

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

gistration of Electors) Amendment Rules, 1973 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. G.S.R. 991 in Gazette of India dated the 15th September, 1973.

- (iv) The Delhi Sikh Gurdwaras Rules, 1973 (Hindi and English versions) published in Notification No. F. 18 (15)/73-Judl. in Delhi Gazette dated the 27th September, 1973.

(2) A statement showing reasons for delay in laying the above Notifications. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5745/73.]

ANNUAL REPORTS OF PRESS COUNCIL OF INDIA FOR 1972

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Annual Report (Hindi version) of the Press Council of India for the year 1972, under section 18 of the Press Council Act, 1965. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5746/73.]

12.52 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

THIRTY-THIRD REPORT

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Autonomous Districts): I present the Thirty-third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

12.53 hrs.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

MR. SPEAKER: I have to inform the House that I have received two notices of Motions of No-Confidence

in the Council of Ministers under Rule 198 from Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu and Shri Samar Guha.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu's motion, as slightly edited, reads as follows:

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

The reasons given are:

"Government's wrong anti-people, anti-democratic policies resulting in high prices and Government's total failure to ensure supply of food and other essential commodities to people causing starvation, starvation deaths, severe hardship, growing unemployment, rampant corruption, use of official machinery for party purposes specially for impending elections in UP and Orissa, widespread repression, misapplication of MISA and other preventive Acts and other misdeeds".

May I request those hon. members who are in favour of Shri Bosu's motion to rise in their seats?

The Members who have risen are more than 50, and the leave is granted.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS AND MINISTER OF SPACE (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): I suggest that the discussion of the motion can be taken up immediately.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes; I agree.

श्री जयु ललित (बांका) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री पहले ही इस्तीफा दे दें तो बहुल की जरूरत ही नहीं पड़ेगी।

MR. SPEAKER: It is already 1 O'clock; just two minutes less. Could we take it up at 2 O'clock?

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA** (Begusaral): Yes.

**MR. SPEAKER:** How much time would you like to have?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSE** (Diamond Harbour): 12 hours.

**श्री अटल: बिहारी बाजपेयी** (ग्वालियर): अध्यक्ष जी, आप इस बात को स्वीकार करेंगे कि इस अविश्वास प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा करने का पूरा मौका मिलना चाहिये। सभी दल अपनी बात कहना चाहेंगे, सभी दृष्टिकोण सदन के सामने आयेँ इसलिये आप पूरा समय दें। इसे अल्पदबाजी में समाप्त नहीं किया जा सकता।

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** It is coming after more than two and a half years, and we require full time to discuss it.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA** (Contai): This is the first time when you have admitted a no-confidence motion after several years. Both the House and the Government must be given sufficient time. We must be given sufficient time to convince the Government that they have brought the country to the brink of total disaster.

**MR. SPEAKER:** I will leave it to the Business Advisory Committee which will be called to meet at 3.30 today. We will fix the time there. The discussion of this motion will start at 2 O'clock. We may now adjourn for lunch.

**श्री मधु बोसु:** कम से कम दो दिन दिये जायें यह फैसला हो जाये।

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Sir, just one submission. We will all be preoccupied here in the House discussing the motion, and so it will be very difficult for us to attend the meeting of the Business Advisory Committee at 3.30.

**MR. SPEAKER:** You can send your representative. If the party

leaders are not there, they can send their party representatives.

12.59 hrs.

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

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**RE-REPORTED POLICE FIRING ON STUDENTS AT SHAHDARA**

**श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी** (ग्वालियर): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी अभी खबर मिली है कि शाहदरा में पुलिस ने विद्यार्थियों पर गोली चलाई है। शाम लाल कालेज युनिदन के प्रेजिडेंट श्री नरेश मेहता पुलिस की गोली से घायल हो गए हैं। पुलिस कालेज के भीतर घुस गई। उसने अध्यापकों और कर्मचारियों के घरों में घुस कर उनके बच्चों की पीटा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्री महोदय इस मामले पर तुरन्त ध्यान दें। परिस्थिति को बिगड़ने से रोका जाना चाहिये। विद्यार्थियों और पुलिस का संघर्ष दिल्ली में व्यापक रूप धारण कर सकता है। आप गृह मंत्री से कहें कि वह सदन को स्थिति से अवगत करें।

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

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** The House will now take up the Motion of No-Confidence. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** (Diamond Harbour): Sir, I move:

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

The reasons are Government's wrong anti-people, anti-democratic policies resulting in high prices and Government's total failure to ensure

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

supply of food and other essential commodities to people causing starvation, starvation deaths, severe hardship, growing unemployment, rampant corruption, use of official machinery for party purposes, specially for impending elections in UP and Orissa, widespread repression, misapplication of MISA and other preventive Acts and other misdeeds.

Sir, this No-Confidence Motion is long overdue. Today I rise to impeach this Government on behalf of the people of this country, whom they have let down so badly for the last three years.... (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: The people are not behind you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: If this is how you want to protect the Prime Minister, I think that is only poor display.

The narration of courses of fact is only a tip of the iceberg. Here we cannot defeat them by votes. Look at the magnitude of corruption and immorality—they are void of any fair principle—the gap between promises and performances, sticking to sheer opportunism. They have no right to continue in power. They have the lowest credibility today. In 1970 the Prime Minister dissolved this Parliament on the pretext of seeking a fresh mandate from the people. The time has come for seeking a fresh mandate again if she is worth the name of Prime Minister.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government are a monument of no-achievement. They are isolated from the people and that should be evident from a very simple and small thing as this. This is a statement showing the number of security guards provided to Central Ministers, including Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers. In 1967, they had a total of Sub-Inspectors 4, Assistant Sub-Inspectors 3, Head Constables 44

and Constables 85. In 1973 as against 44 Head Constables the number has gone up to 124; and the number of Constables has gone up from 85 to 267. How much money is this costing us, dear gentlemen! The expenditure incurred on security guards in the year 1967 was Rs. 3,14,620 and some paise, and in 1973, when there is so much talk of socialism, the amount has tripled; the expenditure as on 22nd August 1973 is Rs. 9,17,963. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The ruling party and the Government are so scared of the people, they are feeling so isolated, that they have to look for shelter and protection from hired machinery. The expenditure has gone up three times in a few years—that is the rise! For one meeting of the Prime Minister they spend for security alone Rs. 80,000, and for other things about Rs. 2½ lakhs.

There is a countrywide crime wave. Delhi has become a crime city. Look at the girls' procession the other day of the Mirandah House. What about the Narang House scandal? Nothing has happened. These are vital matters. They are doing drum-beating and tom-tomming about Green Revolution in agriculture. But what have they got? Nothing better than a monsoon-oriented economy. And the most fantastic price rise has taken place. Barring some Latin American Countries, nowhere in the world has such a price rise been recorded, particularly for items that are required for the common man....

Shrimati Indira Gandhi says that, in a developing economy, it is bound to happen. But she conveniently forgets that, in other countries where there has been price rise, the wage rise also has simultaneously taken place to absorb the price rise and to leave surplus money in the hands of toiling masses and weaker sections.

Our Planning Minister described— I call him an ignorant Planning Minister—this as an invasion on our

prices. What more do we expect from this Government who plead helplessness? It is because it is a complete surrender to monopolists. This has happened because Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government have chosen to surrender completely at the feet of the monopoly capital, both of purse that is required.

The foodgrain take-over was another fiasco. The rice take-over was totally given up. Congressmen themselves opposed this. Why blame others? Of course, the Modies of Delhi and their wheat hoarding have to be protected for the consideration of purse that is required.

Procurement is a farce. They want to protect the big business houses. The U.P. and other elections have to be safeguarded. And we are aware of the fact and you also know it, that their major base in the rural areas is led by the rural rich. The total quantity procured has also shown a disturbing trend. The figures apart, the practical disappearance of wheat, sugar, edible oil, milk and other essential articles from the open market and at the same time their availability at fantastic prices in the black market are facts of daily experience. And if figures are required, the following are relevant. Between November 1972 and June 1973, procurement of rice was about 2.5 million tonnes against the target of 4 million tonnes. The procurement of wheat during the period, April to June 1973, was only 4.3 million tonnes against the original target of 8 million tonnes and the scaled-down target of 6 million tonnes and in comparison to 5 million tonnes procured in 1972. And this year the monsoon has been favourable and there is the talk of bumper crop. That is your performance. That is your socialism.

The ration prices have been increased. Statutory rationing is only a token one. That is also on the verge of collapse. What they are selling as *atta* is a mixture of—what

exactly they are, God only knows—things including soap-stone, tamarind seed, groundnut oil cakes and bran. Bran is in plentiful supply in West Bengal at a price which my hon. friend opposite will tell you. Modified rationing is a joke. Today, after 25 years of Congress rule, in eastern U.P. you find people picking up undigested gram from the cow-dung, washing it, boiling it and eating it. It is known as 'Gobaraha'. You are making all sorts of claims. People are picking their food from the cow-dung. If the world comes to know of it, our heads will hang in shame.

Baby food, coal, kerosene oil and Dalda, are available in plenty. But at what price? There is no dearth of supply. If there has been real shortage, you could not have got it for money. But they are available in plenty.

I am told that behind the coal supply, a particular political party's youth wing in Raniganj has been given permits, and they are selling the permits for Rs. 8/- per tonne. If a boy is given 100 tonnes, he gets Rs. 800. He comes to Raniganj bazaar, sells the permits, collects Rs. 800 and goes back for his party functioning. I am told that the name of that wing is 'Yuva Congress.' In Punjab and Haryana, it is Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per tonne of coal and everything has come to a standstill.

Now what has happened to Mr. J. P. Goel, the Congress Chief in the Delhi Administration. His godown was raided and it had to be sealed. He is a senior Congress leader, and that is his conduct. And you are all talking about socialism, rationing equal distribution of wealth and facilities to the people.

In the case of edible oil, they are pursuing a pro-hoarder policy. In Bombay, a hoarder was caught hoarding one lakh bags of groundnut. Here is a report from the *Economic Times*:

"One lakh bags of groundnut of the Kapchi variety, estimated to

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yield 3,000 tonnes of scarce groundnut oil and sufficient to take care of Bombay's requirement for two months lie hoarded in Bombay."

And what did they do? It is very nicely described here:

"The loophole is that neither the Essential Commodities Act nor the Defence of India rules which came into force in the State on August 16 places any restriction on the possession of or trading in groundnuts as such, though these rules cover both groundnut oil and refined oil."

According to sources about 75 per cent of the stocks were of handpicked variety meant for export. The stocks were all financed by banks, that is, the socialist nationalised banks. It is also claimed that the party had in his possession... etc. Contrary to this claim the market circles allege that soon after the information was disclosed by the *Economic Times*, the party moved overnight a big chunk of his stock in Bombay to a place in Gujarat. Even the stocks left in Bombay were stated to have been stock-ed in different parts and disposed of for crushing later. One of the versions is that the party went in for buying on a large scale when the prices were low and he became the object of envy when prices of the groundnuts went on rising.

That is how it is being done. It is being done with full help and protection from the Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

What about Vanaspati? In Vanaspati there was a rapid expansion and much of the profit in the trade comes from, to put it bluntly, from the skill to corner supplies of edible oil. It also says, 'In fact, the trade in Bombay suspects that the Vanaspati industry dominated by large houses is diverting a part of the available groundnut oil in acute short supplies

into soap-manufacture following the stoppage of the imports of tallow.' Most of the Vanaspati manufacturing units including the larger ones are also soap-manufacturers. (They are thus contributing to the edible oil shortage. They are creating the shortage for making profits and Mrs. Gandhi's government is keeping her eyes shut because there is an understanding between the two. Then, the Vanaspati industry is totally dominated by foreign monopoly. They dictate the terms and the prices and create scarcity. I want to ask Mr. Chavan, whether it is or it is not a fact that Lever Brothers has declared a dividend of 40 per cent on their equity capital, whether it is also not a fact that in 1971-72 their profit was Rs. 5 crores and for 1972-73 it has jumped to double that figure, viz. Rs. 10 crores. Another company, Shaw Wallace dealing in food items, have declared a dividend of 27 per cent on their equity capital. Can you imagine this when people are starving? These profiteering people, these monopoly friends of Mrs. Gandhi are making their hay while the sun is shining at the cost of people's stomach. Take the mustard oil, the poor man's oil and I think 25 per cent of it is diverted to Vanaspati production. It used to sell at Rs. 5 per kg. Now it is selling at Rs. 10.

The price rise and inflation is inseparable. A few weeks, the Prime Minister said, 'Bear it for a month.' Soon after the kerosene and petrol excise rise came which is unbearable to the common man.

Price rise and inflation. The pretext is Bangladeshi refugees. This is all the tall talk of 'Garibi Hatao.' Now, the detailed explanation is that it was because of the events of 1971 and the last year's drought. This can satisfy only the most credulous. The Government praised last year the economy's resilience...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You would not like to give the impression

that your speech is a string of newspaper quotes?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: No harm.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You may just refer to them.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: These are written by very eminent economists. I think, Sir, that may be left to me. Extra taxes were collected in the name of Bangladesh and that extra money, I am told, were not spent for the refugees.

Deficit financing and indirect taxes have become very serious issues so far as the common man is concerned. I do not think that Mrs. Gandhi has tried to understand the implications of it. The correct proportion between direct and indirect taxes is necessary to be known. In 1960-61 the total revenue was of the order of Rs. 901 crores. The direct taxes were Rs. 295 crores and the indirect taxes were Rs. 606 crores.

The percentage of direct taxes to total revenue was 32.63 per cent. The percentage of indirect taxes to total tax revenue was 67.37 per cent. In 1973-74, the revenue is of the order of Rs. 5113-56 crores. Direct taxes comes to Rs. 1314 crores and indirect taxes Rs. 3799 crores. The percentage of indirect taxes to total tax revenue has risen to 74.3 per cent. The direct tax ratio has gone down to 25.7 per cent. This is the position. Direct taxes touch the rich people, so it cannot be enhanced. You have therefore to put the burden on the common man. You have put the excise duties on many out of the 116 items of daily use of the common man under the Central Excises Act. I can give figures year after year.

Now, with regard to deficit financing, in the first plan (1951-56) the deficit financing has been of the order of Rs. 333 crores. These are figures combined for the Centre and the

States. In the second plan (1956-61) it was Rs. 954 crores. In the third plan (1961-66) it was Rs. 1133 crores. In the first four years of the fourth plan it has come to Rs. 1917 crores but the target set for the whole of the Fourth Plan is of the order of Rs. 850 crores. This is how they speak of deficit financing! In 1972-73, in one single year they took to deficit financing of the tune of Rs. 850 crores. They have hidden the fact that Rs. 423 crores were given to the States. Now, Sir, they are trying to regularise it by ways and means advances. Now they have imposed an ordinance and imposed an extra levy of Rs. 333 crores. So, this is a question which I want to ask Mr. Chavan. How much of deficit financing are you going to resort to? You have already exceeded Rs. 400 crores. Even by pushing aside social welfare projects, agriculture, education and health, what is it that you expect? You are printing more and more notes from Nasik because your unproductive bogus expenditure should go on. In 1963 you spent Rs. 77.37 crores on the Administrative Services and in 1973-74 you have spent Rs. 279.44 crores. Then, what about the Central Police Force? The Centre is not supposed to have a Police Force. There are so many Central Intelligence people, Research and Analysis people, subsidiary intelligence people!

Your Central Hall, Visitor's gallery and other places are infested by the policemen. I do not think there is any other country whose Parliament House is infested by policemen. (*Interruptions*)

As regards Central Police, according to the Constitution, the Centre is not supposed to have the police force. In 1950-51 they have spent Rs. 3 crores on them but in 1973-74, they had spent Rs. 135 crores. Why do you require so much police in the Centre? Why have an organisation headed by Shri Kaw, namely, Research and Intelligence Wing? For killing the Parliamentary democracy and doing all sorts of wrong things?

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Coming to debt services, in 1963-64 you have provided for Rs. 278.35 crores but in 1973-74 it has come to Rs. 834.85 crores. (Interruptions). I am saying that this is a police state. And that is why Mrs. Gandhi requires to spend under one single item at the Centre without the proper provision under the Constitution a sum of Rs. 135 crores when her late father, in 1950, thought that Rs. 3 crores would be good enough. That shows the character of the present Government. We did not hear much about C.I.A. Now we have been talking a lot about C.I.A. Once we were told that the research Analysis wing deals only with foreign intelligence. Now of course, for import, you have a multi-national Corporation using Shri B. K. Nehru and Shri Jha--Shri Jha is great man--who helped in bringing in devaluation of the country! Now, they are advising. The only salvation for this country is to surrender at the feet of I.T.T. Company, General Motors etc., etc. Have you not learnt a lesson from what the ITT had done in Chile to Mr. Allende? You want a multi-national Corporation because there are stooges like these advisers who had brought in disaster--economic disaster--by devaluation of this country. That is your ultimate salvation and solution and for that you want a multi-national Corporation. Let the people go to hell and let them keep on starving and let them go on picking up grams from the cow-dung. But, this multi-national Corporation is the latest discovery of Mrs. Gandhi.

They have spent Rs. 13 crores for the importation of bugging electronic equipment in the last six to nine months. Do they want me to give the dates of their arrival etc.? We can give that. (Interruptions).

I always thought that Mr. Nixon could come to India. He cannot come here openly but he can come in disguise for being an apprentice under our Prime Minister to see for himself how to get things done properly.

Apart from this, what is this Intelligence Bureau for? If you look into the budget papers for 1973-74, under the Ministry of Home Affairs, you will see that for the Intelligence Bureau Rs. 8.94 crores is the voted amount. Coming to discretionary fund, what is the fund for? I hope my colleagues will understand it. Now we are seeing everyday a water-gate. Where there is audit, there is no voucher production and where there is accounting, there is such a lot of misappropriation, misspending and putting money into the pockets. Here is an expenditure where you cannot demand a voucher, where you cannot get audit and where you cannot do accounting. Here is an item of Rs. 14 crores for one Ministry, namely, the External Affairs Ministry. What do they do with Rs. 14 crores? The House has a right to know this. Why is it that this amount has doubled in the last three years? What has happened? We want to know these things.

Then, of course, you have the CRP, the Central *Rokka Peeta*, these people will be hounded by the people within a very short time and the time has come for that. What is the expenditure on this? Those who are not in the know of things may kindly get educated. Compared to the expenditure of Rs. 6,96,47,221 in 1966-67, in 1972-73, it has come to--can you guess?—Rs. 37,37,85,297. In six years, Mrs. Gandhi may kindly hear me, it has gone up by 600 per cent. That is her welfare State.

And what do the States pay for this? The State Governments were made to pay Rs. 15.71 crores--for maintaining the CRP, or to be exact Rs. 15,71,63,745.4. Out of that of course, my State, under their regime tops the list with Rs. 3.85 crores. For this enormous expenditure on policing, what do you get? You do not get food but you get bullets. Here is a statement showing the number of occasion on which the CRP had resorted to firing in each State during the last five years; in 1970, they did so 63

times, and in 1971, they did so 204 times. I am quite sure Mrs. Gandhi will recommend all the CRP commandants for President's Award. It is a wonderful job that they have done, they have done the money's worth. That is what it means.

Here is Shri Unnikrishnan. After his gallant work in Moscow, it is nice to see him here. It is very nice to see him. The point is that he cannot hood wink us. He has volunteered to give a cut of Rs. 50. But do the people outside know that Rs 50 is even less than a day's daily allowance? How many times does he come here for Parliament as well as for committee meetings? How much has he sacrificed? Let the people know about it. If he is bold enough, let him come forward with the answer. We do not believe in gimmicks, and we do not go in for it either.

The growth of monopoly is another scandal. I am not talking of Rama Goenka's poster of Rs. 14 lakhs fame, the beautiful photo of Mrs. Gandhi brought out by one of the leading blood-suckers of the jute-growers of West Bengal, a wonderful plastic multi-colour painted photograph, very impressive; naturally, they admire her and they like her. But what is the position now? Let us see.

**SHRI SHYAMANANDAN MISHRA:** Why does he deny him of that pleasure?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Now, I shall mention the total growth in a set of 20 large houses. Let not Mr. Chavan go to sleep; I do not want to be harsh on him, because he must be feeling tired. The total assets of these 20 large houses in 1963-64 were Rs 1789.93 crores and now they have come to Rs. 3128.77 crores. This is the socialism of Mrs. Gandhi. Monopolies are dwindling. Poor common people are growing, and they are growing in starvation, but these people are dwindling in poverty. So, that is very simple.

Then percentage of growth of assets. Can you imagine it? Birlas have grown between 1960 and 1969-70 448 per cent, ACC 57.3 per cent, Thapars 76.1 per cent, Surajmal Nagarmal— one of the biggest tax-evaders; I am told the arrears are around Rs. 6 crores—have grown to the tune of 87.8 per cent, Walchand 84.3 per cent, Sri Rams 114.1 per cent—Shri Vayal: Ravi is looking very hard at me; please hear, Mr. Socialist—Matatal 253.8 per cent, Killick 75.7 per cent. ICI—they are very British; you cannot touch them; they gave you freedom—204.3 per cent.

**SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh):** People got the freedom; they did not give us freedom.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** That is what you say.

**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISSHAN (Badagara):** He was in the British army then.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** That is right.

This reminds me of what I saw yesterday. Yesterday I saw a photostat involving a Rajya Sabha member who have gone to UP as a personal observer...

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Do not refer to a member of the Rajya Sabha here.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** I have not mentioned the name.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Even so.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Do not get alarmed.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** It is not desirable to do it.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** I have not mentioned the name. I saw the photostat of a gentleman who was sent to UP for the organisational election of a particular ruling party—I will not say which party. We have—

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seen his photostat, a man who was convicted time and time again under the Essential Food Act, Bihar, smuggling in food, travelling without ticket and beating up railway employees. As for me, I was wearing a uniform and doing the job that was given to me. I am proud of what I have done. That gives me courage, that gives me conviction. That is why I am here to voice the difficulties of the people before these old people who have completely failed the people.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan):  
What is the name?

SHRI MADHURYA HALDAR  
(Mathurapur): That man is Kesri.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I do not want to mention the name. Kesri or no Kesri, I do not want to mention the name (*Interruptions*).

SHRI B. P. MAURYA (Harar):  
What is going on?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Mr. Chavan may hear this. I shall give the grand total of advances by financial institutions to 12 houses starting from ACC, then Bangurs, Birlas, ICI, Duncan Brothers of Ram Goenka and so on. You have financed through six institutions a total of Rs. 34,168.865 lakhs. As for 73 houses, it is a much bigger figure. The whole policy has been pro-monopoly in character.

Then what about this wonderful share market boom? Do you know that the share market equity price index has recorded the highest price rise in the country? In one case, it touched 138 per cent. Here is a wonderful write-up which says:

"General expectation that a dual price policy would be followed in the case of other basic commodities like cement, cotton textiles, fertilizer, chemicals and paper shares—

have gone up substantially. Cotton mills are faring extremely well"——

Because the people have to pay through their nose three times the price, twenty times the cost of production—

"Their profits have increased. In several cases, dividends have been raised. There have been instances where the appreciation in price has been much more than 100 per cent. For instance, while in the case of Baroda Rayon it is 141 per cent, New Sherrocks are up by 122 per cent".

What is Mrs. Gandhi's Government doing? What is Mr. Chavan doing? We do not know.

When you see there is rocketing of prices in the share market, you must understand that there is something wrong in your policy, if you are talking about socialism. But if you accept socialism and pro-monopoly policies, then of course, there is nothing to say you; you are all right.

Then there is another write-up. It says:

"For example, companies like Hindustan Lever, Brooke Bond, Pfizer, Union Carbide, Indian Aluminium and Phillips India are companies whose pre-tax profits were not less than Rs. 4 crores during 1972-73. Correspondingly, the dividends declared by such companies are on the high side".

There are numerous instances. I do not want to go into details.

Then about foreign companies, what were the assets, turnover and profits? In 1968-69, the assets were Rs. 1,234,20,85,000. That has increased now by 30 per cent in three years' time. The turnover and sales have increased by 50 per cent. Profit before tax has increased by 50 per cent. Profit after tax has increased by 100

per cent. That is your socialism and that is what you are doing.

Take Cadbury; it is the mirror. Their paid-up capital is Rs. 1236,000. Profit remitted in 1970-71 and 1971-72 is Rs. 59,06,000. This multi-national corporation will eat up. They have already started bleeding the economy altogether. If on top of that, they are brought in; we shall be finished.

Then there is the question of black money. I have produced documents to prove that Mrs. Indira Gandhi does not want to suppress black money. She does not want to curb the circulation of black money. If she had taken to demonetization in November, 1970, when the black money was assessed at about Rs. 7,000 crores, the prices would have been checked. Black money stands today at over Rs. 15,000 crores. (Interruptions). Black wealth? I am telling you, it is Rs. 15,000 crores. Do you think it is a healthy sign? It is Rs. 15,000 crores. But what can be done? The Prime Minister is a product of black money. If the black money were not there, your elections would not have been fought. Your contributions would have been none. And you would not have been here as you are here today because you are a product of black money and black-marketing.

In the home front, for the common man, above 40 per cent—that is the Government's figure—are below the poverty line; there is the lowest per capita income in the world here, and the deterioration had been much faster during the last four years of absolute rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Famine and starvation have come to stay with us. In Bihar, Eastern Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Orissa, the conditions are as bad as in the pre-French revolution days when man and dog shared the same dustbin. You are a great glory every where and you belong to a society of mutual admirers.

Drought is your pretext, because for drought-prone areas, whatever little money that you had allocated—the last three years figures have convincingly shown—you have not bothered to spend it. Now, today, you are blaming drought. Out of your cultivable land in the country, no more than 20 per cent is irrigated. That is your performance in the past 27 years. (Interruptions) I will give you the figures. Regarding unemployment, the less said the better. The figure for educated unemployment has gone up by 100 per cent, and in 10 years,—I have a rough guess after serving on the Unemployment Committee—you will find that a third of the able-bodied population of the country is either unemployed or underemployed. There are no human rights in the country. Trade union rights have been trampled. Parliamentary democracy and civil liberties have ceased to exist.

Who has been the upholder? The Research and Analysis Wing has become the upholder of all this on your behalf. Their people are thronging around us. They have committed no less than 3,000 secret murders in the last two years, under different operations. I will name one operation which was finalised when Shri Ajoy Mukerjee was about to resign the Chief Ministership; that is "Operation Hooghly." 3,000 secret murders have been made a target and even today, we have lost a life in Durgapur, and there was another man, Nitai Sarkar. I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister but she has not got the time for one single poor individual. You have rigged the elections and you have unleashed semi-Fascist rule in West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir and Tripura. There is police-protected gangsterism. Although the Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been struck down, it still continues; to be applied wherever they want. In the Aligarh Muslim University the Muslim students who took part in an

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agitation were not spared. They are being made to rot in the jail because their cases are not reviewed. In West Bengal alone during the period 7-5-71 to 30-6-73 the number of people detained was 7,604. Fresh detention in West Bengal was 1,044. The people in detention as on 30-6-73 was 2,030. The latest figures which we have been given are contradicting each other.

Since the 1972 elections the CPM have lost 90 lives because of murders, and these murders were committed by hooligans, gangsters and policemen. The number of Congressmen murdered is 25. You have seen how the other day one MLA, Shri Chandru Mitra, was hashed to death by Congressmen in his own house.

The indiscriminate use of power to cow down the political opponents and not to spare even the weaker sections, the workers and the students, is a deplorable thing. I can assure you that whatever you may say about your doing well, that will amount to your living like an ostrich which is hiding its head in sand and refusing to see what is happening outside. The whole world is laughing at you, your poverty, your mismanagement and, on top of that, your dictatorial rule.

You have occupied with the help of the CRP and police 300 trade union offices. In Raniganj the CRP people will not allow our trade union offices to be opened.

You had a massive mandate. In spite of that, you had the record number of President's Rule after the 1971 elections. We were branded as a microscopic minority. In spite of that you had the maximum number of President's Rule. You have heaped all the blame on us. You want to demolish and annihilate the opposition.

You are now busy designing how to rig the elections in UP and Orissa. You have no scruples. You are making a shameful use of the All India Radio and other mass media by coercive methods and manipulation of newsprint allocation. This is shameless use of official machinery. Only two days ago Shri Bahuguna said that he is rushing extra quantity of cement to UP. Their quota was 150,000 tonnes which had been raised to 3 lakh tonnes. Now it is going to be 5 lakh tonnes for UP. This has appeared in your paper. *The Statesman*. Now fertilizers, food, cement, everything is being rushed to UP. Now Shri Tripathi will go for the opening ceremony of a particular road in UP because he is the Road Minister and he has to develop a State which has been backward so long. But why this is done only just before the elections? Only the other day, as a national integration process, Shrimati Gandhi opened a bridge which connects Jhansi with Lucknow. The people of Jhansi did not travel to Lucknow so long and now they can do it. Now that the elections are coming, it is a special type of national integration which is taking place in UP and other States. Shri Chavan is smiling, but he is coming from Maharashtra.

Coming to the land reform policy I have gone through some of the legislations that your party in power in different States have brought into existence. Many lawyers have told me that the laws that were in existence infact restricted land-owning to some extent, but the present laws have opened the flood-gates. They are nothing but a joke. The same applies to the move for an urban property ceiling.

Coming to diffusion of ownership of newspapers, Shrimati Gandhi cannot certainly disturb the mass media owners. They are great people who help her by seeing that what we say

here does not go to the people and what they say here is magnified and given to the people. For that they are given newsprint and Government advertisements. On top of that, there is the threat of diffusion of ownership. You gentlemen on the opposite kindly educate me what happened to the diffusion of ownership. It has become an abandoned commodity on your shelves since three years ago. Now, you are talking about another gimmick, delinking of ownership. We understand these things. We know you much too well. We know Mrs. Indira Gandhi very well. The whole thing is not only class-oriented but immoral and dishonest. I am very sorry to say that the present Prime Minister is fountain-head of all corruption and mal-practices in the country.

What the Santhanam Committee had said in 1964 is still difficult for Mrs. Indira Gandhi to implement. Take, for instance, her own case. Let us be fair. In 27 years' time, there were lots of corruption cases and Ministers and politicians were put in the dock. But never before a Prime Minister was brought into controversy. Never before a Prime Minister was put in the dock on charges of use of official machinery for personal gains.

Here is a case of Maruti. Why I am mentioning this is that I have received a letter from Mr. Mirdha, a few days ago, dated November 13, 1973 which says:

"As you know, such an allegation has already been examined by a group of four senior Ministers."

Now, that really provokes me because I have got very thick files on that. Mr. Subramaniam is very unhelpful to me. He does not even acknowledge letters. It takes three to four months to get any reply. He is more loyal than the King. He is a commodity like a liquid and he takes the shape of the vessel in which it is contained—His Master's Voice. The

American President, Mr. Johnson, gave him a certificate saying, "We have got a great friend in the Cabinet, Mr. Subramaniam." Today, he is a great friend of Mr. Brezhnev who is coming here. This is a variety of people we have got on the opposite, neither fish nor flesh, a bunch of characterless opportunists.

This Maruti *vis-a-vis* small peasants is a very shameful affair. In 1964, let Shri Jawaharlal Nehru assured the local leadership, a very senior Congress Member who used to be a close companion of late Mahatma Gandhi—he told me personally when I visited Gurgaon—that no land in that area would be acquired. Now, the land acquisition is, again, a tale of tales. The first Notification was dated 24th February, 1971 under Section 4 of the Land Acquisition Act to be read with Section 17(a). Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed is a lawyer; Mr. Chavan is a lawyer. Let me see who else will understand it. Of course, they cannot express it here.

Now, to be read with Section 17(a) means it bars the owners from lodging an objection. It was challenged on the ground that there was no Emergency. The Advocate-General, Mr. D. S. Tewtia withdrew the acquisition order on 20th March, 1971. The second Notification under Section 4 was issued on 24th March, 1971 covering villages, Dhundahera, Mulla-hera, Shahpur and Enayatpur, etc. There was an objection received from the Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal O. P. Mehra who said that it was a defence property. I have got a true copy here. I went to Gurgaon and Chandigarh. Officially, they did not give me a copy. I got a copy. They say that this land is covered by Defence prohibitory order. That was ignored. There are other objections. Filed by whom? By Air Marshal H. C. Dewan, Air Marshal Y. V. Malse, Mrs. Nina Galeria, daughter of Air Marshal Shiv Dev Singh, Deputy Chief of Air Staff, Air Com. A. L. Saigal, and Air Marshal

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G. B. Singh, Air Officer commanding the Western Command. The important points pointed out are: "that the potential market value of the land at present is not less than Rs. 75,000/- per acre due to the land being on the roadside...." and "that the present notification also contravenes the provision of the Government of India, Ministry of Defence letter No. Air HQ/20851/114/ORG/AF/7106/2/D (air stores) dated 13th August, 1956 and also further contravenes the Government of India Gazette Notification No. SRO-6 dated 11th January, 1969 which provides a safety belt of 1000 yards all around Ammunition Depot located in this Hadbast (copies attached)". This is signed by "Air Marshal Om Parkash Mehra, son of Shri Jagat Narain, resident of New Delhi, through (Rao Surendra Singh) Advocate, Gurgaon".

The Chief of the Air Staff says that there is a prohibitory order on the land but because it was Prime Minister's son, for a very priority sector of Production of small car—no difficulty about petroleum products—it cannot be disallowed.

Mr. Bansi Lal's letter says that "the land was acquired at the rate of Rs. 11,776" which includes a surcharge of 16 per cent on cost of building, hut, wells, etc. The net price paid to the peasants was Rs. 9,000 per acre, while the market value was Rs. 75,000 per acre. This was what was done.

Why is it that Mr. Mirdha's reply says that the matter is *sub-judice*? If they want to go to a court of law, it is all right. If a letter comes about an ordinary man, it is alright. A letter like that cannot come when the Prime Minister is deeply involved in it, when it is about her own son. Why should the Prime Minister take shelter under the table of a district judge? What does the Ministry say about these irregularities? We want a copy of the report to be placed on

the Table of the House because it is a serious charge. For the first time in the history the Prime Minister is being charged with adoption of corrupt practices and malpractices of official machinery.

Did Shrimati Indira Gandhi not say in Lucknow in a public meeting, 'I am now going to institute an inquiry into the Maruti affair'? It came out in the papers. (*Interruptions*) She can get away by saying that everybody other than she speaks the untruth. That is her contention. Rather, she is the only truthful person because she is the Prime Minister of this country! Why not have an inquiry? If there is no skeleton in the cupboard, she should come forward for a Parliamentary Probe into the whole affair of Maruti from the time of giving the letter of intent to the priority sector, industrial licence, land acquisition, giving of cement and coal, collection of money; all these should be gone into. The cupboard is full of skeletons. Let there be a probe. But she cannot afford to have that because the U.P. election is coming, the Orissa election is coming. सारा नष्ट हो जायेगा । इमेज खराब हो जायेगा । वह तो करना नहीं चाहिए ।

So long they were saying that the Defence prohibitory order was not in force. I have quoted from the Government of India's order. (*Interruptions*).

15 hrs.

We want a thorough probe. This is the third time the company has been given extension in licence and if the Prime Minister chooses to disapprove of such a thing, the country will go with the impression, the world will go with the impression that the Prime Minister of India has taken recourse to means and methods which are not proper for a person of her stature. This is the condition of the rising sun of Asia—my young friend from West Bengal on that side described her,

What happened? The objections were called on 26th May 1971. 200 objections, I am told, were heard altogether. The Land Acquisition Officer, Mr. Yadhav, pointed out the availability of more suitable land, *banjara* land, not cultivable on the Mehrauli Road via Chattarpur—Sikandarpur at a very low market price and that was not heeded to. Now, the Government rejected the report. A notification was issued. Next day on 24th June, 1971 notice under Sec. 9 was received by the advocate who advised the clients to file objections on or before 10th July 1971.

SHRI B. P. MAURYA: How much time is he to take, Sir? One hour he has already taken.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Don't get agitated. Don't feel exposed so soon.

SHRI B. P. MAURYA: How much time is allotted to him?... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: On 10th July 1971 the Land Acquisition Collector came to Gurgaon at 10 a.m. to the Zila Parishad office...

SHRI B. P. MAURYA: There is no limit of time for his speech, Sir?

SHRI DASARATHA DEB (Tripura East): The Chair is not to be guided by you... (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, please. Kindly take your seats. Now, I am conscious that he has taken one hour. Even for a short duration discussion the mover is given ordinarily about half an hour. Now, in this case... (*Interruptions*) Order, please. In this case no time has been fixed yet. The Business Advisory Committee is yet to meet and fix the time... (*Interruptions*) Order, please. So, unless I know how much time is fixed and how much time is allotted to each party... (*Interruptions*) Order, please, even so, there has to be 2231 LS—9

a limit. I am working out on the basis that if the discussion is for 2½ hours and half an hour is given to the mover of the motion, suppose it is fixed that time for this debate will be 12 or 15 hours, what time should the mover get. This is the handicap. In any case, I think Mr. Bosu will now conclude.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Now, the second thing that is started is this Maruti Consultancy Service which is owned by the Prime Minister's son and her daughter-in-law. Now, according to the memorandum that was sent to her, the Consultancy Service will receive a consultancy fee of 3 per cent on overall turn-over. According to their project report, in 1973-74, the total sales will be about Rs. 80 lakhs and the total technical know-how fee for 1973-74 will be Rs. 16 lakhs and during the period 1974-78 it will go up to Rs. 108 lakhs and odd. Consultancy service owned by a family, people who profess to believe in socialism—Rs. 110 lakhs is the technical know-how fee. I asked Mr. Subramaniam as to what are the other projects. Mr. Subramaniam refused to give it because he cannot afford to lose his job. I can understand that.

Then, there is this scandal, 'The Safdarjung Fly-over Scandal'. Sir, Mr. Bhola Paswan Shastri has been writing to me for the last three months, saying, "The matter is receiving my attention." The contractor claimed money from the young boy as this young boy owed the contractor some considerable sum for the civil works for Maruti. When court action was threatened, then, the whole thing was engineered and the entire Governmental machinery was geared up and now it has been found that there is no case and the man has gone to the Court for compensation. Mr. Bhola Paswan Shastri has so far refused to clarify and tell us, if it is really a fact or not, that Government will be put to considerable financial loss because the contract

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has been given to somebody else and that will cost more. Of course, it is a public sector project. I am glad at that. But they initially gave it to a private contractor and during that time this dispute arose over something else.

I do not want to talk about Nagawala. I do not want to talk about Jagota. I want to talk about somebody definitely. It is about my dear friend Nagat Narain. He is not to be seen here. If you want to know the ways of making quick money you must go to my friend Mr. Lalit Narayan Mishra. He did so many things in the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Then we know about the Kosi project. What happened to that Kapur Committee's Report? Is it still under the consideration of the Cabinet? What happened to the Dutt Committee Report of the U.F. Government, in regard to the quick money-making business of Mr. Nagat Narain and his family? What happened to the Stainless Steel deal of Mr. Tulsian? Mr. Nagat Narain, by changing three specific conditions with regard to export entitlement of ferro silicon, allowed him to make crores of rupees. Can I call him a V.D. in Indian politics? Today, this gentleman is so very indispensable to the Prime Minister of this country that he cannot be dispensed with. Some 100 M.L.As. have given a Memorandum against this man. No country can have a Minister with that sort of mud on his face, but he will not be removed, if it is inconvenient for Mrs. Gandhi, and it will not take place. In his by-election, I am told, Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 lakhs were spent. For the unseating of Pandey Ministry the amount spent was slightly less, Rs. 25 lakhs. For each district in Bihar, substantial amounts are allotted, that is Rs. 25,000 to see that his interests are looked after. My friends are looking uncomfortable....

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA** (Begusarai): They are jubilant.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** My friends from the Press will forgive me. I am talking about Lalit Narain Mishra. Everytime, I am told, he goes abroad, he gets wrist watches suit-lengths etc. For getting coverage in newspapers he invites them for dinner and articles put in special envelopes are given to them. Some select people are given special envelopes. Those envelopes contain something which Mr. Chavan deals with every day.—Finance. Shri Mishra should welcome an enquiry to let the truth come out.

He tried to do that with me. But I do not want to do that here.

**SHRI B. P. MAURYA:** He is already on the pay roll of Shri Singma. If it comes to me I can prove that. There is a limit to each and everything.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Now I come to wheat scandals. The Bihar Estimates Committee has commented about him in their report. He is now busy allotting wagons at the rate of Rs. 2 lakhs and odd a day of course, here, I am not talking about the disposal of scrap which is being done by somebody else.

श्री बिभूति मिश्र (मोतीहार) :  
उपाध्यक्ष जी, रूस का मामला पी ए सी  
के अन्दर विचारार्थित है। उस का रिकॉर्ड  
नहीं दे सकते हैं। यह गलत बात है।

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** I want to ask one question here. The matter was also raised by my friend in the Rajya Sabha. The gentleman Shri Darbari against whom there are corruption charges has taken a licence.

**SHRI K. N. TIWARY** (Bettiah): On a point of order. He is bringing in so many charges against so many people but he is not producing any proof in the House. He is bringing all types of allegations of corruption

against the Prime Minister, against her other ministers and against the party. Is it proper?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Tewaryji I have got proof with me. I am talking about Shri Darbari who used to be of assistance to my friend in the Ministry of Foreign Trade who has taken a licence, I am told, for 150 shoddy spindles. He has followed him in the Railway Ministry because money is collected for the allotment of wagons. I want to prove how corrupt this Government is. Shri D. P. Dhar, the Planning Minister about him I have got a photostat copy....

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Any way you will please produce that.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** I shall produce that. There is an agent for a French engineering firm in Delhi headed by a man called General Pinto. There is a telegraphic code in which Shri D. P. Dhar, Planning Minister has been described as 'Pilgrim' and I have got with me the photostat copy which says the following. That is sent to his own firm.

"Boulat confirms programme for Dhar at Paris on dates proposed. OK."

Then, there is another interesting thing. It says:

"Pilgrim of Planning Commission coming to Paris on purely private visit mainly for cardiac treatment. Has expressed wish for informal contacts with our Principals and Banks for fertiliser and refinery programme."

"Has asked if our principals would kindly book and meet expenses for him at Hotel Intercontinental (Paris) for the 10 and Wed. 11th July. If possible I suggest you also place car at his disposal.

"Pilgrim and Poacher returning from holidays Kashmir on 25th

June. Liaise through Jimmy..... I do not want to mention the name. It ends:

"you should definitely be back in Paris for such meeting."

I have not known Europe at all for cardiac treatment. Paris is not for this treatment. It is for something else. If you want I can make this over to you as a public document and you can have a goodlook at it.

Now I come to wheat bran scandal in West Bengal. This bran scandal is a F.C.I. project. Former Food Minister repeatedly demanded in the Assembly a judicial inquiry not only in regard to the wheat bran case. The Chief Minister also wanted it once. Later on, I think Shri Priya Ranjan Das Munsi also made a public statement demanding a judicial inquiry, but then it was found....

**SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI** (Calcutta South): That my hon. friend is involved there, and, that was why I stopped it.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** that Mr. Prabhu Dayal Gupta was involved, and there are lot of documents and photographs, and I am told photostats of cheques are travelling towards me. It is all about the close friendship that existed between Mr. Prabhu Dayal Gupta, the main leader of the bran scandal and Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray. Is it true, we want to know, that he paid for all the expenses of the cars that toured during the two elections? I do not want to go any further into that.

I am only saying that their doomsday is coming. The Delhi bandh and the West Bengal bandh have shown them what the writing on the wall for them is. If Mrs. Gandhi believes in what she says, she should resign and seek a fresh mandate from the people, as she did in December, 1970. Otherwise, people will know what she is made of. I thank all my hon. friends opposite for shouting at me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motion moved:

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

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT (Shahabad): For an hour and a quarter, the House heard an astounding performance, a phoney performance which lacked conviction. Although the hon. Member who moved the motion made a tall claim of raising big issues on a motion like this, he ended in a sad whimper and only indulged in witch-hunting, character-assassination, petty issues, and it seems again that the hon. Member who just has come from Bengal after the big flop of the Bengal bandh was suffering from utter frustration, and instead of his usual aplomb or his marshalling of facts, he indulged in irrelevant issues. I think this will go down as the most unusual performance of an hour and a quarter where he not only inflected a speech on the House but wasted the time of the House.

It is difficult to join issues with him because he brought the debate to such a low level that one cannot go down to that level, and I do not propose to go down to that level. Instead, I want to take up the issues which he has mentioned in the motion and join issue with him on every matter on every item. It will be my effort in the time at my disposal to bring the proper perspective in this debate. It is a difficult task because he has created an entirely ugly situation by all sorts of recrimination and by raising wild accusations, half-truths and so on. I do not know how to describe the entire tenor of his speech. The issues that he has raised in what is the longest speech of his...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: It is not my longest speech.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I think this is the no-confidence motion which will be the longest speech which the hon. Member has delivered. He has said

that parliamentary rights and civil rights have ceased to exist. Can there be a greater travesty of facts? He is using the sovereign and independent forum of Parliament and is still saying that parliamentary rights do not exist. Then, he has said that there is a fascist.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): Semi-fascist.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: ... semi-fascist Government. I think he has used refined language at least in this respect.

Then he said that the expenditure on security has increased. All this he said. I do not think anybody, even he, believes in this. All these phoney issues are not going to carry conviction with the people.

If you read his earlier performances, speeches, he has repeated *ad nauseum* most of the points he made today including the profits made by Hindustan Lever. Last time he made that point.

Then he indulged in character assassination of my hon. friend, Shri L. N. Mishra. If you see his speeches in the past, he has repeated the same thing over and over again now.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: What about your MLAs from Bihar?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am speaking of the hon. member's speech. Why are you bringing in irrelevant things?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: "Hundred Bihar MLAs demand ouster of Mr. Mishra". They belong to the ruling party.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Lastly, he came to the well-known obsession of his, Maruti. He has tried to demand a parliamentary probe. Whatever the facts have been stated a number of times in the House. There were a number of debates on this House on this matter. They have been effectively answered, dealt with.

Then the member goes on, because he believes in that ignoble dictum that if you repeat a thing a hundred times even a half-truth or untruth, it will carry conviction with the people and become truth.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Which one are you talking about?

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** The hon. member has claimed that he is speaking on behalf of the people. I think there cannot be a taller claim than this. Nowhere has the consideration of the people been in his mind. He has nothing but vile and personal accusations against the members of the Government including the Prime Minister.

We are aware of all these things. It is a well-known fact in history and in parliamentary democracies wherever there is freedom of debate and freedom of expression that when you run short of issues you descend to personalities and character assassination. This has happened in history and the Opposition, devoid of any basic issues, are not able to raise any national issues. They are not able to galvanise the popular feeling in the country for constructive national purposes. Instead of that, here is an Opposition which is trying to divide the will of the people, which is trying to weaken the will of the people and raising wrong and petty issues. Issues which can be debated in a corporation are being raised here in the national platform. This is a very tragic situation. I think the people are not going to forgive this. Because the Opposition has a legitimate and responsible role to play; particularly now, we are facing a very difficult time in the country. There is a very difficult situation on the economic front. What is the role of the Opposition? Of course, they have a right to raise basic issues through a no-confidence motion. But this has become a sessional ritual which the hon. member has indulged in.

He has said that this motion is overdue. He started with a bang that here is a no-confidence motion which is

overdue, but he ended, as I said, in a whimper. What are the issues he has raised?

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Doctor, heel thyself.

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** He raised the issue of prices and unemployment. But he just vaguely mention them. He said that prices have gone high. He said that the unemployment situation is difficult. He merely stated the basic premises. Has he gone into them? Has he joined issue on any of these issues which he raised?

Therefore, as I described in the beginning. This is a phoney performance lacking conviction. He has stated these issues by way of a no-confidence motion, but he has refused to deal with them. He refuse to deal with them. Why? It is the basic question. Why? Here is a very difficult situation. I know the Government spokesmen, right from the Prime Minister and other senior members of the Government, have stated that we are facing a difficult situation not today but over a number of years.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Who has made it difficult?

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** When we talk of realities, when we talk of objective conditions, when we talk of facts, he says they are pretexts; he has said that they are pretexts; he said that drought is a pretext. He said it is a pretext, when we talk of national and international forces leading to inflationary spirals in the world or in this country. About the natural and other difficulties that this country has faced, he says it is all a pretext. When we talk of facts, when we analyse the situation and we are prepared to meet this situation, this challenge, squarely, as was said earlier, he says it is all pretext. I say we will meet the situation squarely.

I want to come to the reasons. Let us take the main issues listed in the debate. The problem of prices.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

It is true that we have been witnessing a very high level of prices, and we have not made a secret of it. There has been a 21 per cent rise in a period of years. It is an unprecedented rise. We accept that.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: 21 per cent at what level?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I do not have the time, and I do not want to confuse the issue as you have done. It is 21 per cent.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: At which level? Wholesale or retail?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: 12 months from September. Within 12 months, it was 21 per cent. Can there be a clearer statement than that? I think the hon. Member should come forward and realise it. I do not want to confuse the issues. It is an unprecedented rise. But what are the factors behind this? We had this big fall in production of foodgrains. We had an unprecedented drought over the last year in the country, and we had also the international forces; not only inflation in the country but the import of inflation. You see the world picture today. Our economy is an open economy, where we have a large international trade which is a growing trade. All these factors led to a commitment, and a certain commitment by way of rise in prices and a very large expenditure to meet the drought situation and other expenditure. All this led to a pressure on our economy.

The hon. Member quoted certain figures to show that deficit financing has been increasing. It is true that we undertook certain commitments, which were inescapable. And, therefore, there has been an increase in deficit financing and there has been an increase in the level of prices; and there has been a fall in production of foodgrains, and there has been a very difficult economic situation.

What did the Government do? The

Government did not wilt. Whatever be the pressure, it was a very difficult situation, but the Government has met it with confidence. If the Government had not taken the steps what could have happened? For example, we distributed 10.8 million tonnes of foodgrains from April to June. These months were very difficult months in Maharashtra, Gujarat and in some other parts of the country. Not only we had to live from hand to mouth but from train to mouth and from ship to mouth. It was a very difficult situation, and in any country such things would have created a very, very difficult situation.

I am sorry to say this: I charge the Opposition parties that in that time of national calamity which the Government was facing, when there was a great difficulty in feeding the people, they tried to disrupt communications and tried to disrupt the transport and tried to create a situation of food riots. And they are the people who talk that they speak on behalf of the people! These are responsible members and parties, national parties represented in this House, but they have forgotten their role by the people and by the country. Instead of coming to the help of the people, they wanted to aggravate the situation, despite these facts. There was a national problem in which we could have met the situation together, unitedly, to meet the national emergency, if I may say so, the like of which we faced in respect of Bangladesh when we saw the unity of the people, the unity of all the Members behind that situation of a national emergency. Now, we did not have that national attitude from the Opposition parties. But in spite of this, the ruling party faced it alone. Of course, some of the opposition members supported us. Instead of kowtowing or submitting to pressures or wilting under pressures, they took measures and tried to enforce them. Whether it is the distribution of foodgrains or other essential commodities, or measures in regard to curbing non-developmental expenditure, or mop-

ping up inflationary spiral by taking monetary, fiscal and other measures, we took the right measures and implemented them after mobilising the support of the people. Despite the fact that the people have gone through very difficult times, they have stood by us. We know the difficulties of the common man. We have seen the privations and the difficult conditions they have gone through the last few months. Still, when we went to them and admitted our deficiencies, the deficiencies of the political set up in which every party was not discharging its responsibility, the deficiencies of the bureaucratic system, the deficiencies of the administration at the district level and the tremendous pressure under which this system was working, when we assured them that we are trying to do our best and we wanted their co-operation, they understood our position and responded. That is the reason why we have been able to avert a great calamity in this difficult period which was one of the most difficult years. Since the achievement of independence, during the past 25 years the latter part of 1972 and the whole of 1973 will go down as the most difficult period in our history. If we were able to survive it without any great dislocation, without great violence, without great instability, it is because the Government not only enunciated the right policies but pursued them and tried to implement them despite all the difficulties. We have never made a secret of the difficulties that the people had to undergo on the economic front, on the production front, on the industrial front because of the shortage of essential commodities and various other things.

But remember our style of functioning. The Prime Minister in meeting after meeting took lakhs and lakhs of people into confidence and admitted our shortcomings. At the same time, she tried to rouse the conscience of the people and galvanise them into constructive channels. We have succeeded there to a great extent.

In spite of the fact that we admit that there has been failures on crucial

fronts, critical shortages and stagnation in production we have taken steps all the time to get over the difficulties. Take foodgrains for example. We took a number of steps both for production as well as distribution. It is true that there is shortage in wheat, the wheat prices are ruling high in spite of the fact that we had a good khariff crop. But the prices of other crops, oilseeds and pulses are falling down. The other day some hon. Members took me to task when I said that some of these prices have fallen. I still maintain that they have fallen. While the economic laws are not as exact as the laws of science or physics, there are certain inexorable forces which we have to admit, at least for the sake of argument. When the prices of oilseeds, vanaspati and some pulses fall, what is our strategy? Our policy is to achieve stabilisation of prices.

The opposition members are free to go and mislead the people by saying that the Government are not able to bring down the prices. But have they any solution for bringing down the prices permanently? They have no suggestion to offer. They have only a negative attitude. What are the measures that we are taking to stabilise the prices?

Firstly, take for instance the measures on the production front. We have to increase the production of essential commodities, the commodities of mass consumption. We are taking up the programmes. The Cabinet is meeting; the Government is taking steps. The Departments of the Government as a whole are taking steps to increase production of those essential commodities of short gestation period, in a year or two. We have to increase the production of essential commodities, like, foodgrains, oilseeds, pulses, sugar, etc. Then comes the production and distribution of coal, etc. There has been a fall in prices of oilseeds by Rs. 200 per tonne.

I maintain in our economy which is a developing economy, a very crucial point is the strategy of growth. A

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crucial point in the analysis of the economic situation today is that in a developing economy it is the supply factor that is important. The price rise is not due to the demand factor. It is not that there is a higher income and there is a rise in income. It is not that there is an inflationary spiral due to higher demand and higher income. It is because we have faced certain critical shortages as a result of other things and, therefore, we have to meet them. Once we increase the production of those critical shortages of essential commodities, like food, power, fertiliser, coal, oilseeds, sugar, etc., if we are able to take care of them—we have taken steps to take care of them—then, we will be able to stabilise their prices.

What we look forward to, in the beginning of the Fifth Plan, from the next year or from right now, is that there should not be any run-away prices, the type of which we faced this year and the last year. We are taking a number of policy steps and co-ordinating them in various fields. We are trying to cut down non-developmental expenditure and to bring down the deficit financing. A very healthy statement has been made by the Planning Commission and it has also been stressed by the Finance Minister, the other day, that there will be an attempt to raise our finances in the first year and the second year of the Fifth Plan through non-inflationary sources and that there will not be any deficit financing at least in the first year and the second year of the Fifth Plan. I do not know whether they will stick to it. I want to be very frank and I want to know whether there will not be any deficit financing in the next Budget or in the Budget thereafter. If they restrict it to the minimum, I think, they will be able to achieve the object. I think, Rs. 50 crores or Rs. 70 crores of deficit financing in a year with a rate of growth of 5 per cent is not going to make an impact. If

they are able to raise resources in a manner that they do not push up prices, if they are able to increase the production in the first year and the second year of the Fifth Plan, i. they are able to cut down deficit financing to the minimum extent, they will be able to achieve the object of stabilisation of prices. This is a goal which will be realistically achieved. This is the approach of the Government. This is the approach with which we look to the situation today.

Similarly, I come to other things. I have dealt with the point raised by the hon. Member about failure to supply food and other essential commodities. In the last 12 months, 10.8 million tonnes of foodgrains were distributed. We met a very difficult situation. We were able to take care of the vulnerable sections of the society either in the urban areas or in the industrial areas or in the depressed areas. We have been able to take care of it.

Then, the hon. mover of the No-Confidence motion says about the failure to distribute foodgrains. Again, in the coming year also, if you see the procurement, the procurement is going on very happily. We have procured 7 lakh tonnes so far and, I think, this year, they will be able to achieve the target of the procurement. We have been able to import four million tonnes plus two million tonnes of foodgrains from the Soviet Union. I think we can look forward to the monsoon, and in the coming months also we will be able to manage. Therefore, there is no need to create an alarm about it, no need to create an impression in the country that on the food situation we have failed, we have not been able to distribute foodgrains. Can there be a greater travesty of truth than this? And I charge the Opposition members with creating a scare in the country that the Government has failed to distribute foodgrains. Despite the fact that there had been difficulties, we have been able to manage the situation. It is not correct, it is totally wrong—and I would even call it 'irres-

possible' on the part of Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu and others—to create an impression in the country that on the food situation Government is not able to hold on its own, Government is not on the top of the situation. I can say on behalf of the Government, I can say on behalf of our Party, that in the coming months also, we will be able to look after distribution of food-grains with confidence and there is no cause for alarm.

My hon. friend took objection to U. P. being given more cement, sugar and other things. U. P. is the largest State of our country; it has one-fifth of our population; every fifth person in the country belongs to U.P. It produces the largest amount of sugar. But here the hon. Member says that we are giving more sugar to U.P., more cement to U. P., only because the elections are coming.... (*Interruptions*) U.P. is lagging behind in power generation, in agricultural production and in industrial production. They need to be given much more to make up for the leeway; any additional amount of these essential commodities would give them relief. Firstly, as I said, U.P. has one-fifth of the population of the country. Secondly, it has suffered most in the past and, therefore, it should be looked after properly. It is good that, under the leadership of the Prime Minister and the Central Government and the Chief Minister there, in the last two years, much has been done in U.P. compared to what was done in the last 20 years. It is good that U.P. and other backward States like Bihar are coming up. Unless the pace of progress is stepped up in these areas, the national average will not go up. But the hon. Member takes objection to these things. Is this democratic or anti-democratic? I leave it to the House to judge; I leave it to the people of U.P. to judge. Here the hon. Member has taken exception to what we are trying to do—we are trying to distribute more efficiently and in larger quantities, though we are not able to meet the entire demand.

The main objects behind moving this no-confidence motion by the Opposition are two. Only recently they had an adjournment motion and many of the areas covered in that debate are being covered now. I am sorry I have also to cover the same ground in my reply. One object of the Opposition in moving the no-confidence motion is to raise cloud and dust over small issues, attacking in the process certain members in a very romantic or dramatic language—witch-hunting, character assassination, etc. This object, they have fulfilled. The second object is U. P. and Orissa elections. I was surprised why they have not added Pondicherry and Manipur. That is because they know that they have no policy frame-work to face the ruling party.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: How many seats will they contest in U.P.?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: They do not know it themselves.

SHRI B. P. MAURYA: Only one.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: They are going to lose.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: They know they are going to lose. They have lost the battle also because here is a Party which has a big frame-work for the country, which has an ambitious target for the country, viz., stability, growth, social justice and removal of poverty which they are trying to attack. We have moved forward in all directions. Nobody has said that these targets can be achieved in the matter of two or three years. The fact of the matter is that we are on the right road and we will pursue it. The people of U.P. and the people of Orissa are also going to respond to it because on one side we are rousing the people, their democratic consciousness which will turn their lives and which will mean a change in their lives. It is a matter of life and death. Here is the programme of the ruling Party and the approach. It is a question of approach.

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Now, what is the approach of the Opposition? It is revealed in this no-confidence motion. The approach is: no issues... (Interruptions). Nowhere they have said how to meet this national crisis. Nowhere they have said... (Interruptions) that these are the failures of the Government. Even on this issue, even on this policy issue they have not said that these are the failures of the Government because they have no alternative. They have not said what can be done. They have no answer. Here is a moment of history, here is a moment of destiny in which the people's energies have to be galvanised to face the situation. Instead of that, they have tried to divide the people because they have no policy, they have no programme to meet the situation and, therefore, as a substitute, they are indulging in petty issues, they are indulging in character assassinations and raising dust on small and petty issues. These were the two objectives of this no-confidence motion. Whether they have used their privileges as an Opposition to move a no-confidence motion rightly or justifiably or only as a stick to beat the Government, I leave it to the House and the people of the country to decide. But I want to say that on all big issues they have tried to raise—leave aside making out a case for the no-confidence motion, they have not joined issues with us. My point is that they have not even joined issues with us. They have listed six or seven of them.....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Only one speaker has spoken. You say, 'Many of them'.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member who just spoke took an hour and a half. I am saying that the morning shows the day. I may see the others speaking. He has shown the day. No issues, no programme, no sense of national emergency and only trying to weaken the will of the people and to attack the Prime Minister in season and out of season. Therefore, these tactics are not going to

pay. It has not paid in the past. It is not going to pay in the future. It is not going to pay either in the C.P. or in the Orissa election or in any election.

The hon. Member challenged the Prime Minister and the ruling Party to hold elections to-day. He has said that this Government is anti-democratic. Now, the hangman of democracy, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, who believes in violence, who believes in creating instability, whose record of service in West Bengal is well-known, is asking that. People have completely rejected them. They have been rejected for all times to come which was seen in the recent 'bandh' also which he said was a great success although it was a colossal flop. The people have rejected them because the people of this country have certain traditions, have certain traditions of constructive politics, have certain traditions in moving towards stability and have certain traditions of taking the democratic energies in constructive lines. They have rejected for all times to come any extremism either of the right or of the left any fascism of any character or any dictatorial trend. The fountainhead for this movement is the Prime Minister. There cannot be any greater democratic person than her who has released the democratic energies of the people for social change, for change in the lives of the people. Once in our life-time we have created a hope for the common man and for various reasons we have met with difficulties. You cannot blur the image of the people, weaken the confidence of the people. You cannot weaken those revolutionary energies of the people that has been generated. Here is democratic awakening of the people or which cannot be halted. You say you are for the people. But the people are not with you. The people are not with the extremists. The people are not with those people who indulge in violence. The people are not with those who try to create food riots and then ~~graves~~ crisis. The people are not with those who want that economic

progress should not take place. The people are with those who want to create a situation by which all the constructive, organisational, administrative and political energies of the people are galvanised for rapid growth. The people are with those who try to pursue this path. The Prime Minister as the supreme leader of the party is trying to follow that path. Our journey has passed through very difficult periods. It shows the mettle of the leadership provided by the Prime Minister. It shows the mettle of which the ruling party and its Prime Minister are made. It shows our confidence in the leadership of the Prime Minister and we will pursue it and we will take the country towards its cherished goal of socialism and prosperity. They talk about the rights of the people. What can be the greater right than to provide freedom to everyone economic freedom, freedom from hunger, the opportunity to live a decent life, etc. This is what we are trying to do. People of the extreme right or of the extreme left are trying to divert the constructive energies of the people. We have a strong party. We have a strong Government. We have a strong leader. We are going to pursue this policy with all the strength at our command.

You can indulge in petty things like saying that the police expenditure has been increased by a few lakhs. By saying that something is of a fascist trend, you can take some satisfaction. That is all. The fact of the matter is that the poverty of the people can be removed only if we move forward with our plans and programmes. If you take the Fifth Plan for instance, instead of a few lakhs of rupees for the Police force, there are hundreds of crores of rupees for the welfare of the common people. Despite the fact that we have met with a serious financial crisis, we know what the Prime Minister has stated, that in respect of the programmes intended for the common people, not a rupee will be cut. All programmes intended for the backward areas and submerged areas will

be undertaken and not a rupee will be cut.

What does this show? Does it show an anti-democratic trend? Does it show anti-people trend? Who is anti-people? (*Interruptions*). Is the Government anti-people which pursues its policy which strengthens the aspiration of the common people or those hon. friends who are taking the negative attitude about the policies of the Government are anti-people? History of this moment will be written by the people who follow us. Although Parliament is supreme and although Parliament exercises its sovereignty, the people will follow the leaders correctly who give them guidance at a very critical moment. They will not follow a bunch of people who claim to represent the people but who betray them in the end. Instead of raising big issues instead of galvanising to meet the challenges they simply shorten their sight and who cared for their petty party gains either for this electoral victory or that electoral victory. This is their game at the expense of the ruling party. But, in a big caravan or in a big national programme, these small issues do not matter. The people are energised by bigger issues. The Opposition's No Confidence Motion is devoid of any conviction and it is nothing more than a ritual. It shows, if I may be allowed to use that word, the bankruptcy of these people. It is time that they find out common solutions to the issues faced by the ruling party. There was a time when our country faced a national economic crisis. Possibly, the country could have avoided this. After all in a Parliamentary Government the Opposition Party is recognised and it should also be responsible to the country. There was a time to have a consensus to solve these big issues—difficult issues. Instead of doing that they have chosen the petty issues and tried to follow the method of mud-slinging and character assassination. They have not been able to find a solution to the problems. The people are not going to forget them. The U. P. elections will show how we come up with

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a big mandate of the people. It is always right to face the people. You will see that we are going to come with their mandate. Let me tell you again that the people are not going to forgive them because it is a moment in which you have betrayed them. I only say that the Government have done well at this critical situation. They have faced the difficult situation with confidence and strength. We have to ensure in this critical situation that the distribution of essential commodities is done in a more efficient manner; they reach the common people in time. In matters of production they also have to see that they are able to achieve the target. We are quite conscious that we have to improve our performance and do it still better. I am quite sure that we are going to do that in the coming months and also in the years ahead.

16 hrs.

9 There is no reason to doubt that we will face those difficult days which will be ahead of us. We will soon be in an era in which our economy would be in a good shape. It will steadily achieve its growth. We shall achieve success in the matter of social justice, employment, this, that and everything. Even in the difficult times that we are having, when as we all know, the employment situation is difficult, last year, we created employment for over three lakhs of people. Over three lakhs of people were employed in 1972-73, and this year, we have said that we shall provide employment to half a million people, and we have specified or earmarked Rs. 100 crores for this purpose, and the programmes are being implemented. As I said earlier, employment is a function or a coefficient to the rate of progress, but it is also a general function of the economy and therefore it has to be integrated with it. As the economy progresses, the rate of growth grows, and diversification of the economy takes place and the food situation improves and more and more people will be employed. I do not want to say that in

two or three years we shall be able to break the back of unemployment, but certainly over a period of five years we shall be able to make a big dent on unemployment. I would, however, say that we have to improve our performance, and we have to implement the programmes more vigorously and gear up the State administration and improve its functioning. I shall end with this no that if we have done that, all these Cassandras of gloom who are predicting doom and devil for this country, who are predicting chaos and instability for this country will not only be falsified but be rejected by the people with the utter contempt that they deserve.

SHRI H. N. MUKHERJEE (Calcutta—North-East): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I confess to a certain allergy to participation in the discussion this evening particularly because of a peculiar crudity which has already been injected into a discussion which should have been taken a great deal more seriously than it has been so far. The two speeches I have heard have only deepened my gloom, which of course is my head-ache, which I should not inflict on the House but I do have a feeling that this was an occasion when the failures of the Government could have been brought out into the light in a more effective and dignified manner, and then perhaps I could even remotely have expected of Government a forthright reply to the points that had been raised.

It is a matter of public knowledge that the failures of the administration are egregious that the inefficiency and the corruption which has corroded the vitals of our life in this country stinks to high heaven, and that if responsibility is to be fixed for the condition of the people which today is as dismal as it is, then surely one has to point one's finger at the Government. But I fear I cannot associate my party and myself with the motion as it has been moved, because I feel that it has been

done for motivated narrow political reasons; I do not mind saying this I feel that it has been almost a pre-meditated demonstration, particularly on the eve of the visit of the leading representative of a friendly country to our land. I have no manner of doubt in my mind, it may not impress my friends, some of my friends with whom I have a great deal more in common than with the others, but I hate to have to see the spectacle in this country of a party which has its links with the people---there is no getting away from it---like the CPM, joining hands with other people today who just cannot face the future, who, if they have any ideology, cannot put it across before the public. We are driven today on account of the peculiar political imperatives of a very special parliamentary situation where radical political workers join hands with other people whose intentions are obvious to whoever has eyes to see, and have come forward...

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE** (Rajapur): When the adjournment motion by the CPI was supported by all the Opposition parties, why did he welcome that support?

**SHRI H. N. MUKHERJEE:** That is exactly my point. My point exactly is that in the parliamentary mechanism, there are many ways of doing things, and when we have a no-confidence motion of this sort---I do not want to pick a phrase out of his mouth, but what he said was correct---I expect a certain sense of responsibility to be shown. I would certainly expect this of those who at the very close of the last session came forward in this House and got the permission of this House to get a motion of no-confidence, but did not move it because they said the Prime Minister was going to leave the country. They have chosen this moment for a very particular reason.

I can tell my friends of the Socialist Party---I wish we could work together, the way we did at one time,

nearly four decades ago; I wish we could work more or less in that fashion, but we don't---that there are ways and means of combining the progressive-radical movement in this country so that as a result of it, the whole people could move together so that the defaults, defects and deficiencies of the leadership of this Government could be rectified and corrected in the process of that mobilisation of the people's will and advance.

**SHRI DASARATHA DEB:** You joined hands with the ruling party in UP and West Bengal. You could not correct this Government.

**SHRI H. N. MUKHERJEE:** My former colleague is quite unaware of dialectic in the logic of life. He does not understand that you do not go in a straight line. Revolution is not as straight a road as the Nounsky Prospect in Leningrad as Lenin himself said. He does not understand that. I am not going into all that. But what I object to is the clubbing together with people in Parliament and outside with a view to doing something which goes against the interests of the country today.

As I said earlier, this Government has a million things to answer for. Their inefficiency and their incapacities stink to high heaven---I may have used that expression earlier. What they are doing in the face of the condition of our people having deteriorated to the extent it has, is something shameful.

My friend, Shri Bhagat, comes forward to say that they have taken steps; they have taken steps to supply food to our people. You have supplied food to our people. Come to anywhere in this country, not only to the blighted city of Calcutta, which is my own, and you would find people crying for food. He says he has provided 300,000 jobs for people---he is making a point of it. If he had any idea of the kind of feeling which is abroad in this country today, he

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would not take shelter behind those pettyfoggng excuses which he is trying to put forward. I wish this Government comes forward openly to acknowledge before the people its defects, deficiencies and failures.

Occasionally the Prime Minister tries to do so but may be that is part of the special style of work which she has in regard to public meetings. But I would like also to point out one thing, even as I do not associate myself with the no-confidence motion that because of this no-confidence motion an opportunity had been given to this House to be presented, rightly or wrongly, with a whole schedule of accusations. Sometimes the names of those who are accused were mentioned; some times obliquely but quite clearly for all who care to understand. I would like Government to make it a point to come forward and answer charge by charge, and if they feel that they need not do so, the members of the Government should have the sense of self-respect to be able to challenge allegations against their honour. Umpteen times in this House I have heard allegations against Ministers personally and by name, and they have laughed. They cannot laugh in their sleeves in Parliament. If they had a clear conscience, if it is not a conscience of guilt somewhere, they should throw a challenge to the accuser and ask him to repeat that outside this House where privilege was not attracted, and then they could take recourse to the law or whatever remedy a citizen has in relation to his rights.

But repeatedly I say—I am happy the Prime Minister is here on one of her rare visits to this House—that every time a Minister is accused on the floor of the House with apparently documented allegations, about which a Member like myself is very innocent of these goings-on and can not make up our minds, I do not want a dent in his name so to speak, and I do not want a speck in the character

of that other man; I do not enjoy character assassination. I am not a drain inspector going about this country and finding out defects and reporting here all the time. It may be necessary sometimes to inspect a drain, but I do not do it all the time. But if some drain inspector's reports are made available, rightly, or wrongly the answer must come, and if the answer is not ready, a challenge must be put that it should be repeated elsewhere so that steps could be taken.

Therefore, I say that perhaps the only justification for this kind of debate is that more or less uninhibitedly things could be said as have been said today, and answers have got to be forthcoming.

The name of the Railway Minister was mentioned with a peculiar gloss put over it. Even earlier so many things have been said. But nothing was done. Why is it that this kind of thing happens? Maruti is mentioned all over the place. If we do not mention it here we do not cover it up because it was mentioned elsewhere, all over the country, perhaps for motivated reasons by the wrong sort of people. But I cannot help my people being what they are, and they talk about it. Why at all give an opportunity of talking in the wrong-headed manner about it, if it is a wrong-headed manner? Why are not things clarified in the way they ought to be? Why do we find in Parliament answers to the questions in Parliament that tycoons of this country have got together under the Maruti beehive, and as a result of it we find crores of rupees get into the coffers of Maruti and all the rest of it? I have nothing to do with Maruti. I am sick to death at the sound of that word, but I am particularly concerned about the image of my country with which the image of the Prime Minister is naturally associated; whether we like it or not is a different matter. I do not object to it. Mr. Bosu may object to it. But the image of my country

is linked up with the image of the Prime Minister of this country and if, against the Prime Minister, all kinds of accusations are made which are not cleared up in the proper way, you tell us the proper way. I do not know the proper way. At least tell us clearly and authoritatively that this is the proper way; that all these allegations are not correct. Do it properly, and therefore you can get the other man in the dock. But you do not do it; you just run away from the situation, and in the meantime, character assassination goes on; the country suffers; the economic situation goes down; the prices rise; food is unavailable; power has almost vanished. What has happened? The slide-back in the progressive economic policies of the Government is quite clear. The monopoly houses, they rise in number as well as in quantum of money that they control; nothing is done about the taking over of such blackguards operating in this country as the international oil companies; and the drug corporations, the multi-national corporations, have the freedom of the place; all this kind of thing is happening.

I have already referred to the forthcoming visit of Mr. Brezhnev to this country. On the whole, this country's foreign policy is a wholesome and correct policy. Even though we can find out many things which they are doing which we cannot approve of—in regard to Chile for example, about which in spite of the Prime Minister's statement, which at one time appeared to be extremely hopeful of further development, our country's policy seems to have got stuck—it is wholesome in regard to other matters. Of course, I am not going to enter into the details of it.

But having a wholesome foreign policy does not mean absolute freedom from criticism of the domestic policies. In regard to domestic policies, there is no doubt about it that if the condition of the people is a criterion of judgment, and that is the only

criterion which we can think of as public figures, then this country's Government is very much to be blamed, and every parliamentary effort is certainly justified to that end.

Our planning is going on. The Planning Minister does not appear to be here and there is no time to go into the details over it. But I find there is much substance in what I heard about a foreign tourist going down the Janpath and discovering a place called Yojana Bhawan. He asked, is it a place where yoga is practised?" Possibly, it is a place where yoga is practised; what kind of yoga, we do not know. Sometimes yoga gets applause from foreign countries and sometimes they say it is Mumbo Jumbo. We do not know; may be some economic yoga is being practised by some people.

The result is that the Fifth Five Year Plan is still in cold storage. My friend on my right was also once in charge of planning. So, he cannot run away from responsibility because it is a continuing responsibility. We do not quite know how the people charged with the planning of this country operate but we had the mortification to find that the Plan remains on paper, the Plan does not touch the lives of the people, because the country's rulers, the leaders, do not come down from the high pedestal, they do not live with the people. In spite of whatever credit you may claim for your Prime Minister as being the supreme leader of this country, I do not know. Sir, they do not come down from that pedestal; they do not try really and truly to communicate with the people. Only one person, namely, the Prime Minister, occasionally addresses the whole country and then all her colleagues either go to sleep or into hibernation or somewhere else. This is the kind of political life we have in this country. There is no mobilisation of the peoples' support in the planning processes, because there is no effort at all in that direction. From Parliament to the pan-

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chayat, if there had been a sort of link, we could have understood something about it. If there was an effort genuinely to associate our people in every level of administration, I could have understood it.

When in recent times de-boarding efforts were made by young people belonging to our party, as well as to some sections of the Congress Party, what happened? The administration did not help or assist us. In Delhi, which is itself a very difficult place for any kind of progressive movement, the other day we could get young people, and they did come forward in order to take part in the de-boarding operations. But nothing happened because the police came into the picture and stopped all that operation. What kind of socialism is this? What kind of people's democracy is this supposed to be? It is not socialist and it is not even a welfare State; it is not a popular bourgeois democratic State. It is in a state of flux only because we are a very ancient country with memories which go back to six thousand years; we are rather inert and we are allergic towards any kind of dynamic movement. We are inured to patience; we are accustomed to reconciling ourselves to whatever God or devil has given for us, and as a result of it our country remains in the kind of particular position that it is in. That sort of a thing has got to change. This country's Government has got to shape itself differently. This country's administration has to be run entirely differently in a qualitatively different manner, not merely by changing a few persons here and there but by associating the people at different levels with the administration. Where is that effort? There is no such effort on their part.

I do not wish to be personal and I do not have the remotest intention of trying to do anything like an attempt at character assassination. But when,

for example, the Prime Minister drives in a buggy, it is a gimmick. She said that it was not a publicity stunt. What else was it? For Heavens' sake, nobody could understand. The gimmick led to another gimmick being advertised by certain other people. Are we going to feed our people like Romans by circuses, only a few citizens to be supplied with spectacles of circuses? Are we going to keep the mind of our people away from the real problems by this kind of exhibitionism? Are we going to do something serious about it? The whole thing appears to be ridiculous on the face of it that, in any decent democratic country, in any elementary educated country, they want all political life to be looked upon as something which goes against the grain of it.

This country's Government has a great deal to answer for the slide-back from policies they have announced, the economic policies in particular, the slide-back even in regard to every other department of policy, even in relation to some extent to foreign policy. On the whole, it is a correct and a wholesome foreign policy. But on that account, we are not going to accept justification for what has accumulated in regard to internal administration.

I do not feel like saying very much. I do feel allergic to participate in this discussion when it is given a particular tone. But I do wish to stress one point that when specific accusations are made against Ministers, they have got to be answered. If they cannot be answered straightway, the answer must be ready somewhere in the archives. The challenge should be given at once without hesitation which would suggest something wrong somewhere. The accusations should be answered in which case they could perhaps take care of themselves and their self-respect. But this Government cannot go on functioning the way it has unless it does come to believe in something of a new spirit of our people.

I know the Prime Minister is allergic to ideologies. She is a pragmatic person. She has a practical sense. To that extent, surely, she is entitled to all praise for the position which she has reached. She has gone upto the top but the descent can also be rather quick unless she really believes that something has to be done in a more principled fashion in relation to some fundamental tenets of understanding. If you are going to do economic planning, do it on the basis of something basic and, from that point of view, if it is calling upon people to make sacrifices, do it in a principled manner so that the people can understand that the people at the top are also suffering and they are sharing in the toil and the travail of the entire people for the building up of a new society.

They talk from time to time about a sort of moratorium on strikes and things like that. But they never try, on the other hand, to bring about a state of things in this country where those few who are dominating our economic life and living the lives of Babylonian luxury at a point of time when the people are dying of starvation has to be stopped. For that purpose, austerity measures have to be adhered to and enforced properly by the top people. If this is not done, you will never be able to mobilise the enthusiasm of our people.

Merely making speeches, merely building an image, merely accepting whatever emanates from the image to catch the imagination of everybody will not do. If the Congress party wishes to play its role in conformity with what it contributed earlier in the days of the freedom struggle, if it wishes again to come back into the heart of the people, and not merely to remain in power and control the bodies of the people before them, then the Congress has to pursue the policy which it professes, through in a low key, the policy of socialism to the extent we can go ahead in that manner here and now. For that purpose, the chances of extending the extent of our influence over the people, mobi-

lising the genuine national determination and dedication in the construction of a new society will become possible. But if the Congress chooses to cling to power and to use money—money is a factor about which Mr. Jyotirmoy Bose in particular should be congratulated for at least trying to point out over and over again—that money-power is distorting and corrupting and corroding our life in a manner which would mean the death of civilisation and the death of the hopes that we have so long nurtured in our soul, if the Congress goes on depending on the power of money, if Nakat Narain is of their creation—I do not like his name, but his name has been mentioned—, if they do not say that all the accusations hurled against them, against the kind of people we represent, are wrong, let them come forward and clear the decks to some extent. I know that sometimes if too much dust is thrown, something will stick. The cleansing process will take a certain period, but do start that cleansing process. Let not the power of money be allowed any further to distort our life, not only our economy but also the spiritual foundations of human existence, because if that happens, there can be no hope for a country like ours, rooted in misery and backwardness and static thinking, there is no hope for our kind of country to make any sort of achievement. That is the perspective in which political problems have got to be approached today. That is the perspective which is developing particularly now when in this country we are waiting for the visit of Mr. Brezhnev, because, after all, the friendship between the two countries is like a beacon which lights the way to all the countries like ours; because, after all, in spite of what Mr. Dandavate and other friends might choose to say, the radical and progressive movement of our country had, even in the pre-Independence days, hitched its wagons to the red flag of the Soviet Union, and when we talk about socialism as something that we also can hope to achieve in the near future, it is a phenomenon which has

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been due to the advance of socialism which today commands the allegiance of one-third of the humanity. So, if one-sixth of the humanity, which is India, comes forward on that path, then the entire light-way of the future would be illuminated, the entire approach towards the future would be made visible to our people; the new perspectives, the new vistas of hope and exhilaration, would be available to the common man. And then only would politics be humanised to the extent that it needs to be in this ancient country of ours.

I say, therefore, Sir, that Government is under an obligation to answer all charges even when crudely formulated, even when done with a motive, even when done in an exaggerated form. You always come to blame the opposition for getting facts somewhat wrong. But, after all, they are subject to correction by those people who are in authority and who ought to know. Government has this opportunity of answering the charges, and if they cannot answer them here, let them challenge the accusations so that the accusations may be healthier and Government may take steps to safeguard their honour, self-respect and reputation. If they do not do that, the moral strength of the Government, which has been going down and down all the time during the last few years, cannot be recovered. In order to recover that moral strength, it is the duty of the Government to answer to the accusations. But even so, it will remain necessary for Government to help in the process of the mobilisation of all radical elements together. To what extent they would contribute, I am not sure; I do not have much hope about it. There are elements in the Congress Party with whom, I discover, a great deal of things we have in common. Again there are other elements, predominant and powerful and always queering the pitch for any kind of genuine advance. It is on account of them that this country is going down and down all the time. I appeal to

the CPM. They have links with the people; they do stand on the basis of an ideology, howsoever interpreted it may be; maybe, I am wrong or maybe, he is wrong; that is a different matter. But they do stand on an ideology. They have links with the people. It is for them to wrench the way from the kind of hand-shaking process which they have resorted to recently with the utterest representatives of rightist reaction. Let them go on playing about politics in this country. (*Interruptions*). Let the right reaction parties perform more of the clown, let the right reaction parties depend upon all the demagoguery... (*Interruptions*) Let not our parties of the left be taken away from their historic responsibility. Let them not be lowered into the kind of company which they are going to get. (*Interruptions*). If we do not stand together it is only because the socialist movement in this country has been disrupted and divided. (*Interruptions*) It is only because the socialist movement in our country is disrupted and divided that the right-wing elements inside the Congress are fortified. When the socialist movement in our country stands together, no force on the earth can divide us and all the rightist elements with all the big money behind them which are supporting the administration and the Congress will never be in the picture. That is the process which we envisage, that is the process that will be assisted by the development of Indo-Soviet friendships and co-operation in the pursuit of socialism and democracy

That is why I do not associate myself with the mover of this motion. But I call upon the Government to give the kind of reply that I have suggested. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, please. Before I call the next speaker, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs will convey a message to the

House about the decision of the Business Advisory Committee regarding the time allotment to this debate.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAHAIAH): With your permission, Sir, the House is already aware that today at 6 p.m. we have to adjourn as we have to attend a meeting to felicitate Seth Govind Das. The Business Advisory Committee met at 3-30 and after taking this into consideration, took the decision that this debate shall continue tomorrow also after Question-Hour and conclude tomorrow at 8 p.m.

16.33 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY *in the Chair*]

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): Mr. Chairman, Sir, if I had any suspicion and however slight that suspicion might have been because the country to-day is in the midst..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those who want to converse may go to the lobby without creating any noise.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, as I was submitting I have a lurking suspicion this time that since the country happens to be in the midst of an unprecedented crisis, maybe this time, unlike the previous times, the Opposition was serious so far as the censure motion was concerned. But my suspicion of the seriousness of the Opposition was demolished and blown to smithereens when I heard the most obnoxious and diabolical utterances of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, the mover of this motion. It was nothing but saturated and dripping with personal vituperation and personal assassination. Political mayhem and an attitude of making wild allegations against a political opponent in the wildest and intemperate language has gone deep into his veins. The opposition never thought that it was the duty of the Opposition at this critical juncture to ensure a better and a cleaner administration for the country and if they were motivated

by consideration of the weal and welfare of the people, something much above political gimmickry we would have expected the Mover at least to deal with the various grounds that he has raised in the censure motion a little more seriously. What seemed to have been contemplated to my mind is nothing more and nothing less than most abominable political rampus and if censure motion is to be used for creating political rumpus, it is a tragic day for the Parliamentary Democracy of any country. I for one consider the right of censure not only a very precious right, but an inviolable right. An eminent political thinker has stated, speaking about the right of the Opposition to censure the Government. I quote:

"Right to censure Government implies right to ensure good and clean governance of the country by the party in power."

For ensuring good and clean governance of the country by the party in power the sine qua non, the indispensable condition, for discharging the responsibility is that at least good and clean language, if not good material, should be used by the Mover. It is most unfortunate that very highly vituperative language was used and all sorts of invectives and adjectives were used which either did not add to the dignity of the debate or to the merit of the case which is sought to be made out. This is very regrettable. At this very critical time, I for one do feel that a debate is necessary in this august House on difficult economic situation,—this House of the elected representatives of the people, which controls the destinies of the entire country, to discuss various facets of the economy today. And, if ever the debate is taken seriously, some contribution would be made and ideas would be given; suggestion made, which would enable Government to improve its policies, improve its governance, give a better and cleaner Government to the people. But if the censure motion is to be used for character assassination, to use abu-

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sive language against some of the ministers, against the Prime Minister, then, the entire purpose of censure motion, I beg to submit, stands hopelessly frustrated and I really do not know what is it that we are supposed to reply to on the censure motion.

I heard Prof. Hiren Mukerjee with rapt attention, as I always do. He started very well, by saying, why he did not want to support the No-confidence Motion. But what he talked thereafter left me considerably baffled. I really wished there was more consistency in what Prof. Mukerjee had said. He said, it is the duty of the members of the ruling party and of the members of the treasury benches to take care of various allegations and accusations made against them, they should take them seriously and deal with them. Yes, it is the responsibility of the members of the ruling party and the treasury benches. But is not the same responsibility to be shown by the Opposition members themselves? Our responsibility is directly related to the responsibility shown by the opposition. If statistics is to be rattled out right, left and centre, in season and out of season,—mostly out of season,—what are we to do about it, when fifty per cent of statistics are irrelevant and the remaining fifty per cent not intelligible?

But I must submit that to-day 50 per cent of the statistics look utterly irrelevant and another fifty per cent of the statistics is, to my mind, at least not intelligible to me. Whether they are in this House or elsewhere, that is hardly my point. What exactly has been made out by them I am unable to understand. I shall refer to the various points raised by them and I am ready to answer the various aspects of the matter. I am not one from my party who is going to deny that to-day we are facing a critical and unprecedented economic crisis. The only question to be considered is this that what is being done to meet the situation is the best or not the

best. That is the point. If this is the question posed, we would like to know in all seriousness and earnestness from the Opposition as to where we have erred. I shall deal with Shri Shyam Nandanji and I am not going to leave him. I wish to assure this House through you, Sir, that we do not want to shirk the responsibility for this state of affairs in this country. I have no doubt in my mind that if to-day there is a stable Government of a most powerful party under the proper leadership, it is the Government which is headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. But for her leadership the country's democracy would be in danger. Look at the countries where the democracy has collapsed. I wish he reads a little more of history of the post-war period of the countries—the developed countries—where one after another the democracy collapsed. They lost the democracy because of tribulations faced by the people. Here we have got a stable democracy which cannot collapse. I am not at the same time suggesting for a moment that we are infallible, that we have not committed errors etc. We may have committed errors. In these things we have to do a deep thinking. And we have to keep our minds open and take every possible step to see that the difficulties of the people are eradicated. The Prime Minister has shown her mind. She has got some constraints about the growth of economy of this country because of some doctrinaire conceptionalism and because of her faith and not because of her unwillingness to listen to what the people have got to say. You are out to find fault with the Government and you go on talking about Maruthi. I do not know how this has come into the picture when it has already been debated in Parliament. Regarding Maruthi I may tell you that I have studied the balance sheet and have done a little exercise on this. I submit on the floor of the House to-day that whatever is stated about Maruthi is nothing but lies and full of distortions. That is utterly unrelated to the Motion of No-Confidence which is now under discussion. The motion

may be divided into three parts. I thought that out of this a serious debate would arise and I would be having an opportunity to answer some of the serious points raised here. The first part of the motion seeks to censure the Government and seeks to express its no-confidence in Government because of the wrong and anti-people and anti-democratic policies followed by them resulting in high prices. The Prime Minister has a massive mandate and a tremendous majority to back her in this House which will be seen tomorrow. I am willing to listen to everybody who has contributions to make in the country's economy and in evolving an ideology or in making policies for their implementation which will solve our economic problems which are being branded as policies which are wrong, anti-people and anti-democratic, by the Opposition parties. I do not know what is the concept of a democracy and what is the concept of the people when such statements are made by these people. The Prime Minister has said times without number inside and outside this House in her party meetings many things. This shows the attitude of a person who is more democratic than even the greatest democrats we have ever known. This is nothing but an extremely wild allegation made in a language which is utterly intemperate, hopelessly vague and is utterly not supported by facts. This allegation is not worthy of any credence. The second part of this Resolution is most important. I really wish that the Opposition, while dealing with the second part of the censure motion, I wish they had come with a serious problem and not purely confining themselves in using all sorts of expressions such as 'Nakad Narain' and someone else taking money etc.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:**  
He also seems to like it immensely.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** I have not liked it. I am built much differently. I do not like people being mocked at their back. I would much rather like to go to him and personally tell

him if I thought that he was a person who should not indulge in that sort of thing. I am not made that way. I would never enjoy this type of thing. This is not a joke that one should play with somebody's political career in this manner. It is very highly reprehensible, because, do not forget that this is a game which can be played both ways. Many people have talked to many things about Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to me, and I have said 'Shut up, do not talk about this. This is not a matter to be talked about, namely what his personal life is. He is a friend of mine; and there is one thing, if he does not mind my saying it, I have always told him outside the chamber, that he is the greatest gentleman that I have met, and I am sure he will forgive me for stating in the House something which I have always been telling him outside the House.

But I submit that this is not a fair way of doing justice to a censure motion, especially the second part of it which is a very serious part, where it is said that the censure motion is moved for expressing want of confidence in the Government because of the failure of the Government to ensure supply of food and other essential commodities, causing starvation and starvation deaths, severe hardships, growing unemployment and rampant corruption. Once again, I would submit even at the cost of repetition that we are passing through, and we are in the midst or in the throes of a very calamitous economic situation, an economic situation in which spiralling prices and a perennial shortage, a man-made shortage made more acute by the rapacity and greed of the manufacturers and traders trading in the misfortunes of the people have brought untold miseries to the weaker sections of the people and to the middle class people. I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting this bitter reality.

Now, let us come to two aspects of the matter, namely what Government have done, how this has come about and what can be done to meet the situation. If Government are not going all out to check this and get out

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of these calamities economic difficulties and circumstances, certainly, Government may be voted here by its party, but the people are there to judge. I have no doubt in my mind that the people do realise that despite the tremendous difficulties in which people are today, thank God, it is a stable Government and there is a powerful party and a more powerful leader in charge of the country. If it was something less than that, God alone knows what might have happened to this country. But there is not the slightest doubt, and anybody who understands even a wee bit of macro-economics would know of the various factors which have played havoc and created this inflation; this unprecedented price rise is a universal phenomenon and it cannot be said that today we can live out of it.

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** So, it is an improvement; it is a global phenomenon!

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** He may bear with me for two minutes, and I shall make it clear to him.

No country today is self-sufficient. We are depending on imports in various matters. Likewise, we are exporting to many other countries. Essential raw materials are imported from very many countries. But look at the wholesale price indices in those countries and compare our figures with theirs. The wholesale price index in Japan has increased by nearly 18 per cent and that of the United States which once ruled the economy or the economic destiny of the whole world increased by 20 per cent and that of Italy by another 20 per cent, while that of UK had increased by about 10 per cent. I am not for a moment saying that this is any justification that our poor people should also be subjected to spiralling prices. Let hon. Members kindly not misunderstand my argument. But my argument is this that all over the world the prices are going to increase, for whatever reasons there might be, but

one of the biggest reasons is the tremendous speculation going on in various countries, the reckless speculation going on in foreign currency, which is the cause of instability in the monetary conditions, and very many other factors into which I do not want to go at this moment. But if this is a reality that all over prices are going up and if we have to deal with those countries for our manufacturing processes, is it expected that prices in our country will not go up? Ours is an agro-based economy.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajpura):** Is it not true that though there is rise in prices in other countries, their per capita income and purchasing power are very high?

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** I have absolutely no quarrel with that proposition. But kindly understand my argument. If you are going to buy something at a higher price, if your essential raw materials are still being imported—your food is being imported, your steel is being imported, cement is being imported, so many chemicals are being imported, God alone knows how many items are being imported—do you think the price rise in these countries is not going to affect the cost of production in your country? (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** They also import many things, but their prices do not rise to that extent.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** Ours is an agro-based economy. Can you deny that acute drought conditions played a very great part in creating conditions of scarcity in regard to food and other commodities? Our industries, by and large, are agro-based. If agriculture fails, everything fails in the country. Not for a moment do I say that this Government has not a certain share of blame to take. We became a little too complacent over the supported green revolution. We

even started talking glibly about export of foodgrains a couple of years ago, not realising what was going to happen.

Consider for a moment what happened in my State. I have been living in a State though I am elected from another State. My State, which was the worst hit by drought and acute scarcity conditions, did tackle that situation. The way in which it has been tackled is a tribute to those in power in Maharashtra. The manner in which relief works have been organised for lakhs and lakhs of people, so that not a single starvation death came about is the greatest tribute to my party which is ruling that State. Has the Centre no credit to take for the manner in which the entire thing has come about? If you are spending Rs. 150-200 crores in meeting this extraordinary situation, is it not going to add to the price spiral?

There are various economic factors. I do not have the time to go into the details of the various factors, the transport problems, power shortage, deteriorating labour-management relations, black money. These problems are a reality in this country. Anyone who says that black money is not playing havoc with the real economy does not know what he is talking about. In fact, if it is not checked in time, it might become the only economy of the country, which will be ruinous and disastrous.

The rules of economics are utterly ruthless. They do not yield to weak-kneed people; they will only yield to a determined people who are willing to work hard. That is precisely what we want to do. That is precisely what the Prime Minister wants to do.

I only want to know what point shall I meet of Shri Jyotirmoy Basu. So far as Shri H. N. Mukerjee is concerned, he has described this motion

as politically-motivated and he likened to Shri Bosu's performance to a drain inspector's report; for the rest of the time, he was making observations so general that I really do not know what to reply to them. So far as Shri Jyotirmoy Basu is concerned, what shall I reply to? He has made no point; he has not made any suggestion. I really wish there are brilliant men in the Opposition.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Thank you for the compliment.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: There are exceptions also who are extremely childish.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: You have grown senile because of old age.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I hope in the course of the debate we will get suggestions, some contributions made, by which the Government will be able to benefit itself.

In the end, I want only one thing to be mentioned.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: In the end, one dies, (*Interruption*)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, his jokes are like hermaphrodites sometimes; not even of a child. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the country, the indications are that a determined bid has started yielding results. I admit the unemployment problems exist Shri H. N. Mukerjee was extremely critical of Shri Bhagat when he asked him, "have you any idea of the unemployment problem?" No one says that the unemployment problem has been solved completely and totally. But see the amount which is earmarked for unemployment relief. It has gone up to Rs. 63 crores in the next Plan as compared to Rs. 9 crores in the earlier plans. Look at the food distributions. Look at the various endeavours and efforts being made to import food and oils to ensure that the people are not

[Shri N. K. P. Salve] made the subject of scarcity conditions. But the irony of this country is this. Unfortunately, I have to make this comment, and let me make it clear that I am not against the private sector only. I do not say that there is ever a conflict between the private sector and the public sector. Both to me are the national sector. They must co-extensively and conjointly work for the welfare of the community. I may submit that if the public sector does suffer from some degree of inefficiency—and that is also a great cause adding to inflationary forces—the public sector acts speedily. The private sector behaves greedily and it behaves in a manner which amounts to trading—as I submitted earlier—in human misery.

I must conclude by submitting that tomorrow, when voting takes place, when a large majority would have voted against this motion, the future historians will record this day in golden letters as the day when democracy in this country was stabilised.

**श्री छटल बिहारी बाबूदेवी (ग्वालियर)**  
सभापति जी, मैं यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे अविश्वास प्रस्ताव का संबंध श्री ब्रजनेव के प्रायमन से किसी प्रकार नहीं है। श्री ब्रजनेव सारे राष्ट्र के एक आदरणीय अतिथि के रूप में भारत आ रहे हैं। सारा देश चाहता है कि सोवियत रशिया के साथ हमारे मित्रता के संबंध और भी दृढ़ हों। लेकिन देश यह भी चाहता है कि यह मित्रता बराबरी और एक दूसरे के प्रति समादर की भावना पर आधारित हो। यह खेद का विषय है कि आज सोवियत रूस और भारत के संबंध उस स्तर पर नहीं हैं जिस स्तर पर अमेरिका और चीन के संबंधों का विकास हो रहा है। कारण यह है कि भारत है तो स्वावलम्बी है न आर्थिक आर्थ पर अपनी समस्याओं को सफलता के साथ हल कर सका है। औद्योगिक दृष्टि से दुर्बल, विदेशों से अन्न पर निर्भर, सुरक्षा के लिये किसी महान-शक्ति की सहायता की आवश्यकता के लिये मित्रता के संबंध कायम कर सकता है

उन्हीं संबंधों में हम भी बंधे हैं और हमारी मित्रता भी उतनी सीमा तक मर्यादित हो गई है।

सभापति जी, आज देश में विश्वास का संकट है। इसीलिए हम अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाए हैं। यह विश्वास का संकट प्रकृति ने पैदा किया। सूखे के कारण अनाज के उत्पादन में केवल 4 फीसदी की कमी हुई यह सरकार स्वीकार कर चुका है। वह संकट बंगला देश की मुक्ति के लिये भारत ने जो सशस्त्र संघर्ष किया उस का भी दुष्परिणाम नहीं है। यह संकट मनुष्य कृत है। यह खेद का विषय है कि इस संकट के लिये दोषारोपन किया जाता है कभी प्रकृति पर, कभी विश्व की परिस्थिति पर, कभी विरोधी दलों पर और कभी सी आई पर भी सी० आई० ए० को चर्चा आज कल नहीं होती है—क्या कारण है ?

17 hrs.

**श्री श्यामबन्धन मिश्र :** डा० शंकर दयाल शर्मा जी भी खामोश हैं।

**श्री छटल बिहारी बाबूदेवी :** डा० ब० शर्मा का मोन बड़ा रहस्यमय है। क्या अमरीकी गुप्तचरों की गतिविधियां अब देश में नहीं चलतीं ? क्या इस का अर्थ है कि अमरीकी गुप्तचर अपना बोरिवा-विस्तार बांध कर, अतलांतिक महासागर पारकर अपने मैके वापस चले गये ? यह कारण नहीं है—न केवल अमरीका, अपितु चीन, पाकिस्तान रूस, सभी देशों के गुप्तचर यहाँ सक्रिय हैं, उन की गतिविधियों में वृद्धि भी हुई है, लेकिन आज कल उन के बारे में चर्चा नहीं होती।

हमारे उत्तारुढ़ कांग्रेस के मित्र बलि के बकरों की तज्जाम करते रहते हैं। अपनी विफलताओं पर परख डालने के लिये बहाना बुनते रहते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब जनता इन बहानों से समझने वाली नहीं है। मैं उद्बत करना चाहता हूँ—प्रधान मंत्री जी के कुछ शब्दों को

“Time will not wait for us. The millions who demand food, shelter and jobs are pressing for action.”

यह किस प्रधान मंत्री का भाषण है ? यह भाषण तो प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का ही है, लेकिन यह 1973 का भाषण नहीं है, यह 1970 का भाषण है। लोक सभा को भाषण करते समय भालू इण्डिया रेडियो से देश के नाम उन्होंने जो प्रसारण किया था, आज उन्हें उन्हीं के शब्दों में याद दिलाने की आवश्यकता है। मुझे खेद है वे इस समय सदन में नहीं हैं, फिर भी मैं उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ —

“It is because we are concerned not merely with remaining in power but using that power to ensure better life to the vast majority of our people and to satisfy their aspirations for a just social order. In the present situation we feel we cannot go ahead with our proclaimed programme and keep our pledges to our people.”

इस लिये लोक सभा का जीवन 14 महीने पहले समाप्त कर दिया गया, देश को मध्यावधि चुनाव की विधीयिका में डाला गया जनता ने प्रधान मंत्रियों का समर्थन किया। अब प्रधान मंत्री के पास चुनाव के समय दिये गये वायदों को पूरा न करने का क्या औचित्य है ? आज शिकायत की जा रही है कि जनता हिंसा कर रही है, लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी ने स्वयं को हिंसा के लिये उभारा— मैं फिर उद्धृत करना चाहती हूँ ;

“Mrs. Gandhi today warned that if the prevailing economic and social inequalities were not reduced soon, the people would take recourse to violence to achieve that.”

श्री शंकर बहाल सिंह (चतरा) : कहां का कोटेशन है ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : पहले कोटेशन सुन लें, फिर बताऊंगा —

“The march of the economic and social change have a momentum of their own which could not be arrested by anybody. On the contrary, Mrs. Gandhi said, those who had come to lose their patience with

the pace of progress had adopted violence as the only way out.”

यह 6 नवम्बर, 1970 को चण्डीगढ़ में कांग्रेस कार्यकर्ताओं की बैठक में दिया गया भाषण है। (ध्यवधान) ... उस समय प्रगति कम हो रही थी, इस लिये कहा जा रहा था कि अगर प्रगति नहीं हुई तो जनता हिंसा को अपनायेगी आज जनता हिंसा को अपना रही है तो जनता को दोष दिया जा रहा है, विरोधी दलों पर लांछन लगाये जा रहे हैं। प्रगति कम क्यों हुई, कौन इस के लिये जिम्मेदार है ? अच्छी बातों के लिये सारा श्रेय प्रधान मंत्री जी लेने को तैयार हैं तो इस देश में भूख का जो ताण्डव दिखाई देता है, कमर-तोड़ मंहगाई का जो दृश्य दिखालाई देता है, बढ़ते हुए बैंकरों की संख्या दिखालाई देती है, चोटी से लेकर एड़ी तक भ्रष्टाचार फलता-फूलता दिखालाई देता है उस की जिम्मेदारी से प्रधान मंत्री जी नहीं बच सकतीं।

सभापति जी, मैं कुछ छोटी तस्वीरें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

15 अगस्त, 1973—स्वतन्त्रता की जयन्ती पर टेलीविजन पर इन्टरव्यू के लिये एक विद्वान को आमन्त्रित किया गया, वे विद्वान नेत्रहीन हैं, उन्होंने कई पुस्तकें लिखी हैं—उन का नाम है श्री बेद मेहता। जब टेलीविजन पर उन के साथ इन्टरव्यू हो रहा था तो उन से पूछा गया कि देश की स्थिति के बारे में कुछ कहिये। पूछने वाला समझता था कि वे आज की स्थिति में नेतृत्व का गुणगान शुरू कर देगे। उन्होंने नेतृत्व के बारे में एक वाक्य कहा—“ऐसा लगता है कि आज देश में कोई नेतृत्व नहीं है।” उसी नेटवर्क टेलीविजन का बटन बन्द कर दिया गया और इन्टरव्यू समाप्त कर दिया गया, देखने वालों के सामने अन्धेरा छा गया—कह है हमारे देश में टेलीविजन का उपयोग। क्या इस टेलीविजन के माध्यम से हम लोकतन्त्र को बलशाली बनाना चाहते हैं ? आज भूख लोगों की रोटी चाहिये, टेलीविजन नहीं। जब पूना में मांस की गई

### [श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

तो चौहान साहब कहने लगे कि हम रोटी भी दे रहे हैं और टेलीविजन भी दे रहे हैं। लेकिन दुख यह है कि रोटी ऐसी दे रहे हैं जिस से भूख नहीं मरती और टेलीविजन ऐसा है जिस से दिमाग की भूख नहीं मिटती। जब प्रधान मंत्री जी सूचना मंत्री थीं तो उन्होंने चन्दा कमेटी का निर्माण किया था। उस चन्दा कमेटी ने सिफारिश की थी कि ग्राल इण्डिया रेडियो और टेलीविजन पब्लिक कारपोरेशन के अधीन होने चाहिये लेकिन सूचना मंत्री के रूप में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने जो निर्णय किया, वह प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने ठुकरा दिया.....

श्री श्यामलम्बन मिश्र : अब तो चन्दा साहब भी मर गये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अब मैं एक दूसरा दृष्य आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ—यह 14 अगस्त, 1972 का दृष्य है। देश की स्वाधीनता की रजत-जयन्ती मनाई जा रही थी। हमारे कांग्रेसी मित्र दिल्ली में एक मशालों का जुलूस निकालना चाहते थे। उस जुलूस के लिये पर्याप्त लोग इष्टठे नहीं कर सके, इस लिये होम-गार्ड्स को सरकारी आदेश दिया गया कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के जुलूस में मशालें ले कर शामिल हो आये।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : यह बिलकुल गलत है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं इस को साबित करने के लिये तैयार हूँ।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : मैं आप को चुनौती देता हूँ—साबित कीजिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, मेरे पास पत्र व्यवहार मौजूद है.....

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : दिल्ली के लाखों लोग कांग्रेस के साथ चलने के लिये तैयार हैं। मैं चुनौती दे रहा साबित कीजिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, इस सम्बन्ध में पालियामेंट में एक प्रश्न हो चुका है.....

एक माननीय सदस्य : जो चलेन्ज किया गया है, अगर यह साबित हो जाये तो क्या होगा ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर यह चीज गलत होगी तो मैं त्याग-पत्र देने के लिये तैयार हूँ। श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव इस को गलत साबित करें।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : मैं आप के चलेन्ज को गलत साबित करने के लिये तैयार हूँ। आप का चलेन्ज स्वीकार करने के लिये तैयार हूँ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, इस सम्बन्ध में एक प्रश्न हो चुका है। मंत्री महोदय इस का उत्तर हाँ में दे चुके हैं। उस समय जनसंघ के एक सदस्य श्री कंबरलाल गुप्ता पत्र-व्यवहार कर चुके हैं और पत्र-व्यवहार में यह चीज मानी जा चुकी है। लेकिन यदि वे इस को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं तो मैं कल प्रमाण देने के लिये प्रस्तुत हूँ.....

.... (व्यवधान).....

मैं एक तीसरी तस्वीर पेश करना चाहता हूँ। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के मुख्य न्यायाधीश के पद पर तीन बरिष्ठ जजों को ताक पर रखने के बाद जो नियुक्ति हुई वह काफी विवाद का विषय बन चुकी है, मैं उसमें नहीं जा रहा हूँ। उस नियुक्ति के खिलाफ सुप्रीम कोर्ट के बार एसोसिएशन ने विज्ञान भवन में एक सम्मेलन करना चाहा। बार-एसोसिएशन ने विज्ञान भवन के लिए सरकार को लिखा लेकिन विज्ञान भवन सुप्रीम कोर्ट के बार-एसोसिएशन को नहीं दिया गया। कुछ वकीलों से दरखास्त लेकर और यह कह कर कि उनकी दरखास्त पहले आई है, जब कि रिकार्ड साबित करता है कि उनकी दरखास्त बाद में आई, उन

वकीलों को विज्ञान भवन दे दिया गया। वे वहाँ सम्मेलन नहीं कर सके, उन्होंने विट्टलभाई पटेल हाउस में सम्मेलन किया। उन तिथियों में विज्ञान भवन खाली पड़ा रहा लेकिन सुप्रीम कोर्ट के बार-एसोसिएशन को मजबूर होकर अशोक होटल में सम्मेलन करना पड़ा।

इसके साथ में एक चीज और भी जोड़ने वाली है कि जिन वकीलों ने विट्टलभाई पटेल हाउस में सम्मेलन किया था उन्हें विधि मंत्री ने रामेंद्र भोसले के लिए बुनाया और प्रधान मंत्री भी उस भोजन में सम्मिलित हुईं तथा उन वकीलों की पीठ थपथपाई गई जो सरकार की हां में हां मिलाने वाले चीफ जस्टिस की नियुक्ति का समर्थन करते हैं। किन्तु जो न्यायपालिका की स्वाधीनता बनाये रखने के लिये लड़ते हैं उन्हें विज्ञान भवन से भ्रंशित कर दिया गया। (व्यवधान)

मैं एक तस्वीर और पेन करण आहता हूँ। 24 अक्टूबर की दिल्ली में सेन्ट्रल फूड स्क्वैड के कुछ कर्मचारी दक्षिण दिल्ली की दुकानों पर मिलावट का सामान पकड़ने के लिए छापां मारने गये। दुकानदारों ने उन्हें मिलावट के नमूने नहीं देने दिये। सेन्ट्रल फूड स्क्वैड में और दुकानदारों से झगड़ा हो गया। सेन्ट्रल फूड स्क्वैड के लोगों ने पुलिस कंट्रोल रूम को खबर की। पुलिस का एक दल वहाँ आया लेकिन पुलिस के उस दल ने सेन्ट्रल फूड स्क्वैड के कर्मचारियों की मदद करने के बजाये दुकानदारों से रिश्तत लेकर सेन्ट्रल फूड स्क्वैड के लोगों को हवालात में बन्द कर दिया। (व्यवधान) यह कोई साधारण बात नहीं है। मेरे पास एक टेप-रिकार्ड मौजूद है। टेप-रिकार्ड में ए० एस० आरि०

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayenkel): On a point of order. Can a Member bring a tape recorder into the House?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप रूलिंग बाद में दीजिये, हमें बोलने दीजिये।

सभापति महोदय : हम रूलिंग बाद में देंगे, आप कन्टिन्यू कीजिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस टेप-रिकार्ड में पुलिस के प्रसिस्टेंट सब इंस्पेक्टर, श्री जैठानन्द मलिक, सेन्ट्रल फूड स्क्वैड के फील्ड प्रसिस्टेंट, श्री अहलूवालिया और डाक्टर विनोद का वातालीप मौजूद है।

सभापति महोदय : आप उन अफसरों के नाम ले रहे हैं। जो बात आप कह रहे हैं अगर इस बातको हाउस में लाना है तो रूलम के मुताबिक पहले स्पीकर साहब की अनुमति लेते। मैं आपके सामने रूल कोट कर रहा हूँ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैंने कोई आरोप नहीं लगाया है, मैं तो केवल बातचीत रख रहा हूँ। क्या मैं किसी अफसर का नाम नहीं ले सकता ?

सभापति महोदय : लेकिन हम टेप-रिकार्डर नहीं बजाने देंगे।

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DAS MUNSI: If you give a ruling, we are not objecting to it. But what Mr. Vajpayee is doing really encourages the House to take into cognisance the faults of the officers. I also demand that they should be brutally punished by the Government. There is no doubt about it.

श्री बी० पी० मौर्य : मेरा इस पर एक ही व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है कि इस सदन में केवल चुने हुए सदस्यों की प्राबाज ही सुनी जा सकती है। अगर टेप-रिकार्डर को इस तरह सुना जायेगा तो फिर इस तरह से बाहर की बहुत सी आवाजें सुनी जायेंगी।

सभापति महोदय : ने टेप-रिकार्डर यज्ञ नहीं कर रहे हैं।

भी बहुत लिमये ; व्यवस्था के प्रश्न के बारे में मेरे दो मुद्दे हैं। बाजपेयी जी ने केवल पदों का जिक्र किया है, किसी का नाम नहीं लिया है।

सभापति महोदय : नाम लिये हैं।

श्री कस्तूरी लाल (घकोला) : बाजपेयी जी टेप-रिकार्डर समा-पटल पर रख रहे हैं क्या ?

THE MINISTER OF SUPPLY AND REHABILITATION (SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR): It is a fact....

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: On a point of submission.... (Interruptions). On a point of order, Sir.... (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Whatever the Member says will not go on record as he is speaking without my permission.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA:....\*

श्री मधु लिमये : जहां तक टेप-रिकार्डर का सवाल है, हमारे नियमों में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है जो टेप-रिकार्डर पर रोक लगा दे। (व्यवधान) दोनों में क्या फरक है।

सभापति महोदय : सबि बाबू ने इस प्रश्न को उठाया है। मैंने कहा है कि मैं बाद में निर्णय दूंगा। अभी मैंने निर्णय नहीं दिया है। फिर बहस किस बात पर हो रही है। लिमये जी के जो मुद्दे हैं उनको मैंने समझ लिया है।

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: The Hon. Member has referred to an incident when I was holding charge of the Health Ministry. Whatever has been referred to upto now is correct. Our squad went there. Police officials, instead of helping us, are alleged to have arrested them and beaten them. Immediately when the facts came to my notice, I contacted the Home

\*Not recorded.

Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant and the I.A. Governor and a magisterial enquiry has been ordered forthwith and the concerned officer has been transferred. So, this is my point of order. It is sub-judice.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: His allegation is proved now....

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : मामला गम्भीर है। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस मामले के ऊपर आप जल्दी में कोई निर्णय न दें और इसको इस तरह से हल्के ढंग से न लें। (इंटरप्लॉय)। अभी मुझे चुनौती दी गई है। इसीलिए मैं यह लाया हूँ।

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : टेप रिकार्डर पर आप का रुलिंग क्या है। इसको आप अपने पास रखिये।

सभापति महोदय : आप फोर्सून करें। अभी मैं अपना निर्णय नहीं दूंगा।

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : सभापति महोदय, जो बातचीत हुई और जो इस टेप रिकार्डर में सुरक्षित है उसके कुछ अंश जिनके बारे में पुराने स्वास्थ्य मंत्री जी को भी पता है, मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। इससे पता लगेगा कि सारी चीज क्या है। एक ही मेरा उद्देश्य है कि इस देश में भारत की राजशाही में पुलिस का प्रशासन कितना फ्रंट हो गया है, यह इसका सबूत है (इंटरप्लॉय)\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not permitting. Nothing will go on record unless I permit it.

सभापति महोदय : कोई टेप रिकार्डर हो या कोई भावमी हो.....

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : रुलिंग बेंगे तो झगड़ा हो जाएगा। कोई रुल मुझे टेप रिकार्डर रखने से मना नहीं करता है। आप रुल को उद्धृत करिये।

**सभापति महोदय :** आप इसको हटा दीजिये । (इंटरप्लॉय) । आप हमारे काम को धीरे पेशीदा बना देते हैं इस तरह से बीच में बोल कर ।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** कौन सा रूल है बताइये । इस समय आप चेयर पर बैठे हैं लेकिन आप नियमों के ऊपर नहीं हैं । मुझे नियम बताइये कौन सा नियम मुझे टेप रिकार्डर लाने से रोकता है ।

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** He has got residuary powers to regulate the proceedings of the House. How do you say that he has got no powers?

**सभापति महोदय :** परमिट भी नहीं करता है इसको लाने के लिए ।

**श्री स्वाम नन्दन मिश्र :** अगर कोई नियम आपकी अधिकार नहीं देता है तो हम आपके रूलिंग को कैसे मानें ?

**श्री वसंत साठे :** अगर रूल नहीं है तो रेजीडुअरी पावरज चेयर के पास हैं ।

**सभापति महोदय :** जो सबाल उठायी गयी है उसके बारे में रूल 389 है जो इस तरह से है :

“All matters not specifically provided for in these rules and all questions relating to the detailed working of these rules shall be regulated in such manner as the Speaker may, from time to time, direct.”

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** रेजीडुअरी पावरज का इस तरह से उपयोग करके आप ऐसी व्यवस्था दे रहे हैं जिसकी नियमों के साथ कोई संगति नहीं है ।

**सभापति महोदय :** इसको हटा दीजिये और फिर बोलिये । मेरी रिकवेस्ट है, मेहरबानी करके इसको हटा दीजिये ।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** यह हटाया नहीं जायेगा ।

**सभापति महोदय :** इसको हटाना होगा ॥

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** यह हटाय नहीं । जरा मुझे सुन लीजिये । एक किताब लाना सबम में या कोई कागज पत्र प्रमाण के लिए लाना और सदन में कोई बातचीत टेप की हुई लाना उसमें कोई रेखा नहीं खींची जा सकती है । टेप रिकार्डर को मैंने अभी तक बजाया नहीं है । अगर आप कहेंगे तो मैं इसको बजाऊंगा ।

**सभापति महोदय :** इसको आप हटा दें ।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** यह हटाया नहीं जाएगा, यह मेरे साथ जाएगा ।

**सभापति महोदय :** किताब लाना या अखबार लाना दूसरी चीज है लेकिन टेप रिकार्डर लाना, कैमरा लाना, बन्दूक लेकर चले आना, पिस्तौल लेकर चले आना दूसरी बात है । इसको एसाउ नहीं किया जा सकता है ।

**श्री बी० पी० नौबत :** इनमें टाइम बम हो सकता है ।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** आपने उस दिन देखा कि स्पीकर महोदय सदन में एक घड़ी लेकर आए थे । वह घड़ी उन्हें विदेश से मिली थी । घड़ी दिखाई जा सकती है । तब किसी ने व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं उठाया था । क्या फर्क है ।

**सभापति महोदय :** किस परपज के लिए इसको यहां लाए हैं, दिखाने के लिए लाए हैं ?

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** इसीलिए लाया हूँ कि मुझे चुनौती दी जाती है । मैं इसको नीचे रख देता हूँ ।

[श्री जेथानन्द बिहारी बाजपेयी]

जो बातचीत हुई पुलिस अफसर, में सेंट्रल फूड स्क्वैड के अधिकारी तथा एक प्रतिष्ठित नागरिक के बीच उसके दो तीन भ्रम में सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। पुलिस अधिकारी यह कह रहे हैं :

Every S.H.O. expects from his subordinates, the police officer like Shri Jethanand in catching three or four gambling cases and to enhance his reputation.

I tell you truly that if I do not find any case here...."

"हियर" का मतलब है साउथ दिल्ली

"I may get them from Sadar Bazar or any other area, and I must register some cases."

अर्थात् अगर साउथ दिल्ली में कोई मामला नहीं है, तो सदर बाजार का मामला साउथ दिल्ली में लाकर रजिस्टर किया जा सकता है।

एक और भ्रम देखिये :

"I am sitting on gaddi and by swear of God, I tell you that if I were to do alone. I would have made Rs. 400/Rs. 500 on that day. My children would have enjoyed Diwali."

पुलिस अफसर कह रहा है कि अगर उस दिवाली की पूर्व-संध्या को मैं जाता, तो मैं चार पांच सौ रुपया कमा लाता, मेरे बच्चे अच्छी तरह से दिवाली मनाते। (व्यवधान)

एक और भ्रम इस प्रकार है :

"You know our quarrel with sub-inspector is always on money. I do all the work and I will take eight annas share. He....."

"ही" का मतलब है उनके सुपीरियर आफिसर

"has no right to interfere in my work, as I am posted by DSP and SHO and he is posted by SP. DSP

and SHO are both pleased with me, and if they say even to break somebody's leg I will break it."

उत्तरे यह पूछा गया कि क्या आपने सेंट्रल फूड स्क्वैड के इंस्पेक्टर को गिरफ्तार किया, उसके साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया, उसे बदन में धकेला गया, उसे चार घंटे तक पुलिस चौकी में गिरफ्तार रखा गया। जब यह मामला चर्चा में आया, तो पुलिस अफसर क्या कहता है ?

"Jethanand understands the meaning of arrest and if he...."

("ही", अपने सुपीरियर आफिसर के लिये कह रहा है)।

"....says to anybody that 'You are under arrest' then he will put him in the lock-up and may release him on bail. Jethanand understands section 46 and will definitely put in the Roznamcha that he has been arrested under section 54. He is foolish.... It is true if he says he is arrested, he should arrest under section 54. Now, he should think of getting himself absolved of his actions under section 54; even Dr. Radhakrishnan can be arrested."

उस पुलिस अफसर को यह भी पता नहीं है। आज राष्ट्रपति कौन है। वह समझता है कि आज भी डा० राधाकृष्णन् ही राष्ट्रपति हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री मधु सिमये : सभापति महोदय, यह बड़ा गम्भीर मामला है। यह टेप अब जहर सुनाया जाये (व्यवधान)।

श्री नरेन्द्र कुमार साल्वे : बड़े बेवकूफ इतने नासमझ, भादमी का कबोटेशन दिया है। इसको एक्सपोज कर दिया जाये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : माननीय सदस्य उसको नासमझ कर रहे हैं। आज पुलिस ने शाहदरा में बिद्याधियों पर गोली चलाई है। अब वे लोग समझदार हो जायेंगे।

श्री मधु लिम्बे : जेठा नन्द को टेबल पर रखा जाये ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस सम्बन्ध में आप यह ध्यान में रखें कि सरकार मिलावट के विरुद्ध एक बड़ा अभियान आरम्भ कर रही है । कानून में परिवर्तन किये जा रहे हैं कि जो मिलावट करेगा, उससे आजन्म कैद की सजा दी जायेगी । लेकिन वह मिलावट विरोधी कानून किस तंत्र के द्वारा अमल में आयेगा ? फूड इन्स्पेक्टर नमूने लेने जायेंगे, दुकानदार भगड़ा करने लगेंगे, पुलिस बुलाई जायेगी, पुलिस दुकानदारों का साथ देगी और फूड इन्स्पेक्टर को हवालात में बन्द कर देगी । गृह मंत्रालय ने अभी तक उन अफसरों के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की है । जांच भी पूरी नहीं हो पा रही है, क्योंकि पुलिस अफसर उस इलाके के लोगों को धमका रहा है कि अगर तुमने मेरे खिलाफ गवाही दी, तो तुम्हें देख लिया जायेगा । मैं समझता हूँ कि स्वास्थ्य मंत्री महोदय ने इस मामले को बड़ी गम्भीरता से गृह मंत्री महोदय के पास भेजा था, मगर उनकी आशायें पूरी नहीं हुई और जो कार्यवाही होनी चाहिये थी, वह नहीं की गई ।

मैं एक और तस्वीर पेश करना चाहता हूँ । सोनीपत जिले के एक गांव में एक बड़े किसान के कब्जे से एक हजार बोरे गेहूँ के बरामद किये गये । वह गेहूँ वेयरहाउस में जमा कर दिया गया । लेकिन जिस का गेहूँ था, उस की बड़ी ऊँची सिफारिश थी । उस ने जोड़-तोड़ बिठा कर यह आदेश करवा लिया कि वह गेहूँ महाराष्ट्र की एक फर्म को ड्राई रुपये किलों के हिसाब से बीज के नाते बेच दिया जाए । जो गेहूँ खुले बाजार में 76 रुपये बिक सकता था, जो पुलिस ने जब्त किया था और स्टेयरहाउस में रखा गया था, वह हरियाणा में श्री बंसीलाल के नेतृत्व में चलने वाली सरकार के अन्तर्गत ड्राई रुपये किलों के हिसाब से बीज के रूप में महाराष्ट्र की एक फर्म को बेच दिया गया ।

ये तस्वीरें क्या कहती हैं । ये हिन्दुस्तान का कौन सा चित्र पेश करती हैं । ये तस्वीरें विरोधी दलों ने नहीं बनाई हैं : इन तस्वीरों के लिए हम प्रकृति को दोष नहीं दे सकते । इन तस्वीरों के लिए जिन्हें बॉण दिया जाना चाहिए, वे आज कटघरे में खड़े हैं ।

इस सदन में बार-बार इस बात की दुहाई दी जाती है कि सत्तारूढ़ दल के साथ प्रबंध बहुमत है । क्या यह कहने की आवश्यकता है ? गर बहुमत न होता, तो हमें यह विश्वास प्रस्ताव खाने की जरूरत न थी । इन लोगों का बहुमत है, लेकिन यह बहुमत देश में जरूरत और सामाजिक परिवर्तन क्यों नहीं ला पा रहा है ।

प्रधान मंत्री ने 1972 में जो प्रजि-अजित की—

सभापति महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य समाप्त करने का प्रयत्न करें ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति महोदय, शोर शरावे में जो समय गया है, उस को मेरे समय में न जोड़िये । अभी मुझे बहुत सी बातें कहनी हैं ।

मैं कह रहा था कि बंगला देश के निर्माण के बाद देश में जो आशायें जमी हैं, आत्मविश्वास से भरे हुए भारत का जो रूप उभरा था, जो प्रतिभा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय रंगमंच पर उजागर हुई थी, उस प्रतिभा को किस ने धुमिल किया ।

खाद्य के मॉर्चों पर सरकार विफल रही । उस ने अनाज का व्यापार हाथ में लेने की गलती की, किसान को कम दाम देने की भूल की । इस से कृत्रिम अभाव पैदा हो गया । चावल के बारे में नीति में सुधार करने की कोशिश हुई है, लेकिन वह सुधार भी पर्याप्त नहीं है, क्योंकि नियंत्रण में, अघ्टाचार में, काले घन में सत्तारूढ़ दल का एक निहित स्वार्थ हो गया है ।

17.38 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

इस सदन में यह मांग की जाती रही है कि बड़े बड़े नोटों का चलन रोक दिया जाए इस सदनमें मांग की जाती रही है कि वैभव और विलास की तथा उपयोग की जो वस्तुयें बनती हैं, जिन का उत्पादन 30 फ़ीसदी बढ़ा है और जिन के खर्चों में काला घन प्रयुक्त होता है, उन के उत्पादन पर नियंत्रण लगाया जाए, लेकिन सरकार ऐसा करने में सफल नहीं हुई है।

बड़े प्रसिद्ध धर्मशास्त्री, प्रो० एम० बी० डांडेकर, ने कहा है कि काला घन एक क्षण के लिए काला रहता है और जैसे ही वह सत्तारूढ़ दल के हाथ में पहुंच जाता है वह सफ़ेद हो जाता है। प्रो० डांडेकर ने यह भी कहा है कि जिस दिन काला घन समाप्त हो जाएगा, उस दिन सत्तारूढ़ कांग्रेस भी समाप्त हो जाएगी।

आर्थिक क्षेत्र में काला घन और राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में काली राजनीति। यह है गत ड़ाई वर्ष की कहानी। आज संविधान एक खिलवाड़ बनाया जा रहा है। राज्यपालों को खबर की मुहर के रूप में प्रयुक्त किया जा रहा है। कांग्रेस पार्टी में संकट पैदा हो जाता है, तो उत्तर प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति का शासन स्थापित हो जाता है। संविधान कहता है कि संकट वैधानिक हो तभी अनुच्छेद 356 का उपयोग किया जा सकता है। उत्तर प्रदेश में कोई वैधानिक संकट नहीं था। मगर कांग्रेस पार्टी में संकट पैदा हो गया तो 356 धारा के अन्तर्गत राष्ट्रपति राज लागू कर दिया गया। वह संकट टल गया तो राष्ट्रपति राज समाप्त कर दिया गया। क्या संविधान इस तरह के मजाक की वस्तु बनाया जाएगा।

पहले कहा गया था कि राष्ट्रपति राज इसलिए लागू किया जा रहा है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में अभाव है। तो क्या अब अभाव समाप्त हो गया। कहा गया कि कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति बिगड़ रही है। तो क्या अब स्थिति

सुधर गई? एक ही बात हुई है कि सत्तारूढ़ दल बिना शासन में आए चुनाव लड़ने का साहस नहीं कर सकता। अगर आप बराबर की लड़ाई चाहते तो आप भी प्रतिपक्ष में थे, आप भी सत्तारूढ़ नहीं थे, हम भी सत्तारूढ़ नहीं थे, और चुनाव हो सकता था। लेकिन आप इस तरह चुनाव लड़ नहीं सकते।

इस सरकार की नीतियां न तो प्रोडक्शन औरिण्टेंड हैं न डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन औरिण्टेंड हैं, यह सिर्फ इलेक्शन औरिण्टेंड हैं आर्थिक क्षेत्र में सर्वोत्तम लोगप्रियता के लिए नीतियां अपनाई जाती है। बड़े उद्योगपतियों के दबाव में या कर नीतियां छोड़ दी जाती है। राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में बोटों पर नजर रख कर निर्णय किए जाएंगे।

बोटों के लिए राष्ट्रीय एकात्मकता परिषद को ठप किया जा सकता है, बोटों के लिए राष्ट्रीय एकात्मक परिषद् को पुनरुज्जीवित किया जा सकता है। बोटों के लिए मुस्लिम लीग के साथ केरल में गठबंधन किया जा सकता है और बोटों के लिए यू० पी० में मुस्लिम लीग का विरोध किया जा सकता है। साम्प्रदायिकता बढ़ रही है सरकार को इसकी चिन्ता नहीं है। अगर उत्तर प्रदेश में मुस्लिम लोग हमारे कांग्रेसी मित्र का साथ देने को तैयार हो जाएं तो केरल की तरह वहां भी लीग देश भक्त हो जाएगी। लेकिन क्योंकि लीग मुसलमानों के बोट काट रही है इसलिए इन्हें लीग पसन्द नहीं है।

घ्रष्टाचार से निपटने के लिए भी सरकार के अलग अलग मापदंड हैं। पंजाब में अकाली मंत्रियों के खिलाफ आंच कमिशन बनाया गया, क्योंकि एक कम्युनिस्ट एम० एल० ए० ने मंत्रियों के विरुद्ध आरोपपत्र दिया। आंच होनी चाहिए। हम इसके खिलाफ नहीं हैं लेकिन चौधरी बंसी लाल के विरुद्ध कितने एम० एल० एज० और कितने एम० बीज ने अभियोग पत्र दिए। उनके विरुद्ध आंच क्यों नहीं हो सकी? बंसी लाल जी के राज्य में

—कल यह मामला उठाने की अध्यक्ष महोदय ने आज्ञा दी थी—हरिजनों पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। 14 हजार हरिजन दिल्ली में गिरफ्तारी के लिए अपने को पेश कर चुके हैं लेकिन केन्द्र सरकार बंसी लाल जी को राखने पर नहीं ला सकती क्या इसलिए कि आज चोटी से लेकर ऐड़ी तक जो घ्रष्टाचार व्याप्त है उस में वह सहायक है ?

मुझे खुशी है कि श्री ललित तामायण मिश्र यहाँ आ गए हैं। मैं बड़े... मर्यादित शब्दों का प्रयोग करता हूँ। उनके विरुद्ध विरोधी दलों ने आरोप पत्र दिया है। उन्हीं के अपने दल के सदस्यों ने भी आरोपपत्र दिया है। उसमें गंभीर आरोप लगाए गए हैं। क्या इनकी जांच नहीं होनी चाहिए? क्या मार्क्सवादी नेताओं का जीवन निष्कलंक नहीं होना चाहिए। क्या भारत के कर्णधार ऐसे नहीं होने चाहिए, जिन पर कोई जंगली नहीं उठा सके ?

मुझे खेद है कि इस देश में सीमेंट की फेक्टरी कायम करने के लिए लाइसेंस नहीं मिल सकता, मीठापुर के प्रोजेक्ट के लिए टाटा को पांच साल प्रतीक्षा करनी पड़ सकती है लेकिन अगर छोटी मोटर कार प्रधान मंत्री के पुत्र बनाने वाले हैं तो उसके लिए लेटर आफ इंटेंट इशु करने में देर नहीं आती है। यह क्या बात है और अब वह मोटर चलेगी कैसे। पेट्रोल कहाँ है ?

प्रधान मंत्री ने चुनाव के बाद जैम्बर आफ कार्मस में अवगण दिया था। मैं स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि उनके पुत्र के साथ हमारा कोई व्यक्तिगत विरोध नहीं है। लेकिन क्या आज देश में बसों की जरूरत है या छोटी कार की? हमें टी० धी० की जरूरत है या पीने के पानी की? आवश्यकता की वस्तुओं की जरूरत है या विलास और वैभव की चीजों की ?

सारे देश में आज असंतोष फैल रहा है हर वर्ग पीड़ित है ; लोक तंत्र पर से लोगों की आस्था उठ रही है। यह एक पार्टी का प्रश्न नहीं है इसलिए सत्ताकूट दल में ऐसे व्यक्ति

निकल रहे हैं जो लिमिटेड डिक्टेटर शिप की बात कर रहे हैं। क्या हम लोकतन्त्र की लड़ाई हार गए? क्या हम जनता की इच्छा से, उसका सहयोग जगा कर, भारत के भ्रष्ट का निर्माण नहीं कर सकते ? यह काम कौन करेगा। जिस नेतृत्व से आशा थी वह विफल होगया, उस नेतृत्व को त्यागप्रब दे देना चाहिए. अपना स्थान छोड़ कर किसी और व्यक्ति के लिए अग्रह बाली कर देनी चाहिए।

17.45 hrs.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY MINISTER

MR. SPEAKER: Shri L. N. Mishra wants to make a personal explanation.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the afternoon today the hon. Member, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, made certain allegations against me. I would like to say that the allegations are baseless and false. Shri Vajpayee had also referred to those oft-repeated charges.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, on a point of order. This is a motion against the Council of Ministers. Therefore, whatever he has to say should be replied to by the Prime Minister.

MR. SPEAKER: He was referred to by name. Therefore, he has got the right to give an explanation.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Coming to the memorandum, I have received a copy of it. I will be submitting my comments on each of the points made in the memorandum, when he will come to know about it.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu then referred to the Bihar Estimates Committee Report. I have made a statement in the House about it. If the hon. Member cares to go through the whole Report,

[Shri S. L. Mishra]

my name has been mentioned only in one place. No allegation has been made against me in any of the reports.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** What about Karnataka Exports and R. K. Sahney?

**SHRI L. N. MISHRA:** His third point was about the Datta Commission. This Commission was appointed somewhere in 1970, I do not remember the exact time. I would request Shri Bosu, if he is fair, to look into the Government notification and the circumstances of the whole situation. That Commission was set by Shri Karpuri Thakur Government three days before it went out of office. When a no-confidence motion was tabled by my party against that Government, this Commission was set up three days before that Government fell.

Then it was alleged that in the Darbhanga elections lakhs of rupees have been spent. Here I would like to mention one point. An election petition against me is pending in the Supreme Court. So, perhaps he should not talk about this case in that situation. Anyway, I would like to mention that in the election petition the question of election expenses has not been mentioned by that petitioner or even by the candidate who was defeated at my hands. The points mentioned in the election petition are entirely different and not a word about the election expenses has been mentioned by the petitioner.

Then I come to Shri Darbari's appointment. This question was raised in the other House also. He is not in charge of wagons or scrapping. He is in charge of looking after or collecting intelligence about labour. His only job is to collect information about the labour situation; he has nothing to do with the administrative aspect.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Why did you take him?

**SHRI L. N. MISHRA:** There is a fixed procedure for appointment in the railways. In the penal suggested to us by the Personnel Department his name was there and he was selected. But I must say that he has nothing to do with scrap and wagons. His job is to collect information about the labour situation in the railways.

Then the hon. Member referred to the toppling of the Kedar Pandey Government and said that Rs. 10 lakhs or 15 lakhs has been spent. Of late the opposition members are taking a lot of interest in the internal affairs of our party. I do not know why they have been doing it. It must say that it is totally wrong. Shri Kedar Pandey was our leader and within the party through the democratic procedure we could change our leader.

Through democratic means, the Bihar Congress party changed its leader and they had a new leader, Mr. Gafoor. There is no question of anything there. It is an internal affair of our party. He should not have said anything like that. That is very unfair.

He also said that I gave Rs. 25,000 to each District Congress Committee in Bihar. It will be a good day for the District Congress Committee—perhaps, there are 21 to 23 District Committees—if they get Rs. 25,000 each. If they go and see the records, they will find that they do not spend more than Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 a month.

Then, there was a question of giving favours to M/s. Karnatak Exports Limited in issuing import licence for stainless steel. There is no truth in the allegation that when I was in charge of Foreign Trade, I showed favours to M/s. Karnatak Exports Limited in issuing import licence for stainless steel. As per records available, the position is that a licence for a value of Rs. 57.4 lakhs was issued.

to this firm for the import of stainless steel in the year 1969. These imports had been allowed under the Barter against the export of Ferro-Silicon. This barter proposal was supported by the Chief Minister of Mysore and was approved by the then Minister of Foreign Trade with the concurrence of the Ministry of Finance on 25th April, 1969, with the proviso that the firm would be allowed to import such raw materials for which priority industries were entitled. This decision to allow import of stainless steel was taken on 7th October, 1969 and I came to the Foreign Trade Ministry in June, 1970. Therefore, I have hardly anything to do with it.

The unkindest cut of all and, perhaps, the most improper thing was when he said that I was trying to influence the press of this country. If we are proud of anything, we are proud of our democracy and free press in the country. To say a word about the press, that the press can be influenced, that they can be bought over, is very very unfair. I must protest strongly against it. The press is rendering really a good service to the country. I have every respect for the press.

Before I conclude, I would say, for some time past, a well-organised, systematic campaign of character assassination against me is going on. The Opposition, specially two or three parties, in the country has been playing a dominant role in that, whether it is in Patna or Delhi or in Calcutta. Everywhere, some kind of a campaign is going on. I must say that whatever programmes are being carried out by me will be carried out without any fear or anything. (Interuptions)

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर):**  
 अध्यक्ष जी, अगर आप इजाजत दें तो मैं श्री मिश्र जी से केवल एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय:** नहीं मैं इजाजत नहीं दूंगा।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** मैं एक छोटा सा प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ—यह बात स्पष्ट नहीं हुई कि ऐसा अधिकारी जिस के खिलाफ रिपोर्ट थी, मिश्र जी अपने साथ रेल मंत्रालय में क्यों लाए—यह सीधा सा सवाल है।

**श्री एल०एस० मिश्र:** उनके खिलाफ कोई रिपोर्ट न करके रोल में थी और तरिकोई में थी। एक बात जरूर है हम को भाई चन्द्र शेखर जी ने चिट्ठी लिखी थी और जांच के बाद हम ने चन्द्रशेखर जी को उत्तर दे दिया था। यह बात मुझे कहने का अधिकार नहीं था। इस का उत्तर कामर्स मिनिस्टर को देना चाहिए था। लेकिन चूंकि उस वक्त मैं बहां था, इस लिए उत्तर दे रहा हूँ—उन की चिट्ठी आई थी, उस का उत्तर मैंने दे दिया था—उस के खिलाफ कोई एलिंगेशन, या एडवर्स रिमाक्स या एडवर्स एन्ट्री न करके रोल में थी और न रिकार्ड में थी। उन कानाम हमारे यहां पैनल में आया था। डिपार्टमेंट आफ़ पर्सोनल से, रेलवे बोर्ड के द्वारा उन को चुन लिया गया और हम ने मान लिया। अगर कोई शिकायत होती तो ऐसा नहीं होता।

..... (व्यवधान) .....

*Motion of No.—Confidence in the Council of Ministers—contd.*

**श्री चन्द्रजीत दादब (भाजमगढ़) :**  
 अध्यक्ष जी, आज जो भविष्यवासी का प्रस्ताव आया है—मैं समझता हूँ विरोधी दलों ने महज एक पोलिटिक्स स्टंट बनाने के लिए इस प्रस्ताव को पेश किया है। सही बात यह है कि आज से कुछ ही दिन पहले जब हमने बड़ी हुई कीमतों पर इस सदन में विचार किया था, उस वक्त हमारे पक्ष के लोगों में, हमारी पार्टी ने, सरकार के लोगों ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया था कि आज हमारे देश में कई कठिन परिस्थितियों की वजह से, चीजों के भ्रभाव के कारण, इतने बड़े प्रकाल के कारण, मुद्रास्फिति के कारण, चीजों के दाम बढ़े हैं, हमारी जनता की कठिनाइयां बढ़ी हैं। लेकिन आज जिस

### [श्री चन्द्र जीत यादव]

परिस्थितियों में यह बहस शुरू हुई, मैंने उन दलों के सभी सदस्यों के भावनों को बड़े ध्यान से सुना है, सिवाय इसके की वही बातें जो पिछले दो तीन वर्षों में इस सदन में कही जाती रही हैं, उन को ही दोहराया गया है, वही आरोप-प्रत्यारोप जो सदस्यों के ऊपर, मंत्रियों के ऊपर, पहले लगाए गये थे. उन्हीं आरोपों को फिर दोहराया गया। आज विरोधी दलों ने अविश्वास के माध्यम से चरित्र हवन की एक संवर्धित कोशिश की है . . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

श्रीमन्, दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ—मुझे ऐसा लगता है— इस अविश्वास प्रस्ताव का आधार लेकर मुझे फिर वही स्वरूप दिखाई देता है, जो पिछले आम-चुनाव के समय दिखाई दिया था—जिस को महा गठबंधन कहते थे, ग्राण्ड-एलाएन्स कहते थे। वही प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें, साम्प्रदायिक ताकतें, निहीत-स्वार्थ-बाली ताकतें-महागठबंधन के रूप में सामने आती दिखाई दे रही हैं। जब उन्होंने अपने भावनों में उत्तर प्रदेश और उत्कल की चर्चा की तो यह बात स्पष्ट हो गई कि वही ग्राण्ड एलाएन्स की बातें इन चुनावों के अन्दर भी आयेंगी और आज इस अविश्वास प्रस्ताव पर एक समय हमारे सामने आई हैं। . . . . (व्यवधान) . . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप इधर मेरी तरफ भी देखें—मैं भी बैठा हुआ हूँ।

इस झगड़े से क्या फायदा है। यह ठीक नहीं है—जब आप को रोकता हूँ तो आप शोर मचाते हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जब मैं बोल रहा था तो ये मुझ को बोलने नहीं दे रहे थे। आप उस समय यहां नहीं थे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वाजपेयी जी आप तो बहुत भले हैं, आप का तो सब अन्दर करते हैं।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : श्रीमान्, आज मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि श्री ज्योतिर्लाल वसु से लेकर श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी तक इन के राजनैतिक शास्त्रागार में गालियों के जितने हथियार थे, इन्होंने आज उनका अच्छा प्रयोग करने का कोशिश की (व्यवधान) . . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप कल बोलेंगे। आप सब मेहरबानी करके शान्ति से सेंट्रल हाल में चलिए—डॉ० गोविन्द दास जी का मान करना है। जरा हंसते-खेलते जाइये, अपने माथे की त्वोरी को बिलकुल भूल जाइये।

We adjourn to reassemble again tomorrow at 11-00 A.M.

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, November, 22, 1973/Agrahayana 1, 1895 (Saka).