you cannot physically verify as to what he is producing and what he is worth and what is the profit. You will have no answer whatsoever to tackle this problem.

You are unwilling to accept the recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee that the Comptroller and Auditor General of India should check the foreign exchange transactions. For four years you are sitting over it. You do not agree because this cash assistance scheme and import replenishment is the biggest racket that I have ever seen sitting in the Public Accounts Committee. You do not want that. Why is it that you do not want to agree to the PAC report? You do not want it because you do not want to interfere with vested interests. That shows the class character of yourself.

Then I come to arrears of taxes. The Finance Minister is not bothered about this. Is it not true that the arrears of tax amounts to Rs. 900 crores? Is it not a fact that 600 large companies own you Rs. 10 lakhs? There are big foreign companies, and also Indian companies; they are Centuries, Birlas, Modi Private Limited, Modi of flour-mill scandal, Modi caught in Palam. You cannot touch such persons. There are 600 assessee who owe you from Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 4 crores.

Taking Haridas Mundhra and the Indian Aluminium Company which owe Rs. 153 lakhs to the Income-tax Department. You don't want to do all that. You only play lip service and shed crocodile tears. You think you can take us for a ride.

Then, may I point out to you that customs exemption has been given to the tune of Rs. 241.65 crores in one year. Let Mr. Chavan say about it.

[SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU]

here. Let us sit and discuss the whole thing. At the present moment I cannot disclose but a day will come when I will make my submission. Rs. 241 crores in one year has been given as customs exemption. Mr. Chavan, I request you not to take it otherwise. We have been here for eight years; we fight but we fight here; Mr. Chavan showed his blisters out of my speech. His good certificate would be a death warrant for me.

Knowing Mr. Chavan from a layist to his performance in Bangalore A.I.C.C. and then with Shrimati Indira Gandhi was a fiction by itself. In any case, Mr Chavan' has clipped wings holding Finance portfolio with financial powers. I have now to come to my friend Shri Mishra who has made a long speech. I would be talking only on the basis of this Document.

About the railways, he has given an incomplete and distorted picture. If only two lakhs went on strike, how can break in service take place with 11 lakhs railwaymen. Mr Justice Bysak of Calcutta High Court has given a clear verdict that the railway workers come under the Industrial Disputes Act and that the Industrial Disputes Act is fully applicable to them. Of course, you will go to the Supreme Court on appeal because you have unlimited resources and civil servants on whom you count. I may tell you that they would hoodwink you. You are the man to take a decision—political decision for your party—and why are you subservient to them? That is because you have no flesh and that is why you may go to the court. At least on this issue you should not go to the Supreme Court. You should stick to the decision of the Calcutta High Court that railway workers come under the Industrial Disputes Act.

I now come to corruption. Mr. Mishra said something about the supply of wagons. I have little time and

I have to do a bit of searching to find it out. But, I shall do that in due course of time. To-day supply of wagons is done by the Zonal Railways according to an approved programme. Here is a lobby. I would like to know what is your approved programme; who fixes the programme and who gets the priority. I am telling you, Shri Mishra that to-day one can have a rake at Rs. 2 lakhs if it is meant for Bombay and at Rs. 60,000 if it is for Haryana and Punjab. *(Interruptions)* My dear friend, I am telling you, and you will kindly listen to it. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg of you—let there be a probe on this.

I now come to Kapur Commission Report. There are some interesting paragraphs. The report consists of 21 volumes. I have to book it to Calcutta for reading. This weighs about 25 k.g.! I know it is very interesting; you do not find time to read but, we have been able to do some cleansing ceremony. See Volume XI of the Report, on page 97, what does it say? I quote:

"The Unit Leaders voluntarily agreed for a deduction of a certain percentage from the running bills for community savings funds, the total amount of which was Rs. 9,62 236 04 and out of this sum according to the Bihar Government there were withdrawals by Mr. L. N. Mishra and Lahtan Choudhary of Rs 843038."

I shall come to audit and reporting part of it.

"The file also shows that on August 24, 1967, Mr. J. K. Khanna, Secretary of the Central Construction Service wrote as follows:—

"About 4½ years ago the Kosi Project Construction Committee had constituted an Enquiry Commission but the powers in the Bihar Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj and the then

General Secretary, Central Bharat Sevak Samaj in 1963 did not allow the Commission to function with the result that nothing came out." (Interruptions)

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): Mr. Speaker, Sir how do you allow this?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Now I come to M/s. Pandit and Co. I quote:

"M/s. L. R. Pandit and Co., Chartered Accountants, went through the Kosi Project Accounts upto the year 1962-63. They found the amount in the balance sheet against Shri L. N. Mishra but no adjustment thereof"—

a very honourable and a complimentary reference it is! This is a very crucial thing.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Is this No-Confidence Motion against Mishra?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I would request the hon Prime Minister to go into this.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: He is saying all kinds of irrelevant things. How are you allowing him?

MR. SPEAKER: May I tell the hon. Member that according to the practice, he should have replied only to the points raised!....

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: He is repeatedly saying all sorts of irrelevant things.

MR. SPEAKER: All right, let him deal with him. I shall not come in between.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: He is putting all nonsense before the House.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: It further says: ...

"This statement shows that Mr. L. N. Mishra had ceased to be the Convener of the Kosi Bharat Sevak Samaj in May, 1957 but he continued to be associated...."

MR. SPEAKER: May I invite the hon. Member's attention to one thing that in the winding up speech, he has only to deal with the points raised during the discussion, and not raise new points and new issues.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Exactly so. Why do you not kindly read what Shri L. N. Mishra said yesterday?

MR. SPEAKER: He has only to reply to the points raised by hon. Members and not raise fresh points.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Would you kindly read what Shri L. N. Mishra had said yesterday?

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: He cannot raise new points now.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: How can he raise new points now?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Kindly read what Shri L. N. Mishra had said yesterday. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: May I tell Shri Lakkappa and his other friends that there may be nothing therein, but their insistence makes it doubtful? For me, there is nothing therein, but their insistence makes it doubtful. So, let them kindly keep sitting and listening.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What did Mr. L. N. Mishra say? He said:

"I am prepared for any probe, and I am prepared to retire from public life if there is any charge of corruption."

So, I am only quoting from the report of a commission constituted under the orders of a committee of

[SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU]

this House. So, why should that cause blister in them? The report further says:

"This statement shows that Mr. L. N. Mishra had ceased to be the Convener of the Kosi Bharat Sevak Samaj in May, 1957 but he continued to be associated with the Kosi Section because he withdrew Rs. 2,10,000, from Community Savings Fund and he prepared a note on July 26, 1960 about the Community Savings Fund which was sent to the Planning Commission by the General Manager of the Central Construction Service. As has already been said, Mr. Mishra had stated that he rendered accounts to the convener of the Eastern Embankment Community Savings Committee which had been duly accepted by the Committee but it is very unfortunate that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has refused to produce its records before this commission or even produce them before the Government of Bihar because that would have shown how the moneys were spent and by whom and they would have been capable of scrutiny by the Commission....

The Committee would also like to observe that it was the duty of the convener to produce the accounts at least to prove and corroborate the factum of proper expenditure of the money withdrawn by different prominent office-bearers of the Samaj both past and present."

Such as Mr L N. Mishra. What more do my hon. friends want?

MR. SPEAKER: Let him please conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have still to say many things.

I have still to address the Prime Minister....

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I rise on a point of order regarding that matter. We cannot remain here for so long, because it is governed by certain rules. We want to know for how long he is going to speak. He cannot tell you like that. The rule is very clear. Rule 198(4) says:

"The Speaker shall, at the appointed hour on the allotted day or the last of the allotted days, as the case may be, forthwith put every question necessary to determine the decision of the House on the motion."

Here, the motion is the no-confidence motion. My submission is that the time allotted for the discussion was 11 hours and that is already over. Further, rule 198 (5) says:

"The Speaker may if he thinks fit, prescribe a time-limit for speeches."

In my submission, the allotted time is over, and so you are bound to put the motion to the vote of the House. You may fix up the time. I want to know how much time is going to be fixed. We shall not be ordered to remain here endlessly to hear whatever he has got to say. We are bound to remain here only for a specific time, namely no more than 11 hours, and that time is more than over. We may make a concession for some time. So, you may kindly fix up the time and tell us for how long we have to sit here.

MR. SPEAKER: I have already asked him to conclude. Let him please conclude now.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): May I say a word on a point of personal explanation?

MR. SPEAKER: The practice is that at the very beginning he speaks and after that, the Minister replies and if any points arise during the de-

mate, he can deal with them, but he should not bring in additional matters now to which they would have no opportunity to reply.

SHRI PILOO MODY: May I remind you that that was not the point of order he had raised?

MR. SPEAKER: I am asking him to conclude because he is not relevant.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: May I say a word on a point of personal explanation?

MR. SPEAKER: If he raises a fresh point, naturally others will have the right of personal explanation or fresh reply.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: As regards the total work done for the Kosi project, no account for Rs. 4½ crores was rendered. The Chief Minister of Bihar, Shri Binodanand Jha had written repeatedly, but in vain.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: To which point is he replying? Who made this point?

MR. SPEAKER: He has raised a fresh point which is not very proper at this stage. He should reply to the debate.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I really do not understand this. The longest time should go to the person who is the Mover.

MR. SPEAKER: He can only reply to the debate and not raise a fresh point.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I do not know whether the Chair can do that. We just cannot put up with this situation.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: We also cannot put up with this (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: He made allegations on the first occasion. But when he makes a reply, he should reply to the debate.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have been trying to see what is in the Prime Minister's speech. I find there is not much substance in it. She said that people will defend her, I only ask one question: with all the official machinery mobilisation in UP, why did her vote come down from 48 to 32 per cent? Now I tell you, Madam Prime Minister, if you come out of your office and fought an election, the country would like to see how you would fare. We know that. If somebody in or outside office collects money....

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: You better resign. I will fight you (Interruptions).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You get out of office first and fight an election. We shall see what you do.

Coming to the money collection part, I want to touch this point that Shrimati Gandhi argued here. If somebody in office or outside office collects money, does it justify that she being in office could go to the extent of collecting money?

The nation is stronger. She was bragging or boasting. I want to say that below the poverty line is the only sector where you have advanced from 40 to 70 per cent. This is the below poverty line living.

You talk about action against railwaymen. Why did you give out that secret circular from the Home Ministry to apprehend by MISA as many as you can one month before the strike? It was wholly premeditated. You say the railwaymen were misguided. Seventeen years ago, in 1957, you promised a need-based wage. They have waited for 17 years and their wages have eroded beyond description. They are not prepared to

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

listen to your hollow sermons with empty stomachs. They took to the democratic course of collective bargaining and agitated. They wanted a negotiated settlement. But that was turned down (Interruptions). I have never worked in a tea plantation.

SHRI C M STEPHEN Tea taster.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Yes, I handle my tongue. I do not handle labour (Interruptions).

I agree that 10 to 15 per cent of the workers did not go on strike. But they had to stop the running of 200 trains as early as 10 days before the strike started. How the strike ended, all of you know.

The Prime Minister talked about provident fund. I am sure she is aware of the fact that in the non-exempted sector alone the misappropriation of contributions is to the extent of Rs 28 crores. I have no calculation of the exempted sector. Just now they are misappropriating the income tax deductions they are making out of the employees' salaries. Now the compulsory deposit also will be swallowed. But this Government cannot take any action against them because it is dependent on them. You talk about anti-inflation campaign and holding all the powers, you sound like the saying: Running with the hare and hunting with the hound —
 सठ मे बोली जग जाओ, चौर मे बोली नग जाओ
 That is exactly what you are doing. You talk of arresting prices but granting 25 per cent increase in the price of Dalda. To whom? To those who have doubled their profits in the last two years. Hindustan Lever's balance sheet shows that their profits have jumped up from Rs 5 to 10 crores in two years. Cement and steel are available only in the black market.

Coming to the agricultural production programme, where is your land reform you have been talking loudly

about? How many times before the elections you made promises. Land reform is now in your pocket. The small peasantry is starving. If agricultural production has gone up, why is the public distribution system dismantled and why are your procurement figures coming down to that size? You talk about production of cheap cloth. Why did you give them a rise of 37½ per cent last year? You talk about transport. In 27 years you have not been able to spell out an integrated national transport policy. Your importation of food is by mortgaging the country. You have to give access to the US multinational corporations for a free plunder in this country. That is why you went to Teheran to talk to them in detail.

Coming to Bihar students through the youth cult you have misled and ruined many. I have heard in the AICC a youth from Karnataka who wanted to say "What is your promise and what is your performance?" was asked to shut up and sit down. I would say that this Government has a front of brass and feet of clay and the only defence you take is character assassination. I have never talked about anybody's private life. I have only talked about persons in their official capacity. But what the Prime Minister said about Mr Javaprakash Narayan's private life — is it not character assassination?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI I have said nothing about his private life at any time.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA What about your statement regarding his association with disreputable businessmen? Hundreds of them are with you. This should not have been done by the Prime Minister. You have entered on dangerous ground (Interruptions). You cannot say such things about Javaprakash Narayan (Interruptions).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Sir, I talked about corruption. I regret to say

MR. SPEAKER: You have taken a lot of time. You have to conclude now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, last time I had raised the question of the telex message. I had correspondence for nine months in this regard. The question was whether the photostat was genuine. I have got a copy of the Telex now and I suppose it is correct and genuine. Let this be examined and if it is found to be genuine, then Shri D. P. Dhar should resign, because he has made a statement on the floor of the House which is not true. Though I have many details with me, I will pass on to the next time for want of time.

MR. SPEAKER: I have been asking him for many weeks to pass on these papers to me and he has not done it. How can I expect that on this occasion he will pass it on to me?

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI D. P. DHAR): Sir, I would like to take.... (Interruptions).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have got the telex message. You can verify it.

MR. SPEAKER: He has not sent those papers to me for the last many weeks, even though I have been asking for them. Now he is showing this in this House, instead of handing it over to me. When they are already pending before me, why does he not send them to me instead of showing it in the House?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Then there is the case of the Asian Cables. There is also the case of K. P. Goenka about posts. There is blackmarketing in imported scarce raw materials which nets a profit of Rs. 88 lakhs. You are going to eye wash it with an enquiry by the CBI. The actual culprits, K. P. Goenka and R. P. Goenka have been spared because some money has passed hands and so many relations of high-ups are employees in the firms of these people. So, nothing could be done. Then, there are the Modis of Modinagar.

MR. SPEAKER: He should conclude now. He has taken a long time. He is also bringing in new facts.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Here I would like to quote the *New Statesman* of England, which is a respected paper:

"Even more damaging to the Congress Party's image has been the rising tide of dishonesty and corruption at the higher levels. Mrs. Gandhi's set retort on this subject is that the prevalence of these evils is exaggerated. But only a few days back the Estimates Committee of Bihar State Legislature alleged that several relations of Mr. L. N. Mishra, a member of Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet, have been making large gains out of government contracts for the giant Kosi river project designed to better the lot of the long-suffering peasants of the backward area.... Over the years not a single prominent politician has been sent to jail, even after being found guilty of gross misconduct by government appointed commissions of enquiry. The sad truth is that a morally bankrupt ruling party finds it politically expedient to turn a blind eye to their crimes."

It is a big ocean of blackmarket. The ruling party is full of corrupt people. I had referred to Bansi Lal's case and the Special Audit Report which points a finger at him. But you do not take action. So, this Government must go, this mad Government must go.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not an audit Report. I have verified it. It is only an information. The Auditor-General has not passed any orders on it.

SHRI D. P. DHAR: Sir, may I have your permission....

SHRI PILOO MODY: If Shri Dhar has something to say, he can do it by way of personal explanation tomorrow (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Just now.

SHRI D P DHAR Sir, on a point of personal explanation, I rise to draw your attention and the attention of the House to one or two facts which have been referred to by the hon Member, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu

Sir, you will recall that a reference was made sometime ago about certain telexes and teleprints. Without hesitation without equivocation I placed myself at your disposal and begged you to inquire into the matter fully, come to a judgment of your own and inform the House accordingly. For the last 9 months as you are aware, the correspondence has been going on between your office and Mr Jyotirmoy Bosu to produce the original documents to which he referred in his earlier statement many months ago. None of those documents was produced before you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Who says so? That is utterly wrong.

MR SPEAKER The Minister has been enquiring about it. I told him that I have asked Mr Jyotirmoy Bosu to produce the original documents. When they come I will see to it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU What he has stated is wrong. Let it go to a Committee. I will comply with all the requirements.

SHRI D P DHAR Whatever I say, I say with the fullest sense of responsibility. I would be very grateful and I would be happy indeed if the hon Member were to respond similarly to the spirit which I have shown in the matter. I have placed myself unreservedly at your disposal, Sir. I will abide by any results of your impartial inquiry. But it is very unfair and it is very unfortunate that a matter which is at present being investigated by the Speaker at my request, at my free will, urging the Speaker to intervene into it and inquire into all the facts, before the facts have been placed before the Speaker, before the Speaker has come to a judgment, a reference has been made

out of place, out of occasion, without any cause, without any reason, in order to assassinate my character. (Interruptions).

MR SPEAKER Why don't you produce it before me? Why do you quote it in the House?

SHRI D P DHAR I would like to repeat if the men of honour and integrity have got to find a place in this House in this democratic system that we have built then they need protection against such vile malicious and baseless charges.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Let the matter be judged by a Committee of the House. I will produce the documents that I have.

MR SPEAKER Why should I send it to a Committee? (Interruptions)

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU I have given all the information to the Speaker. I have got this. Let it be examined.

SHRI I N MISHIRA On a point of personal explanation.

I am no doubt shocked to hear the wild allegation made by Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu but definitely not surprised. (Interruptions) This is personal explanation.

श्री मधु लिमये परसनल एक्सप्लानेशन, व्यक्तिगत स्पष्टीकरण, उसका मन्विदा अद्ययस महोदय आप को बताए बिना नहीं दे सकते।

MR SPEAKER He is replying to allegations made. I have allowed him.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (स्वातियर)
यह बात ठीक है कि परसनल एक्सप्लानेशन आप को बिना दिखाए नहीं दे सकते। अगर ऐसा नहीं है तो आप नियम बताइए।

MR SPEAKER Allegations have been made and, therefore, I have al-

lowed him an opportunity to refute them.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu had given advance notice and notice was given to me much before he started speaking. That is why I am making this statement.

I had, in fact, made a statement in this House on 2nd June 1971 clarifying the matter fully....

अध्यक्ष महोदय : चार्ज लगाना बड़ा आसान है लेकिन मुनना मुश्किल है। आप उर्मा रिपट से मुनते क्यों नहीं है।

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Mr. Speaker, I again refute Mr. Bosu's baseless and mischievous allegations which, as usual, are politically motivated.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as far as I know, the Kapur Commission in their findings or conclusions or summary have at no stage adversely commented about me, not even indirectly. In so far as I am concerned, the Kapur Commission have made a casual mention as follows—

"It is stated that Shri L. N. Mishra withdrew a sum of Rs. 2.10 000 and it is also stated that complete account regarding the same have been rendered ..."

The correct position in this regard is that the full and complete accounts regarding the above amount were duly submitted by me more than ten years back to the Convener, Community Savings Fund Committee, Western Embankment side, Bharat Sewak Samaj, Ghoghardiha (Bihar) vide my registered letter dated the 23rd May, 1963. These accounts, I understand, were duly audited by the Chartered Accountants and accepted by the Community Savings Fund Committee as confirmed in writing to me by the Convener.

The Commission had asked me to give any information, etc., available with me relevant to their terms of

reference only vide their letter dated the 27th January, 1973. I had also in turn agreed to submit to the Commission any available information that the Commission may desire to have from me as and when required by the Commission vide my letter dated the 16th February, 1973.

I may reiterate that the Commission did not consider it necessary to seek any information from me during the course of their enquiry evidently because the Commission did not consider it necessary to have any clarification from me.

I had resigned as Convener of the Kosi Section of the Bharat Sewak Samaj in May, 1957, 17 years back, soon after my appointment as Parliamentary Secretary in the Union Government and as Treasurer of Western Section in May, 1963.

MR. SPEAKER I shall now put the motion to the vote.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप ने नियम के खिलाफ. यह पर्सनल एक्सप्लानेशन देने दिया है।

MR. SPEAKER: This was not against the rules. When he introduces new matters, the Minister has a right to reply. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu could reply only to the debate, but when he introduced a new subject, a new matter, naturally I allowed him the right to reply.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर चर्चा में जवाब देते तो समझ में आ सकता था लेकिन जवाब के बाद चर्चा खत्म हो गई।

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र : जवाब के बाद इस तरह में पर्सनल एक्सप्लानेशन देने का आप ने नया तरीका लगाया है।

MR. SPEAKER. If, besides replying to the debate, a new matter is introduced, new allegations are made, the Minister has got the right to reply to

[Mr. Speaker]

the new allegations. There is no question of making personal explanation. He has a right to reply to the new allegations which were made and which did not arise out of the debate.

Now, the question is:

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

The Lok Sabha divided:

Division No. 2]

[19.57 hrs

Banera, Shri Hamendra Singh
 Banerjee, Shri S. M.
 Bhagirath Bhanwar, Shri
 Bhattacharyya, Shri Dinan
 Bhattacharyya, Shri Jagadish
 Bhattacharyya, Shri S. P.
 Bhaura, Shri B. S.
 Bosu, Shri Jyotirmoy
 Chandra Snekar Singh, Shri
 Chandrappan, Shri C. K.
 Chavda, Shri K. S.
 Dandavate, Prof. Madhu
 Deb, Shri Dasaratha
 Deo, Shri F. K.
 Deshpande, Shrimati Roza
 Guha, Shri Samar
 Gupta, Shri Indrajit
 Halder, Shri Madhuryya
 Halder, Shri Krishna Chandra
 Hazra, Shri Manoranjan
 Huda, Shri Noorul
 Jha, Shri Bhogendra

Jharkhande Rai, Shri
 Joarder, Shri Dinesh
 Joshi, Shri Jagannathrao
 Kachwai, Shri Hukam Chand
 Kalynasundaram, Shri M.
 Krishnan, Shrimati Parvathi
 Limaye, Shri Madhu
 Malik, Shri Mukhtiar Singh
 Manjhi, Shri Bhola
 Mavalankar, Shri P. G.
 Mehta, Shri P. M.
 Mishra, Shri Shyamnandan
 Mody, Shri Pилоo
 Mukherjee, Shri Samar
 Mukherjee, Shri Saroj
 Muruganatham, Shri S. A.
 Nayyar, Shrimati Shakuntala
 Pajanor, Shri Aravinda Bala
 Panda, Shri D. K.
 Pandey, Shri Sarjoo
 Pandeya, Dr. Laxminarain
 Parmar, Shri Bhaljibhai
 Patel, Shri H. M.
 Patel, Kumari Maniben
 Pradhan, Shri Dhan Shah
 Ramkanwar, Shri
 Roy, Dr. Saradish
 Saha, Shri Ajit Kumar
 Saha, Shri Gadadhar
 Scindia, Shri Madhavrao
 Scindia, Shrimati V. R.
 Sen, Dr. Ranen
 Shakya, Shri Maha Deepak Singh
 Sharma, Shri R. R.
 Shastri, Shri Ramavatar

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Singh, Shri D. N.		Bist, Shri Narendra Singh
Vajyspee, Shri Atal Bihari		Brahmanandji, Shri Swami
Verma, Shri Phool Chand		Brij Raj Singh-Kotah, Shri
Yadav, Shri G. P.		Buta Singh, Shri
NOES		Chakleshwar Singh, Shri
Achal Singh, Shri		Chandra Gowda, Shri D. B.
Aga, Shri Syed Ahmed		Chandrashekharappa Veerabasappa, Shri T. V.
Agrawal, Shri Shrikrishna		Chandrika Prasad, Shri
Ahirwar, Shri Nathu Ram		Chaturvedi, Shri Rohan Lal
Alagesan, Shri O. V.		Chaudhary, Shri Nitiraj Singh
Ambesh, Shri		Chavan, Shrimati Premalabai
Ankineedu, Shri Maganti		Chavan, Shri Yeshwantrao
Ansari, Shri Ziaur Rahman		Chawla, Shri Amar Nath
Appalanaidu, Shri		Chellachami, Shri A. M.
Arvind Netam, Shri		Chhotey Lal, Shri
Austin, Dr. Henry		Chikkalingaiah, Shri K.
Awdhesh Chandra Singh, Shri		Choudhury, Shri Moinul Haque
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha		Daga, Shri M. C.
Aziz Imam, Shri		Dalbir Singh, Shri
Babunath Singh, Shri		Dalip Singh, Shri
Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar		Damam, Shri S R
Balakrishniah, Shri T.		Das, Shri Dharnidhar
Banamali Babu, Shri		Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas
Banerjee, Shrimati Mukul		Daschowdhury, Shri B. K.
Barman, Shri R. N.		Deo, Shri S. N. Singh
Barua, Shri Bedabrata		Deshmukh, Shri K. G.
Barupal, Shri Panna Lal		Deshmukh, Shri Shivaji Rao S.
Basappa, Shri K.		Dhamankar, Shri
Basumatari, Shri D.		Dharamgaj Singh, Shri
Besra, Shri S. C.		Dharia, Shri Mohan
Bhagat, Shri H. K. L.		Dhusia, Shri Anant Prasad
Bhargava, Shri Basheshwar Nath		Dinesh Singh, Shri
Bhatia, Shri Raghunandan Lal		Dixit, Shri G. C.
Bhattacharyya, Shri Chapalendu		Dixit, Shri Jagdish Chandra
Bheeshmadev, Shri M.		

Doda, Shri Hiralal
 Dube, Shri J. P.
 Dumada, Shri L. K.
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar
 Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
 Ganesh, Shri K. R.
 Ganga, Devi, Shrimati
 Gangadeb, Shri P.
 Garcha, Shri Devinder Singh
 Gautam, Shri C. D.
 Gavit, Shri T. H.
 George, Shri A. C.
 Ghosh, Shri P. K.
 Gill, Shri Mohinder Singh
 Godara, Shri Mani Ram
 Gogoi, Shri Tarun
 Gokhale, Shri H. R.
 Gomango, Shri Giridhar
 Gopal, Shri K.
 Goswami, Shri Dinesh Chandra
 Gotkhinde, Shri Annasaheb
 Gowda, Shri Pampan
 Hansda, Shri Subodh
 Hari Kishore Singh, Shri
 Hari Singh, Shri
 Ishaque, Shri A. K. M.
 Jadeja, Shri D. P.
 Jagjivan Ram, Shri
 Jamilurrahman, Shri Md.
 Jeyalakshmi, Shrimati V.
 Jha, Shri Chiranjib
 Jitendra Prasad, Shri
 Joshi, Shri Popatlal M.
 Joshi, Shrimati Subhadra
 Kadam, Shri J. G.

Kandannappalli, Shri Ramchandran
 Kader, Shri S. A.
 Kahandole, Shri Z. M.
 Kailas, Dr.
 Kakodkar, Shri Purushottam
 Kakoti, Shri Robin
 Kale, Shri
 Kamala Prasad, Shri
 Kamble, Shri T. D.
 Kamla Kumari, Kumari
 Kapur, Shri Sat Pal
 Karan Singh, Dr.
 Kasture, Shri A. S.
 Kaul, Shrimati Sheila
 Kavde, Shri B. R.
 Kedar Nath Singh, Shri
 Khadilkar, Shri R. K.
 Kinder Lal, Shri
 Kisku, Shri A. K.
 Kotoki, Shri Liladhar
 Kotrashetti, Shri A. K.
 Krishnan, Shri G. Y.
 Kulkarni, Shri Raja
 Kureel, Shri B. N.
 Kushok Bakula, Shri
 Lakkappa, Shri K.
 Lakshmi Kanthamma, Shrimati T.
 Lakshminarayanan, Shri M. R.
 Lambodar Baliyar, Shri
 Laskar, Shri Nihar
 Lutfal Haque, Shri
 Mahajan, Shri Vnkram
 Mahajan, Shri Y. S.
 Mahata, Shri Debendra Nath
 Mahishi, Dr. Sarojini

Majhi, Shri Gajadhar
 Majhi, Shri Kumar
 Malaviya, Shri K. D.
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.
 Mallanna, Shri K.
 Mallikarjun, Shri
 Mandal, Shri Jagdish Narain
 Mandal, Shri Yamuna Prasad
 Manhar, Shri Bhagatram
 Maurya, Shri B. P.
 Mehta, Dr. Jivraj
 Mehta, Dr. Mahipatray
 Melkote, Dr. G. S.
 Mirdha, Shri Nathu Ram
 Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
 Mishra, Shri G. S.
 Mishra, Shri Jagannath
 Mishra, Shri L. N.
 Mishra, Shri Shyamnandan
 Modi, Shri Shrikishan
 Mohammad Tahir, Shri
 Mohammad Yusuf, Shri
 Mohan Swarup, Shri
 Mohapatra, Shri Shyam Sunder
 Mohsin, Shri F. H.
 Muhammed Khuda Bukhsh, Shri
 Munsii, Shri Priya Ranjan Das
 Murthy, Shri B. S.
 Naik, Shri B. V.
 Nanda, Shri G. L.
 Negi, Shri Pratap Singh
 Nimbalkar, Shri
 Oraon, Shri Kartik
 Oraon, Shri Tuna
 Pahadia, Shri Jagannath

Painuli, Shri Paripoornanand
 Pandey, Shri Damodar
 Pandey, Shri Krishna Chandra
 Pandey, Shri Narsingh Narain
 Pandey, Shri R. S.
 Pandey, Shri Sudhakar
 Pandey, Shri Tarkeshwar
 Pandit, Shri S. T.
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Paokai Haokip, Shri
 Parashar, Prof. Narain Chand
 Partap Singh, Shri
 Paswan, Shri Ram Bhagat
 Patel, Shri Arvind M.
 Patel, Shri Natwarlal
 Patil, Shri Krishnarao
 Patil, Shri T. A.
 Patnaik, Shri J. B.
 Peje, Shri S. L.
 Prabodh Chandra, Shri
 Pradhani, Shri K.
 Purty, Shri M. S.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd. Shafi
 Raghu Ramaiiah, Shri K.
 Rai, Shrimati Sahodrabai
 Raj Bahadur, Shri
 Rajdeo Singh, Shri
 Raju, Shri P. V. G.
 Ram, Shri Tulmohan
 Ram Prakash, Shri
 Ram Surat Prasad, Shri
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Ramji Ram, Shri

Ramshekhar Prasad Singh, Shri
 Rao, Shri Jagannath
 Rao, Dr. K. L.
 Rao, Shri K. Narayana
 Rao, Shri Nageswara
 Rao, Shri P. Ankineedu Prasada
 Rao, Shri Pattabhi Rama
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. Varadaraja
 Rathia, Shri Umed Singh
 Raut, Shri Bhola
 Ravi, Shri Vayalar
 Ray, Shrimati Maya
 Reddy, Shri K. Ramakrishna
 Reddy, Shri M. Ram Gopal
 Reddy, Shri P. Ganga
 Reddy, Shri P. Narasimha
 Reddy, Shri P. V.
 Richhariya, Dr. Gevind Das
 Rohtagi, Shrimati Sushila
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Saini, Shri Mulki Raj
 Salve, Shri N. K. P.
 Samanta, Shri S. C.
 *Sambhali, Shri Ishaque
 Sangliana, Shri
 Sarkar, Shri Sakti Kumar
 Satish Chandra, Shri
 Satpathy, Shri Devendra
 Savant, Shri Shankerrae
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Sethi, Shri Arjun
 Shaquaq Jung, Shri
 Shahnawaz Khan, Shri
 Shambhu Nath, Shri

Shankar Dayal Singh, Shri
 Shankar Dev, Shri
 Shankaranand, Shri B.
 Sharma, Shri A. P.
 Sharma, Shri Madhoram
 Sharma, Shri Nawal Kishore
 Sharma, Shri R. N.
 Sharma, Dr. Shankar Dayal
 Shastri, Shri Raja Ram
 Shastri, Shri Sheopujan
 Shenoy, Shri P. R.
 Sher Singh, Prof.
 Shetty, Shri K. K.
 Shinde, Shri Annasaheb P.
 Shivnath Singh, Shri
 Shukla, Shri B. R.
 Shukla, Shri Vidya Charan
 Siddayya, Shri S. M.
 Siddheshwar Prasad, Shri
 Singh, Shri Vishwanath Pratap
 Sinha, Shri Dharam Bir
 Sinha, Shri Nawal Kishore
 Sinha, Shri R. K.
 Sohan Lal, Shri T.
 Sokhi, Shri Swaran Singh
 Stephen, Shri C. M.
 Subramaniam, Shri C.
 Sudarsanam, Shri M.
 Sunder Lal, Shri
 Surendra Pal Singh, Shri
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.
 Swaminathan, Shri R. V.
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Tarodekar, Shri V. B.
 Tayyab Hussain, Shri

Thakur, Shri Krishnarao
Tiwari, Shri R. G.
Tiwary, Shri D. N.
Tombi Singh, Shri N
Tula Ram, Shri
Tulsiram, Shri V.
Uikey, Shri M. G.
Unnikrishnan, Shri K. P.
Vekaria, Shri
Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.
Venkatswamy, Shri G.
Verma, Shri Balgovind
Verma, Shri Sukhdeo Prasad
Vidyalankar, Shri Amarnath
Vikal, Shri Ram Chandra

Virbhadra Singh, Shri
Yadav, Shri Chandrajit
Yadav, Shri D. P.
Yadav Shri Karan Singh
Yadav, Shri N. P.
Yadav, Shri R. P.

MR. SPEAKER: The result of the division* is:

AYES: 61; NOES: 294

The motion was negatived

MR. SPEAKER: Now the House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

19.55 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, July 26, 1974/Sravana 4, 1896 (Saka).

*The following Members also recorded their votes:—

Ayes: Sarvashri Janeshwar Misra and Ishaque Sambhali.

Noes: Sarvashri Chandulal Chandrakar, Genda Singh and Ram Dayal.