

[Shri Vasudevan Nair]

move to topple the Government, the Chief Minister went before the Assembly with a confidence motion. He did not run away from the Assembly. He got a vote in his favour. But day in and day out these people are trying to run down the Chief Minister like that. Mr. Gopalan in his statement used the words "pack of wolves" against the Achuta Menon ministry. (*Interruptions*). They can use any slanderous language about other parties, other Governments and Chief Ministers. They are trying to sell an unsaleable commodity in the Kerala market, in the parliamentary market and in the political market in the capital and other places. That is why with reluctance and sorrow, I was compelled to bring but at least part of the facts. Let hon. members judge for themselves. When lakhs of names are printed, there may be mistakes in the electoral rolls. It is for the Election Commission to look after that matter. We do not want any favour. It is the right of the Kerala Government to demand that elections should be held before 25th September before the six month period expires under the Constitution. Now the Election Commission has recommended a date for the election. We request that they should stick to that date. Neither the Election Commission nor the Government of the India should submit themselves to the blackmailing tactics that are being employed by some people in this country.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is very difficult to know how to reply to this motion of no confidence because, whereas certain items have been mentioned in the actual motion, many of the speeches have touched upon very much wider fields, bringing in, as usual, the public sector, socialism and all kinds of other matters which were not in the motion. Some of the speeches were in a very light-hearted vein and I should have liked to reply in like manner except that it is necessary to put straight certain facts so as to remove misunderstandings from the public mind.

As far as Congo is concerned, I have

only one thing to say. I have been indeed amused as some hon. Member remarked from the other side, because once I did listen to Shri Asoka Mehta. The result was not one of my most conspicuously successful actions.

Since yesterday there has been a pitiful effort to put Humpty-Dumpty together again. Some people had seen visions of a grand alliance but evidently they could not win a vote of confidence even from their own people. So, Humpty-Dumpty had a fall and except for Shri Piloo Mody, who always sounds well even when he talks utter nonsense, the others could not even work up any fervour or eloquence in their speeches in order to put together the pieces. Even though Shri Dange came to their rescue and gave them suggestions as to who should hold what portfolio, in their shadow Cabinet their hopes for their shadow Cabinet have been completely shattered and I am afraid there is not even a shadow of a shadow Cabinet.

The motion broadly lists four grounds. The first is the charge that the elections in Kerala are being rigged. As we have been told by my colleague the Law Minister and others the electoral rolls were revised in January of this year. Bye-elections were held after that and no complaints were made that these elections were not fair. Mention has been made here about the Governor's visit to me.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Where are those printed forms of the rolls ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : As far as I know, they are exactly where they were, where the rolls are normally kept. I am told they are exactly where they are supposed to be.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : That is not correct. When we come and say that here, you do not believe us. But when somebody else says something, you believe it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am not talking of somebody; I am talking of the election Commissioner,

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN : The Election Commissioner has said something : I say that what he said is not correct. You must examine and decide whether what he says is correct or what we say is correct.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : This is not a governmental function. All that we can do is to draw the commissions attention to complaints. The Government is not here to interfere with the Election Commission or the Election Commissioner. And I should like to say that one of the things about which we can legitimately be proud in India since our independence is the fact that, except for occasional isolated cases, our elections have been free and fair and have given the people unfettered opportunity to express their wish. The very fact that almost every party has had the opportunity of being elected to form a government, elected to power and also removed from power, is a proof if proof is needed, of the strength and justice of our electoral system.

SHRI A.K. GOPALAN : I want to know whether the printed electoral rolls were given. I also want to know whether the election date was fixed anywhere in India before the printed list was given.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I do not know whether printed lists are given to the people or not.....(*Interruption*) but the printed lists are available at the places where they are kept(*Interruption*).

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : We are given printed lists.....(*Interruption*).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We have not only an independent Election Commission but the law courts also exercise full vigilance to ensure the fairness of our elections. It is rather unfortunate that any kind of doubt is cast on the election system which has worked effectively all these years.

It is also difficult to believe that all of a sudden a State Government in a part of India which is known for its high political consciousness and literacy should meddle with the electoral system. However, as I

said to Shri Gopalan when he came to see me about this, I have referred this matter to the Election Commissioner that such a complaint had been made and I was told that he had looked into the matter. There is, as you all know, still time for any objections to be raised in this matter. But I can assure the hon. House that we stand fully for free and fair elections. We are not concerned with what party comes into power. Naturally everybody would like their party to win but not at the cost of fair play or damage to the electoral system. We will never stand for. As you all know, as the Central Government we have given support and cooperation to all governments of whatever hue they were, which came into power anywhere in the country.

For the first time there was something new in this No confidence Motion and that was the strange alliance which we witnessed. As was effectively pointed out by Shri Chandra J. et Yadav, the cat was let out of the bag by the hon. Member, the Swatantra spokesman, when he delivered a broadside against socialism and nationalisation, which of course they always call State capitalism.

As usual, all kinds of other baseless charges and insinuations have been made. Reckless personal charges were made against some of my colleagues and against my Secretariat. I do not need to defend them because they are capable of taking care of themselves, but I can only feel sorry that some hon. Members simply cannot get away from this kind of vituperation and also from giving a casteist or a regional bias to anything that happens in the country.

मधु लिमये : श्री डी० एन० तिवारी ने प्रदेशवाद का परिचय दिया है। अपने सड़े हुए मन का परिचय दिया है।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Although the question of the Kerala elections has been brought in as a bait to the Members of the CPI (M), it is obvious that the entire motion is designed as a personal attack on me on the supposed concentration of power in my hands. In fact, reference

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has been made to the recent reshuffle of the Cabinet and the transfer of some departments to the Cabinet Secretariat. I did not create the Cabinet Secretariat. It has long been in existence. I did not invent the Prime Minister's Secretariat either. Contrary to what some member has said, the Prime Minister's Secretariat in its present form was not designed by me but by my distinguished predecessor, Shri Lal Bahadurji Shastri. Since then we have answered questions in this House on the Secretariat, giving the numbers of officials. There has been no addition to the Secretariat nor is any addition contemplated because of any of the changes which have taken place because no extra work has come to that Secretariat.

The function of the Cabinet Secretariat is to provide effective coordination between the ministries of Government. It also takes up certain items of study, analysis and research. When the Planning Commission shed its executive function in response to the desire of this honourable House, the Cabinet Secretariat took on some of this work. It has to take initiative in several matters of economic coordination which were previously being attended to by the Planning Commission. The three Departments which have been transferred to the Cabinet Secretariat are the Personnel Department, the Electronics Department and the Scientific and Industrial Research Department. The Department of Personnel has been newly constituted and placed under the Cabinet Secretariat, as the House knows, on the recommendation of the A.R.C.

Regarding the Intelligence agencies, I had thought that there were several experts in this House on public administration and at least they should have set the records straight. As is well-known, in England as well as in many other countries, Intelligence is directly with the Prime Minister and I am sure that these countries did not take inspiration from the Cabinet reshuffle in this country.

The C. B. I. and the Special Police Establishment have been mainly concerned with the eradication of corruption from

public service. It has necessarily to be a part of the Personnel Department. Even in the Home Ministry, the work was being looked after on the Services side under a separate Secretary (Services).

The Directorate of Revenue Intelligence was transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the Cabinet Secretariat in order to ensure better coordination with the Central Bureau of Investigation. The C.B.I. has already a wing dealing with economic offences and the work of the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence is very largely related to such offences.

Some members made a remark about the committee of Appointments saying that previously there was the Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Minister concerned but now, since the Home and the Prime Minister was the same person, there would only be two persons. So, I should like to inform the House that the Committees of the Cabinet were formed soon after the reshuffle, but unfortunately, they were not declared immediately—that I had decided that Shri Chavanji should remain on that Committee, since he was dealing with this question and with the people who would be concerned will be in these Committees. Apart from that, I would like to point out that none of these Committees works on the basis of voting. The persons sit together and it is always a question of having discussion and coming to a decision.

So far as the transfer of the C.S.I.R. to the Cabinet Secretariat is concerned, the hon. Members will remember that the Prime Minister, from the very beginning of its existence has been the ex-officio President. Therefore, this does not really change the situation.

As for the future development of electronics in India, this also has been a subject of long and anxious debate in both Houses ever since the publication of the Bhabha Report on Electronics. The future development of electronics, has such wide ranging application not only in defence but also with regard to communications, radio television, etc, hence the fast development of the industry has become a matter of

crucial importance to the country. Several Ministries and Departments of the Government as well as the private sector are consumers of the product of the electronics industry. It was in order to give a special impetus to the development of electronics that the Government have been considering the setting up of a special organisational structure. The allocation of the electronics Department to the Cabinet Secretariat was made to enable this structure to be built which, we hope, will be very soon.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is all amusing.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It may seem amusing to you. But for most such organisations that have to be set up, with which many Ministries are concerned, it is more convenient for coordinated working if at this stage the Prime Minister is there. Similarly a great deal was said about ministerial responsibility being diluted and collective responsibility being discounted. Nothing could be farther from the fact. Many hon. Members do not seem to have a correct appreciation of what is meant by collective responsibility. All Cabinet decisions are collectively taken. (*Interruptions*). Some decisions are taken by individual Ministers but we are all collectively responsible and these decisions are collectively supported and defended by the entire Government. In modern Government, several spot decisions must also be taken and Ministers who take them do so in the full knowledge that they will have to defend them on the floor of the House and in the full trust that they will have the full support of their colleagues. All controversial matters are brought to the Cabinet itself or to one of its Committees. I do not have to point out that throughout last year my colleagues have come to this House and given the reasons for their decisions. They have won an open vote of the House. They have withstood many determined efforts to shake them and challenge them. Hon. Members from the Opposition had wrongly imagined that we on this side would not stand together. They have spent days and nights planning strategies and offering prayers to divide us. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PILOO MODY : It is better than offering money.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : They have set afloat all kinds of rumours of dissension but we have stood together with loyalty to one another and faith in our Party and full conviction in our policies. I may tell the hon Member—opposite that what they could too achieve during this difficult year, they will certainly not be able to achieve in the coming months.

Sir, I have respect for my colleagues, respect for their ability and respect for their dedication to the welfare of the people and to the progress of this great nation. (*Interruptions*). That is why we have been able to work together and to introduce certain far-reaching changes in our national life. I do agree with the hon. Member, Shri Dwivedy, that much that we wanted to do we have not been able to do. We have not been able to proceed as fast as we would like to do. We have not said that we have done everything. But when you go ahead in a democratic way, it is a slower path than the other. I am not saying this to excuse ourselves because I fully realise that we must work more speedily and reach our goals more effectively.

Cabinet Government and Parliamentary Democracy are built on the principle that the overriding power and responsibility rests in the legislature. Parliament is the master of Ministers and if you could put it that way, Ministers in turn are—I do not like the word 'master'—in a way over civil servants. Those who are propagating the myth of a powerful bureaucracy are in fact running down this Parliament and the work which it has been doing to guard the people's interests. Now you can give the civil service any name you like, but the fact remains that whether you have a capitalist government or a socialist government or any other form of government, it has to have some kind of a civil service.

If it is a large country obviously that civil service will be large. And a country in which society itself takes upon itself the power and the duty to regulate economic and social life has to have the appropriate

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machinery to do it. But the hon. Member is right when he said that in a socialist State there will be more servants of the State, but they are servants of the people, not masters of the people.

There may be, and there is, some inefficiency and there may also be some deadwood in the Administrative organisation. But we cannot deny that there are also fine people who are as good as any in the world. They are doing their work with ability and dedication. It would be a pity if the House were to do anything which would blunt these tools. This is not peculiar to our country, because, almost everywhere there is sometimes criticism against bureaucrats and even in countries and Governments which have far more advanced methods than we can afford today.

A statement of mine or rather a speech was quoted and in the attempt to show that there was some contradiction between that and a letter which I had written about our administrative service to a newly selected IAS officer. I don't think that there is any contradiction between the two. Because, I do believe that we must give better status to Specialists. All over the world it has been realised that technical jobs must go to technicians. But everywhere administrators and business managers also are being given more intensive training in now and modern methods. We have been choosing specialists for our technical posts so far as possible, but at no time has this meant that we should dispense with the administrative service. On the contrary, the administrative service must be given greater social orientation so as to be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively.

Something has been said about the communal problem. But this problem has been thoroughly debated on earlier occasions and I leave it to the country to judge whose speeches have been provocative or have added to the tension in any particular area.

The problem of the refugees is naturally one which is uppermost in the minds of

most of us. They are facing very genuine hardships and this is a matter of grave concern and deep distress. The Government has indeed a heavy responsibility to settle and rehabilitate them with great speed. We are doing everything possible towards this end. Shri Samar Guha's excitement was understandable. I entirely agree with what he said this morning about the political side of the problem. He mentioned also my visit to Calcutta, But, as I told him when I met him there that particular visit was for a limited purpose, that is, to look into the implementation of the various decisions which had been taken earlier in Delhi. And, the steps being taken for the refugees and their rehabilitation formed a considerable part of this discussion, whether it was with political parties, whether it was with administrators or some of the other public men and women whom I met, I have promised our friends from Bengal to visit the transit camps soon. I am sorry I could not go there on that occasion.

This is hardly the occasion on which to speak about Manipur. But, since the matter was brought up, I would just like to say that this House is fully aware of the law and order situation there. It is obvious, whether it is Manipur or elsewhere, that the restoration of normal conditions is an essential precondition for any fair election. Yet we all know that this part of the country faces many difficult problems. We are looking into them.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Double Standards everywhere,

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Government have no double standards, but I am afraid many of those who have spoken have shown their own double standards.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy also spoke heatedly about land reforms. I do not think that it is correct to say that our programmes are not making any headway even in the States where we are in control. I think there has never been greater consciousness at the Centre and in the States of the great importance of creating an equitable agrarian structure within the shortest possible time.

In Bengal, we announced some months ago that the occupiers of land belonging to eligible categories would not be evicted and that their position would be regularised very soon. Earlier this month, the West Bengal Land Reforms Amendment Act was enacted. Its result will be to increase the burgadar's share of the produce from 60 to 75 per cent, in cases where they themselves provide all the inputs. The conditions under which land owners are permitted to resume lands have been made more favourable to burgadars, and the right of cultivation by them has been made hereditary. It has also been decided to enact fresh legislation on ceiling, fixing the ceiling in terms of family rather than individual units. The details are now being finalised. The Government of West Bengal have been told to give this work the highest priority, that is, the re-distribution of waste and surplus land to eligible cultivators. In this matter, the State Government are reviewing the ceiling law and enforcing the existing ceilings with much greater rigour. (*Interruptions*) Detailed instructions have already gone out to district collectors, and notices have been served on several thousands of the largest owners of surplus land. The amendments to the Bihar Tenancy Act, carried out during President's rule, are being implemented, so that even bataidars on oral lease are not liable to eviction.

In UP, the ceiling laws are being reviewed. In Maharashtra, the rent payable by tenants to land-owners has been reduced to one-sixth of the produce, which is perhaps the lowest in the country. After many years, there is now real hope that land reforms, which have so long been talked about, are at last under way.

The examples of Bihar and West Bengal during President's rule conclusively show that the Central Government is earnestly engaged in carrying through the measures which it has been urging on other State Governments.

The other problem which is very much on everybody's mind is naturally that of unemployment. I fully share the concern expressed in this House and outside about this growing problem. But the only lasting remedy for unemployment and under-emp-

loyment, particularly of skilled personnel such as engineers and technicians lies in vigorous implementation of the plan and inclusion of specially labour-intensive programmes.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Plans ? They are responsible for the mischief.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The plan outlay for the current year has been stepped up by about Rs. 400 crores especially with a view to bring some improvement in the employment situation. We are examining how to speedily organise a land army, that is, enrolling cadres of skilled and unskilled workers to be put to work on specific projects of public utility.

There was reference to the performance of nationalised banks. It may be that we did proceed a bit slowly for many reasons. But there is no basis for the criticism that benefits have not accrued to the small persons or the small farmers, although I concede that much remains to be done and must be done speedily.

19 hrs.

The number of borrowal accounts in the case of direct loans to agriculture went up from Rs. 1,34,849 at the end of June, 1969 to Rs. 2,97,670 by the end of March, 1970. The number of accounts for advances to retail traders and small business increased from 28,037 at the end of June, 1969 to 70,607 by the end of March, 1970. Similarly, the number of loans to self-employed persons increased impressively from 422 at the end of June, 1969 to 22,030 by the end of March, 1970. The share of advances to neglected sectors, namely, agriculture, small scale industries, road transport operators, retail traders, small business etc in the aggregate advances of the public sector banks increased from 14.6 per cent at the end of June, 1969 to 20.3 per cent by the end of March, 1970.

There were some entirely false charges made regarding issuing of licences. Perhaps the House knows that the decision in all important cases is taken not by any individual Minister or by the Prime Minister but

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by the Cabinet as a whole. A ridiculous statement was made alleging that I had taken over licensing in my own hands. Nothing could be farther from the truth. All that has been decided is that the grant of licences in certain defined cases should be considered by the Committee on Economic Co-ordination on which all Ministers dealing with economic matters are represented. This is largely because this is a controversial matter, and many cases come within the purview of different Ministries also. Therefore, the question is not of concentration of power but of sharing responsibility and decision making power and bringing the collective judgment of a ministerial group to bear on these important problems of licensing.

SHRI RANJEET SINGH (Khalilabad : Why has she taken away Shri Swaran Singh's intelligence ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It has been alleged that the decisions taken on the grant of industrial licences have been inspired by dishonest motives. I have no hesitation in saying that this is a mischievous and reckless charge, and also an entirely dishonest charge. I have no hesitation in maintaining that the interest of the national economy and not narrow or party or personal interest guides our decisions.

I have been compared, not for the first time, to Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini. If they had perhaps read more books, they could have used more names. I think the people will laugh at the preposterousness of these comparisons.

It was somewhat dramatically stated that this country would not tolerate Hitler. I entirely agree with this. In fact, this is what I myself have been saying. I have said it in the House ; I have said it outside also. This country will not tolerate Hitler and what Hitlerism stands for. But we should know what it stands for, namely, the preaching of hatred against sections of the people, the building up of para-military organisations, the use of the lie, the big lie and the biggest lie and the readiness to use any and every method to capture power. We do not believe in such methods ; we leave such methods to others.

The biggest lie that has been told in this House on this occasion is the one that is now being constantly repeated about our subservience, as they say, to the Soviet Union. This, as the House and those members who have been in the House for some time, will remember, is not a new charge. It was also made against my father. Some called him a Soviet stooge and others called him an American camp-follower, but he was an Indian, a proud Indian. Now, the same charge is being levelled against me. My concern is only for the people of India. These charges are not going to deflect us from seeking friendship with all nations because the country's good requires it. And when the national interests demand it, we shall not hesitate to stand up against all nations. Somebody said : let us have one example. There is a very recent example, which is our not signing the NPT.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : That is because of our pressure.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Mr. Sondhi has some imaginary ideas of his own strength in this House. I will leave him to his illusion.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : When you hold a public meeting next, I will hold one the same day.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I trust the country will treat this charge with the contempt which it deserves, India, free, sovereign, democratic India, shall never be a satellite of any country, however great or powerful.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Except the Soviet Union.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Those who bandy about this charge show a singular lack of confidence in themselves or in the country. All the chancelleries of the world know and respect the fact that our country has steadfastly pursued its own course of action.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : In spite of you.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : And I shall continue to do it so long as I have anything to do with the Government of this country. The consistent and steadfast adherence to our policy of non-alignment is absolutely non-negotiable. Many people thought that we would succumb, they have tried to browbeat us here many a time, but we have not gone back from anything for which we stand, nor shall we ever do so in foreign policy or in domestic policy.

I hope that this House will reject...

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : Interim relief for the Government employees.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : ...This motion and will continue to show its confidence in this Government.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मन्त्री हमेशा शिकायत करती थीं कि जो पिटी पिटाई बातें हैं वही अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव की बहस में लाई जाती हैं लेकिन आज जिस ढंग से उन्होंने अपना भाषण किया और बचाव की भूमिका जो अख्तियार की उससे पता चलता है कि आज जो बहस यहाँ पर उठाई गई उसमें कितना तथ्य है, कितनी—जान है उसका स्वयं उनको पता चल गया था। जब कल मैं बोल रहा था तो सभी लोगों ने देखा कि इनके मंत्रिमण्डल के अधिकतर मन्त्री हमारी बातों पर खुशी से फूले नहीं समा रहे थे—सभी लोगों ने इसको देखा है। आज उनका बचाव करने के लिए इस बहस में न दिनेश सिंह आये, न जगजीवन राम आये, न चव्हाण साहब आये और न ही बलिराम भगत आये। तो ये जो कह रही हैं कि हम एक हैं और बड़ा इत्तफाक है हम लोगों में, उसका परिचय दो दिनों की बहस में हमें अच्छी तरह मिला है।... (व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय, विरोधी दलों में बैठने वाले हमारे दक्षिण पंथी कम्युनिस्टों के नेता डांगे साहब का भाषण मैंने गौर से सुना। उन्होंने

बहुत विचित्र किस्म की बातें कीं। उन्होंने कहा मैं अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव के साथ नहीं हूँ लेकिन मैं इस सरकार पर विश्वास भी व्यक्त नहीं करना चाहता। एक त्रिशंकु की तरह डांगे साहब लटक रहे हैं। मैंने यहाँ पर जो बातें कहीं उनमें एक भी डांगे साहब या उनके समर्थक काट नहीं पाये।... (व्यवधान)...

अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब श्री वासुदेवन नायर वो टोका जा रहा था तब इन लोगों को गुस्सा आ रहा था। अब द्राप इनको बिठलाइये।

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा (जयनगर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भी...

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down ; you have no right to speak. The hon. Member is not yielding.

श्री मधु लिमये : इस वक्त यह क्यों टोक रहे हैं ?

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा : अध्यक्ष महोदय, द्राप मेरी बात सुन लीजिये।*

MR. SPEAKER : It will not go on record.

श्री मधुलिमये : श्री डांगे मेरी एक बात को भी काट नहीं पाये।

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा :*

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, द्राप इनको शान्त कीजिये।

MR. SPEAKER : You should know the rule that if he does not yield you have no right to speak. He is not yielding.

श्री मधु लिमये : डांगे मेरी एक बात को भी काट नहीं पाये। मैंने कहा कि राजनीतिक सत्ता का केन्द्रीकरण हो गया है।

* Not recorded.