

Sir, it is not for the first time but even during the Budget Session I said that for Gods sake perform better. Come together in the interest of the country and I said we were all interested in your success. But what has happened. You are dis-integrating and we have just seen a dis-integrating system, what a threat it could be. A dis-integrating skylab was a global threat. A dis-integrating Janata Party is a national threat. The skylab threat got removed only when it fell to the earth. In the same way it is only by the fall of this government that this threat could be removed and, therefore, when hon'ble Members appeal to us that we should withdraw the Motion in the national interest the national interest truly today is that this dis-integrating system should come to earth as early as possible and something else should crop out of it. The nation has a little more confidence left in our political system today and therefore, I would appeal to the Prime Minister—afterall he is a senior politician who has made a great number of sacrifices—to set an example and that example could be for the betterment of the nation as a whole and, therefore, we are expecting something big from him and let him give a new lead and a new direction where we efface our self-interest and look only at the national interest. It is in this context that we have moved this motion and I have no doubt in my mind that every party here and every individual here with national interest in his heart would vote for this motion to ensure that this dis-integrating system—brought to the earth as early as possible.

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY (SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Mr. Subramaniam has made a very fervent appeal to the Opposition to vote this government out and to bring in its place an alternative which will be better than what we are. I presume this is the alternative.

Sir, people who were voted out of power by the people of this country less than two and a half years ago—two years and three and a half months to be precise, I presume—that is the better alternative that Mr. Subramaniam has in his mind.

Sir, when the hon. Leader of the Opposition moved the No-Confidence Motion, he said this, that he was doing a national duty. Sir, I did not know at what point of time the hon. Leader of the Opposition decided that he had to perform a national duty—a national duty in the context of the failures of the Janata Government and the kind of situation which, according to him, the Janata Government had created during the last 2 years and 3 months in which it has been in existence. He listed out the

failures—political, economic and social. Well, Sir, I presume that success and failure are invariably related to a certain achievement at a certain level. In other words, you have a benchmark, against which you measure success or failure. I would like to ask the hon. Leader of the Opposition : What is your bench mark against which you are going to judge the success or the failure of my party's Government ? (*Interruptions*). I shall discuss with you the spirit of 1977. That spirit is very much alive in this country. I shall discuss it with you. Let us come to the vital issue.

MR. SPEAKER : Let there be no interruption. Let him proceed. Don't get excited.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : I did not like to speak because I know it hurts them. Sir, what is the bench mark against which they are going to judge our performance and say that we have failed ? In 1975-76 and 1976-77—during those two years,—when we had the emergency, I was in the underground for about a year and it was during that period of time that you—most of you who are now seated there—were celebrating what you call 'the dynamic decade' of economic achievement...

AN HON. MEMBER : Dynamite decade. (*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER : Kindly allow him to proceed. What is all this ? Let the debate go on.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : ... 'the dynamic decade' of economic achievement led by a person whom the present Leader of the Opposition called, 'My Captain and my Doctor.' He said, 'My Captain and my Doctor.' I was sitting there right in the opposition. I was sitting right there, just behind where he was sitting earlier. He got up and said 'My Captain and my Doctor'. That was in the Fourth Lok Sabha. I was shocked to hear him say 'My Captain and my Doctor'.

SHRI YASHWANTRAO CHAVAN (Satara) : She was the head of the team and captain of the team. She was my captain. What is wrong in it ? What is the use of saying it now ?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Sir, I am indeed happy that the hon. Leader of the opposition has recalled or recollects the fact that he said that the person who headed the dynamic decade was his Captain. And I presume that he would want to judge us by the performance of that dynamic decade.

Now, Sir, what is that dynamic decade's performance against which he would like to judge us ? Sir, we have been

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in power for only 2 years and 3 months so far and we could not have shaken the Himalayas. We could not have done that.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN : (Idukki)
Ask Babuji.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Babuji will give reply to you at the appropriate time. Babuji is capable of taking care of himself and taking care of all of you. Let us discuss the achievements of the dynamic decade because, I presume, Sir, that my Government's performance will be judged against the performance of the predecessor Government. I am not giving the performance of five years or six years or even two-years of Emergency performance, but I am giving 10 years of your dynamic decade. And my Government has been in existence for two years and three months and the kind of thing that has been said here since yesterday, if you see the debate.....what were the terms used by each one of them? Of course, Mr. Stephen has a great talent for the use of the English language. He can develop from one alphabet a philosophy though that can also hurt him because his name also starts with 'C'. Yesterday you said that the country was going ahead with a momentous speed. I am quoting you. You said 'momentous speed'. Then these people came in, that is, we, on the basis of the former momentum, for one year it went on and then what happened? I would again quote Mr. Stephen.

"You have converted a galloping economy and development into a complete under development and you have put it in backward gear".

Now, Sir, here are the statistics. I know you like the statistics when it suits you. These are not my statistics. These are your statistics. After all it is so beautiful to be general and it is so hard to come to the specific. It is so beautiful to say "you have not done what we expected you to do". But it is very difficult to be reminded of what you did. What you did during the 10 years of dynamic decade? What did you do? Where shall we start? Since you are going to decide, since Mr. Subramaniam has given a call now for overthrow of this Government and its replacement by a great new Government consisting of you all the hon. gentlemen over there, I would like to know where you want to start? With your dynamic decade....? Under the leader of the opposition? Under your captain and doctor and leadership again, the number of people who lived below the poverty line was 240 million. When

your dynamic decade ended the number went up to 420 million. These are not my statistics. These are your statistics. Your leader was captain, she was than the Chairman of the Planning Commission apart from being the Prime Minister and dictator. These are your statistics and.....when I mention 'statistics' you all started making noise. You dislike statistics. Statistics started since when? It is not my own statistics, but it is your own. My statistics are yet to come. These are yours. These are Emergency period statistics, the observation of the dynamic decade during the course of which you spent several crores of rupees to mislead the people, to deceive the people to fool the people, about your performance of your dynamic decade. When you started, 240 million people were below the poverty line and when your dynamic decade brought to close, 420 million people were below the poverty line. Is that you are going to judge? Is that the bench-mark? I would like to know. Where do you want to go? You want to talk about what you fed the people of India, how you clothed the people of India, how you look after the basic simple economic needs of the people of India. Is that where you want to start?

The people of this country depend on pulses for their protein needs. You know what happened during the dynamic decade. The availability of pulses fell down from 60 grammes per day to 42 grammes per day. This is the decade of achievement. That was your care of the poor. It is so easy to glibly refer to the poor, to the hataoing of the garibbi, etc. It is very easy to say so. This is what you did and how you performed.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Why do you suppress the fact that pulses is one commodity which was in shortage during that period.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Then, we have improved and increased the output during the last two years.

What about cloth? How did you clothe the poor of this country? When the dynamic decade began, on an average, 15.5 metres of cloth was available per head per annum and in ten years, you brought it down to 13 metres per head per annum. This is what you did. I wish, you gentlemen, at least should be willing to be educated since you have got to run the Government, as Shri Subramaniam would like you to do.

Then, sugar. You may, of course, say that the poor do not eat sugar. It is only meant for the rich. You may say that if you want. We have brought the price of sugar down and we have produced more sugar than you ever produced. This is what we did. And what did you do? When the dynamic decade began, the *per capita* sugar production in this country was 7 kgs. per annum, and when the dynamic decade ended, it came down to 6 kgs. per annum. And in the last year for which the production figures are available, we have been able to raise it to 10 kgs. per annum.

Then, how did you make the people walk about? Do you know the figures relating to the footwear, rubber or leather, you produced in terms of number of pairs? When the dynamic decade began, you produced 6.9 crores pair, leather and rubber, of footwear. Of course you can say that you do not expect the poor to wear footwear. That is not our concept of the poor; you may say that. When the dynamic decade ended, you brought down this figure of 6.9 crores to 5.4 crores pairs of footwear, leather and rubber. What was the result? Assuming that one pair of footwear was used by a person for year, whereas 41 crores of people had nothing to wear when your dynamic decade began, and when it ended, 54 crores of people had nothing to wear.

It is necessary for me to point out all this to you, because you have been discussing about our performance. I shall come to our performance later. I am laying the bench mark. Shri Vasant Sathe, you must understand this; you have studied a little bit of economics, others may not have. You made a very beautiful speech; I was genuinely moved by your speech.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: From where have you manufactured all these statistics?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I will tell you; it is necessary for me to answer this question. These statistics are all available in the Parliament Library and the books from which you can get them are: A Decade of Achievements, 1966—75, published by the DAVP, Government of India and which was on exhibition near the Janpath Hotel, organised by a very close personal lieutenant or Assistant of the then dictator and which even while I was underground, I was to visit and collect personally, for your information. Then, these figures are taken from *India*, 1975 published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in the year 1976. These figures are taken from the Statistical Pocket Book published by the Central

Statistical Organization of the Government of India in the year 1976. You can get them from the Library. I am giving you these ready references; I am saving you the bother.

17 hrs.

Then, they talk of infrastructure. Shri Subramaniam spoke today and Shri Naik also said many things yesterday; I do not see him around, I have to tell him something. Yes. I shall come to "Small is beautiful", and to Mr. Naik. Or, should I say it right now? Mr. Naik would not understand the meaning of "Small is beautiful" and he would not understand the meaning of *takli* and *charkha*, about which he joked and laughed yesterday. It was from Gandhiji that we got "Small is beautiful." It was Gandhiji from whom we got *takli* and *charkha*. He was telling this nation, "We do or die", and went with these *takli* and *charkha* into the prison at Yeravada in Maharashtra. In the same Maharashtra, in Pussar, Mr. Vasant Naik was recruiting soldiers for the British Army and raising money for the War Fund, as the Chairman of the National War Fund district committee. How can he understand it? So, he jokes here; he jokes about our industrial policy, Small and Cottage industries, and about the industrial policy which is taking jobs to people who never had jobs. I am sorry I had to say this, Mr. Stephen; you will forgive me for having said this, if you want to.

I was terribly taken aback, to say the least, yesterday when hon. Members, particularly those who have been a part of the freedom struggle and part of the Gandhian tradition, applauded Mr. Naik when he talked on *takli* and *charkha*. They applauded him yesterday. I was here, listening to his speech.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: He joked about your concept of *takli*. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I will explain my concept. Don't worry. Please have some patience. The less you obstruct me, the more you will hear from me. Because you talked about the inadequate infrastructure—Railways, Ports and what have you; you talked about all this—how steel is not available and so on and so forth.

You know what happened, Mr. Subramaniam, the hon. former Minister of Industry.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I don't claim as much knowledge as you do.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Thank you very much. You know what happened. When the dynamic decade began, you were producing 9.3 Kgs. of steel per head per annum. When that dynamic decade was put to an end, you started producing 7.8 Kgs of Steel, *per capita* per annum. This is what you did and created. (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: You are importing it now at double the price.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: It is against this back-drop that I hope they will judge our performance. What is our performance. We shall come to our performance. (Interruptions) Last year, our industrial growth was 8%. In the current year, there were problems. In March, April and May we had severe problems. In spite of those problems, we have been able to maintain an industrial growth rate of 5%. I want to assure the hon. Members on the Treasury benches and those in the Opposition, that we shall achieve, even during the current year, a growth rate of 8%, and we shall try to improve on the growth rate of 8%. (Interruptions)

Yes; we had problems of power. In Koyna, where they were generating 640 megawatts every day, it came down to 50 megawatts. The lakes went dry. We had problems in West Bengal. Our comrades from the CPM will be able to explain those problems. And they will tell you that they are problems of your creation. They will tell you that.

SHRI JYOTIMOY BOSU: Absolutely.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: We have problems; but we shall overcome those problems. And when we talk of the growth rate, it may concern industry or agriculture. Now about agricultural production. Yesterday, one of my hon. colleagues mentioned, while participating in the debate, that we shall not take the view that when we have a good harvest, it is due to our Prime Minister; and when it is bad harvest, it is due to the failure of the monsoon. We shall not take that position. Last year, agricultural production was a record 126.5 million tonnes; and this year agricultural production has surpassed all records, and we are at 130.5 million tonnes. We shall improve on this. You do not like statistics. What can I do? How will you learn? 43.5 per cent of the total public expenditure in this country will go into the rural sector, agricultural sector, village sector of our economy. That is what our economic results are showing today.

Mr. Gopal, I find that you are finally getting interested in statistics.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur): It is very good for Choupaty beach, not for Parliament.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: When it hurts, it becomes Choupaty. I can see that.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Perhaps he will teach you tomorrow.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I am always willing to learn. That is why I am here. Since you are not willing to learn, that is why this has happened.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: His master has not helped the Janata Party students.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: When I said 43.5 per cent of the total plan outlay in the next five years is going into the rural sector, agricultural sector, it is Rs. 33,000 crores in monetary terms. Rs. 33,000 crores going into the rural sector, agricultural sector means 1-1/2 times the total outlay in that sector in monetary term that you had put there for the last 30 years. Of course, the value of rupee has gone down; and how much during the dynamic decade alone it has gone down. Let us start from 1947. The hon. Leader of the Opposition was the Finance Minister for a short while. It started during the dynamic decade with 54 paise. Its value was 54 paise in ten years and with doggedness and perseverance your captains had brought it down to 25 paise. So, you had a problem. I agree that the value of the rupee has gone down. But taking all these factors, the fact is that Rs. 33,000 crores which is 1-1/2 times the money which you had put in the rural sector in the last 30 years is going there. 1.7 crore hectares of land will be brought under irrigation in these 5 years.

Yesterday, Mr. Nayak was very eloquent on how the irrigation programme was started very early and how it was fructified much later. Of course, that was your tradition. We are not doing that thing. We have gone into the small and beautiful, which he does not like. He is so fascinated by large. From Pusa to Bombay, I know that it is a long distance. But, somehow, or the other, he is so accustomed to Bombay and its largeness that he has forgotten Pusa which is small, which is beautiful.

I am sure, Mr. Vasant Sathe will agree because he is not very far from Pusa.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I say Pusa is beautiful.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Thank you. During the last two years 5.1 million hectares of land was brought under irrigation in small projects, in beautiful projects; and this is what has contributed to increase food production; and food production will continue to go up. Where will you compare your bench mark. When you say about our economic performance, you say from this galloping rate of growth, we have taken the country back. Mr. Stephen, which was the galloping rate of growth during the dynamic decade? And I tell you something about how that galloping rate of growth was. The gross national product *per capita* income when the dynamic decade began was Rs. 331.1 per head per year; and in ten years, Mr. Stephen, you galloped so far and your captains and your leader did so well—the Leader of the Opposition—that we reached Rs. 337.5. In other words, in ten years, the increase was exactly Rs. 6.90..... (Interruptions)

SHRI K. GOPAL: What was the population then?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: We are discussing *per capita* income; that is the trouble with them; they refuse to learn. I think in planning one always takes care of the increase in population. However, I shall give you the statistics about your galloping rate of growth. In 1971-72, the growth rate was minus 0.9 per cent—galloping; in 1972-73 it was minus 3.6 per cent, further down. In 1973-74 it was plus 2.9 per cent, in 1974-75 it was minus 1 per cent. In 1975-76 with two years of emergency with you it was plus 6.8 per cent. In 1976-77—what was it, emergency fruits, gains of emergency—when the gains of emergency started coming in the growth rate fell down by 0.06 per cent. In 1977-78, the very first year of the Janata government, the rate went up by 5.2 per cent. Last year despite all the problems, with 8 per cent industrial growth rate and 3 per cent agricultural growth rate, we have been able to maintain a growth rate of 3.9 per cent. This is the achievement. I should like to know, when the hon. Leader of the opposition is going to reply to the debate, what his bench mark so far as our economic performance is concerned. Will you weight this against the dynamic decade and its performance and the galloping rate of growth of Mr. Stephen; will you compare us to that and then say that Janata government's performance is dismal and the industrial and economic scene is all going bad.

We have problems in the economic sector; we have problems. Despite these problems we are doing well. Mr. Subramaniam told us, appealed to the Prime Minister to see that the growth was balanced. It is a balanced growth. We have done extra-ordinarily well. I am proud of the achievements of the Janata party in the last two years in so far as management of the economy is concerned. We have problems and believe it or not, they are problems of a fast rate of growth. Hon. Members are speaking about steel; I know there are questions about steel. Cement, yes, there are questions about cement. There are shortages in a large number of essential commodities. How do those shortages come in. They had planned for annual growth of about 3—5 per cent. Currently, as far as cement is concerned, steel is concerned, the basic inputs in industry are concerned, the growth rate is between 10 and 15 per cent. We have problems; the infrastructure is unable to meet the growth. They had planned for agricultural decline, but we have boosted agricultural production. Take the problems of transport. They did not care for the ports. What was their investment in ports, I ask Mr. Subramaniam. What was their investment in the railways, I ask Mr. Subramaniam. What was their investment in transport infrastructure. Look at the production of the transport sector. Their production was 35—40,000 commercial vehicles for the last, God knows how many years. The first thing that we did was to improve that SECTOR. Last year in the transport sector, automotive sector, production went up by 35 per cent in 1977-78 the production went up by 42 per cent last year we produced 60,000 commercial vehicles in this country and put them on the roads. We are maintaining that rate of growth this year our target is to produce at least 80,000 commercial vehicles in this country, double the number of what we inherited only 2 and half years ago; that is what we are up to.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: This is a socialist convention.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: This is not a socialist convention. I suppose it hurts you to discuss Socialism. Does it hurt you to be educated on socialism? (Interruptions)

So, whereby economy is concerned, I want hon. members to realise that all their arguments are hollow, they are baseless in terms of output, in terms of production, in terms of growth. The Janata Government's performance is an excellent performance and we are proud of that performance. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: This is not the question answer session.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: We have been told that in terms of the political management of the country there are problems. Our party has been under attack. We have had problems in our party. Everybody knows this. I do not want to discuss my party problems on the floor of the House. We have problems in our party. I am conscious of the fact and I am sure the House is conscious and the Nation is conscious of the fact that we came from six different streams to form one stream. We came from six different streams. 2 1/4 years ago we belonged to six different parties or groups. There were four parties and all other organisations that came into existence. We came from these six different streams to converge to form one main stream. We were ideologically differing temperamentally, differing people. Of course, we have ambitions. Why should I hide the fact? After all one is in politics, one is in public life. If there were no ambitions which is also coupled with an element of altruism, one would not be in public life. If one were only altruistic person, then one would be a hermit. One would be doing service in some rural areas. One would not be in public life in the manner in which a politician is. If one were merely ambitious, you take the country where you and your leader took it. And all of you accepted it on June 26, 1975. When ambition and altruism blend in a proper mix, that is where you can really run democratic politics and where a democratic party, Mr. Sathé, please listen.....

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Both things combined.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I thought you are proud of your fortune. Be proud of it. Do not brush it black. So, this is where we are a democratic party and with powerful personalities, with clashing ambitions, with ideologically different and differing backgrounds, we have our difficulties. I am not trying to brush those differences or difficulties under the carpet. We have that.

If hon. members of the Opposition were to speak about different voices in which we speak, for instance, about bonus question to speak that only in my party there are differences on this question, what are your views on this question? I am not asking to-day's views. In the year 1974 at 2.30 in the night, you sent Border Security Force Aeroplane to Lucknow to arrest me and bring me and put me in Tihar Jail at 5 O'Clock in the morning and there was adjournment motion moved in this House and on the 8th May, 1974 the Railwaymen struck work, and on 9th May, 1974 there was No Confidence Motion moved in this House. May I request all of you, hon. members of the Opposition to please go to the library and read what

your leaders spoke on the bonus issue, on the workmen, on their demands and all that they said? Will you also go through the newspapers and find out all that your police, your military, your Territorial Army, your Border Security Force, every repressive organ of the State did? Will you please find out what they did? Will you please go through the newspapers what hon. members of the Opposition said? Will you go through the newspapers and your speeches?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: You brought about strike on this. For the last 2 1/2 years you have been in power. What have you done about that?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I will come to that.

I thought the hon. Mr. C. M. Stephen was also concerned with certain philosophical discussion because he is very philosophical in speeches. I read his speeches of 1974. They amused me, the kind of the speeches that he made, the way he wanted strike to be suppressed, the way he asked for the strike to be suppressed and to-day he supports the demand for bonus, Mr. Stephen!

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I ask you to redeem your pledge or get out. That is what I say.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: We will redeem our pledges. We shall redeem our pledges, Mr. Stephen; we shall. But since each one of you day in and day out in this House and outside talk about the differences among us on the bonus question, I am only trying to test your own sincerity and your own conviction. Are you men of conviction or are you opportunists? What are you? In 1974 you suppressed the railway strike and today you say, "Are the railwaymen getting their demands?"

SHRI VASANT SATHE: You are a great opportunist. Why don't you ask this question to yourself?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: So, Sir, we have our differences and we are trying to reconcile them. As I said, we have come from different streams and we are trying to reconcile the ideological, personal and other differences that exist between us. But on the other hand, what happened to you? You went to the polls as one party. How many are you today? What is the latest country from Kanyakumari to Jammu and Kashmir? How many are you?

AN HON. MEMBER: They do not know!

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: They do not know ! That is the alternative Mr. Subramaniam wants—"Throw the Janata out and bring this in". Is this the alternative you are speaking of ? Is this a better alternative politically and economically ? I showed you your bench-marks. Politically is this the alternative you are speaking of ?

The hon. Leader of the Opposition was to speak about the social situation. He said—his words were very moving—"Where the Harijans are concerne he live in the same neglected condition."

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA : You are doing one disservice to the people and to the nation by uniting them together—the two black sons of the Congress !

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : As I said, the hon. Leader of the Opposition was to speak about the same neglected condition in which the Harijans are. In other words, there is no bench-mark, Mr. Subramaniam, for a better Government. Your own Leader of the Opposition was to say yesterday that the Harijans are in the same neglected condition. But are they really ? You talk of atrocities on Harijans. Do you know the number of atrocities against Harijans in 1971 ? Do you care to remember ? According to your own statistics, the number of atrocities against Harijans was 2127 in 1971, 2384 in 1972 and 2753 in the first six months alone of the year 1974. (*Interruptions*). Then why do you speak of them ? What is your bench mark when you talk of a better alternative for the Janata ? Where do you want to draw the line ?

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN: See your election manifesto.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : I am on my own manifesto and I want to promise the hon. Leader of the Opposition. I want him to know that consciously and deliberately we have seen to it that the Harijans get a better deal in this country; that it is not reservation only in terms of the class IV service. This is what reservation has come to mean in this country. It is not merely job reservations in class IV sector as sweeper. No, Sir. It is providing them with opportunities across the country. We are setting up special corporations and making available resources for them. We are making money available to them. The entire thrust of our industrial policy is moving into the rural areas. This is where we are providing them with opportunities. Last year we trained 60,000 young boys and girls belonging to

Harijans, minorities and backward communities to weave carpets. This year we are training another 60,000. This is where we are making them economically self-reliant. The entire thrust of our economic policy through the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, the Handlooms Board and the Handicrafts Board is aimed at ameliorating the conditions of the Harijans, the backward and the poorest of the poor in the rural areas. Last year we produced 11 per cent more cloth in the handloom sector. That much of more money went in the hands of the rural poor and not in the hands of the big people of whom Mr. Vasant Naik is the great admirer. They are poor people, backward people, minority communities people. Then what exactly is your bench mark against which you want to judge us ?

You spoke about the Christians. You spoke about the Freedom of Religion Bill, I am glad, you spoke about it. I am glad that Mr. Stephen referred to it. I am glad that the hon. Leader of the Opposition has referred to it. And this is one other issue where you have, perhaps, found us speaking differently. My friend, my colleague in the Cabinet, Mr. Mohan Dharia, for instance, very emphatically said in Cochin—in your own home State, Mr. Stephen—a few days ago that as long as there are people like him in the Janata Party and Janata Government—and he was speaking for himself—the Freedom of Religion Bill shall not be passed. He has said it. But what have you done ? A Private Member's Bill, across the country you have tried to project it as a Janata Government or Janata Party Bill. Is this honesty ?—I ask the Leader of the opposition, I ask hon. Mr. Stephen.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : The Prime Minister has supported it.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : The Prime Minister never said it. I am sorry, you cannot be unfair to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has never said that it is the Government's policy or a Government Bill. The Prime Minister has expressed his personal views which you have used for your personal purposes. (Shall I for the benefit of the hon. Member from the North-Eastern part, who said that we are treated as fourth class citizens, make only two submissions ? Today, there are three Chiefs of Staff who are concerned with the defence of the country—the General of the Army, General Malhotra, I do not need to tell you his community or religion, the Chief of the Air Force, Air Chief Marshal Latif, I do not need to tell you his community and religion; he is a Muslim, and the Chief of the Navy Admiral Pereira, a Christian. What greater proof do you want ?—The defence of our motherland is in the hands of three

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top Generals belonging to three different communities. The Janata Government did it and this has happened for the first time.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : Are you suggesting that you superseded some people to achieve this or what is it?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : I tell you this. I know Mr. Sathe you are a very clever man and you think that you always put very clever questions. We did not supersede anybody. You used to do that in order to prevent the Muslims..... (Interruptions). The point is, if the Janata Government were anti-Muslim, anti-Christian and anti-minority communities, then, Sir, the Janata Government should have superseded Admiral Pereira and Air Chief Marshal Latif. This is the proof if proof is needed, of the secular character of the Government.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN : You are not.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : We know what you did. We can produce any amount of evidence if you like.

They talk about this Bill. Have you forgotten the Madhya Pradesh Bill, Mr. Stephen?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN : That Bill was when the Jan Sangh Government was there..... (Interruptions).

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Please correct your information.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM : May I request the Prime Minister to keep the Services out of politics?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : The whole thrust of the Opposition has been to call my Party a communal Party. The Opposition inside this House and outside has called my party as an anti-Christian Party. I come from the Christian community.... (Interruptions). I am trying to clarify the position.

SHRI A. BALAJANOR : Be clear on the Bill. Donot try to defend it or try to confuse us by giving a different angle.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Then the question about the law and order situation was arised. It was mentioned by Shri Naik and others that this is the first time in the history of India that the army and police clashed. What has happened is very unfortunate. But have you forgotten 1973? Have you forgotten what happened in Uttar Pradesh?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN : The Chief Minister resigned as a result of that.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : The Chief Minister was promoted as Union Minister, Mr. Stephen. Do not forget your history; at least remember your history.

What happened in 1967, when the present Leader of the Opposition was the Home Minister. Was not the Border Security Force moved in? Did the Border Security Force not drop tear gas shells? (Interruptions). The man through whom you operated is Commandant-General Shri Rustamji and I am reading his document.

"It was the 14th April, 1967 and just by chance I happened to be in the room of the Home Secretary when the problems of the Delhi police came up. The Delhi Administration was in favour of taking strong action to arrest some of the policemen who had shown offensive conduct. For three years they had been agitating for removal of their grievances, and none had listened to them. They had put up posters, organised public meetings, refused to take their pay, once, and worst of all they had shouted slogans. All because their Union was not recognised, and no redress could be secured."

Then what happened? They organised a satyagraha. He says :

"The satyagrahis ran through the lane and collected in front of the house of the Home Minister (Shri Y. B. Chavan) where they sat down according to the standard plan of satyagraha, while their leaders addressed them."

Then what happened the next day?

"The next day the BSF encircled the Satyagrahi group tightly and meekly led them away. This was all that happened as far as the Delhi Police strike was concerned. Newspapers highlighted the imaginary dangers, all types of rumours and reports circulated in the capital."

Then you dropped tear-gas shells a few yards away from Tin Murti, much to the dismay of the wives and children of the people residing there, created a smoke screen and took away the processionists.

As for the bullets the hon. Members on the other side should at least keep quiet. I think they owe it at least to their party to say what happened during their regime. So far as UP is concerned, again Commandant Rustomji says :

"The next morning the Defence Secretary (Shri Govind Narain) and I were asked to go at once to Lucknow. The P.A.C had resisted disarming, the shooting had started Army and police shot it out in several places. In Banaras, Sultanpur, and Kanpur,

there were open battles. The first day's tally seemed to indicate that there were between 100 to 150 casualties, mostly in the police, though the army suffered a few losses too. The army had obviously bitten of more than they could chew, and several battalions of army and police had to be moved by air all over Uttar Pradesh to support the units in the field."

You know how many hundreds were killed, Shri Saugata Roy. This is how bullets were used then. This is what happened then. So if one discusses the law and order situation, this was the law and order situation.

So, it is your bench mark against which you are going to judge the performances of the Janata Government. Your economic, social, political and law and order arguments against the Janata Government are hollow. I agree we have our problems, I agree that we need to perform better, I agree that the people had tremendous hopes and expectations on the Janata Government. The people voted us to power two and a quarter years ago, so that their expectations and aspirations will be fulfilled. And I want to assure the House that it shall be the duty of our Government to see that all the pledges that we gave to the people, every one of the pledges that we gave to the people are fulfilled. For two and a quarter years we have laid the foundations, we shall proceed further and see that these promises are fulfilled and I only hope that the House, and particularly the Opposition, will give us all the support that we need to see that these pledges are fulfilled.

With these words, I oppose the motion that the hon. Leader of the Opposition has moved and I urge the House to reject it.

श्रीमती मोहंसाबा फिख्रई (आजमगढ़) : अध्यक्ष जी, चद्दाण साहब ने जो नो-कांफिडेंस मोशन मूव किया है, उस को तारीफ करने के लिए मैं खड़ी हुई हूँ।

श्रीमो जार्ज फर्नांडीस साहब ने बड़े जोरदार भाषण से कोशिश की ताकि वे कागजी आंकड़ों से सदन को प्रभावित कर सकें और लोगों को यह बता सकें कि जनता पार्टी के एचीवमेंट्स क्या हैं। यह बात मैं आप के सामने कहना चाहती हूँ कि जार्ज साहब ने जो बड़ा जोरदार भाषण किया, तो मुझे याद आया कि चिकमंगलूर में भी इन्हीं बातों को लेकर, हूब-हू इन्हीं चीजों को लेकर और इसी श्रद्धा में भाषण किया था। इसी तरह के भाषण कर के उन्होंने वहाँ के लोगों को यह बताने की कोशिश की थी कि जनता पार्टी ने क्या क्या किया है।

मैं दो, तीन बातों का जवाब उन से पूछना चाहती हूँ। अभी बहुत जोरदार तरीके से उन्होंने

कहा कि मि० लतीफ एयर चीफ मार्शल आजकल हैं। बड़ी खुशी की बात है लेकिन इस पोस्ट पर वे आप के ग्रहसन से नहीं हैं। वे वाई वरचू आफ देयर सीनि-येरिटी उस पोस्ट पर हैं। यह चीफ चिकमंगलूर के इलेक्शन में भी कही जाती थी कि लतीफ साहब की जनता पार्टी ने एयर चीफ मार्शल रखा है। इसी तरह से यह बात भी कही गई कि यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन का चेयरमन जो है, वह एक मुस्लिम है और हम तरह से माइनोरिटीज के लिए वे क्या कर रहे हैं, यह उन्होंने बताया। मैं जार्ज साहब से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि जहाँ रोजमर्रा माइनोरिटीज का गला घोंटा जाता हो, जहाँ रोजमर्रा जमशेदपुर बनता हो, जहाँ रोजमर्रा प्रलोगब बनता हो और जहाँ रोजमर्रा नादिया बनता हो, वहाँ पुलिस थानों में कितनी कांस्टेबुलेरी को भर्ती किया है, इस की आप जांच कराइए।

17.39 hrs

[SHRI N K SHAJWALKAR in the chair.]

जार्ज साहब, आप जा रहे हैं। मैं चाहती थी कि आप मेरी चन्द बातों का जवाब देते जाते। बड़ा जोरदार भाषण आपने दिया है। मैं उन से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि पुलिस कांस्टेबुलरी की हर एक थाने में जरूरत होती है। कितनी आप ने वहाँ पर माइनोरिटीज के लोगों की भर्ती की है, कितने ईसाइयों को वहाँ भर्ती किया गया है और कितने मुसलमानों को वहाँ पर भर्ती किया गया है।

तबकिरा यह किया जा रहा है कि हम ने इण्डस्ट्रीज के लिए यह कर दिया और वह कर दिया। मैं खास तौर से हैण्डलूम सेक्टर के बारे में पूछना चाहती हूँ। मैं खास तौर पर यह पूछना चाहती हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के बुनकरों का क्या हाल है? कभी आपने यह सोचने की कोशिश की है? आपने बनारसी साड़ियों पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी, परचेज टैक्स लगाया। उसकी वजह से कारीगरों का क्या हाल हो रहा है इसको भी आपने देखा है। सूत के मनमाने दाम बसूल किए जा रहे हैं और उसको वजह से बुनकर फाके करने पर मजबूर हो गया है, रिक्शा चलाने पर मजबूर हो गया है। क्या आपको मालूम है कि रंगों के दाम कहां पहुँच चुके हैं? आप कागजी आंकड़े यहां दे कर अक्वाम के भूखे पेट को नहीं भर सकते हैं। मैंने सेक्शन 377 में एक प्रश्न दिया था लेकिन आज तक आपने उस पर कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की है। मेरा चार्ज है कि यह सरकार सरमायेदारों की सरकार है, इसने हमेशा बड़े बड़े सरमायेदारों को ही देखा है, छोटे आदमियों की तरफ नहीं देखा है। आप हैडलूम सैक्टर की बात करते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में जा कर आप देखें कि वर्कर्स की क्या हालत है। सुबह अगर सौ रुपये में उसको बंडल मिलता है तो शाम को 108 में मिलता है। यह सरकारी मिल की बात मैं कर रही हूँ। मैं लिख कर भी दे चुकी हूँ। आपने तकलीफ भवारा नहीं की है कि मेरे पत्र का उत्तर भी दें।